

Literature Crossing Borders: The Reception  
of Spanish Literary Works in the United  
States through Film Adaptations (1895-2018)

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## **Abstract (EN)**

Studies examining the global circulation of cultural products have revealed that book translations form part of a vastly unequal system. Over half of the world's books are translated from English, but very few are translated into English. Nowhere is this more evident than in the United States. For the past decade, it has been cited that less than 3% of the books published in the U.S. are translations. A very similar trend occurs in the case of foreign films. Foreign films have consistently accounted for less than 5% of the United States' yearly domestic market in the past few decades. The scarce presence of foreign literature and foreign films in the U.S. provides a very interesting illustration of the uneven flow of cultural products across international borders. It also highlights the similar role of these two transfer processes in the reception of foreign literature, a very promising new area of research.

This dissertation seeks to examine the reception of Spanish literature in the United States through film adaptations. To do this, frameworks from Polysystem Theory and sociological approaches are used for the development of a theoretical model that allows for the descriptive analysis of the object of study. This analysis is realized through the compilation and quantitative examination of three corpora. The first corpus draws upon existing resources to provide a comprehensive list of all film adaptations of Spanish literary works that have been made between 1895 and 2018. The second corpus seeks to determine which of these films have also been received in the United States. Finally, the third corpus limits the object of analysis to adaptations of literary

works that have been received in the United States as both film adaptations and literary translations. This allows for the categorization of how film adaptation and literary translation combine in the reception of Spanish literature in the United States through film. A total of seven of these combinations are revealed. Each of these is then explored in detail through the qualitative analysis of seven case studies.



## **Abstract (ES)**

Los estudios que analizan la circulación global de productos culturales revelan que las traducciones de libros forman parte de un sistema enormemente desigual. Más de la mitad de los libros a nivel mundial se traducen del inglés, pero muy pocos se traducen al inglés, un hecho que se evidencia aún más en los Estados Unidos. Se estima que, durante la última década, menos del 3% de los libros publicados en los Estados Unidos son traducciones. La tendencia es muy similar en el caso de las películas extranjeras que, en las últimas décadas, han representado menos del 5% de los ingresos anuales del mercado cinematográfico de los Estados Unidos. La escasa presencia de literatura y películas extranjeras en los EEUU proporciona una imagen muy interesante del flujo desigual de productos culturales a través de las fronteras internacionales. También destaca el papel similar de estos dos procesos de transferencia en la recepción de literatura extranjera, una nueva y prometedora área de investigación.

Esta disertación examina la recepción de la literatura española en los EEUU a través de adaptaciones cinematográficas. Se utilizan marcos teóricos de la Teoría de los Polisistemas y el enfoque sociológico para desarrollar un modelo teórico que permita el análisis descriptivo del objeto de estudio. Este análisis se realiza mediante la recopilación y estudio cuantitativo de tres corpus. El primer corpus se basa en los recursos existentes para proporcionar una lista completa de todas las adaptaciones cinematográficas de obras literarias españolas que se han realizado entre 1895 y 2018. El segundo corpus busca determinar cuáles de estas películas también se han recibido en los Estados

Unidos. Finalmente, el tercer corpus limita el objeto de análisis a las adaptaciones de obras literarias que han sido recibidas en Estados Unidos como adaptaciones cinematográficas y como traducciones literarias. Esto permite categorizar las formas en que la adaptación cinematográfica y la traducción literaria se combinan en la recepción de la literatura española en los EEUU a través del cine. Se detectan un total de siete combinaciones, cada una de las cuales se explora en detalle a través del análisis cualitativo de siete estudios de caso.

## **Abstract (CA)**

Els estudis que analitzen la circulació global de béns culturals revelen que les traduccions de llibres formen part d'un sistema enormement desigual. Més de la meitat dels llibres a nivell mundial es tradueixen de l'anglès, però molt pocs es tradueixen a l'anglès, un fet que encara s'evidencia més als Estats Units. Es calcula que, en la darrera dècada, menys del 3% dels llibres publicats als Estats Units són traduccions. La tendència és molt similar en el cas de les pel·lícules estrangeres que, en les darreres dècades, han representat menys del 5% dels ingressos anuals del mercat cinematogràfic dels Estats Units. L'escassa presència de literatura i pel·lícules estrangeres als Estats Units proporciona una imatge molt interessant del flux desigual de productes culturals a nivell internacional. També destaca el paper similar d'aquests dos processos de transferència en la recepció de literatura estrangera, una àrea de recerca nova i prometedora.

Aquesta dissertació examina la recepció de la literatura espanyola als Estats Units mitjançant adaptacions cinematogràfiques. Per fer-ho, s'empren marcs teòrics de la Teoria dels Polisistemes i l'enfocament sociològic per desenvolupar un model teòric que permeti analitzar descriptivament l'objecte d'estudi. Aquesta anàlisi es realitza mitjançant la recopilació i l'estudi quantitatiu de tres corpus. El primer corpus es basa en els recursos existents per proporcionar una llista completa de totes les adaptacions cinematogràfiques d'obres literàries espanyoles que s'han realitzat entre el 1895 i el 2018. El segon corpus busca determinar quines d'aquestes pel·lícules també

s'han rebut als Estats Units. Finalment, el tercer corpus limita l'objecte d'anàlisi a les adaptacions d'obres literàries que han estat rebudes als Estats Units com a adaptacions cinematogràfiques i com a traduccions literàries. Això permet categoritzar les formes en què l'adaptació cinematogràfica i la traducció literària es combinen en la recepció de la literatura espanyola als Estats Units a través del cinema. Es detecten un total de set combinacions, cadascuna de les quals s'explora detalladament a través de l'anàlisi qualitativa de set estudis de cas.





## Prologue

In a 2012 interview in *The Wall Street Journal* on the film adaptation of his novel *Cloud Atlas*, David Mitchell commented on the complex structure of his novel and its implications for film adaptation. “Adaptation is a form of translation,” Mitchell stated, “and all acts of translation have to deal with untranslatable spots” (in Trachtenberg, 2012). Mitchell is by no means the first to observe the fascinating parallels between translation and film adaptation, however. Early research in the field of Translation Studies recognized the existence of various modalities of translation beyond interlinguistic exchange, including translation between mediums (Jakobson, 1959). Since then, a growing body of research has sought to explore the theoretical similarities between translation and film adaptation as well as to build upon the affinities between the two fields of study to systemize the analysis of both products and processes as similar objects of study.

The study of adaptation is tremendously relevant to the study of film. Since the birth of film as an artistic medium, literary works have provided a significant source of creative inspiration for filmmakers. From the American Mutoscope Company’s moving scene depicting George de Maurier’s beloved protagonist *Trilby and Little Billee* (1896) to Frank E. Fillis’ screen adaptation of a stage play based on the historical accounts of the Shanghai Patrol, *Major Wilson's Last Stand* (1899), the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was host not only to the birth of cinema, but to the birth of cinematic adaptations of literary works. By 1899, just four years after the Lumiere’s pioneering exhibition at the Salon Indien in Paris, approximately one out of every four of the

films released was based on a work of literature, according to my research. While much has changed since then, adaptations continue to be a significant source of films to this day. In fact, while little academic research is available on the subject, it has been estimated by independent researchers that approximately 20% of the movies released between 2000 and 2014 in the United States were adaptations of a fictional novel or short story (Follows, 2015). These films have also been reported to gross 53% more than those based on original screenplays, according to one U.K. report (Rowe, 2018).

Bearing in mind the remarkable prevalence of film adaptations and the increasingly examined theoretical similarities between film adaptation and literary translation, the study of film adaptation represents a very relevant means of understanding the transformation of literary texts to a different medium. However, film adaptation represents more than a transformation from page to screen.

Studies examining the global circulation of cultural goods have revealed that book translations form a part of a vastly unequal cultural world system (Casanova, 2004; Heilbron, 1999). In this system, over half of the world's books are translated from English, but very few books are translated into English from other languages. Nowhere is this phenomenon more evident than in the United States. For the past decade, it has been frequently cited that only an estimated one to three percent of the books published in the United States are translations (Levisalles, 2004; Mackza & Stock, 2006). When compared to countries such as France, Germany, Italy, and Spain in which



translations comprise between 15-25% of the published books, it becomes even more apparent how startlingly low this percentage really is (Venuti 2008).

Book publication is not the only cultural phenomenon that demonstrates this unequal exchange, however. In fact, a very similar trend can also be observed in the case of foreign films in the United States. According to several sources, foreign-language films have accounted for less than 5% of the United States' yearly domestic market in the past few decades, and that number also appears to be gradually decreasing (Corliss, 2014; Kaufman, 2006). Since 1980, only 1,000 foreign language films entered the U.S. market, and only 22 of those films earned more than \$10 million in box offices (Ricky, 2010). Conversely, several economists have demonstrated that the U.S. film market has consistently dominated the global film market. In fact, Hollywood's current share of the world market has actually doubled since 1990 (Marvasti & Canterbury, 2005). In 2003, for instance, U.S. motion picture exports accounted for 73% of European box office revenues (Siwek, 2005). While the U.S. represents the most significant source of motion picture importation and revenue for many other countries, hardly any movies from these countries are received in the United States, and even fewer make significant revenue.

The scarce presence of foreign literature and foreign films in the United States provides a very interesting illustration of the uneven flow of cultural products across international borders. However, the

fact that this phenomenon can be observed in both the case of literary translations and film adaptations also serves to highlight the remarkable parallelisms between the reception of foreign literature and films in the circulation of cultural products. In addition, it lends to a very interesting question: What happens in the case of foreign literary works that reach the United States as both film *adaptations* and literary translations?

While this question opens the door to a wide array of possible studies, the focus of this dissertation is the particular case of film adaptations of Spanish literary works in the United States. Spanish literature has enjoyed a unique presence in movies in the United States throughout history. From Rex Ingram's immensely popular 1922 Hollywood retelling of Vicente Blasco Ibáñez's *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* to Luis Buñuel's critically praised adaptations of the work of Benito Pérez Galdós to Roman Polanski's 1999 adaptation of Arturo Pérez-Reverte's *El club dumas*, works of Spanish literature have lit up the screens of U.S. cinemas throughout film history. Meanwhile, while not every film adaptation of a Spanish literary work has been received in the United States and not all of these films are based on works that have also been translated, those that have provide a very unique glimpse at how literary works cross borders as film adaptations.

The objective of this dissertation is to explore how literary works cross borders as film adaptations by examining the reception of film adaptations of Spanish literary works in the United States. To do this,

it seeks to answer the following research questions: (1) Which films are adapted from Spanish literary works? (2) Which of these film adaptations have been imported in the United States? (3) How are film adaptations of Spanish literary works imported in the United States? (4) How does the presence of both a literary translation and film adaptation of the same work impact the reception of the film and literary work in both its source and target system?

To do this, I will draw upon theoretical frameworks and models from Polysystem Theory and sociological approaches applied to both Translation Studies and Film Adaptation Studies as well as the notion of “reception” as elaborated in Reception Theory to realize a descriptive, corpus-based preliminary analysis. This analysis will be realized through the compilation of three corpora in three phases. The first corpus will draw upon existing resources to provide a comprehensive list of all film adaptations of Spanish literary works that have been made from the origin of film to date, i.e., between 1895 and 2018, the year in which the corpus was compiled. The second corpus will seek to determine which of the films from the first corpus have also been received in the United States, thus inevitably limiting both the scope and the object of the analysis. Finally, the third corpus will further limit the object of analysis to adaptations of literary works that have been received in the United States as both film adaptations and literary translations. This final corpus will thus allow for the visualization and categorization of how film adaptation and literary translation combine in the reception of Spanish literature in the United States through film. A total of seven of these

combinations will be revealed. These will then be explored in further detail through the qualitative analysis of seven film adaptations that best illustrate each of these unique combinations. Finally, the dissertation will conclude with a summary and discussion of the results, limitations, and areas for future research.





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# 1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter will explore key concepts and methodological tools provided by the theoretical frameworks that will be used for this dissertation. It will be divided into four sections. The first section will provide definitions for the key terms and concepts used throughout this paper. The second section will explore the theoretical notion of film adaptation theorized as a form of intersemiotic translation and will provide a very brief history of the academic fields of study in which this framework is situated for contextualization. The third and fourth sections will then explore the key concepts and theoretical and methodological tools provided by the two main complementary theoretical frameworks that will be used for this dissertation: Polysystem Theory and the sociological approach. Finally, the analytical model that will be used for the corpus of this study will be presented.

## 1.1 Key Concepts and Terminology

### a) What is a translation?

The term *translation* is a very broad notion that can be understood in many different ways. First, it can refer to both the process of translation or a product. While translation products are objects that can be directly observed, the translation process involves a series of operations through which translations are created that are only

indirectly available to study. Therefore, their respective study requires a different methodology and it is thus important to differentiate between the two. For example, according to Roger Bell, “[The term ‘translation’] can refer to:

- (A) *Translating*: the process (to translate; the activity rather than the tangible object);
- (B) *Translation*: the product of the process of translating (i.e., the translated text);
- (C) *Translation*: the abstract concept which encompasses both the process of translating and the product of the process” (1991, p. 13).

Bearing this in mind, I will distinguish between them throughout this dissertation by referring to translation product/s as *a translation/translations* or *a literary translation/literary translations* and the process as the *translation process* or simply *translating*.

Nevertheless, defining the notion of translation still presents certain challenges. Nevertheless, many formal definitions have been offered, each reflecting a particular underlying theoretical model. The linguistic aspects of the translation process have been captured in numerous definitions, primarily those dating from the 1960s and the period preceding the establishment of Translation Studies as a field. In *A Linguistic Theory of Translation*, for instance, John Catford defines translation as “the replacement of textual material



in one language (SL) by equivalent textual material in another language (TL)” (1965: 20). However, most of the older definitions along these lines tend to center around the importance of the notion of equivalence.<sup>1</sup> Here, linguist Roman Jakobson’s definition proves less problematic in that it conceptualizes translation in semiotic terms to be “an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language” (1959, p. 233).<sup>2</sup> Thus, the translation process is understood as a substitution of messages in one language for entire messages in another language. Along these lines, Bogusław Lawendowski defines translation as “the transfer of ‘meaning’ from one set of language signs to another set of language signs,” thus stressing the notion of semantics (1978, p. 267). Meanwhile, in *The Theory and Practice of Translation* (Nida & Taber, 1969), an emphasis on the importance of preserving the effect of the source text can also be found: “translating consists in reproducing in the receptor language the closest natural equivalent of the source-language message, first in terms of meaning and secondly in terms of style” (1969, p. 12).

However, the problem with many theories that seek to define translation is that they tend to be prescriptive rather than descriptive: instead of simply stating what a translation is, they also imply what it is supposed to be. Fortunately, however, product

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<sup>1</sup> See Bolaños Cuéllar (2002), Emery (2004), Halverson (1997), Hermans (2003), Koller (1995), and Pym (2007), among others, for more detailed surveys on the concept of equivalence in translation.

<sup>2</sup> See Section 1.2 for a more detailed exploration of the work of Roman Jakobson within the context of Translation Studies.

(text)-oriented definitions provide an exception to this. In his 1985 paper “A Rationale for Descriptive Translation,” Translation Studies theorist Gideon Toury explores the criteria that Translation Studies would need to meet in order to become a more established academic discipline. In doing so, he also proposes a series of principles and guidelines for its gradual establishment. These principles seek to adapt a descriptive rather than prescriptive approach to the study of translation by contributing to the development of a theoretical framework. As part of this framework, Toury presents a useful proposal for the problematic definition of translation:

...for the purpose of a descriptive study, a translation will be taken to be any target-language utterance which is presented or regarded as a translation as such within the target culture, on whatever grounds. (Toury, 1985, p. 20)

In other words, any source-oriented language utterance that is regarded to be a translation on any grounds within the target culture can be considered a translation. While this definition has been criticized for being circular (Hermans, 1999), the definition is nevertheless useful within this context because it frees researchers from the need to define translations based on normative and subjective notions of equivalence. Meanwhile, the term *equivalence* has also evolved within the context of Descriptive Translation

Studies to refer to the existing relationship between two texts, as long as one of those texts functions as a translation of the other in a determined socio-cultural system (Toury, 1985). Gideon Toury was not the only researcher to propose a non-prescriptive definition of translation, of course. In *Text Analysis in Translation*, Christiane Nord adopts a functional approach that stresses the importance of considering translation as a purposeful activity. She states: “Translation is the production of a functional target text maintaining a relationship with a given source text that is specified according to the intended or demanded function of the target text (translation Skopos)” (Nord 1991b, p. 28). Meanwhile, other definitions have also sought to better reflect the environment in which the majority of professional translation activity takes place. Along these lines, Juan Sager suggests that the previous definitions be widened by clarifying that “translation is an externally motivated industrial activity, supported by information technology, which is diversified in response to the particular needs of this form of communication” (1994, p. 293).

Bearing these definitions in mind and for the sake of this dissertation, *translation* will be understood as the linguistic production of a target text that maintains a relationship with a source text. Here, it is important to highlight that a *translation* will be differentiated from an *adaptation* – to be explored in further detail shortly – in that it will be understood to represent “an invariance-oriented, semiotically invested, cross-lingual phenomenon” (Cattrysse, 2020, p. 21). Meanwhile, translations as products – the

primary focus of this study – will refer to any text that is acknowledged to be a translation within the target culture of interest. This definition will be adopted not only to widen the scope of this study, but also to carry out a study in line with descriptivism. Finally, it is important to clarify that the recognition of a product as a translation may appear in a variety of forms, including – but not limited to – in terminology such as “translated from” or “a translation,” or the presence of the translator’s name on the cover or in any part of the front matter of the book or citations of the text. This includes the half-title, title page, copyright page, dedication, acknowledgments, foreword, preface, and/or introduction.

## b) What is a literary work?

First of all, it is important to briefly comment upon my use of the term *literary work*. The reasoning behind this is quite simple: a wide variety of works are present in this study, from novels to plays to poems and even memoirs. Thus, to address all of these when a collective noun is necessary, I have opted for the use of the umbrella term *literary works*. Meanwhile, more specific terms will be used to refer to the genre when analyzing the works themselves (such as the case of Catalina de Erauso’s memoir or Federico García Lorca’s play, for instance).

It is therefore important to then address the problematic concept of *literary*. While the notion of what constitutes literature has been widely explored in the field of Literary Studies, this dissertation

does not seek to enter this debate, but instead to provide a working, functional definition of what constitutes a literary work for the sake of the compilation of this corpus. While it can easily be inferred that the term *literary work* in this study simply refers to printed texts – as used by some researchers in their studies of the global circulation of translations –<sup>3</sup> this leaves an opening for other types of texts to enter into consideration that may not necessarily be classified as literature (textbooks, guidebooks, self-help books, dictionaries, etc.). This irrelevance not only stems from the high improbability that these texts were later adapted to films, but also from their habitual separation from the notion of *literature*. Thus, it becomes apparent that the pragmatic function of these texts is very different from the pragmatic function of the texts that we commonly refer to as *literature*.

It is therefore important to briefly address the problematic notion of literature. According to René Wellek and Austin Warren in their seminal work *Theory of Literature*, the definition of literature is best limited to pieces of “imaginative literature” that gain artistic merit from their complexity and coherence (1948, p. 6). The language found in literary works differs from that of scientific and everyday texts by the use of connotative (non-literal) language and expressive content. Thus, literature serves several distinct functions, ranging from a coalescing aesthetic and functional role, a vehicle for persuasion or truth, a substitute for travel or experience, or a form

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<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, Heilbron (1999, 2010).

of relief or incitation of emotion. Ultimately, the main function of literature is to be loyal to its own nature (Wellek & Warren, 1948).

Bearing this in mind, the subject of this study is not simply translated texts, but translated texts that serve this literary function (i.e., works of “literature”). Thus, for the purpose of this study and bearing in mind the usefulness of the previous functional definitions, the term *literary work* will be used to refer to any text that functions as literature. This is to be understood as a type of text that is defined by its social rather than formal or ontological value, its use of poetic language and ambiguity (i.e., a text that allows for multiple interpretations), and the possible presence of other characteristic literary traits such as fictionality and heteroglossia. This means that the literary works present in this corpus may include (but are not necessarily limited to): novels of both fiction and nonfiction, poems, plays, short stories, memoirs, and comic books in printed form.

### c) What is a film?

Unlike the slippery concept of literature, the concept of *film* is easier to define. First, however, it is important to note that three common terms are often used interchangeably when referring to the products that are the focus of analysis in this dissertation: *movie*, *film*, and *motion picture*. The term *film* can be simply understood as “a story or event recorded by a camera as a set of moving images and shown in a cinema or on television,” for which the term *movie* is often used

interchangeably (*Oxford English Dictionary*). In fact, while the word *film* may serve as both a verb and noun (the latter of which may also refer to the celluloid strips used to record images), the only real difference between these two terms is that the term *film* slightly predates the term *movie* and is used more frequently to refer to the study itself (i.e., Film Studies). The term *film* was first used in the field of photography (1895) and later applied in its verb form to refer to the process of making motion pictures (1899). Meanwhile, the term *movie* is estimated to have been coined in either 1908 or 1912 and was coined as an abbreviated version of “moving picture” (1896) in the cinematographic sense (*Online Etymology Dictionary*). Thus, the term *motion picture* predates the use of *film* and *movie* as applied to this art form, as it is believed to have been first used in 1891 (in Merriam Webster). It is therefore important to highlight that these terms can be used interchangeably. However, for the sake of this study, it is interesting to note an independent study conducted by Stephen Follows that tracked the use of both words in several quantitative analyses using corpora of interviews, film industry journals, mainstream newspaper articles, and the entire *Reddit.com* movie forum (2016). Overall, Follows discovered that the term *film* is consistently favored within the industry and study itself and all forms of press, while *movie* is the most popular term. Additionally, he acknowledges a sociolinguistic difference: the term *film* is more often used in British English, while the term *movie* is favored in American English. That said, bearing in mind the prevalence of the term *film* within the study and industry itself and for the sake of coherence, I have opted to use this term

throughout this paper to refer to this cultural product. However, the terms *movie* and *motion picture* will occasionally be used in specific cases to avoid unnecessary repetition.

Having distinguished between these terms, it is next important to provide a definition for the term *film*. Within the context of this dissertation, the term *film* will be used simply to refer to “a series of moving pictures, usually shown in a cinema or on television and often telling a story” (*Cambridge Dictionary*). In order to provide a sufficiently wide scope for analysis, any visual work comprised of moving pictures will be considered a film for the purpose of this study. However, it is also important to highlight the storytelling capacity and inherently artistic nature of films, particularly those subject to the present analysis (i.e., films based on works of literature). Thus, while it is indeed possible that a film with a more pragmatic or commercial function enters into analysis (i.e., a documentary or television add), the object of this specific analysis is films that convey the stories, ideas, perceptions, or atmosphere of the literary works on which they are based. Here, it is also important to highlight the exclusion of moving pictures that are episodic in their nature – i.e., television episodes, programs, or series. Thus, for the sake of this analysis, a film will be understood to represent any continuous series of moving pictures.



#### d) What is a film adaptation?

As with the case of translation, it is first important to differentiate between adaptation as a process and adaptation as a product. While adaptation products are typically cultural objects that can be directly observed (such as a film), the adaptation process involves a series of operations through which adaptations are created that are only indirectly available to research. Therefore, their respective study requires a different methodology and it is thus important to differentiate between the two. Bearing this in mind, I will distinguish between them throughout this dissertation by referring to adaptations product/s as *an adaptation/adaptations* or *a film adaptation/film adaptations* and the process as *the adaptation process* or simply *adapting*.

It is within the context of Adaptation Studies that the term *adaptation* as presented in this study has been best explored. Here, the work of Linda Hutcheon is first interesting to note. In *A Theory of Adaptation*, Hutcheon differentiates between three distinct but interrelated perspectives on the phenomenon of adaptation. First, we find the definition of an **adaptation as a formal entity or product**, an “announced and extensive transposition of a particular work or works” (2013, p. 7). In this sense, certain definitions of translations understood as “an act of both inter-cultural and inter-temporal relationships” (Bassnett, 2002, p. 9) are very useful for defining adaptations, as is the notion of *paraphrase* as explored in the work of George Bluestone (1957). Overall, the analogies of both

translation and paraphrase can be useful in considering what Hutcheon refers to as the “ontological shift” that happens in an adaptation (2013, p. 15). Next, there is adaptation as a **process of creation**, an act that involves reinterpretation and recreation. In this sense, an adaptation may also be understood as a means of preserving a work. This act of preservation may also be seen as a form of appropriation,<sup>4</sup> or salvaging. Finally, from the perspective of its **process of reception**, adaptation can be understood as a form of intertextuality in that “we experience adaptations...as palimpsests through or memory of other works that resonate through repetition with variation” (2013, p. 8). Thus, a modern film adaptation of the Don Juan legend may echo not only with Mozart’s opera, but also with any of the other countless retellings that have taken place throughout history. In summary, an adaptation can be defined as the following, according to Hutcheon:

- An acknowledged transposition of a recognizable other work or works;
- A creative and an interpretive act of appropriation/salvaging;
- An extended intertextual engagement with the adapted work (2013, p. 8).

While this definition provides a useful glimpse at the multifaceted nature of adaptation, I believe it is once again best to turn to the functional definition of adaptation for the sake of this dissertation,

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<sup>4</sup> See Sander (2006) for a detailed analysis.

following the lines of the theoretical framework to be expanded upon in Chapter 1. Here, I will again turn to Gideon Toury's description definition of translation, a definition that has been advocated by Patrick Cattrysse in his book *Descriptive Adaptation Studies* (2014) and further expanded upon in his later works (2018, 2020). In his earlier work, Cattrysse extends Toury's functional definition of translation to adaptation by defining a film adaptation as "a film which presents itself as an adaptation of (a) previous text(s) and/or is regarded as such by the public and critics" (Cattrysse, 1992a, p. 59). Cattrysse goes on to describe the benefits of this definition, saying that it "can help do away with the traditional, normative definition of film adaptation, based on postulated relations of adequacy between the adaptation and its so-called 'original'" (2014, p. 60). It is a definition that also permits an empirical description of the object of study, thus permitting a more fact- rather than value-based selection or definition and enlarging the scope of adaptation studies.

There are, however, several notable limitations of this definition that also deem mentioning. First, we find the fact that this definition has been most commonly applied to the translation as end product and not translation as a process. In addition, since a functional definition by its very nature focuses on the functioning of phenomena, this may lend to differences between how phenomena are perceived and/or presented, as well as what they actually are. This presents an epistemological limitation that may lend towards a limited analysis of a few select works that are recognized

adaptations, instead of widening the scope of analysis to encompass phenomena such as pseudo-originals or secret/hidden adaptations that “greatly outnumber overt adaptations” (Cattrysse, 2014, p. 123).

Bearing these limitations in mind, Cattrysse advocates for a functional definition that permits the widening of the scope of adaptation studies. He also advocates for the use of a more explicit distinction between the real and nominal and lexical and stipulative definitions. Bearing this in mind, it is important to highlight that for the purpose of this dissertation, I will be adopting the lexical definition of film adaptation as presented by Patrick Cattrysse in the aforementioned work, in which he defines a film adaptation as “a film which presents itself as an adaptation of (a) previous text(s) and/or is regarded as such by the public and critics” (Cattrysse, 1992a, p. 59). While it is important to highlight that this definition is not free of limitations – namely, its tendency towards the analysis of *recognized* adaptations – it is the definition that proves most useful within the context of this study, which necessitates criteria for the compilation of a limited (albeit extensive) corpus of works. Nevertheless, here, I would also like to make the important distinction between “translation” and “adaptation” as explored in Cattrysse’s later work (2020). While “translation” is to be understood as representing an invariance-orientated, cross-lingual, and semiotically invested phenomenon, “adaptation” is to be understood as variance-oriented not semiotically invested. For the purpose of this dissertation, then, *film adaptations* are to be

understood as those which present themselves as variance-oriented cinematic adaptations of texts originally written in another semiotic code (typically: to be read as prose, poetry, or performed on stage as a play).<sup>5</sup> Meanwhile, other forms of adaptation – such as what I refer to as “literary adaptation,” or the inter- or cross-lingual semiotic retelling of a text (i.e., Case Study 4.6) – will be identified as such. Thus, for the purpose of the compilation of the corpus of this dissertation, a *film adaptation* will be considered any work that credits the author of its source literary text within the “Writing Credits” of its *Internet Movie Database* listing.<sup>6</sup> As in the case with translation, since the word *adaptation* can also refer to both the process of adapting a work and the product itself, the term *film adaptation/s* will be used interchangeably to refer to the products, while *adapting* will be used to refer to the process.

#### e) Country of origin

This study seeks to examine the reception of Spanish literature in the United States through film adaptations. Thus, before presenting the theoretical framework of this study, it is first important to briefly

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<sup>5</sup> Please note that in the case of theater, this study seeks to focus on Spanish plays that have arrived in the United States as both film adaptations and published literary texts - not only stage performances. Special cases in which the literary work has arrived in book, film and stage performance form will, however, be commented upon in the analysis. For a more detailed survey of Spanish plays in the United States until 1936, see Pegenaute (2001).

<sup>6</sup> For example: “Pedro Calderón de la Barca (Play)” is listed in the writing credits of Raoul Ruiz’ 1986 film *Life is a Dream*. It is, therefore, a film adaptation for the case of this study, and is explored in further detail in Section 4.5.

address the concept of *country of origin*, i.e., what determines if a film or literary work originated in Spain or the United States.

According to the International Federation of Film Archives, *country of origin* can be defined as: “the country of the principal offices of the production company or individual by whom the moving image work was made” (Harrison, 1991, p. xiii). It is the first part of this definition that is important to bear in mind, as there have been countless cases of Hollywood films made by directors who were born in countries other than the United States that are still considered to have originated in the United States. For instance, the 2018 film *Jurassic World: Fallen Kingdom* was directed by Spanish director J.A. Bayona but was produced solely through American production companies, thus qualifying it as “a 2018 American science fiction adventure film” (Wikipedia, 2018). Cases like this are abundant in film history, so it is important to clarify that a film’s country of origin is not a matter of the director’s country of birth, but the country in which it was produced. Thus, for the purpose of this dissertation, a Spanish film will be considered any film that was made within the Spanish film system, as evidenced by the production company/ies. This will be determined by the film’s listing on the Internet Movie Database (IMDb). It is also important to note that cases of collaboration between multiple production companies located in distinct countries of origin – commonly referred to as co-productions – will also be identified as such throughout this dissertation.

The benefit of this definition is that it not only removes the need to resort to the nationality of the director to determine the country of origin of the film (an easily contested label) but that it also addresses the larger national system in which the film was produced. In addition, it avoids the limiting labels that come with categorizing based on language by recognizing that simply because a film was produced in Spain or made by a Spanish director does not necessarily mean that the primary language of the film is Spanish. After all, the language of the film could very well be one of the several other co-official languages spoken in Spain (Catalan, Valencian, Basque, Galician, Aranese), a different language entirely,<sup>7</sup> or with no language or text whatsoever, as in the case of certain silent films. It also clearly emphasizes the socio-economic nature of film production by recognizing the larger social systems that govern this cultural activity and not just the individuals who make films.

The concept of the country of origin of a literary work, on the other hand, is slightly more problematic. Here, it is first necessary to highlight that the focus of this analysis is film adaptations of Spanish literary works. Thus, while the film adaptations featured here may originate from different national systems of origin,<sup>8</sup> the literary works on which they are based will exclusively be of

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<sup>7</sup> See, for instance, Gracia Querejeta's 1996 film *Robert Ryland's Last Journey*, which was filmed in English.

<sup>8</sup> For the important distinction between *systems* and *nations*, please see Section 1.1(f).

Spanish origin. It is therefore important to look at the criteria for determining whether or not a literary work is of Spanish origin.

Spanish literature generally refers to literature (i.e., poetry, prose, and drama that serves a literary purpose, as addressed in the previous section) written within the territory that constitutes the nation of Spain (Gliès, 2008). Whether or not a work is considered *Spanish* (from Spain) typically depends on the nationality of its author. However, unique cases such as the exile of many prominent Spanish writers, poets, playwrights, and filmmakers following the rise of the Franco regime lend to the question of whether the works published in different countries while in exile can indeed still be considered Spanish.<sup>9</sup> Among these works, for example, we find the case of Ramon J. Sender's *Réquiem por un campesino español*, a novel first published in Mexico as *Mosén Millán* (1953). While the novel was indeed first published in a different country of origin because of the socio-political conditions in Spain at the time, this work is still considered to form part of Spanish literature. Bearing this phenomenon in mind – and to avoid a complex categorization system – a Spanish literary work will be defined as any literary work that is considered Spanish literature as determined by the sources used for the compilation of the corpus of this study. These include the Instituto Cervantes' database *Adaptaciones de la literatura española en el cine español* (2013), the Wikipedia Category pages *Films based on Spanish novels* (2021), and *Enser's Filmed Books*

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<sup>9</sup> A complete list of these works can be found in López García & Aznar Soler (2017).



*and Plays* anthology (2003). In the case this information is not listed, works will be investigated on a case-by-case basis. However, since the point of departure of this study is several corpora of pre-determined Spanish literary works, this classification should not pose a problem.

#### f) Polysystem, field, and national literatures

Finally, it is important to make an important distinction between several related but distinct concepts and the terminology used to refer to them in this study. These include the notion of system, field, and the distinction between system and national literature.

The concept of a *polysystem* is often simply equated with a national literature or culture. However, it is important to highlight that the concept is much broader and more flexible. As José Lambert points out (1991), the idea of national cultures and the simple equation of cultures within monolingual territories corresponding to national states may be too reductionistic and out-of-date. The association of national cultures with homogenous national languages and states reflects a nineteenth-century Eurocentric view that remains to this day simply because most research is organized and financed along national lines. Similarly, the problem with the concept of national literature is that it is restrictive and normative, as it is commonly associated with the canon and multilingualism. Thus, if languages and language use are mapped instead, a very different territorial picture may be achieved. To do this, Lambert suggests the use of

cartography instead of historiography for the conceptualization of a sociocultural geography of language.

Lambert makes a valid point. While the concept of polysystem and the term “Spanish literary system” will be used throughout this dissertation to refer to the national (historiographical) territory of Spain, it is important to highlight that this term also seeks to encompass Spain’s minority linguistic literary traditions, i.e., Catalan, Basque, and Galician literature. In this sense, the Spanish polysystem may be conceptualized as being comprised not only of Castilian-language literature, but also of the rich literary systems stemming from Spain’s minority languages.

Having clarified this, it is also important to highlight that the focus of this dissertation will be on the literary system that is developed within the geographical limits of Spain and not the larger Hispanic language literary system, the latter of which is comprised of many other national literary systems that extend far beyond the scope of this study. Thus, while the object of study can be conceptualized as a polysystem in that it is comprised of multiple linguistic literary traditions, the term *Spanish system* will be used to refer to the national literary system developed within the geographical limits of the country of Spain.

Here, it is also important to address my use of the concept and term *polysystem* as developed by Itamar Even-Zohar (Section 1.3) in place of the term Spanish literary *field* stemming from the

sociological concept of *field* developed by Pierre Bourdieu and popularized in the sociological approach to translation (Section 1.4). Indeed, the concept of polysystem – understood to be a conglomerate of sociocultural systems – shares common themes with the concept of field, understood to be a structured environment in which individual agents and their social positions are located. Both concepts suggest a complex, hierarchical setting in which the production and circulation of literature occurs. Both frameworks have benefited translation research by placing translations within a larger sphere of cultural activity, as well as by offering beneficial target-oriented approaches. Polysystem Theory has been used to examine the position of translated literature within the larger literary polysystem and the position of source national literatures in target national literary systems. It has also been applied to the descriptive study of film adaptations (Cattrysse, 1992a, 2014; Cañuelo, 2008; Remael, 2000). Meanwhile, the sociological approach has been used to examine the social role of translation in international literary exchanges (Casanova, 2004; Sapiro, 2014, 2016; Heilbron, 1999; Heilbron & Sapiro, 2007; Van Es & Heilbron, 2015) as well as the placement of certain national literary traditions within national literary fields (Gouanvic, 1999, 2007). Thus, both frameworks can be mutually enriching and compatible.

However, there are several key differences between these frameworks that have contributed to my opting for the use of the term “polysystem” instead of the (arguably) comparable term “field” to refer to the complex, hierarchical national spheres in

which the production and circulation of literature occurs. The first of these is the fact that Polysystem Theory prefers to operate at a more abstract level of textual models rather than examining actual texts or the social agents and institutions in charge of their production and circulation (writers, translators, publishing houses, etc.) Thus, I believe the use of this term “polysystem” is more fitting for the abstract and less socially focused references to a broader national literary or film system. Meanwhile, other concepts such as that of social agents as well as the social-cultural (political, historical, and economic) factors governing the production, circulation, and reception of literary works are best examined from a more sociological perspective. It is for this reason that the theoretical model used for this study features aspects of both Polysystem Theory and a sociological approach to translation. Thus, terms from Polysystem Theory will be used more predominantly for the broader analysis of the position of Spanish literature and film within the target U.S. literary and film systems (Phase I, Phase II, and in the broader contexts addressed in Phase III), while terms and concepts from the sociological approach will also appear in the case studies (Phase III).

### g) Reception

This study seeks to examine the role of film adaptation in the reception of Spanish literature in the United States. Thus, it is important to also address the key concept of *reception*. In the specialized sense within literary theory, *reception* is a variant of

Reader Response theory that emphasizes the reader or audience's reception or interpretation in making meaning from a literary text. While the term has occasionally been used to refer to reader-response criticism in general, it is more specifically associated with a particular branch of modern Literary Studies concerned with how literary works are received by readers. However, unlike other varieties of reader-response theory, reception theory is more concerned with the historical changes affecting the reading public than the individual reader (Baldrick, 2008).

The roots of reception theory can be traced back to Russian Formalism and Czech Structuralism. Here, it is interesting to mention several concepts developed by theorists whose work formed a fundamental part in the construction of the theoretical framework used for the study of the reception of literary works. These include Victor Shklovsky's concept of *defamiliarization* (1965 [1917]), Jurij Tynjanov's theory of literary change (1971 [1929]), and Mukařovský's more sociological approach (1979 [1936], pp. 22–23). Despite their different emphases and shifting terminology, two “complementary bundles of insights” on the concept of reception appear throughout these Formalist and Structuralist theories, according to Els Andringa (2006, p. 508). First, reception is considered to form part of a dynamic process that stems from the encounter of innovative literary art with existing repertoires of prevailing norms, values, expectations, and conventions in the minds of an audience at a given time. These repertoires all relate to both aesthetic and extra-aesthetic (i.e.,

didactic, ideological, ethical) criteria. Thus, reception research must reconstruct the prevailing repertoires and the way they govern the reaction and further transmission of literary works, while also discovering the differences and development of these repertoires among coexisting or successive audiences. Second, it is important to bear in mind the relationship between social stratification and segmentation and the norms and values that underlie differences in taste. The interplay between social structure and repertoires regulates how literature is produced, received, and communicated. Thus, it can provide valuable explanations for changes and dynamics within the literature system itself (Adringa, 2006).

The early work of the Formalists and Structuralists became available in translation in the 1960s and 70s, where their ideas began to take hold within German Reception Aesthetics in Literary Studies. According to Brems & Pinto (2013), this “European tradition” represents one of two main traditions in the conceptualization of reception within the context of Translation Studies. Notably, it includes the framework for *Rezeptionsaesthetik* (aesthetic of reception) developed by Hans-Robert Jauss in the late 1960s and early 1970s. This framework introduced the notion of *Erwartungshorizont* (horizon of expectations) to refer to the set of cultural norms, assumptions, and criteria that shape how readers comprehend and judge a literary work at a given moment. According to Jauss (1982), reception is the process by which the reader concretizes the potential of a text into a particular meaning. Thus, it is the evolution of the audience and not the historical period

of the author that explains the history of a literary text. While reception theory is widely considered to have originated in the work of Hans-Robert Jauss, within this European branch it is also interesting to mention the work of Wolfgang Iser, who introduced the concept of 'Leerstelle' (Textual Gaps). According to Iser, literary texts offer only a schematic structure, thus leaving many things unexplained to the reader. The reader must then fill in the gaps and realize their own meaning of the text subjectively and imaginatively during the reading process (1978).

The other tradition in the study of the reception of literary texts took root in the United States in the 1970s. Better known as "Reader Response Criticism," this approach also sought to shift the focus from the text to the reader. Here, the work of Stanley Fish (1980) was very influential. According to Fish's theory, a text does not have meaning outside of a set of cultural assumptions. Readers therefore interpret texts as part of an "interpretive community" that imposes a certain means of reading and understanding a text. This concept of "interpretive communities" has been widely used in the study of reception within the context of Literary Studies, as it allows for a better understanding of how readers' expectations are not individual and subjective, but instead collective and based on aspects such as history, geography, gender, age, status, and level of education. In this sense, the concept of "reception" also takes on a sociopolitical dimension (Fish, 1980).

This dimension has also been explored within the context of Sociology, most notably in the work of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu.<sup>10</sup> Bourdieu used social structures and mechanisms as his point of departure for his theories, which regard social factors as the main drive behind any change in the literary field. However, he makes a distinction between “internal” and “external” developments in the literary field. According to Bourdieu, internal changes are “directly determined by modification of authors,” while external changes “supply the new producers [...] and their new products with socially homologous consumers” (1993, p. 55). Thus, internal changes are linked to production processes and arise from the tension between oppositions such as dominant/dominated or consecrated/novice in the author’s struggle for a position within the literary domain. Meanwhile, external conditions are related to the circumstances that affect the audience and therefore shape the conditions or reception (Bourdieu, 1993).

This shift in paradigm towards the audience also has had an important impact on the study of translation, since it laid the groundwork for understanding translations as a product of the target context. This represented a pivotal shift from a linguistically oriented approach focused on the problematic concept of equivalence and the comparison between source and target texts towards the study of translation within the receiving culture and the role translations play in the dynamics and identity formation of the

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<sup>10</sup> See, for instance, Bourdieu (1997, 1984, 1990). For more on Bourdieu’s sociological framework applied to Translation Studies, see Section 1.4 (i).



target culture. This represented an integral part of Descriptive Translation Studies, a branch that will be explored in greater detail later in this chapter. However, this concept has also been extended within the context of Translation Studies to encompass all sorts of possible implied “readers,” from spectators in theater translation to viewers in audiovisual translation, as well as the interpretive community, critics, target culture, and empirical reader.

In this sense, two levels of analysis of the reception of texts can be distinguished within Translation Studies. The most recent of these focus on the “real reader” and how specific translation strategies affect readers’ responses and perspectives of a given text. Research along these lines focuses on the cognitive processes involved at the moment of reception of translated material, the effect of given contextual, sociological, linguistic, or technical aspects on reception, and the reader’s assessment of certain translation strategies. Within Translation Studies, this type of research has historically focused on the translator and the cognitive processes underway when translation, although more attention has gradually been focused on readers. Here, it is interesting to mention the work of Kovačič (1995), which called for more empirical data on readers’ response and assessment of translated texts, as well as that of Gottlieb (1995), Puurtinen (1995), Kruger (2013) and Kenesi (2010), among others.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> See Caffrey (2009) for a survey of research in this area.

The second level of analysis of Reception Studies applied to translation examines the reception of translation on a social level and focuses on “theoretical readers.” This social perspective requires focusing on how translated texts are received on a supra-individual (societal) level. This is the approach that has been widely adopted within the field of Adaptation Studies, Cultural Studies, Comparative Literature, and Imagology,<sup>12</sup> among others. It was within the context of Descriptive Translation Studies in particular where the concept of “reception” understood in a broader social sense was made relevant. In his seminal work “The Position of Translated Literature Within the Literary Polysystem ” (1990), Israeli scholar Itamar Even Zohar focuses on the introduction of a cultural product from a source culture into a target culture by means of translation. These translated texts, according to Even Zohar, may take on a central or peripheral place in the target culture. Certain target cultures (i.e., those with young, peripheral, or weak literatures or literatures experiencing a turning point, crisis, or vacuum) are more likely than others to receive cultural products from across their borders. The concept of “repertoire” was later introduced to this framework.<sup>13</sup> Meanwhile, Els Andringa has refined this concept for the study of literary reception. Reception, according to Andringa, can be best understood as “mental equipment” with three components: (1) knowledge of works that serve as models and frames of reference; (2) internationalized strategies and conventions

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<sup>12</sup> See Leerssen (2007).

<sup>13</sup> For more on the theories of Even-Zohar within the context of Polysystem theory, see Section 1.3.

that govern production, reception, and communication; and (3) sets of values and interests that determine the selection, classification, and judgment of texts. These three components are all interest-driven or value-laden and interconnected (2006).

This framework for the understanding of reception from a social perspective has proven very useful in the study of literary and cultural translation, where both qualitative and quantitative approaches have been applied. In a quantitative approach, as will be explored in more detail in Section 2(a), it is possible to count translations, gather bibliographical information, make inventories, and map translation flows. Meanwhile, in a qualitative approach, it is possible to study aspects such as how an author, work, genre, or source culture was received within a given target culture through the examination of literary criticism, influence, censorship, etc. Here, the concept of *norms* – which will be explored in further detail in Section 1.3(c) – plays an integral role. Thus, it is important to highlight that this framework for the understanding of reception from a social perspective is what will be applied in this particular analysis, as it encompasses both its quantitative nature, as well as its qualitative nature. Additional elements of both the Polysystem and Sociological approach to Translation and Film Adaptation Studies will be explored in further detail throughout this chapter. For more on Reception Studies, please see Machor, J. & Goldstein, P. (2001), and Enríquez Aranda (2007).

## 1.2 Adaptation as intersemiotic translation

One of the key notions that form the theoretical framework of this dissertation is the idea that translation and film adaptation share many affinities, a notion that has been explored from the perspectives of both Translation Studies and Adaptation studies. Therefore, in order to better understand and situate this issue within its proper context, it is first important to present a very brief history of the academic fields of study in which this framework is situated. Then, the research found at the interdisciplinary crossroads between these two fields will be explored in further detail, with a particular focus on studies that seek to conceptualize and examine film adaptation as a form of intersemiotic translation.

### a) Translation Studies

There is a historical gap between the practice of translation and the development of translation theory. Cicero (106-43 A.D.) is generally recognized as the first to have reflected upon the act of translation, most famously in his early contemplation of what would later be referred to as “sense-for-sense translation”<sup>14</sup> found in *De optimo genere oratorum* ["The Best Kind of Orator"] (46 B.C.). Extensions of this notion can be found throughout a large period following his reflections and well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was not until the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, however, when the first

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<sup>14</sup> A term later coined by Saint Jerome in a letter entitled "On the Best Method of Translation" (Letter 57, p. 385; in Ghanooni, 2012).

theoretical reflections on translation that revindicated its systemic analysis began to emerge. Here, theorists such as Jakobson (1959), Federov (1953), and Mounin (1955) stand out,<sup>15</sup> who formed what would later be referred to as “the first generation of translation theorists” (Hurtado, 2001, p. 123).

This period represented a fundamental time in modern translation theory. In fact, it marked the birth of Translation Studies as a discipline in its own right. Once viewed merely as a linguistic activity and a branch of the field of Applied and general Linguistics, James Holmes was the first to officially propose Translation Studies as an academic discipline in its own right and to provide a framework for the discipline in his landmark 1972 paper. In “The Name and Nature of Translation Studies” (1972/1988), Holmes distinguishes between the theoretical, descriptive, and applied branches of Translation Studies and suggested a series of theoretical and methodological concepts for the advancement of the field. Much of Holmes’ basic framework remains in place today, and his proposal opened the door for countless notable researchers to continue establishing, developing, and progressing the field, many of whose work will be explored later in the subsequent sections of this chapter.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> See Pym & Ayvazyan (2015) for an interesting analysis of the traces of early translation theory found in the work of Russian linguists.

<sup>16</sup> For a general overview of the development of Translation Studies as a discipline see, for example, Munday (2012), Bassnett (2013). For their part, Brems, Meylaert and van Doorslaer (2012) present a meta-reflection on the evolution of Translation Studies. For more on the institutionalization of the discipline, see Lambert (2013).

It is important to note that in the pursuit of a systemic and coherent branch of study, many Translation Studies theorists have made use of frameworks and methodologies borrowed from other disciplines such as Linguistics, Literary Studies, Philosophy, Psychology, Communication Studies, and – more recently – Sociology.<sup>17</sup> The field has thus sometimes been referred to as an “interdiscipline” in that it has merged research from countless other (often more well-established) disciplines. In fact, it is interesting to note that the term “interdiscipline” was first used by Mary Snell-Hornby to refer to Translation Studies in her book *Translation Studies: An Interdiscipline* (1988), which compiled a group of papers presented in the 1992 Translation Studies Congress in Vienna. As the field advanced in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, various theoretical perspectives from which translation may be studied were developed, evaluated, and reevaluated, among which we find the Linguistic approach, the Communicative/Functional approach, and the Psychological/Cognitive approach, and Polysystem Theory, among others. In the past two decades, translation theories have further expanded with the addition of new and complementary frameworks, among which Skopos theory, Post-structuralism, Feminism, and Post-Colonialism can be found. Many of these frameworks are introduced to the field thanks not only to developments within Translation Studies, but also within other complementary academic

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<sup>17</sup> See, for example, Gambier & Van Doorslaer (eds., 2016). Meanwhile, the sociological approach to translation will be explored in further detail in Section 1.4 of this chapter.

disciplines. Meanwhile, Translation Studies continue to advance with ever-expanding studies, as reflected by an increasing number of international journal publications, book publications, and translator training programs (Snell-Hornby, 2006).

Overall, it is important to highlight that this is a very brief and abbreviated history of the academic discipline of Translation Studies to provide a basic context for the rest of this chapter. Naturally, an extensive body of research exists that provided more detailed historical accounts of the field of study and the development of translation theory. However, for the sake of this dissertation, relevant historical events, publications, and theoretical contributions will be explored in further detail within the context of the theoretical framework for this study throughout the rest of this chapter.

## b) Film Studies

Since the advent of film as an artistic medium at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, motion pictures have stimulated discussion and debate as an art form, social phenomenon, political tool, and – particularly in the case of early film – a moral danger. As with translation, the earliest discussions on film took place outside of an academic context. Here, we find reflections ranging from those of well-known filmmakers such as Sergei Eisenstein (1898–1948), Vsevolod Pudovkin (1893–1953), and Maya Deren (1917–1961) to those of philosophers and social critics such as Siegfried Kracauer (1889-

1966), documentarian John Grierson (1898–1972), and renowned French film critic André Bazin (1918-1958).<sup>18</sup> All of these “pre-Hollywood pioneers” contributed to the establishment of a film commentary tradition that continues to operate independently of academic contexts to this day (Naremore, 1999, p. 20).

Thanks to the increasing emergence of serious writings on film, the first historical accounts of cinema and the launch of critical journals dedicated solely to film began to appear in the early 1900s. Meanwhile, attempts were being made to introduce the study of films and cinema into both general and higher education – the former in an attempt to educate children to discriminate against the potentially harmful moral effect of films, and the latter to provide a technical perspective.<sup>19</sup> However, while efforts to develop a systematic understating of film are almost as old as the cinema itself, it was not until the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that the idea of a new scholarly discipline with its own academic presence and body of knowledge began to take root. The French *filmologie* movement of the late 1940s called for the systemic study of film and the 1950s marked the foundation of the field as an academic discipline, although the term “Film Studies” itself was not widely adopted until the 1970s (Sikov, 2010).

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<sup>18</sup> See Eisenstein (1942, 1949, 1959), Grierson (1946, edited by Forsyth Hardy), Bazin (1958-1962), Pudovkin (2013, translated and edited by Lewis Jacobs), Kracauer (1960), and Deren (2001, edited by Bill Nichols) for these reflections

<sup>19</sup> Here, it is interesting to note the course “Photoplay Composition” introduced at Columbia University in the United States in 1915, one of several similar initiatives to provide a space for the study of the medium within universities (in Hutchinson, 2016).



Early film studies were dedicated to taking popular cinema seriously in order to create new knowledge, develop more rigorous theoretical approaches, and advance a critical consideration for the styles, forms, and themes of Hollywood in particular. Apart from Hollywood, a small selection of film movements and national cinemas were also studied, particularly due to a large interest in the European art cinema made during the post-war period, but also including the first decade of Soviet cinema and those associated with German Expressionism. Here, it is important to note the four-volume publication of French film critic André Bazin's seminal work *What is Cinema?* which formed the foundation for work surrounding realism in cinema as well as the specific nature of the medium (1958-1962). By the 1980s, what Kuhn and Westwell refer to as a "militant" strand of film theory and analysis sought to produce against-the-grain readings of Hollywood films (2012).

Since the 1990s, Film Studies has been marked by a shift of attention away from Hollywood and towards world cinema, a trend marked by notable publications such as *The Oxford History of World Cinema* (Ed. Nowell-Smith, 1996), *Theorizing World Cinema* (Ed. Nagib, Perriam, Dudrah, 2012), and *World Cinema: A Critical Introduction* (Ed. Deshpande & Mazaj), as well as many others, including publications dedicated to the exploration of a world cinema.<sup>20</sup> Meanwhile, globalization, the digital revolution,

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<sup>20</sup> See, for instance, Nowell-Smith (1996), Dennison & Lim (2006), and Deshpande & Mazaj (2018), among others.

and the rise of digital cinema have led to the reappearance of several key questions in Film Studies as well as new debates.<sup>21</sup>

### c) Film Adaptation Studies

Adaptations have been a staple of film since the beginning of cinema. In fact, many of the earliest films were adaptations of literary works. Take, for instance, the year 1899. There are a total of 12 films that were released during this year in early film according to the Wikipedia listing, three of which are adaptations from literary or stage works (*Cinderella*, directed by Georges Méliès; *King John*, the earliest known and recognized film adaptation of a Shakespeare play by William Kennedy Laurie Dickson and Walter Pfeffer Dando; and *Major Wilson's Last Stand* adapted from the stage show *Savage South Africa*). Decades later, Morris Beja estimated that about 80% of the bestselling novels each year have been adapted into films (1979:78). According to the same author, more than 75% of the Academy awards for Best Film were given to film adaptations (in Bravo, 2007). “Adaptations are the lifeblood of the film and television business,” claims Linda Seger (1992: xii). While these numbers represent shifting estimates, there is no doubt that adaptations continue to be a significant source of films to this day. In fact, according to estimates, approximately 20% of the movies released between 2000 and 2014 in the United States

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<sup>21</sup> For more on these debates, see Gledhill & Williams, eds. (2000), as well as See Kuhn & Westwell (2012) for a comprehensive analysis of Film Studies and its history. See Cronin (2003) for a survey of translation and globalization.

were adaptations of a recognized fictional novel or short story (Follows, 2015). While this research remains to be verified within an academic context, it does provide a very illuminative hint at the remarkable presence of film adaptations in the film industry.

Interestingly, films based on literary works have been reported to gross 53% more worldwide than films based on original screenplays, according to one U.K. report (Rowe, 2018). The same report also discovered that 43% of the top 20 highest-grossing films released between 2007 and 2016 in the United Kingdom were based on novels while another 9% were comic book adaptations. All of this data is, of course, based on research compiled on recognized film adaptations of literary works. Thus, it is important to highlight that there exist countless adaptations that are not formally recognized as such. Overall, it is clear that adaptations have comprised a significant portion of the film industry since the very beginning.

Many possible reasons have been cited as to why filmmakers turned to literature for their plotlines, according to Deborah Cartmell in her introduction to *A Companion to Literature, Film, and Adaptation* (2012). The stories themselves were familiar and known – no dialogue is needed to explain them (a valuable advantage for silent films in particular). Adaptations are also a way of exposing great works of literature to a wider audience, and some early filmmakers believed that depending upon the “great art” of literature would also elevate the status of films (2012, p. 2). In fact, this even became the

mission of some early filmmakers such as the Vitagraph Film Company.<sup>22</sup> And while many modernist writers were “staunchly anti-adaptation,” it did not take long before “anti-talkie” writers like Aldous Huxley were transformed into Hollywood screenwriters (2012, p. 5).

Naturally, bearing in mind the fact that film adaptations have been a part of the practice of filmmaking since its very inception, it should come as no surprise that reflections on film adaptation have taken place since the very beginning of film in various contexts. First, these reflections were primarily centered around lamentations of film as “lesser art” compared to its literary predecessor – a practice that may “suck the life out of a literary text” (Cartmell, 2012, p. 2). Here, the strong-worded opinion of novelist Theodore Dreiser echoes the early skepticism towards film adaptation:

[Film adaptation of novels] is not so much a belittling as a debauching process, which works harm to the mind of the entire world. For the debauching of any good piece of literature is – well, what? Criminal? Ignorant? Or both? I leave it to the reader. (As cited in Cartmell, 2012, p. 3)

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<sup>22</sup> The Vitagraph Film Company, or Vitagraph Studios, was founded in 1897. It later went on to produce many well-known early silent film adaptations, including *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (1910), *The Life of Moses* (1910), and *Vanity Fair* (1911) as well as the first Shakespeare adaptations to be made in the United States (Slide & Gevinson, 1987).

In her essay “The Cinema,” Virginia Woolf expressed a similar view when she laments how the adaptation of *Anna Karenina* is barely recognizable compared to its literary source. According to Woolf, the film’s attempt to re-create literature is not only a disservice to literature, but also film (Woolf, 1926, p. 168). Similar reflections and criticism continued well into the twentieth century. They often reflected a common underlying concern that film was becoming “the art form of democracy,” a term which first appeared in the title of literary theorist William Hunter’s 1932 essay in the debut publication of the literary journal *Scrutiny*, which was later expanded into a book that same year. In these works, Hunter warns of addictive and invalidating effects of film with the underlying assumption that art cannot be aimed at the masses or mass-produced, i.e., democratic. “The extent to which second-hand experience of such a gross kind is replacing ordinary life is a danger which does not seem to have yet been realized, and against which certainly no steps have been taken. But can steps be taken?” Hunter laments (1932, p. 10). According to later theorist Colin MacCabe, they were. What followed in the academy was “a valorization of literature against popular culture in general and film in particular” (2007, p. 7). The serious study of film adaptations was silenced in English literary curriculum and literary criticism in the ’20s and ’30s was “largely designed by Eliot and Richards in the late 1920s to render the elephant [in the room: film] invisible” (2007, p. x). Traces of this mentality can even be seen today in the tendency for critics and academics to hide or apologize for their enjoyment of a

film adaptation. The movie is good, but the novel is always unquestionably better. Meanwhile, while the study of film was gaining its academic credibility in the middle of the twentieth century, film adaptations primarily remained untouched (Corrigan, 2012).

Amidst this backdrop, it is George Bluestone's seminal 1957 study *Novels into Film* that has been widely cited as the inception of the discipline that would later become known as Film Adaptation Studies. Nevertheless, it is important to highlight other significant earlier contributions, including comments in Vachel Lindsay's *The Art of the Moving Picture* (1970/1915), André Bazin's favorable essays on cinema such as "In Defense of Mixed Cinema" (1948) and Lester Asheim's *From Book to Film* (1949). These works all sought to address a visible trend in filmmaking that had been previously ignored for the aforementioned reasons. However, early studies within this paradigm were primarily limited to case studies on classic adaptations – perhaps, as Deborah Cartmell theorizes, remnants "of the class-ridden debates between literature and film in the first half of the twentieth century" (2012, p. 3). Here, we find the challenging notion of "fidelity"<sup>23</sup> has widely dominated the field, including questions surrounding what constitutes a film adaptation.

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<sup>23</sup> How the problematic notion of fidelity has been addressed within Film Adaptation Studies will be discussed briefly later in this section. However, see Giddings & Wensley (1990) and Elliot (2003) for an analysis of the debate as well as Ramoun (2020) for a recent publication analyzing the state of the notion.

Nevertheless, the second half of the twentieth century featured a continual widening of the discipline of Film Studies in its methodology and in the material that researchers are willing to consider adaptations. Since the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Film Adaptation studies has experienced an increasing institutionalization as a branch in its own right independent from both literary and film studies. Consequently, a growing number of studies have appeared exploring the bi-directional adaptations of a wide variety of genres, from videogames to comics to opera and even theme parks in pursuit of more universal and unified theories of adaptation with a more rigorous academic methodology. The discipline has been redefining itself. Meanwhile, researchers have also been widening their discussion to shed light upon aspects that had been hitherto ignored in adaptation research. This includes research on industrial structures, legal frameworks, questions of intertextuality, and the ideological and cultural embeddedness of adapted texts. In fact, since the late 1990s, cultural and societal questions have been at the forefront of the discipline in a collective attempt to introduce and explore larger theoretical and cultural questions and move away from formal analyses.<sup>24</sup>

Unlike Translations Studies, however, the field has not theoretically and methodologically developed nearly as rapidly and is still often criticized for the same shortcomings as four decades ago. According to Patrick Cattrysse, "Adaptation Studies as a discipline has had and

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<sup>24</sup> See, for instance Elliott (2003, 2013).

still has to struggle for acceptance in the academic world," he states, which may be due to the valorization of the older art of literature over the modern art of cinema, the views of literature as a more elevated art, or the views of adaptation as lacking originality, among other reasons (2014, pp. 27-28). Along these lines, there have been several fundamental problems facing Adaptation Studies achieving the status of a discipline in its own right:

- Adaptation Studies consists mostly of an endless accumulation of *ad hoc* selected case studies comparing one literary text with its film adaptation.
- As such, (Literary) Adaptation Studies generally focus on the adaptation of canonical literary texts reducing, thereby, the concept of film adaptation to that of only Literary film (with a capital L).
- Therefore, Literary Adaptation Studies is mainly interested in the faithful reproduction of literary masterpieces.
- Adaptation Studies show a lack of methodological coherence and also a lack of meta-theoretical reflection (Cattrysse, 2014, p. 23).



Here, Cattrysse cites and summarizes the previously mentioned limitations of the field, including the prevalence of case studies, a clear lack of theoretical coherence and reflection, and the “class-ridden debates between literature and film” – namely, the problematic debate of “fidelity.” Whether or not a film adaptation remains “loyal” to its source text is not only a debate that has followed Adaptation Studies since its very origins, but also one that may, in many ways, continue undermining the authenticity of the field of study itself, according to Cattrysse. Work done at the interdisciplinary crossroads between Adaptation Studies and Translation Studies suggests that while Translation Studies has begun to move beyond the fidelity debate in favor of a more descriptive framework, adaptation is still considered “somehow derivative or inauthentic, implying the presence of an 'original' text” (Tsui, 2012, p. 55). It is therefore unsurprising to find an increasing call for the discipline to develop a systematic and refined methodology of its own. In fact, in the past two decades, recent work has been seeking to advance the field by developing a more established theoretical framework.<sup>25</sup> To do so, many have turned to Translation Studies for the answers.

#### d) Interdisciplinary translation and adaptation studies

It has frequently been observed that literary translation and film adaptation share many affinities. Within the fields of both

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<sup>25</sup> See, for instance, Cattrysse (2014, 2018, 2020).

Translation Studies and Film Adaptation Studies. According to Perdikaki (2017, p. 1), this notion stems from the assumption that both the translation and adaptation processes “involve a transposition of meaning and are highly context-dependent.” Recently, this notion has been increasingly explored within the context of Translation Studies and Adaptation Studies with regards to theories, processes, cultural exchanges, and products. In fact, the notion that adaptation can be considered a form of translation made an early appearance in Translation Studies in the late 1950s in the work of linguist Roman Jakobson. In 1959, Jakobson explained the existence of various forms of translation in his article “On Linguistic Aspects of Translation” which differentiated between three modalities of translation:

1. *Interlingual translation* (translation within the same language),
2. *Intralingual translation* (translation from one language into another or the reinterpretation of a message in another linguistic code),
3. *Intersemiotic translation* (translation from one linguistic system to another between mediums, or between a verbal and nonverbal system) (1959).

Film adaptation, according to Jakobson, could be conceptualized as

an "intersemiotic translation" between two mediums. While this definition was not without its criticism following publication (Garcia Luque, 2005, pp. 23-25), it also paved the way for studies relating translation to other areas of knowledge – and began to build a theoretical bridge between the disciplines of Translation Studies and Adaptation Studies.

Following the work of translation theorists in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Translation Studies experienced many theoretical and methodological transformative changes as the discipline established itself. Adaptation Studies, however, continued to lag behind, according to many theorists in the field.<sup>26</sup> The disciplines remained relatively separate until 1985, when Patrick Cattrysse performed an investigation of 604 film noir adaptations to assess the value of the Polysystem research method – as developed by Translation theorist Itamar Even-Zohar<sup>27</sup> – for Adaptation Studies. The was later published under the title *Pour une theorie de l'adaptation filmique: Le film noir américain* (1992b). Cattrysse's article "Film (Adaptation) as Translation: Some Methodological Proposals" that later appeared in *Target: International Journal of Translation Studies* concluded that a Polysystem approach provided a strong basis for a systematic and coherent method with theoretical foundations that could allow researchers a working and functional

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<sup>26</sup> See, for instance, Cartmell (2012), Cattrysse (2014), Krebs (2014), and Perdikaki (2017).

<sup>27</sup> See Section 1.3 on Polysystem Theory for a more detailed presentation and analysis.

approach to descriptive film Adaptation Studies (1992a). Essentially, his work seeks to provide tools for the development of a theory of film adaptation without obligating researchers to start working from scratch. According to Cattrysse, "a growing number of scholars have come to realize that both Translation Studies and Adaptation Studies have more to gain than to lose by working together" (2014, p. 49).

Cattrysse is not alone in this opinion. In fact, this view has been echoed in the work of scholars in both disciplines. "If adapters want to improve themselves, they should learn from translators, who have been working with texts for thousands of years," Lawrence Raw advises in the introduction to his book *Translation, Adaptation and Transformation* (2012, p. 4). Katia Krebs agrees from the lens of Film Studies, arguing that, while many projects have been analyzed only from the point of view of one of the disciplines, their nature would be better investigated "by opening up a dialogue between these two fields of inquiry" (2013, p. 3). In "Translation and Adaptation—Two Sides of an Ideological Coin," she proposed that researchers from both disciplines would benefit from "an equal and mutually beneficial exchange of ideas, which will, no doubt, strengthen our understanding of contemporary as well as historic constructions of culture" (2012, p. 50).

These calls have increasingly begun to be answered within the last decade. Some notable research in this intersection includes conferences, books, and papers that have sought to further explore

the affinities between adaptation and translation. While more focus had been placed on the methodological and theoretical benefits that Adaptation Studies can gain from Translation Studies, Francisca García Luque studied the parallel between the translation and adaptation processes themselves. In 2005 García Luque proposed the application of translation techniques, as defined and expanded by Lucía Molina and Amparo Hurtado (2002), to analyze the film adaptation process of a literary work to better understand the nature of the transformations that occur during the process. She then examined some of these translation techniques in a case study and observed and described how the work had undergone several transformations, namely: amplification, compensation, linguistic compression, substitution, discursive creation, elision, literal translation, and generalization. She concluded that a detailed analysis of observable translation techniques in film adaptations could contribute to a better understanding of the relationships between film and literature.

Other work was soon to follow. In 2007, Lawrence Venuti's article "Adaptation, Translation, Critique" argued that translation theory can advance film theory by contributing to the development of a more rigorous methodology for studying adaptations. A year later, a pioneering congress took place in Cardiff entitled "Cultures of Translation: Adaptation in Film and Performance" (Cattrysse, 2014, p. 49). The conference sought to bring together researchers from both disciplines and later led to the launching of *The Journal of Adaptation in Film and Performance*. In 2012, Lawrence Raw

published an anthology entitled *Translation, Adaptation and Transformation* to explore the theoretical relationships and debates in the two fields. The dialogue continued. In 2014, Katja Krebs published *Translation and Adaptation in Theatre and Film*, a similar anthology, which acknowledged the need for a continuing collaboration between translation and Adaptation Studies and mentioned some "truly global translation and adaptation phenomena" (2014, p. 2). This dialogue has been visible in the field of Translation Studies in works that have sought to use adaptation as a concept to better describe the translation process<sup>28</sup> or to draw upon the theoretical and methodological tools developed in Translation Studies to undertake a more descriptive, systemic analysis of Film Adaptation Studies.<sup>29</sup>

While research at this crossroads is still quite recent, there are two key conceptual frameworks worth mentioning within the context of this dissertation. The first, of course, is that of Patrick Cattrysse (1992a, 1994a, 1994b, 1996, 2014, 2018, 2020), which will be explored in further detail within the context of Polysystem theory applied to film adaptation later in this chapter. Meanwhile, the second framework worth exploring in further detail within the context of film adaptation conceptualized as intersemiotic translation can be found in the work of Katerina Perdikaki. In "Towards a model for the study of film adaptation as intersemiotic

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<sup>28</sup>See Martin (2001); Gengshen (2003); Venuti (2007); Milton (2009, 2010); and Minier (2013), among others.

<sup>29</sup>See the collected works of Cattrysse and Perdikaki, as well as that of Krebs (2012) and Garcia Luque (2005), among others.

translation” (2017), Perdikaki presents a comprehensive model for the analysis of film adaptation as intersemiotic translation from words to images using theoretical insights from Translation Studies, Adaptation Studies, and Narratology. The model is comprised of descriptive categories that encapsulate narrative elements that can be found in both literary and cinematic narratives, therefore allowing for their descriptive identification and analysis.

Overall, Perdikaki identifies a total of four types of adaptation shifts that may appear in a film adaptation. Each of these shifts may in turn be subject to modulation (highlighting or playing down narrative aspects), modification (profound changes in the adaptation), and/or mutation (the addition or excision of narrative units).

1. **Plot structure shifts.** Here, modulation may occur in two ways: amplification (an event is highlighted in the film compared to the source) or simplification (an event is downplayed in the adaptation). Modification may occur in the form of alteration in either major or minor events. Finally, mutation may occur in two ways: the addition or excision of events in the adaptation.

2. **Narrative technique shifts.** This category contains two further sub-categories: temporal sequence (the narrative timeline) and presentation (the means of communicating the story). Here, modulation may occur concerning the temporal duration of events. Modification, on the other hand, may occur in the order in which

the events of the story are communicated (i.e., flashbacks, flash-forwards, etc.). Meanwhile, any mutations that may occur in this category depend on plot structure mutation shifts (if events are added/removed, the temporal sequence is affected accordingly).

3. **Characterization shifts.** According to Perdikaki, characterization involves both the character construal of the fictional story as well as the interpersonal relationships between characters. In this case, much as with plot structure, modulation may be subject to either amplification or simplification (i.e., aspects of character portrayals may be emphasized or downplayed). Modification, on the other hand, refers to notable changes in character construal (such as the dramatization, objectification, or sensualization of characters). Often, it is in this category where the representation of gender is made most evident. Finally, a mutation in this category simply refers to the addition or excision of characters from the film adaption.

4. **Setting shifts.** Here, *setting* is to be understood as “the time and place where a fictional story unfolds” (18). Therefore, setting may be examined as a temporal as well as a spacial aspect. In both of these cases, modulation may occur in two ways: amplification or simplification. There is only one option involved in the modification of setting, however, which is an alteration in time or place. Finally, a mutation may occur in the addition or excision of a time or space.



In summary, Perdikaki's model seeks to draw upon work from Translation Studies, Adaptation Studies, and – perhaps most visibly – Narratology to provide a descriptive model for the analysis of shifts occurring in film adaptations. Certain elements of this model will appear in the qualitative analysis realized in the Case Studies of this dissertation (Chapter 4).

Overall, very interesting research has been done in an attempt to build upon the affinities between translation and adaptation to systemize the analysis of film adaptation as a similar object of study using research methodology designed for the study of translation. First, it is important to emphasize the affinities between these two fields by noting that both the translation and adaptation processes “involve a transposition of meaning and are highly context-dependent” (Perdikaki, 2017, p. 1). This affinity has led to the identification of several important similarities between the two processes that have been presented and examined in the past two decades. In his book *Descriptive Adaptation Studies: Epistemological and Methodological Issues* (2014), Patrick Cattrysse summarizes them:

- Both translations and adaptations present man-made products that result from a production process, which implies that there are context-based creators, actions, end products, users, and recipients.

- Both production processes are applied upon utterances or texts and produce utterances or texts and are therefore considered intra- or inter-textual or intra- or inter-semiotic.
- Both translating and adapting are considered irreversible, one-directional processes.
- One of the reasons for which the processes cannot be reversed is that their production is largely dependent upon the context in which they are produced.
- The notion of source/target "equivalence" can be applied to both processes.
- The notion of source/target fidelity can be applied to both processes, which, according to Cattrysse in his 2014 publication, is connected to the "widespread but erroneous belief that the translation process would be more faithful to the source text than the adaptation process." (pp. 47- 49)

While reflections on the interdisciplinary nature of the translation and adaptation processes/products and disciplines themselves has been revisited and explored in greater detail Cattrysse's later work,<sup>30</sup> the notion of source/target fidelity remains a topic that has

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<sup>30</sup> See, for instance, Cattrysse (2018, 2020).

drawn many researchers' attention to the parallels between the two in many of the earlier work dedicated to its analysis. These include, for instance, Cynthia Tsui, who stated in her 2012 publication that "Adaptation and translation, in fact, share a similar set of debates: these include fidelity vs. creativity, author vs. adaptor/translator; and adaptation or translation practices such as the interpretation, contextualization, and transformation of meaning" (Tsui, 2012, p. 55). In addition, however, it is important to also note the similarities between the two disciplines when it comes to their development as research areas. Here, it may be observed how the early steps of adaptation theories have followed in the footsteps of those of translation theories: Bluestone (1957) explored the formal and thematic differences between literature and film and theorized that these differences are inherently linked with the respective meaning-making capacities of each medium; Wagner (1975) and Andrew (1984) developed several taxonomies to identify which narrative elements could or could not be transferred from book to film; in addition, more modern theoretical viewpoints advocate for a more sociological orientation in the analysis of the various contexts of production and reception.<sup>31</sup> It may be said that the fields themselves have followed a strikingly similar trajectory, helping to pave the way for a very promising area of research that meets at the intersection between Translation Studies and Adaptations Studies.

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<sup>31</sup> See, for instance, the work of Mayer (1946) and Murray (2013).

## 1.3 Polysystem Theory

### a) Origins

Polysystem Theory was developed in the early 1970s by literary and translation theorist Itamar Even-Zohar. The theory arose from Even-Zohar's research in Hebrew literature and was greatly inspired by the conceptual framework provided by the late Russian Formalists as well as linguistic concepts borrowed from the Prague Structuralists (Ben-Ari, 2013). The springboard for the theory was the Formalist notion of *system*, which was understood by Even-Zohar to be "a multi-layered structure of elements which relate and interact with each other" (Shuttleworth, 2019, p. 197). In a 1928 paper by Roman Jakobson and Jurij Tynjanov, they further expanded upon this notion, suggesting that "a system is always a system of systems," allowing for a framework of understanding for increasing complexity (Ben-Ari, 2013, p. 144). Even-Zohar built upon these notions and theorized that socio-semiotic phenomenon – such as culture, language, and literature – could be better examined if regarded as a system, or as networks of relations, rather than the sum of different elements (1990). The flexibility of the concept of *system* thus allowed the framework to be applied to phenomena on different levels, from literary works themselves to genres, traditions, literary evolution (Tynjanov, 1971), and social systems themselves. While the terms *system* and *polysystem* were often used interchangeably, the term *polysystem* was used to better capture the dynamic nature of these systems.

Even-Zohar was soon joined by fellow Porter Institute of Poetics and Semiotics theorist Gideon Toury in this line of investigation. They further developed this systemic approach by applying its key principles studies in Comparative Literature, paving the way for what Even-Zohar later coined *Polysystem Theory*. Soon, Polysystem Theory reached translation theorists in Belgium, including José Lambert, Raymond van den Broeck, and André Lefevere, who recognized the possibility of this functional approach to allow translation to be studied from a wider socio-cultural lens. Links were established between both schools in a series of three seminal conferences in Lueven (1976), Tel Aviv (1978), and Antwerp (1980), forming a loose partnership between the researcher and theorists in both locations. The papers from each conference were gathered and published in three publications: *Literature and Translation* (Holmes, Lambert & Van de Broeck, 1978), a special edition of the journal *Poetics Today* (Toury & Even-Zohar, 1981), and consecutive editions of the journal *Dispositio* (Lefevere, 1982), respectively.

The growing interest in this systemic approach continued into the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, with numerous conferences, seminars, publications, and collections centered around its development. The work of other noteworthy translation theorists was soon added to Even-Zohar and Toury's research, including that of Susan Bassnett (1980/2013), James Holmes (1972/1988), Theo Hermans (1985),

Dirk Delabastita (1989, 1990), and André Lefevere (1992),<sup>32</sup> among others, thus crystallizing the rise of Descriptive Translation Studies. In the 1990s, two volumes were published that sought to review, redefine, and establish the essential notions of the theory: Even-Zohar's collection of essays in a special edition of the journal *Poetics Today* entitled "Polysystem Studies" (1990), and Toury's book *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (1995). Theo Hermans later published his exhaustive collection on systems theories entitled *Translation in Systems: Descriptive and System-Oriented Approaches Explained* (1999). In it, he examines the various approaches to systems thinking, elaborates upon the most important concepts, and offers a general overview of the evolution of Polysystem Theory and its utility.

In the work of Theo Hermans, we also find an overview of the frequently cited characteristics that embody the overall contribution of Polysystem Theory to the field of Translation Studies. Perhaps the most inclusive summary of them can be found in Theo Herman's introduction to the 1985 anthology *The Manipulation of Literature* (p. 10). First, we find the notion of literature as a complex, dynamic system – a "differentiated and dynamic 'conglomerate of systems' characterized by internal oppositions and continual shifts" (p. 11). In order to conceptualize and study this complex system of systems, the Polysystem framework seeks to adapt a target-orientated,

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<sup>32</sup> The theoretical contributions of these researchers to Polysystem Theory, particularly that of Theo Hermans and André Lefevere, will be further expanded up later in this chapter.

descriptive orientation with a functional approach. In this way, it does not seek to evaluate translations based on their faithfulness to their – often celebrated – source texts, but instead seeks to describe the features of a translation and why they may exist. Thus, the focus is shifted from the source text to the target text and from fidelity to (con)text. Meanwhile, the problematic issue regarding what is or is not a translation is resolved by understanding translations to be anything that “functions as a translation in one particular space-time context” (Toury, 1995, p. 20), which will be explored in further detail later in this chapter.

Within the field of Translation Studies, this framework inspired an interest in the study of the role of translation within a given literature, the interaction between literary systems, the relationship between translations and other forms of textual production, and in the norms that govern the production and reception of translations. Meanwhile, thanks to the contributing work of theorists primarily at the late end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the theoretical framework took root and made way for a series of valuable concepts that have proven useful for the study of both translation and adaptation.

The emergence and rise of more recent cultural and sociological systemic approaches to literature and translation in the 21<sup>st</sup> century have led to a general decline in the use of Polysystem theory for

studying and understanding translation phenomena.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, it has been argued that these frameworks are unable to replace Polysystem theory and instead offer complementary approaches to what are often different objects of study (Chang, 2011; Codde, 2003). While Translation Studies has been increasingly swept into what is commonly referred to as the “cultural turn,” it is important to note the recent attempts to introduce Polysystem theory to Film Adaptation Studies, particularly that of Patrick Cattrysse (2014), which will be explored in detail later in this chapter.

## b) Key concepts

### i. Culture and cultural events

As a systemic framework, Polysystem Theory can be applied to any systematic phenomenon, from literature to translation to film and other cultural activities. Before presenting the framework in more detail, however, it is first important to address the notion of culture, as it lies at the center of this theoretical framework. According to Even-Zohar, culture can be best understood as “a framework, a sphere, which makes it possible to organize social life” (1997, p. 21). Thus, it is not seen as a collection of elite commodities, but instead as the organizing principle of coexistence, with events

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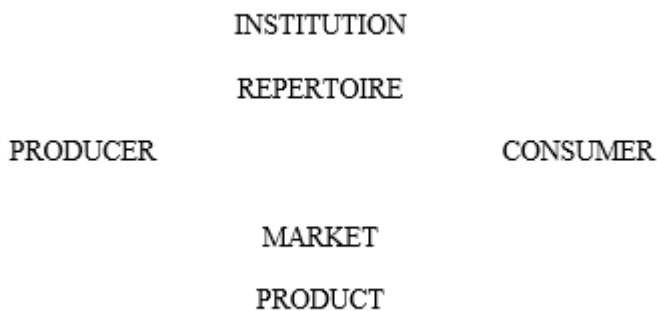
<sup>33</sup> Among these, the work of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu often rises to the forefront (see, for instance: Hannah, 2016). There are, however, other aspects of this cultural turn in translation studies will be expanded upon later within this section in addition to those arising from Bourdieu’s framework.



ranging from everyday acts of communication to the production of translated texts.<sup>34</sup> The factors that comprise socio-cultural interactions – or “cultural events,” to use Even-Zohar’s terminology – are thus comprised of four essential functions, as extended from Roman Jakobson’s (1960) model of the functions of language (1997, p. 19):

**Figure 1**

*Roman Jakobson’s model of the functions of language*



In Even-Zohar’s model, a cultural **repertoire** consists of the necessary items, or a “toolkit” for the framework of culture. This shared toolkit provides a group of individuals with the lenses from which to understand the world. It allows them to communicate and organize themselves in a way that makes sense to all members of the group. Meanwhile, the collection of rules and materials that

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<sup>34</sup> Along these lines, we can find Even-Zohar’s widely cited research and models on the Hebrew culture in Palestine, which was later directed towards the concepts of intentional cultural planning (see, for example, his 2008 publication).

comprise a repertoire govern both the production and consumption of any given product. The repertoire is made up of both elements and models. The elements are the products, while the models are comprised of a combination of elements as well as the rules that govern their operation. Meanwhile, the composition of a model depends upon the individual or group of individuals acting upon the repertoire. For producers, models are comprised of the necessary prior knowledge to create a given product. For consumers, on the other hand, models are made up of the prior knowledge that is required to understand the product. Intertextuality is of tantamount importance here. Since the realization of a repertoire involves a continuous negotiation between pre-established options and innovation, the combination of elements and rules that formulate models are continuously shifting (Even-Zohar, 1997).

Products, producers, consumers, markets, and institutions are the remaining elements in Even-Zohar's diagram. A **product** refers to any "set of signs and/or materials...including a given behavior" (1997, p. 27). In the case of culture, a product thus signifies the outcome of any activity or action, whether or not it is a physical object. Within the film system, for example, films are the most evident example of products. **Producers** are individuals or networks of individuals who produce products by actively operating in a repertoire.<sup>35</sup> The products they produce may be the result of

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<sup>35</sup> In the case of both producers and consumers, it is important to distinguish between the term "group" and "network," as Even-Zohar highlights that "the aggregate of [consumers, producers] is not an additive group of individuals, but a relational network" (1997, p. 31).

pre-established options, they may be entirely new, or they may even represent potential products, or models. To continue with the example of the film system, the production companies are perhaps the most evident example of producers. Meanwhile, the **consumers** are individuals or networks of individuals that use a product, thus acting upon the repertoire, as is the case of filmgoers. Producers, consumers, and the network of relationships established between them all comprise the **market**, which is essentially made up of all factors that are involved in the production and consumption of the cultural repertoire. Its existence is essential for the development of a given cultural repertoire. Without the film market, there would be no production companies, no filmgoers, and no films. Finally, the **institution** is the combination of factors involved in the regulation of culture. The institution governs the rules. It determines which models or products will be preserved and why, and rewards and reprimands producers and consumers. It acts as an intermediary agent between the forces of society and repertoires of culture. However, unlike the market, it possesses the power of making long-lasting decisions and enacting the task of preserving a canonized repertoire. In the case of film, for instance, we can find institutions on all levels of society, from the Global Cinematography Institute to national institutions, such as the Spanish *Instituto de la Cinematografía y de las Artes Audiovisuales* (ICAA).

## ii. Systems and binary oppositions

Next, we find the crucial notion of systems, as well as that of binary oppositions. This notion of systems is of central importance to Polysystem Theory. Even-Zohar defines the notion of *system* as “the network of relations that can be hypothesized for a certain set of assumed observables” (1990, p. 27). When this notion is applied to literature, for instance, literature can be considered a system in that literature—like any other form of human communication—establishes a series of relationships between the elements that comprise it and the rest of the systems that make up a culture. A determined literary system is, then, an element that makes up a higher socio-cultural polysystem which is, in turn, composed of other systems. Cinema can also be considered one such system.

Systems can be composed of sub-systems and can combine into clusters of systems, known as *polysystems*. The term *polysystem* was proposed by Even-Zohar to highlight the dynamic, complex nature of systems by emphasizing the multiplicity of intersections and the consequent complexity. A polysystem, then, is essentially a complex system of systems. In the words of Theo Hermans, a polysystem is “a differentiated and dynamic conglomerate of systems characterized by internal oppositions and continual shifts” (1985, p. 11). In this definition, Hermans makes reference to the series of opposing, or binary, relationships that cause tension in a polysystem, therefore provoking it to continuously evolve and change. There are three primary binary relationships, according to Even-Zohar:

## 1. The opposition between canonized and non-canonized literature

The study of the nature of canonicity and the processes that lead to canonization have been explored in great detail within the context of Literary Studies.<sup>36</sup> Here, the word *canonized* is understood to refer to the works that are accepted as legitimate literature within the dominating circles of a culture and whose products are conserved by society because of this. *Non-canonized*, on the other hand, refers to works and norms that are rejected by these circles and for the most part ignored by this society. Therefore, canonicity is not an inherent feature of literature, but a qualitative property attributed to literature by a group of individuals or institutions. This status can change, just as the groups that determine it change. Canonicity is, above all, a matter of taste, and may therefore be seen as “the outcome of power relations within a system” (Even-Zohar 2005, p. 7). Thus, the canonicity of a given repertoire is ultimately determined by the group that is governing the polysystem, although this “group” may be comprised of a multiplicity of judgments and points of view. It is the conjunction of these judgmental perspectives that determine what is commonly referred to as the “official canon” (Even-Zohar 2005, p. 7). Meanwhile, the opposition between canonized and non-canonized is universal, as stratification is a universal trait of human society and language. It is this opposition that allows and encourages a system to remain

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<sup>36</sup> See, for instance, Bauman (2006).

dynamic and continuously define and redefine itself. While Even-Zohar's original proposals differentiated between canonized and non-canonized in binary terms, it is important to highlight that it is more useful to consider canonicity "as a value on a sliding scale between two extremes" (Cattrysse, 2014, p. 244).

## **2. The opposition between the center and periphery of the system**

The second opposition is the tension between the center and periphery of any given system. While the aforementioned notion of canonicity can be used as a qualitative parameter for the analysis of practices and products, the central-peripheral opposition serves as a quantitative parameter. At the center of a system, we find "the most prestigious canonized repertoire" (Even-Zohar, 1990, p. 17). However, the center is also typically prone to stagnation and mechanization. Therefore, it requires renewal from elements arising outside of this center, in the periphery (Codde, 2003). From this stems the dynamic tension: on the one hand, the organized center of the system seeks to maintain the presently canonized repertoire, often at the price of becoming out-of-date. Meanwhile, the generally more innovative, non-canonized elements found in the periphery of the system seek to replace the center, leading to a constant struggle. The outcome of this struggle is influenced by both the dynamics of the system itself as well as the overall socio-cultural dynamics.

### **3. The opposition between primary and secondary literature, or between conservation and innovation**

The third opposition – or, better said, scale – exists between conservation and innovation, or what Even-Zohar refers to as primary and secondary literature.<sup>37</sup> Primary literature is that which introduces new elements into the repertoire and does not adjust to its rules, contributing to literary innovation. It serves as a model. Secondary literature, on the other hand, seeks to adjust itself to fit or conserve the pre-established rules of the repertoire. This makes secondary literature result predictable. Naturally, this predictability can only last so long before innovation seeks to replace it. In fact, in the words of Even-Zohar, “it does not take long for any ‘primary model,’ once it is admitted into the center of the canonized system, to become ‘secondary,’ if perpetuated long enough (1990, p. 21). Thus, a primary model typically becomes a secondary model after it remains in the center of the literary polysystem for a long period.

In addition, it is important to clarify that the primary/secondary opposition does not directly correlate with the center/periphery opposition; that is to say, a repertoire or model is not primary because it is located at the center of the polysystem. On the contrary, as the repertoires and models that are at the center of the polysystem

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<sup>37</sup> This distinction between primary and secondary has its roots in the work of the Tartu semioticians, where the term “primary” was used to refer to semiotic systems that transmitted simple, often static (primary) information – such as traffic signs – and the term “secondary” was used to refer to secondary, dynamic information concerning a system’s environment – like a song (Lotman, 1976).

seek to maintain their central position, they tend to obstruct innovative elements. Meanwhile, the elements on the periphery are often distinguished by their innovation. Therefore, the dynamic tension of this final opposition exists in this push-and-pull between conservation and innovation.

### c) Polysystem Theory applied to translation

Polysystem Theory was first developed within the context of Literary Studies in Even-Zohar's research in Hebrew literature. However, Even-Zohar soon recognized the usefulness of Polysystem Theory for examining the role of translated literature within literary systems. In "The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem," he addressed and examined the nature of the position of translated literature within a literary polysystem and how this position corresponds to the nature of its repertoire (1990).

For Even-Zohar, translated literature is considered "not only as an integral system with within any literary polysystem, but as a most active system within it" (1990, p. 46). Therefore, it is both a system in its own right – with its own tensions/oppositions – and a sub-system within its larger receptive literary (poly)system. Overall, the position of literary translation within any given literary system and whether it features conservative or innovative repertoires largely depends upon the receptive literary system itself. On the one hand, if translated literature occupies a peripheral location within the



literary system, it will adopt secondary or conservative models and will not play a role in the creation of new repertoires. Instead, it will simply conform to the traditional, pre-established norms of the literary system. On the other hand, if translated literature occupies a central position within a literary polysystem, it will form part of the avant-garde works and will become one of the key instruments in the creation of new repertoires. In other words, if translated literature has a central position in a literary polysystem, this means it has an active role in the shaping of the center of that polysystem. The case of translated literature forming part of the center of a literary polysystem may occur in three instances, according to Even-Zohar (1990, p. 47):

**1. When a literary system is still young and in the process of construction**

Since a young literary system cannot simply create all types of texts at once, it often borrows from the experience of other literary traditions through the process of translation. This could be observed, for instance, in the case of revived languages, for which it is crucial to develop a repertoire of modern literary texts, but there are not yet any modern writers to produce them. Instead, texts from other literary traditions are translated and imported into the young system.

## **2. When the literary system is weak or peripheral with respect to a larger group of interrelated literary systems**

This second case refers to a relatively established literary system. However, in this case, this system maintains a peripheral position within a larger literary hierarchy and possesses limited resources. Therefore, certain literary activities or a particular repertoire may be lacking, and translated literature serves to address this. This phenomenon can be observed, for instance, in the case of the literature of smaller European nations, where translated literature is both a means of appropriating a “fashionable repertoire,” but also to provide variety and options (Even-Zohar 1990, p. 48).

## **3. When there exists a vacuum or crisis at the core of a literary system and the established models are no longer considered acceptable**

In this third and final case, we find a literary system whose center possesses either a model that has become unacceptable to modern society or there exists a gap within the center that requires filling. A speculative example of this phenomenon may perhaps soon be observed in the effects of the current feminist movement on Western literary traditions. While most of the pre-established canons have been primarily composed of the work of men, rising cries for gender equality may lead not only to a growing vacuum within the core of literary systems, but also to the rejection of

models that feel out-of-date. Thus, translations of feminist literary works from other literary systems may serve to fill the gap.

It is, however, important to clarify several important objections regarding the nature of these three instances, as risen by Theo Hermans (1999). First, and perhaps most evident, we find the fact that characterizing a literary system as “young,” “weak,” or “possessing a vacuum” is inherently a value judgment. As such, it both requires a judgment criterion and suggests critical involvement, something that Descriptive Translation Studies seek to avoid. According to Hermans, it is therefore important to consider these statements to be referring to *perceptions* within a system, and not inherent truths or value judgments from outside of a system. It is also important to note that translated literature is not always either central or peripheral. It may, in fact, occupy both positions: a part of it may be found in the center, while another part may be limited to the periphery. In addition, its position may shift with time due to the above-mentioned dynamic tensions to which all systems are subject.

Nevertheless, in the words of Even-Zohar, it is clear that, when observed from this framework, “Translation is no longer a phenomenon whose nature and borders are given once and for all, but an activity dependent upon the relations within a certain cultural system” (1990, p. 51). As such, the practice of translation itself within any culture is determined by the position that translated literature occupies within the literary polysystem. If the act of

translation or its related activities occupies a peripheral position, the translator will seek to adapt the foreign text to pre-established secondary models within the native repertoire. Therefore, the translated text will conform with the existing models of its culture of reception. If, however, the act of translation occupies a central position within the literary polysystem, the translator will seek to violate the local norms, thus producing a text that introduces primary models. In this case, it is very likely that the translator remains more loyal to the models established in the culture of origin – the source text – and that the translated text appears more “foreign” in its culture of reception.

Overall, this theoretical approach shifts the focus from the formerly prescriptive evaluations centered on the notion of loyalty to source texts to a descriptive understanding of translation as an activity that is shaped and determined by its relations within any given system. However, to do so also requires a broader definition of the concept of translation itself, since source-text loyalty is no longer the criterion for definition. It is here where Gideon Toury’s definition of translation proves its usefulness:

For the purpose of a descriptive study, a translation will be taken to be any target-language utterance which is presented or

regarded as a translation as such within the target culture, on whatever grounds... (1985, p. 20).<sup>38</sup>

Therefore, any source-oriented language utterance that is regarded to be a translation on any grounds within the target culture can be considered a translation. This definition results very useful in that it goes beyond the traditional notion of “equivalence.” From this perspective, the term “equivalence” is instead understood to refer to the existing relationship between two texts inasmuch as one of the texts is considered to function as a translation of the other within any given polysystem. The focus of translation researchers therefore shifts from comparing whether a text is equivalent enough to its source to be considered a translation to instead focusing upon the types of relationships that are established between two texts and why they exist. It is here where the concept of norms comes into play. The notion of these rules and behaviors, or norms, as Toury called them, will be addressed in the following section.

### i. Norms and translation

Building upon the Even-Zohar’s theoretical framework, fellow Tel Aviv University theorist Gideon Toury not only sought to provide a more coherent definition of translation, but also to understand the rules and behaviors that govern a translator’s behavior in any given

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<sup>38</sup> Please see “Definition of Terms and Concepts” for a more comprehensive look at the implications of this definition compared to its alternatives.

moment.<sup>39</sup> Borrowing from a term first used in the social sciences, Toury referred to these rules and behaviors as “norms.”<sup>40</sup> In "The Nature and Role of Norms in Translation," he more specifically defines norms as socio-cultural phenomena that are governed by socio-cultural constraints (1978).<sup>41</sup> In his article and subsequent work, Toury has argued that norms are "the key concept and focal point in any attempt to account for the social relevance of activities, because their existence, and the wide range of situations they apply to (with the conformity this implies), are the main factors of social order" (1978, p. 55). When applied to translation, norms serve to account for the behavior of translators and, by extension, how their work is received in its target culture.

Toury argued that a translator must face a series of decisions throughout the process of translation. Within this process there exist two collections of options: the entirety of the options available, and the options that a translator actually selects. Norms represent the middle ground between these. They are comprised of the patterns of recurring behavior together with the common knowledge

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<sup>39</sup> See Toury (1978; 1980; 1995; 1999) for the development of this concept in its entirety.

<sup>40</sup> See, for example, Levý (1963) and Popović (1970), who characterized translation as a confrontation between two sets of norms and linguistic and social conventions (that of the source text and that of the target culture) involving a necessary process of decision-making. However, the notion can perhaps best be traced to the work of linguist Eugenio Coseriu who distinguished between the underlying system of language, actual speech, and linguistic norms, or the socially acceptable ways of using language with other speakers (1952). It is interesting to note that the very use of this term and its use in the social sciences lends towards a sociological approach, which will be further developed later in this chapter.

regarding how group members ought to behave in certain types of situations. Thus, they govern the entire translation process, from the selection of the works to be translated to the translator's decisions while translating and how the translation is received in its target culture. That said, norms can be either positive or negative. Positive norms determine adequate behavior patterns in the form of obligations or recommendations. Negative norms, on the other hand, determine the inadequate behavior patterns in the form of recommendations or prohibitions. Essentially, positive norms guide what a translator should/could do, whereas negative norms guide what a translator should/could not do.

Norms possess a twofold nature comprised of both their directive force and their content (Hermans, 1991). The content of norms is a value or a socially agreed-upon notion of what is correct. Meanwhile, the directive force of a norm aids translators in solving problems by imposing the selection of certain options before others. This serves as a form of regulation in that it restricts the variety of possibilities by offering uniform solutions to certain problems. Thus, the directive force of a norm serves to guide individuals' behavior to secure the content of the norm. In this sense, norms facilitate the organization of a system and help ensure its regularity and stability. They allow for a reduction in the number of potential solutions to translation problems when translators are faced with the "unpredictable and potentially destabilizing input" of a source text (Hermans, 1991, p. 165). Essentially, norms determine what material will be integrated into the target culture and how this will

be done, therefore reducing the complexity of the source text and manipulating it in a way that adjusts it to the expectations of the target audience. Consequently, what is determined to be a “correct” translation – or even a translation at all – depends upon the translator’s adherence to the corresponding norms of the target culture. If these norms are violated, the translation may not be considered correct or even a translation, since straying from the accepted norms typically involves a sanction (Toury, 1995).

## ii. Types of norms

Bearing in mind the complexity of systems and the interactions between and within them, there are three basic categories of norms that affect translation: those that come from the source text, those that come from the process and tradition of translation itself, and those that come from similar texts within the target culture. These are classified into three essential types, according to Toury: preliminary norms, initial norms, and operational norms.

- **Preliminary norms** govern a translator or adaptor’s selection regarding what to translate or adapt in the first place, as well as their tolerance of the use of intermediary versions. To understand this first selective aspect, it must be recognized that the selection of the work to be translated in itself is not a simple act of providence, but rather comes determined by a series of conditions such as the position of the work within its system of origin, the position of translation within its target system, and other controlling factors



such as patrons.<sup>42</sup> Meanwhile, the tolerance of the use of intermediary versions is also important to bear in mind, as it has varied widely throughout history and across cultures and genres.

- **Initial norms** govern the translator's decisions regarding whether to adhere to the active norms of the source culture or to adhere to the norms of the target culture. Should the translator or adaptor decide to adhere to the norms of the source culture, the result will consequently be considered "loyal" to its source text. On the other hand, should the translator or adaptor opt for adhering to the norms of the target culture, the result will be a translation or adaptation that is acceptable within the target culture, often at the expense of the traditional notion of "loyalty." However, not all decisions made within the translation or adaptation process are exclusively orientated towards one side of this spectrum or the other, nor are the words "loyal" or "acceptable" used within this descriptive framework. Instead, some researchers have proposed alternative terms, such as Theo Hermans, who advocated for the use of "source-orientated" versus "target-orientated" and "perspective" versus "retrospective" norms (1999, p. 77). However, these terms prove problematic in the fact that they inevitably become target-oriented or prospective measures if they are accepted (Cattrysse, 2014, p. 273).

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<sup>42</sup> The notion of controlling factors, originating in the work of André Lefevere (1992), will be expanded upon later in this chapter in transitioning to the impact of the cultural turn in translations studies on Polysystem Theory and its potential contributions to an updated framework.

- **Operational norms** guide a translator or adaptor's decision-making during the translation process by governing all the choices they make while translating or adapting. Within the context of translation, Toury further divides operational norms into two different categories: *matricial norms* and *textual-linguistic norms*. *Matricial norms* regulate the macrostructure of the text and govern global decisions such as the overall structure of the text or whether the text will be translated in its entirety. *Textual-linguistic norms* affect the micro-level of the text and are concerned with linguistic details such as word choice, sentence structure, punctuation, etc.

While Toury distinguished between these three types of norms based on their place within the translation process, there was still space for the exploration of the more global impact of behavioral norms that govern the selection and reception of translation and film adaptations without their source and target cultures. Thus, we find the later work of researchers such as Andrew Chesterman, who added translation-specific norms, or *technical norms*, which he further divided into two categories: *product/expectancy norms* and *process/production norms* (1997, pp. 175-186), as well as that of Patrick Cattrysse (1996), which examined the distinction between *normative* and *descriptive* norms within the context of Film Adaptation Studies.

Overall, the concept of norms has proved very useful in Translation Studies as it has allowed researchers to go beyond simply comparing a translated text to its source text and instead encourages

the descriptive examination of the many aspects that shape the final product. If norms determine both the process and product of translation, reconstructing the norms governing a translation within any given context can allow researchers to determine the position and concept of translation within that context. Norms, therefore, become invaluable tools for study, or, as Toury states, “a category for descriptive analysis of translation phenomenon” (1980, p. 57). In order to study these norms, researchers must examine a corpus of translations in search of recurring patterns, an approach that will be adapted and explained in detail later in the Methodology chapter of this dissertation.

#### d) Polysystem Theory applied to film adaptation

##### i. Origins

The notion that adaptation can be considered a form of translation made its earliest appearance in Translation Studies in the late 1950s in the work of linguist and Translation Studies theorist Roman Jakobson. In 1959, Jakobson explained the existence of various forms of translation in his article “On Linguistic Aspects of Translation,” which differentiated between three basic types of translation: *intralingual translation* (translation within the same language), *interlingual translation* (translation from one language into another or the reinterpretation of a message in another linguistic code), and *intersemiotic translation* (translation from one linguistic system to another between mediums, or between a verbal and

nonverbal system) (1959). Film adaptation, then, according to Jakobson, would be considered an intersemiotic translation between two mediums. While this definition has not been without its criticism, it also paved the way for studies relating translation to other areas of knowledge.<sup>43</sup>

One such study can be found in André Lefevre's work, summarized in the preface to his anthology *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (1992). Drawing upon the notions of Polysystem theorists, Lefevre theorized that translation was a form of rewriting that manipulates literature to ideological and artistic ends that are almost – if not equally – as important in establishing the reception and reputation of a literary work as the text itself. This means that every written text takes on a new, and sometimes subversive, historical, or literary status. Lefevre did not only refer to translation as a process of rewriting, but also mentioned other forms of rewriting, from the compilation of anthologies to historiography to literary criticism and even adaptation (Lefevre, 1992).

Following the work of early translation theorists such as Jakobson, Even-Zohar, Toury, and Lefevre, among many others, Translation Studies continued to go through many theoretical and

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<sup>43</sup> It is important to note, however, that the majority of these criticisms centered around the word choice itself, such as the case of Derrida (1985), who considers true translation to be only inter-linguistic, and Lefevre (1992), who advocated for the use of the concept of *re-writing*, which will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

methodological transformative changes. Adaptation Studies, however, continued to be theorized in what Thomas Leitch refers to as “archival terms” (2018, p. 1). According to Leitch, adaptations are largely defined by adaptation scholars with reference to their source texts and widely understood as “having a particular set of responsibilities toward those source texts” (1). These context-related models have tended to invoke the problematic notion of fidelity as a value criterion. They have also lent towards what Patrick Cattrysse calls “an endless accumulation of *ad hoc* selected case studies comparing one literary text with its film adaptation” (2014, p. 23). Thus, there has been an increasing call for Adaptation Studies to borrow upon the theoretical and methodological advancements of Translation Studies to support a descriptive, systemic analysis of film adaptation. “If adapters want to improve themselves, they should learn from translators, who have been working with texts for thousands of years,” Lawrence Raw advises in the introduction to his book *Translation, Adaptation and Transformation* (2012, p. 4). Researcher Cynthia Tsui agrees, claiming that the discipline must “develop a systematic and refined methodology of its own” (in Raw, 2012, p. 57). In order to do so, many are turning to Translation Studies for theoretical answers.

The disciplines remained relatively separate until 1985, when Cattrysse performed an investigation of 604 film noir adaptations to assess the value of a Polysystem research method for Adaptation Studies. The study was published two years later under the title *Pour une theorie de l'adaptation filmique: Le film noir américain*

(1992b). In it, Cattrysse recognizes the limitations of the widespread focus of Adaptation Studies at the time, a field that primarily restricted itself to comparing film adaptation with their source texts. He summarizes the primary focus of previous work within the field in the following categories: general studies on the relationship between film and literature, studies on the film adaptation of a particular literary work, studies on the relationship between a writer and film, historical analyses, studies on the film adaptation of scripts, and meta-theoretical analyses on film adaptation. However, apart from lacking a clear methodological direction, Cattrysse claims that all these studies have presented the following limitations:

- The majority of the work done in the field is comprised of randomly selected case studies comparing one literary text with its film adaptation.
- As such, (Literary) Adaptation Studies generally focuses on the adaptation of canonical literary texts. Therefore, the concept of film adaptation is reduced to that of only Literary Film (with a capital L).
- Thus, Literary Adaptation Studies is primarily interested in the faithful reproduction of literary masterpieces.

- Finally, Adaptation Studies shows a lack of methodological coherence and a lack of meta-theoretical reflection (Cattrysse, 2014, p. 23).

These limitations, according to Cattrysse, are what have led the academic discipline to struggle in the process of defending its status as a discipline in its own right. The valorization of the more historically established art of literature over the modern art of film, the views of literature as a more elevated art, and the notion of adaptation as lacking originality all contribute to these limitations, as well. Cynthia Tsui argues a similar point, stating that adaptation is considered “somehow derivative or inauthentic, implying the presence of an 'original' text,” a similar notion to that of a translation in earlier translation theories (in Raw, 2012, p. 55). Because of this, adaptations have “gradually acquired more negative connotations,” when compared to translations because a translation often creates an “ideal image” of a source text while an adaptation may subvert that image (Van Gorp, 2004/1985, p. 66).

Here, however, it is important to recent efforts to transcend comparative approaches by adapting theories of definition and categorization to better distinguish between translation and literary film adaptation, as well as the academic disciplines designated to their study themselves. In Cattrysse’s 2018(a) article, he examines the value of considering Adaptation Studies and Translation Studies as a form of “siblings,” or members of a larger family of fields

dedicated to the study of intertextuality and influence. The use of theories of definition and categorization for distinguishing between literary translation and film adaptation as well as Translation Studies and Film Adaptation Studies themselves are suggested in a later paper (2020).

## ii. Key concepts

In his 2014 book, Patrick Cattrysse proposed establishing a methodological framework that could serve as a coherent investigative structure for the analysis of film adaptation. To do so, he sought a framework that was both descriptive and complete that would encompass both the transformational process and final products themselves. In addition, this framework must not limit itself to the study of canonized works, but instead must include all the works within a literary and/or film system and did not simply restrict itself to examining the relationships between the source and target works. Instead, this framework must situate the process of film adaptation and the adaptations themselves within a wider historical, political, economic, and sociocultural context (2014). In order to do so, he decided to adapt Polysystem Theory as applied to the study of translation to the analysis of film adaptation. This decision stemmed, to a large extent, from the increasingly recognized similarities between the two fields.<sup>44</sup> These are best

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<sup>44</sup> See Aragay (2005), Venuti (2007), Krebs (2012), Cattrysse (2014), Yau (2016), Perdikaki (2017), among others.



summarized in *Descriptive Adaptation Studies: Epistemological and Methodological Issues* (2014, pp. 47-49), a summary of which can also be found at the end of Section 1.2(d). Bearing these parallelisms in mind, it is also important to consider the theoretical atmosphere of the time, as researchers from both fields sought a renovative shift to replace previous, more traditional approaches. It is, therefore, no surprise that Cattrysse turned to Polysystem Theory to develop a model for the study of the phenomenon of film adaptation.

According to Cattrysse, a systemic approach to the study of film adaptation involves bearing in mind three different perspectives: (1) the function of the film adaptation within its target context; (2) the systemic mechanisms that determine the transformative process of the literary text to filmic text, and (3) the relationships established between the transfer process and the position and function of the film adaptation as a film within its target context (1992a, p. 34). This implies the use of previously defined notions such as that of producer, consumer, market, institution, repertoire, central versus peripheral system, canon, etc. This three-faceted analysis, in turn, requires three different phases: analyzing the film adaptation as a final product, analyzing film adaptation as a transfer process, making connections between the conclusions formed in the first two phases. Next, a detailed explanation of what each of these phases entails will be provided.

### **1. Analyzing the film adaptation as a final product.**

Analyzing a film adaptation as a final product involves exploring the function and position of film adaptation within its target context. Thus, the same criteria used by Even-Zohar to define the function of literary texts within their target systems can be used to define the function of a film adaptation within its target system (i.e., primary or secondary), as well as its placement (i.e., central or peripheral), bearing in mind that these positions may change throughout history. Meanwhile, it is important to note that Toury's definition of "translation" is used as the point of departure for the definition of film adaptation.<sup>45</sup> Therefore, an adaptation is understood to be "a film which presents itself as an adaptation of (a) previous text(s) and/or is regarded as such by the public and critics" (Cattrysse, 1992a, p. 59).

Much like the making of any other film, the creation of a film adaptation represents both a social and commercial activity. Therefore, in order to study it, the activities surrounding its creation must also be examined (advertising, press releases, trailers, interviews, posters, criticism, etc.). The concept of *preliminary norms* refers to norms that operate before the adaptation or translation process begins. Therefore, they represent the "non-random mechanisms" that determine the selection of materials to be translated or adapted (Cattrysse, 2014, p. 254).

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<sup>45</sup> See Key Concepts and Terminology (1.1) for a more detailed explanation.

## **2. Analyzing film adaptation as a transfer process**

According to Cattrysse, the next phase in a systemic study of film adaptations involves shifting one's perspective from the products themselves to studying film adaptation as a transfer process. To do so, it is necessary to analyze the norms that determine the decisions made during the adaptation process itself: operative norms. These norms encompass all aspects of the filmmaking process. To uncover them, it is necessary to compare the films with their source texts, but it is important to note that this comparison is not an end in itself. Instead, it is a means by which researchers can uncover similarities and differences and examine whether these display any sort of systemic relation, whether that relation is within an adaptation itself or between adaptations within the same system. This analysis can serve to reveal very valuable information, such as which systemic relations exist and – more importantly - why. A plethora of reasons may exist. The presence of recurring similarities or differences suggests the presence of underlying norms. Similarities, on the one hand, suggest that the aspects under scrutiny originating from the source system have served as models for the film adaptation process. Differences, on the other hand, suggest that the agents involved in the creation of the film adaptation preferred adopting models that are closer to those of the target system. Meanwhile, the adherence to the norms of the source system determines the film adaptation's degree of loyalty to its source literary work, while the adherence to the norms of the target film system determines its acceptability upon reception.

According to Cattrysse, contributions from many fields of study<sup>46</sup> can be used in order to detect operative norms. In *Pour une théorie de l'adaptation filmique*, his 1992 study applied to American film noir (1992b), he proposes a comparative diagram that outlines a series of norms organized into two levels, semiotic and pragmatic, and two axes, literary and filmic (see Table 1).

**Table 1**

*Diagram for the study of operative norms*

Norms	Literary practices	Film practices
Semiotics	<i>Literary:</i> -Linguistic system -Typography <i>Theatrical:</i> -Oral phonetics -Mimicry, proxemics, etc. -Set design, lighting, etc.	-Mimicry, proxemics, etc. -Set design, lighting, etc. -Visual design: Frames, camera movements -Sound recording: sounds, musical scores, voice - <i>Postproduction:</i> -Visual post-production: image assembly -Audio post-production: sounds, musical scores, voice
Pragmatics	-Artistic norms -Practical norms	

*Source: Patrick Cattrysse (1992b, pp. 40-42)*

<sup>46</sup> This includes, but is not limited to, Linguistics, Narratology, Semiotics, Literary Studies, Film Studies, etc.

Here, semiotic norms refer to the functioning of signs within each semiotic system, which vary depending on the type of system. Within the literary practice, they are primarily concerned with the linguistic system itself (syntax, organization of morphemes, phonemes, etc.). In the case of written texts, typographic norms must also be taken into account (textual structure, typesetting, punctuation, etc.). Finally, in the case of theatre, non-verbal semiotic norms must also be considered, including mimicry, proxemics, kinesics, stage scenery, costume design, etc. Within the film practice, on the other hand, the same norms that govern a theatrical production must also be considered, as well as those governing audiovisual recording (set design, camera angles, sound recording, etc.). Post-production norms are further divided into two categories – visual and sound – distinguished by the assembly of images or the assembly of both linguistic and non-linguistic sounds, respectively.

Finally, the second level of pragmatic norms is divided into two categories: artistic norms and practical norms. Artistic norms govern the functioning of the individual semiotic systems and govern the storytelling practice itself, whether it be literary or audiovisual. These include, for instance, stylistic norms, narrative norms, aesthetic norms, genre norms, and rhetorical norms, among others. Other more socially governed norms may also preside over these norms, such as cultural, moral, social, economic, and political norms. Practical norms, on the other hand, have to do with the

merely practical aspects of storytelling, such as technical norms governing literary and film production itself.

### **3. Making connections between the conclusions formed in the first two phases**

To resume, according to Cattrysse, a systemic approach to the study of film adaptation requires three different phases: analyzing the film adaptation as a final product, analyzing film adaptation as a transfer process, and making connections between the conclusions formed in the first two phases. This third and final phase involves studying the relationships established between the transfer process and the function and position of the film adaptation as a film within its target film system. This global perspective allows for a greater understanding of the relationship between translation and film adaptation and their respective places within their larger systems. Overall, this clear, organized framework facilitates the descriptive, systemic analysis of film adaptation. In addition, it demonstrates the ability of Polysystem Theory to provide the necessary theoretical tools for the study of both literary translation and film adaptation.

#### **e) Polysystem Theory applied to both translation and adaptation**

In 2008, Susana Cañuelo drew upon the notion of norms and Cattrysse's framework to develop a theoretical model that allowed for the systematic and coherent identification of norms, the

examination of the role of film as a mediator between cultures and literary systems, and study of the intercultural exchange involved in the processes of film adaptation, audiovisual translation, and literary translation. To do so, she identified and introduced the concept of “combined norms,” or norms that govern the different ways in which these three transfer processes can be combined in the case of works that have been subject to both literary translation and film adaptation. According to Cañuelo, these norms provide valuable information regarding the steps taken in the transfer process. They serve to answer several important questions regarding the order in which the works were imported into their target literary and/or film system, whether or not other works or languages intervened, and how the combination of these three processes impact the reception of the works in their target systems. In order to address these questions, Cañuelo designed a complete analytical model that systematically illustrates the relations between film adaptation, audiovisual translation, and literary translation.

**Table 2**

*Film adaptation, audiovisual translation, and literary translation:  
An analytical model*

	<b>Film adaptation (FA)</b>	<b>Audiovisual translation (AVT)</b>	<b>Literary translation (LT)</b>
<b>Combined norms</b>	Combinations of these three processes		
<b>Preliminary norms</b>	-Description of target film system -Quantitative analysis -Selection factors	-Description of target film system -Quantitative analysis -Selection factors	-Description of target literary system -Quantitative analysis -Selection factors
<b>General reception norms</b>	General Reception -Forms of FA -Distribution and exhibition -Function and position of FA  Film adaptation (FA)	General Reception -Forms of AVT -Distribution and exhibition -Function and position of Audiovisual translation (AVT)	General Reception -Forms of LT -Distribution and position of LTs within the  Literary translation (LT)
<b>Individual reception norms</b>	within the target film system	AVTs within the target film system	target literary system



	Individual Reception -Identification of FA -Function and position of the literary work and FA within their corresponding systems -Influence of FA on the LT (if relevant)	Individual Reception -Identification of AVT -Function and position of the FA within both source and target film systems -Influence of LT on the AVT (if relevant)	Individual Reception -Identification of LT -Function and position of the LT within both source and target literary systems -Influence of AVT on the LT (if relevant)
<b>Operative norms</b>	The theme, subject matter, narrative voice and point of view, characters, setting (etc.)		
	Linguistic, visual, and sound factors	Linguistic and (if relevant) visual and sound factors	Linguistic factors

*Source: Susana Cañuelo (2008); author's own translation*

This model presents three vertical columns and four horizontal rows. The three columns correspond to the three transfer processes as objects of study: film adaptation, audiovisual translation, and literary translation. Meanwhile, the four horizontal rows correspond to what Cañuelo classifies as the four different types of norms governing these transfer processes, or what Cañuelo refers to as “transfer norms”: combined norms, preliminary norms, reception norms, and operative norms. The first three of these transfer norms correspond to Cattrysse’s first phase (1992b), in that they involve examining the three transfer processes from the perspective of the final products. This implies a detailed analysis of their respective

target systems. Meanwhile, the study of operative norms corresponds with the second phase of Catrysse's outline and consists of examining the norms that govern the decisions made during the transfer process itself. Therefore, this model builds off the previously explored concepts of norms in both translation and adaptation by systematically organizing the objects of study, with the addition of audiovisual translation and the notion of combined norms.

As previously mentioned, combined norms refer to all the possible ways in which film adaptation, audiovisual translation, and literary translation may be combined in the transfer of texts between cultures. Since these norms govern the combination of these processes and not simply the processes themselves, they provide valuable information on the steps involved in both the linguistic and semiotic intercultural transfer of texts. In order to conceptualize the possible combinations between literary translation, film adaptation, and audiovisual translation, Cañuelo designed a comprehensive model, as illustrated in Figure 2.<sup>47</sup>

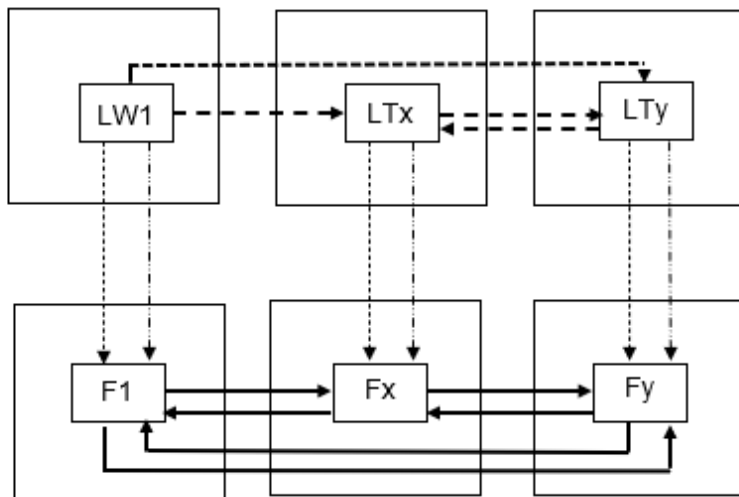
Overall, this model of relations consists of six basic elements: three literary works (one source text, LW1, and two target texts, LWx and LWy) and three films (one source film, F1, and two target films, Fx and Fy).

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<sup>47</sup> The model was first introduced in the year 2002 in *Adaptación cinematográfica y traducción: hacia una sistematización de sus relaciones*.

**Figure 2**

*Combined norms: General diagram of relations*



Each one of the works (products) is located within a system that varies depending upon the case. Meanwhile, the transfer processes are illustrated with arrows: the straight arrows indicate audiovisual translation, the striped arrows indicate literary translation, the dotted arrows refer to film adaptation, and the mixed arrows (both straight and striped) correspond to cases in which the intersemiotic and linguistic transfers have occurred in parallel or simultaneously. Here, it is important to note that this diagram only takes into account cases in which the triple combination of these processes has occurred (it does not, for instance, consider cases in which a film adaptation has arrived in a target culture but its corresponding literary text has not, and vice versa). This model can further be

broken down into five basic possible combinations, which may be further subdivided into various secondary combinations, as follows.

### **1. Combination I: Literary translation before film adaptation**

This combination includes all cases in which the literary translation of a work occurs before its film adaptation and/or audiovisual translation. Therefore, the first phase of transfer occurs between literary work A and literary work B. Later, an intersemiotic transfer takes place. This transfer may occur either between literary work A and film A, or between literary work B (the translation) and film A.

### **2. Combination II: Film adaptation before literary translation**

In Combination 2, the film adaptation precedes the literary translation. Therefore, the first transfer process that occurs is between literary work A and film A. This process may occur directly or combined with another linguistic transfer. After this, there are two alternative transfers: either the second process that occurs is the literary translation (literary work A to literary work B) and the third process is the audiovisual translation (film A to film b), or this occurs in reverse.

### **3. Combination III: Film adaptation from a translation**

This combination is characterized by a rather unique phenomenon: a film adaptation is made from what might be referred to as a

“literary adaptation.” Therefore, the first transfer process that occurs is a literary translation (literary work A to literary work B, within the same language), and the second is a film adaptation – but not from literary work A, but literary work B.

#### **4. Combination IV: Intermediate literary translation**

In this Combination, an intermediate system enters into play. In this combination, a Spanish literary work A is translated into another language (literary work B) and a film adaptation (film A) is made based on this literary translation. This film then undergoes audiovisual translation to be imported into the target film system as film adaptation B.

#### **5. Combination V: Intermediate audiovisual translation**

The fifth and final combination illustrated in Cañuelo’s model also involves the intervention of an intermediate system. As in the previous combination, a literary work A is translated into another language (literary work B) and a film adaptation A is made of this translated literary work within the film system of this intermediary language. This film is then dubbed or subtitled to be introduced into the target film system (film B). However, unlike the previous case, no previous translations of this text exist. Therefore, the source literary text makes its first intersemiotic appearance by means of *both* another literary and film system. A translation of the literary work may or may not proceed the film adaptation, and, if it does, it

may be either produced from literary work A or its translation, literary work B.

Overall, this model provides a systemic analytical tool for the study of the relations between literary translation, film adaptation, and audiovisual translation building off of a polysystem theoretical framework. As such, it allows for the analysis of several illustrative factors, including possible selection factors, patterns in the transfer and reception of works, and the ability to define the position and function of the works in their target context as well as the role these three forms of transfer play in the intercultural exchange between two countries (Cañuelo, 2008). Bearing in mind these benefits, this model will be drawn upon for the development of a similar model of analysis adapted to the scope of this study, which will be explored at the end of this chapter.

#### f) The benefits of a Polysystem approach

In summary, the introduction of the notions provided by the Polysystem framework has proved significantly beneficial to the fields of both Translation and Adaptation Studies and its use has been advocated by many researchers. One such researcher is Dirk Delabastista, who claims that Toury's "greatest single gift" to Translation Studies is that he "has sharpened our sense of the historical variability of translation" by providing researchers with the theoretical tools to model variability and observe it more efficiently (Desabastista, 2008, p. 233). Toury's notion of norms

itself has provided countless benefits to the study of translation and adaptation. From its very conception, the notion has proved very useful in Translation Studies as it allowed researchers to go beyond simply comparing a translated text to its source text and instead encouraged them to examine the many aspects that shape the final product. Therefore, the approach became target-text centered instead of source-text centered. As stated by Hermans:

The relevance of norms in this outlook is that the sum of the choices made by the translator determines the shape of the end product and hence not just the nature of the relation between the translation and its proto text but also the way the translation is likely to be perceived by the audience for which it is intended (2012, p. 3).

As previously mentioned, this marks a pivotal shift from previous approaches to the study of translation. In addition, Hermans has observed that the Polysystem approach has been able to better locate translation within a broader socio-cultural context and accommodate a wider range of “traditionally neglected texts” (1999, p. 118). Meanwhile, in his advocacy for the use of the Polysystem Framework in the study of film adaptation, Patrick Cattrysse (2014) has very concisely summarized the global benefits of a Polysystem approach, which can be extended to both Translation Studies and Adaptation Studies:

**1. The polysystem approach is descriptive rather than prescriptive, which entails a "functional" definition of the object of study.**

A Polysystem approach does not seek to evaluate translations (or adaptations) based on their faithfulness to their – often celebrated – source text or criticize or prescribe how a translation or adaptation should be made. Instead, it seeks to describe the features of a translation (adaptation) and explain why these features exist. Since a translation (adaptation) is defined as anything that "functions as a translation (adaptation) in one particular space-time context" (Toury, 1985, p. 20), studies are no longer limited to prestigious texts, but instead can focus on anything that functions as a translation (adaptation) in a particular place and time.

**2. The polysystem approach is target (con)text-oriented rather than fidelity-based.**

A polysystem approach to translation or adaptation focuses on the end product of translation (adaptation) and how that product functions as a translation (adaptation) in its particular context. Instead of comparing a target text to its source text, the polysystem approach seeks to describe the target text and explain how its context shaped the final product.



### **3. The polysystem approach utilizes a trans-individual, systemic, and corpus-based approach.**

Studies using this approach are no longer based on the author's intentions and what the author considers to be worth studying, but instead places works in their historical, socio-cultural context and seek explanations with trans-individual or societal facts. In this way, the polysystem approach assumes a systemic and systematic examination, instead of a simple comparison between the source text and target text or format. The approach also encourages the selection of works based on their target context, not their source context (for example: "Translated/adapted English literature in the 1950's" vs. "Shakespeare in translation/adaptation"). This assumes a more trans-individual, systemic, and corpus-based study.

#### **g) The limitations of a Polysystem approach**

Despite these benefits and the more recent application of Polysystem Theory in the field of Adaptation Studies, it is important to note that Polysystem Theory has fallen out of use in the field of Translation Studies. Some researchers have argued that Polysystem Theory is not capable of addressing the complexities and versatility of translation phenomena. One primary argument is that, as an ultimately text-based approach, Polysystem Theory poses the risk of depersonalization, as it does not concern itself with individuals, groups, or institutions, but instead with text and the systems they comprise (Hermans, 1999). In addition, Hermans argues that the

primary versus secondary opposition acts as a sort of “self-fulfilling prophecy” in that it cannot be extrapolated from within the systems themselves but is instead later superimposed by researchers (1999, p. 118). Ultimately, he also argues that the binary logic of Polysystem Theory is too simplistic to truly address the complex phenomenon revealed by real-life case studies. Chang (2011) also echoes Hermans’ concerns and highlights the inherent research limitation of even descriptive approaches in altering the perception of the object of study by recognizing that they “may expose certain aspects of a system that the system wishes to hide” (p. 342). In doing so, he sheds light on the potential role of research itself in contributing to the legitimization of systems. While drawing attention to how the peripheral systems may contribute to their legitimization and perhaps even a growing centrality, acknowledging the dominant position of central systems and norms could even be taken as an endorsement. It is, therefore, increasingly important to recognize the complexity of the phenomenon under study and the roles of individuals, groups, and institutions in shaping it.

Nevertheless, even if there are limitations to the polysystem framework, there is also still room for it to be expanded upon (Chang, 2011). As Edwin Gentzler mentions:

The advantage of Polysystem theory is that it allows for its own augmentation and integrates the study of literature with the study of social and economic forces of history. Even-Zohar

uses the term “poly” just to allow for such elaboration and complexity without having to limit the number of relations and interconnections. (2001, p. 119)

It has been argued that these limitations can be addressed through dialogue with other complementary theories, particularly the more recent, socio-cultural approaches, to provide a more comprehensive framework (Chang, 2011). In the following section, these approaches will be briefly presented and examined to address these limitations and develop this more comprehensive framework within the context of this study.

#### h) A cultural turn

The increasingly popular socio-cultural theoretical focus in Translation Studies stemmed from what has commonly been referred to as the “cultural turn”<sup>48</sup> that took place in the 1990s and was first explored in the work of theorists Bassnett and Lefevere in their collection of essays entitled *Translation, History, and Culture* (1990). This turn followed the epistemological shift marked by the introduction of Even-Zohar's polysystem theory (1979) and Toury's notion of norms in translation but sought to transcend the limitations

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<sup>48</sup> This term first appeared in the collection of essays entitled *Translation, History and Culture* edited by Bassnett and Lefevere in 1990. It was adapted by the editors as a metaphor for the cultural reorientation of Translation Studies that characterized the essays within the collection. For a more in-depth analysis of the term, see the work of Snell-Hornby (2006, 2009).

of these approaches by placing a clearer focus on the functions of a text as conditioned by the larger socio-cultural context (Bassnett & Lefevere, 1990). In *Constructing Cultures: Essays on Literary Translation* (1998), a later collection by the same authors, Bassnett and Lefevere address the inherently socio-cultural nature of translation by referring to it as a “laboratory” for the study of cultural interaction” (1998, p. 6). They go on to explain how comparing source texts with their translations not only serves to reveal the restrictions translators have been subject to in certain times and places, but also to expose which strategies they developed to work around these restrictions. Therefore, studying translation from this cultural perspective can provide researchers with “something like a synchronic snapshot of many features of a given culture at a given time” and reveal the notable influence of certain translations on the evolution of societies and history (1998, p. 6).

A key figure in the development of this approach is André Lefevere, who focused on the production and reception of texts themselves. In *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (1992), he examines the factors that govern the reception and acceptance of literary texts and presents the notions of rewriting, manipulation, and patronage. The term **rewriting** stems from Lefevere’s earlier concept of *refraction*, which he had used to describe “the adaptation of a work of literature to a different audience, with the intention of influencing the way in which that audience reads the work” (Lefevere 1982, p. 205). This later gave way to the term *rewriting*, which he uses to refer to all means of

processing (adapting) a text, whether they be translations, reviews, anthologies, film adaptations, critical commentaries, etc. All these forms of rewriting entail a **manipulation** of the source text and may be either positive or negative, as emphasized by Lefevere in the introduction to his book:

All rewritings, whatever their intention, reflect a certain ideology and a poetics and as such manipulate literature to function in a given society in a given way. Rewriting is manipulation, undertaken in the service of power, and in its positive aspect can help in the evolution of a literature and a society. Rewriting can introduce new concepts, new genres, new devices and the history of translation is the history also of literary innovation, of the shaping power of one culture upon another. But rewriting can also repress innovation, distort and contain, and in an age of ever-increasing manipulation of all kinds, the study of the manipulation processes of literature is exemplified by translation can help us towards a greater awareness of the world in which we live. (1992, p. xii)

Bearing in mind the previously explored systemic approach, this framework sought to take it a step further by understanding how

these complex cultural systems are manipulated and controlled. Thus, it shifts its focus from the literary systems themselves to the cultural agents involved in their creation and manipulation both from within and outside of them. This necessary manipulation ensures that the literary system does not distance itself too far from other social systems, i.e., that it maintains its place within the greater cultural polysystem. Overall, Lefevere identifies two primary controlling factors that ensure this: professionals and patrons (1992).

**1. Professionals** – such as critics, reviewers, professors, and translators – seek to control the system from within. To do so, they either rewrite works in a way that makes them acceptable to society or destroy them. According to Lefevere, these professionals are moved by two forces: poetics and ideology.

a. *Poetics* refers to what literature should be. This includes both the inventory of literary devices and symbols (genres, motifs, characterization, etc.) as well as the overarching concept of what the role of literature is or should be to be noticed at all.

b. *Ideology*, meanwhile, refers to the governing idea of what society itself should be, or “the conceptual grid that consists of opinions and attitudes deemed acceptable in a certain society at a certain time, and through which readers and translation approach text” (in Bassnett & Lefevere, 1998, p. 48).

**2.** The second controlling factor, **patronage** refers to any form of “the powers (persons, institutions) that can further or hinder the

reading, writing, and rewriting of literature” (1992, p. 15). In many cases, patronage is exercised by publishing companies, foundations, and cultural ministries. However, it may also be exercised by individuals, the media, political parties, and institutions, among other groups. Three interacting components make up patronage: an ideological component, which acts as a constraint when developing forms and subject matter; an economic component, which governs the writer’s or rewriter’s compensation; and a social status component, which determines the place that the professional may occupy within society (recognition, prestige, etc.). Literary systems may be controlled by patronage that is undifferentiated (all three of these components are controlled by a single power) or differentiated (these components act independently, and economic success or status is not necessarily dependent upon ideology and vice versa).

Overall, this study of the relationships between power and ideological factors linked to patronage seeks to explain how translation and other forms of rewriting interfere in the evolution of a determined literary and cultural system. Lefevere’s approach places a greater emphasis on the interaction between a system and its environment as well as its internal organization and control mechanisms, therefore highlighting the notion of social context and bridging the systems thinking of the past to a growing socio-cultural focus. This emphasis marked a notable shift in Translation Studies from a primarily linguistic approach essentially concerned with texts themselves to a more widely focused approach centered on cultural context (Bielsa Mialet, 2010). The cultural turn in

translation has sought to take into account the many cultural factors at play in translation and how they shape and determine the translation process and products within their broader cultural context. More recently, this cultural turn has led to a progressively more sociological approach to translation.

## **1.4 A sociological approach**

### **a) Origins**

The recognition of the inherently social nature and potential of a sociological approach to translation, or a sociology of translation, is nothing new to Translation Studies. In fact, recognition of the sociological nature of the study of translation can even be traced back to the origins of the field itself in the work of James Holmes. In his 1972 paper “The name and nature of Translation Studies,” Holmes mentioned that:

Pursuing such questions as which texts were (and, often as important, were not) translated at a certain time in a certain place, and what influences were exerted in consequence, this area of research is one that has attracted less concentrated attention...Greater emphasis on it could lead to the development of a field of translation sociology. (p. 177)



Nevertheless, the systemic study of translation from a sociological lens did not occur until after the 1990s, when a series of works contributed to the emergence of this “translation sociology,” to use Holmes’ terminology. While the cultural turn marked a paradigmatic turning point in Translation Studies, few studies examined the implications of the socio-cultural factors comprising the context in which a translation takes place. However, the work of Susan Bassnett and Andre Levefere recognized that translations have always reflected the cultural and historical conditions in which they have been produced, thus broadening the object of study to “text embedded within its network of both source and target cultural signs” (Bassnett & Lefevre, 1990, p. 12). This opened the door to the development of new methodologies that sought to examine the socio-cultural power relations behind translation, many of which were borrowed from other fields.<sup>49</sup> In the wake of this cultural shift, the conviction that any translation is inevitably bound within social contexts has been increasingly shared by researchers in the field, as Michaela Wolf summarizes:

On the one hand, the act of translating, in all its various stages, is undeniably carried out by individuals who belong to a social system; on the other, the translation phenomenon is inevitably implicated in social institutions, which greatly determine the

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<sup>49</sup> See, for instance, the rise in publications adapting feminist, postcolonial or ethnographic approaches, among others (Wolf, 2006, 2012).

selection, production, and distribution of translation, and as a result, the strategies adopted in the translation itself. (Wolf, 2011, p. 3)

To study these phenomena from the broader social lens their examination necessarily requires, there has been an increasing call to borrow from the methodology of the field of sociology for the development of a more inclusive framework. It was at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century when the sociological approach to the study of translation began to truly take root, most notably in the work of Jean-Marc Gouanic. In *Sociologie de la traduction: La science-fiction américaine dans le champ littéraire français*, Gouanic demonstrated the applied utility of a sociological approach in the study of the influence of American science fiction in the French cultural field after World War II (1999). His later works have expanded upon this framework, including a sociological approach to the analysis of film adaptation of *Huckleberry Finn* (2004) and the case of translated American literature in France after the second World War (1997). This approach has also been widely explored in the work of Pascale Casanova (2002, 2004), Daniel Simeoni (1998; 2007), Claudia Angelelli (2014), Michaela Wolf (1999; 2006; 2007; 2012), Hélène Buzelin (2013), Gisella Vorderobermeier (ed., 2014), Gisèle Sapiro (2008; 2019; 2013, among others) and Johan Heilbron (1999) as well as his collaborations (van Es, 2015). One of these collaborations included an edition of the review founded by Pierre Bourdieu, *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* (2002), which

was dedicated entirely to the exploration of the international circulation of literature and ideas. In 2005, an issue of *The Translator* was also dedicated to the theme, entitled “Bourdieu and the Sociology of Translating and Interpreting,” edited by Moira Inghilleri. This was followed by a conference in Graz, Australia entitled “Translating and interpreting as a Social Practice” which took place later that same year. The works presented at the conference were later collected and published in the anthology *Constructing a Sociology of Translation* (Wolf and Fukari, 2007). Later explorations of this approach have included Sergey Tyulenev’s publication *Translation and Society* (2014) and a special edition of *MonTi* journal entitled “Applied Sociology in Translation/Sociología aplicada a la traducción,” as well as many other isolated publications (Díaz-Fouces & Monzó, 2010). Overall, these works have sought to examine the conditions that determine given translation behaviors within their social contexts, reveal the underlying values that determine how translators develop and project a certain image, examine translators’ and interpreters’ place with a larger, global environment, and analyze the international flows in the circulation of cultural products, most notably books (Bielsa Mialet, 2010). While there have been several notable sociological contributions to the study of translation,<sup>50</sup> the most

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<sup>50</sup> Here, it is also important to mention the application of two other theories: Niklas Luhmann’s Social Systems Theory (1982), most notably in the work of Tyulenev (2006; 2011; 2012); as well as Callon and Latour’s Actor-network Theory (1997, 2005), which argues for an increasing focus on the interacting between humans and non-human artifacts (in Zheng, 2017).

drawn upon have been the theoretical contributions of Pierre Bourdieu.

## b) Key concepts

### i) Bourdieu's theory of symbolic goods

The basic premise of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's theory of symbolic goods is the idea that there is a social purpose behind every aspect of cultural production, including art and literature (Bourdieu, 1984). However, his work was primarily concerned with power dynamics in society. Often viewed as a macro-sociological form of structuralism, Bourdieu's sociology seeks to oppose dualistic notions and instead proposes a series of concepts to explain how various elements of society interact. This "theory of action," as Jean-Marc Gouanvic refers to it, conceptualizes a bi-directional relationship "between the social trajectory of the agent...and the objective structures" (2005, pp. 147-148). This is done using four key notions, which form the foundation of his framework. The four interrelated primary notions of Bourdieu's theoretical framework are field, habitus, capital, and illusion:<sup>51</sup>

**1. Field** refers to a structured system of social relationships occupied by both individuals and institutions. It is, essentially, the environment in which individual agents and their social positions

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<sup>51</sup> For a much more detailed analysis of Bourdieu and the sociology of translation, see Inghilleri (2005).

are located. Consequently, the position of each agent within the field is the result of the particular rules of the field as well as the agent's habitus and capital. These interactions are also determined by the power relationships that are established to maintain both identity and difference, which leads to the interaction of fields with each other and a hierarchical structure (Bourdieu, 1984). In the case of literary translation, for instance, these fields represent the literary fields within their source and target cultures. Upon creation or translation, literary works find a place within these fields that is determined by their "unique relationship with the social world" (Gouanvic & Schultz, 2010, p. 123).

**2.** Next, **habitus** refers to our socialized subjectivity, or how we perceive the reality of our surroundings. Essentially, a habitus is the set of habits, abilities, and dispositions that we possess due to our life experiences. Thus, individuals with a similar background tend to share a similar habitus (Bourdieu, 1984). When applied to translation, habitus refers to the role of individual agents - translators, literary agents, publishers, critics, etc. - that are all involved in the importation, publication, and reception of the work in its target field (Gouanvic & Schultz, 2010).

**3. Capital** refers to the accumulated assets acquired by the social agent or symbolic good that the individual or good incorporates into his/her/its identity. These may be social (the result of interpersonal relationships), economic (material possessions), cultural (deriving from educational, cultural, or artistic instruction), or symbolic

(stemming from social prestige or esteem) (Bourdieu, 1984; Gouanvic & Schultz, 2010).

4. Lastly, according to Bourdieu's theory, **illusio** can be metaphorically understood as “that originating adherence to the literary game which grounds the belief in the importance or interest of literary fictions” (1986, p. 333). Overall, it reflects the social agents’ interest in participating in this “literary game.” Thus, it governs the practice of textual production and can be seen through the use of certain techniques that lead to the creation of, for instance, genres (Gouanvic & Schultz, 2010).

It is important to note that all of these notions are interrelated and rely upon each other, as can be noted in Bourdieu’s definition of the notion of *field* itself:

[...] the literary field is a force-field as well as a field of struggles which aim at transforming or maintaining the established relation of forces: each of the agents commits the force (the capital) that he has acquired through previous struggles to strategies that depend for their general direction on his position in the power struggle, that is, on his specific capital. (1990, p. 143)

While these notions have been applied to the field of translation in several studies, the most notable of which is perhaps the work of Moira Inghilleri, who has extensively surveyed the relevance of Bourdieu's sociological perspectives to translation and interpreting studies (2003, 2005). It is also of interest to note the work of Jean-Marc Gouavanic, who recognized the value of Bourdieu's notions to study translation as a socio-semiotic practice determined by ideology. While exploring various cases of American literature in the French cultural field,<sup>52</sup> he explored Bourdieu's theory as a framework for examining the social nature of translation as a practice that is based on the interaction between two basic instances:

1. The field, or the external instance in which the literary text is being produced (namely, in the context of this study, the French literary institution);
2. The habitus, or the internal environment comprised of the agents involved in the production of the text itself. (Gouavanic, 2005)

Using this framework allowed him to examine the French literary field with a focus on the country's legal attempts at censorship. In doing so, Gouavanic sought to demonstrate how translators import foreign works by orientating them into a new cultural context under

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<sup>52</sup> See Gouavanic (1999, 2004, 2005, 2007).

the influence of a bicultural habitus. In addition, he revealed how different genres are conditioned by an *illusio* that both determines the readers' preferences and ensures that translators adhere to the social interest that characterizes the text itself. Overall, according to Gouanic, borrowing certain notions from Bourdieu's sociological framework allows for a social theory that takes symbolic goods and social agents into account, notions that appear to be "essential to a thorough knowledge of the challenges of translation" (2007, p. 91). Overall, Bourdieu's conceptualization of the relationship between structure and agency has allowed for the analysis of translations within given historical and socio-cultural contexts to better understand the impact of translators and the system of networks in which they operate. This complex sociological context has been further explored from a sociological approach addressed at studying the transnational circulation of cultural goods.

## ii) The transnational circulation of cultural goods

In *The World Republic of Letters* (2004) French literary critic Pascale Casanova widens Bourdieu's framework of the field of cultural production to an international context. She describes the nature of world literature and reveals the inherently hierarchical structure of the world literary system.<sup>53</sup> This hierarchical structure has been widely explored within the context of Translation Studies

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<sup>53</sup> For more on the notion of world literature, a concept which has been widely explored within the context of Literary Studies, see the work of Damrosch (2003, 2009). Within the context of translation, see Chaudhuri (2012).



in the work of Johan Heilbron and Gisele Sapiro. In “Towards a Sociology of Translation: Book Translations as a Cultural World System” (1999), Heilbron argues that book translation forms part of a cultural world system. Using terminology that appears to borrow from Polysystem Theory while adapting a sociological lens, Heilbron observes that this world literary system works from a core-periphery structure which accounts for the uneven flow of translations between language groups and the different role that translations play within these groups. He suggests that a language is more central in the world system of translation when it has a larger share in the total number of books translated worldwide. In his later works, as well as the complementary work of Gisele Sapiro and their collaborations, both of these researchers have sought to develop a coherent framework for the sociological study of the global circulation of literature and books in particular.<sup>54</sup>

According to the work of Sapiro and Heilbron, in order to fully address the complex sociological context surrounding a text, adopting a sociological approach to translation involves taking into account several aspects that condition the transnational circulation of cultural goods. These include:

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<sup>54</sup> See Heilbron (1999, 2000, 2010), Heilbron & van Es (2015), Heilbron & Sapiro (2007), and Sapiro (2003, 2008, 2010, 2016), among others.

## **A. The structure of the field of international cultural exchanges**

Translation is, essentially, a means through which nation-states or linguistic groups connect and communicate with one another. It can thus be understood as a transnational transfer that is marked by a clearly unequal exchange due to the political, economic, and cultural power struggles that are unevenly distributed between these nation-states and linguistic groups (Heilbron & Sapiro, 2007). In the fields of Sociology, Linguistics, Literary Studies, and Translation Studies, this unequal exchange and resulting power struggle can be measured by the number of primary and secondary speakers of a language (de Swaan, 2001) or the symbolic capital that various countries accumulate within each particular field of cultural production (Cassanova, 2007). This unequal exchange leads to the formation of a “highly hierarchized” global system of translation (Heilbron & Sapiro, 2007, p. 3).

By adopting this approach, it is possible to recognize and visualize the structure of this global system by drawing upon statistical data, such as the data concerning the international market for translated books. Heilbron demonstrates this in his analysis of the *Index Translationum* database in which he reveals the unequal distribution of book translations by language.<sup>55</sup> This analysis illustrates what

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<sup>55</sup> This study is summarized in his 2010 address at the UNESCO symposium “Translation and Cultural Mediation” entitled “Structure and Dynamics of the World System of Translation.”

Heilbron refers to in his core-periphery model as a four-level structure of the global translation market:

1. The first level is comprised of a single **hypercentral language**<sup>56</sup> – English – from which between 55-60% of all book translations are made. English thus dominates the global translation market.

2. On the second level, we have **central languages**, which together represent approximately 20% of all translations. These include German and French, each with an approximate 10% share of the market.<sup>57</sup>

3. The third level consists of **semi-central languages** which are neither very central nor very peripheral on a global level with respect to their share of translations. According to Heilbron, there are approximately 7-8 of these languages. They include Spanish, Italian, and Russian, each with a 1-3% share of the market.

4. Finally, **peripheral languages** – such as Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, and Portuguese – each make up about 1% of the global translation market. These languages are often uniquely characterized as representing a large number of speakers, but very few translations.

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<sup>56</sup> A term borrowed from Abram de Swaam's work *Words of the World: The Global Language System* (2001).

<sup>57</sup> Here, it is important to note the distinction between this finding and that of Casanova's work, in which she places French in a hyper-central position (2004).

It is important to note that, bearing in mind the approximately 7,111 languages currently in existence at the time of this study, translations are only made from approximately 200 languages (Heilbron, 2010).<sup>58</sup> Thus, countless languages are not represented in this model. It is also important to clarify that this structure seeks to serve as a basic conceptual framework, and thus presents several notable limitations – namely, that many languages may fall into intermediate levels, that this model has been developed from the number of books translated (and not the number of copies printed) and the fact that it must be recognized that this structure is in constant fluctuation. Nevertheless, Heilbron’s study demonstrated how this overarching framework allows researchers to empirically observe the uneven translation flows that shape this system to better understand how and why they do so in a descriptive manner. This can then be further analyzed from a sociological lens.

**B. The type of social constraints (whether political, economic, or cultural) that influence these exchanges**

According to Heilbron and Sapiro (2007), it is next important to bear in mind is that international cultural exchanges are differentiated according to three main factors: political factors, economic relations, and cultural exchanges. How texts circulate within the international field depends upon the logic of these three factors. However, it is most notably shaped by the polarization

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<sup>58</sup> See Eberhard, Simons, & Fennig (eds.) (2019).

between political and economic factors. Thus, in the case of a country with an economic and cultural field that is politically governed (such as a communist country), the production and circulation of cultural goods are also highly politicized. On the other hand, in a liberal market-governed economy (such as that of the United States), cultural goods circulate based on profitability. While this polarization is very evident, there are also a series of possible configurations in which the importance of the political and economic factors varies depending on the degree of production in the national market and the degree to which the cultural factors fulfill an ideological purpose. This framework can be used to analyze both national markets and the increasingly globalized world market.

### **C. The agents of intermediation as well as the importation and exportation processes**

Finally, the dynamics of translation depend on the structure of the reception and on how relevant intermediaries shape social demand. These intermediaries may be either institutions (embassies, cultural institutes, translation institutes, journals, etc.) or individual agents (authors, translators, critics, academics, researchers, etc.). In order to understand the dynamics behind the circulation of foreign literature through translation (and, by extension, foreign movies through adaptation), it is important to examine not just the structure of the international space, but also the reception space and everything that governs it (Heilbron & Sapiro, 2007).

Overall, through this framework, Heilbron and Sapiro have sought to develop a sociological approach to translation practices that incorporates both an interpretive and economic framework. Thus, this framework seeks to embrace the entire set of social relations in which translations are created and circulated bearing in mind the international field and cultural sub-fields, as well as the important political, economic, and social factors that govern the production and circulation of translations. It can therefore serve as a conceptual bridge between the previously systemic approaches – such as Polysystem Theory – and more recent sociological approaches, such as that which stems from the work of Bourdieu.

### c) A sociological approach to film adaptation

#### i) Origins

Bearing in mind the usefulness of the framework provided by this sociological approach to literary translation, it is interesting to also consider its application to the field of Film Adaptation studies. While the sociological nature of film itself was present in researchers' minds from the very origins of Film Studies,<sup>59</sup> a sociological approach to films as cultural products was not visible until much later, particularly after the “cultural turn” in Film Studies

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<sup>59</sup> See Mayer (1946), Tudor (1976), and Jarvie (1970).

that took place in the early 1990s (Turner, 2008).<sup>60</sup> Prior to this shift to a more cultural focus, film theorist Dudley Andrew mentioned the need for adaptation studies to “take a sociological turn” (1984, p. 104). Nevertheless, it was not until over a decade later that this sociological turn truly gained momentum. In 1999, Graeme Turner’s book *Film as a Social Practice* represented a pioneering work that reflected this shift and sought to analyze the social and cultural aspects of film, including ideologies, audiences, and exhibition. In a later anthology examining the discipline of Film Studies and its conversations with other disciplines, Turner mentions this “series of pluralizing shifts that better reflects the social and cultural resonance of the locations of its objects of study” (Turner, 2008, p. 273). It is a shift that is beginning to become increasingly visible within the developing field of Film Adaptation Studies, most notably in the work of R. Barton Palmer (2004) and the interdisciplinary studies of Jean-Marc Gouanvic (2004) and Simone Murray (2013). In “The Sociological Turn of Adaptation Studies: The Example of Film Noir,” Palmer advocates for a sociological approach to Adaptation Studies, which he argues would allow the field to move beyond what remains to be a predominantly textual focus. Palmer uses Catrysse’s research in film noir from a Polysystem approach as a starting point to explore the potential of what he argues should be a less structuralist and

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<sup>60</sup> It is naturally interesting to note that this occurred during same time period in which the similar “cultural turn” was taking place in Translation Studies (Section 1.3).

more Bakhtinian approach.<sup>61</sup> According to Palmer, this approach would allow for the recognition of the socially dynamic nature of norms and systems (2004). Meanwhile, Gouanvic demonstrates a clearly Bourdieusian approach to his 2004 analysis of the translations and adaptations of Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* from the sociological lens he also contributed to developing within Translation Studies.

#### d) The cultural economy of literary adaptation

However, perhaps the most coherent framework for a sociology of film adaptation can be found in the work of Simone Murray. In *The Adaptation Industry: The Cultural Economy of Contemporary Literary Adaptation*, Murray proposes a new methodology for the field of Adaptation Studies that re-imagines adaptation as “a *material* phenomenon produced by a system of institutional interests and actors” (2008). In doing so, she seeks to shift focus from both previous textual analysis and formalist traditions and instead seeks alternative methodologies from complementary fields of cultural research. These include frameworks from the political economy strand of media analysis,<sup>62</sup> cultural theory,<sup>63</sup> and book

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<sup>61</sup> This approach stems from the work of Russian theorist Mikhail Bakhtin, whose ideas applied to film theory were popularized by Julia Kristeva's notion of intertextuality (1980).

<sup>62</sup> See, for instance, Mosco (1996), Elsaesser (1998); Schiller (1999), McChesney (2000); and Murray (2003; 2005).

<sup>63</sup> See Jenkins (2006) and Murray (2005), among others.



history.<sup>64</sup> Murray merges aspects from each of these fields of study to develop a predominantly source-orientated model for the literary adaptation industry while bearing in mind Bourdieu's concept of cultural "field" in its conceptualization. Her model outlines the adaptation industry as a cultural economy comprised of six interconnected institutions ("nodal points"), all of which are social stakeholders involved in the creation and circulation of adaptations (2008, p. 12). These include authors, agents, publishers, book prize committees, scriptwriters, and screen producers/distributors. In Murray's model, each of the six nodal points is connected by the bidirectional flow of both commercial and cultural capital:

1. **Authors** sacrifice a portion of their commission in exchange for the increased access to publishers provided by literary agents;
2. **Literary agents** use their "gate-keeping function" to gain editors' attention;
3. **Editors and publishing houses** provide commercial reimbursement and promote specific literary prizes in exchange for exposure;
4. **Literary prizes** and their sales contribute to commercial and cultural capital, both of which "deliver proven audiences for film and television adaptations of prize-winning books" (2008, p. 12);
5. The **adaptations** in turn spark demand for the re-consumption of the content in book form.

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<sup>64</sup> See Darnton (1982), Adams & Barker (1993); Reynolds (1993); and Murray (2007).

However, in addition to these evident exchanges among stakeholders, there are also many additional complex exchanges among non-adjacent nodal points: for example, a publisher may take advantage of the film adaptation to display movie posters to enhance book sales, both authors and literary agents gain commercial and cultural capital in the form of royalties and attention from film adaptations, etc. Overall, according to Murray, the interaction between these stakeholders creates a series of interconnected tensions and relations that define the adaptation industry (2008, 2013).

Overall, Simone Murray's mode does indeed materialize Adaptation Studies. In doing so, it provides what is arguably the first systemic examination of how – and why – adaptations are made from a sociological perspective, bearing in mind all of the agents involved. While this industry-centered model places a clear emphasis on the literary aspects of adaptation, it also helps to materialize and conceptualize the process of literary adaptation itself. In addition, it recognizes the equal importance of both economic and cultural capital in the industry, including an important examination of the role of prizes.<sup>65</sup> Finally, it is important to note that Murray's framework addresses the clear call towards a sociological approach to the study of film adaptation. According to Perdikaki, many contemporary theoretical trends in Adaptation

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<sup>65</sup> Here, it is interesting to note that the role of awards and festivals in the consecration of literary works has also been explored in the work of Sapiro (2016).

Studies and Translation Studies "envisage synergies between the two areas that can contribute to [the examination of] the sociocultural and artistic value of adaptations" (2017, p. 3). Thus, the use of a sociological approach to the study of film adaptation also addresses a notable gap in current research.

#### e) The benefits of a sociological approach

To begin with, it is important to note some of the theoretical and methodological benefits provided by the sociological approach that are shared with Polysystem theory. Much like Polysystem Theory, a sociological approach to the study of translation is also descriptive rather than prescriptive, which involves a functional definition of the object(s) of study. It is also target (con)text-oriented instead of fidelity-based and opts for a trans-individual, systemic, and often statistical or corpus-based approach. In addition to this, however, a sociological approach to translation – and, by extension, adaptation – expands upon these benefits by recognizing the complex social nature of the object of study in its entirety.

By providing a theoretical and methodological framework for better understanding the socio-cultural context surrounding and governing a given social practice, this sociological approach also provides the tools to understand the functions *behind* the practice and seeks to recognize the social motivation of the many possible agents that comprise, interact, and shape it. In the case of translation, a sociological approach goes a long way towards explaining the

multiple functions of translation. As summarized by Heilbron and Sapiro, a translation may essentially function as:

- An instrument of mediation and exchange,
- A political or economic tool,
- A mode of legitimization<sup>66</sup> (2007, pp. 11-12).

Thus, the value of a translation does not just depend upon the limiting notions of source text equivalence or fidelity or even simply the placement of a text within its economic or linguistic system, but also the positions of all the agents involved in the creation, production, and reception of the translation within both their national fields and larger global field. Another notable benefit of a sociological approach to translation – particularly one founded on Bourdieu's theoretical framework - comes from the benefits of the social theory of symbolic goods itself. This theory does not simply reduce literary objects to the status of economic goods, but instead bears in mind the social influences that shape and determine the creation and circulation of these symbolic goods (Gouanvic & Schultz, 2010). Meanwhile, remarks by researchers in this growing field, like those of John Heilbron, highlight the potential of this framework within the broader context of cultural studies: “[t]he sociology of translation may well become a new branch of the sociology of culture and a promising domain for the study of the cultural world-system” (1999, p. 440).

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<sup>66</sup> Similar, it is interesting to note, as what the Polysystem framework would consider a mode of canonization (1990).

In addition, this theoretical framework has the added benefit of allowing for the visualization of socio-historical changes. This is because it provides the tools for "analyzing the flows of translations in the light of the power relations among languages also allows a better understanding of historical changes" (Heilbron & Sapiro, 2007, p. 4). This benefit will prove to be particularly relevant in this study since it involves such a broad historical time frame and the conditions to study how the fluctuation in power relations between one country (Spain) is reflected through the literary works and film adaptations that are imported and circulated in another (the United States).

#### f) The limitations of a sociological approach

There are three cited limitations of a sociological approach to translation, most of which stem from its emerging nature within the context of Translation Studies. The first problem involves the terminology surrounding the approach itself. Various terms have been used to describe this approach, including "sociology of translation," "sociological approach to translation," "translation sociology" and "socio-translation studies." According to Wolf, this is because studies within this new paradigm are still establishing themselves (2007, p. 31). Nevertheless, it has been argued that a more unified terminology is necessary for the studies in this branch. Therefore, it is also important to reiterate that the term "sociological approach" has been selected for this paper because of its widespread use in the research dedicated to surveying this approach.

Another problem facing the sociological approach to translation is that it is difficult to clearly define its object of study and scope and develop a model that can do so. In *Constructing a Sociology of Translation*, Michaela Wolf highlights three different types of studies within this sociological approach: the sociological study of agents, the sociology of the translation process, and a sociology of the cultural product (2007, pp. 13-18). However, the variety of possibilities for applying a sociological approach to translation makes it increasingly difficult to define a finite scope of these studies and develop a more comprehensive methodology. Meanwhile, according to Heilbron and Sapiro, the approaches used within these studies are often at odds with each other. On the one hand, many studies are performed using what Heilbron and Sapiro refer to as “the interpretive approach,” an approach that contains two opposite tendencies: an objectivist framework that stems from classic hermeneutics, and a relativist conceptualization that concentrates more on the appropriation and instability of texts and the mutual permeability of cultures. However, both of these tendencies fail to truly address the social conditions surrounding the interpretive act. On the other hand, we find the economic approach, which adopts a more macro-level economic approach to translations as products. However, in doing so, it overlooks the unique nature of translations as symbolic cultural goods and the role of social agents (Wolf & Fukari, 2007). Therefore, a more versatile framework capable of capturing both a sociology of texts themselves and their wider context has yet to be developed. As Heilbron and Sapiro state:

Breaking with both these reductive and opposite approaches, a proper sociological analysis embraces the whole set of social relations within which translations are produced and circulated. (In Wolf & Fukari, 2007, p. 94)

This “proper sociological analysis” is arguably still a work in progress.

Finally, it is important to mention a limitation that surrounds the current state of the research model itself. While a sociological approach does provide a new paradigm for the study of translation (and, by extension, film adaptation), it has been said that current theories are still “too abstract to be applied in real-world translation studies” (Zheng, 2017, p. 31). Within the context of adaptation studies, where there are currently notably fewer studies adopting a sociological approach, Murray’s attempt to develop a model that materializes a sociological approach to the study of film adaptation clearly recognizes this. However, except for certain macro-level analyses such as those of Heilbron and Sapiro in the context of book circulation, it appears as though similar attempts have not yet been made within the context of Translation Studies. Nevertheless, Andrew Chesterman cites this abstraction as a benefit of this approach, as it may provide several “bridge concepts” that allow for

the connection of different approaches, something which will be explored in the next section (in Wolf & Fukari, 2007, p. 173).

## **1.5 Analytical model**

Earlier in this chapter, the theoretical notion of adaptation as a form of intersemiotic translation as well as two theoretical frameworks for the study of both literary translation and film adaptation were explored: Polysystem theory and the more recent sociological approach. In addition, several models that are relevant to the context of this study were presented within the context of each of these approaches. Bearing in mind the analytical tools provided by both of these approaches to translation and film adaptation, it is my intention to develop an analytical model for this study that seeks to address some of their limitations while borrowing upon their respective strengths.

Overall, there are several widely cited limitations of Polysystem theory to bear in mind, briefly summarized as follows:

- As a text-based systemic approach, adapting a Polysystem framework may pose the risk of depersonalizing its object of study (see Catrysse, 2014, p. 199).
- The notion of oppositions may be both too reductionistic and simplistic to truly understand the complexity of the object of study.



- In addition, there is a recognized inherent risk that descriptive approaches alter researchers' perceptions of the object of study. The labels "primary" versus "secondary" to refer to a given literature may, for instance, become a sort of self-fulfilling prophecy for researchers, since this qualification requires external superimposition. This also sheds light on the potential role of researchers as social agents contributing to the legitimization (or canonization) of systems, an idea that itself lends towards a more sociological approach.

- Finally, it is important to note that Polysystem theory has lost influence in the field of Translation studies – perhaps, as Nam Fung Chang (2011, p. 343) mentions, due to several possible reasons: the theory does not fully address the level of sophistication of the object of study, new problems have emerged due to changing investigation interests, due to a shift in academic power relations, or a combination of all or several of these factors.<sup>67</sup>

On the other hand, the more recent sociological approach applied to Translation Studies also presents its own unique limitations, briefly summarized as follows:

- It has been recognized that studies done using this paradigm are still very much in the making. Thus, a uniform scope, terminology, and methodology of this new branch have yet to be developed.

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<sup>67</sup> See Hermans (1999, pp. 117-119) for a more detailed analysis.

- Sociological approaches to the study of translation have up to this date been quite reductive and sometimes even opposing in their frameworks. Thus, a sociological analysis that successfully embraces the entirety of the social relations surrounding the production and circulation of translation (and, in addition, film adaptations) is still in progress.
- Similarly, it has been said that sociological theories are still too abstract to be practically applied to real translation studies. While the existing models can help to guide translation studies in a broader conceptual context, they may fail to address the reality of translation practices (Zheng, 2017).

Finally, it is also important to reiterate the call for Adaptation and Translation Studies to borrow from each other's frameworks.<sup>68</sup> As Katia Krebs proposes, while many studies have been only analyzed from the point of view of one of these disciplines, their nature would be better investigated "by opening up a dialogue between these two fields of inquiry" (2014, p. 3). The fact that Adaptation and Translation Studies have historically shared a similar set of debates also lends to this and has helped pave the way for very a body of very interesting work at the crossroads between these two disciplines. Bearing in mind that this study takes place at the interdisciplinary intersection between these two fields, theoretical

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<sup>68</sup> See Cattrysse (2014), Krebs (2012), and Perdikaki (2017), among others.

models from both fields of study will be drawn upon in the development of this analytical model.

This study seeks to understand the reception of Spanish literature in the United States through film. Bearing in mind the previously mentioned theoretical similarities between translation and adaptation, film adaptations will be understood to be means of intersemiotic (i.e., cross-medial) translation. Meanwhile, translations and film adaptations will be understood as cultural products that circulate within a wider world system. While translating a literary work allows the work to cross linguistic borders and to be distributed and consumed within a new linguistic and/or cultural system, the underlying assumption of this study is that adapting a literary work from the page to the screen allows it to be distributed and consumed as a new medium. Thus, both adapting a literary work to the screen and translating the linguistic aspect of this new product (in the form of subtitles or dubbing) allows the work to not only be consumed within a new context, but also to do so across linguistic – and national – borders. Therefore, literary works do not just cross borders as translations, but may also do so as film adaptations.

In this study, it is my intention to explore this assumption in the case of the presence of Spanish literature in the United States as film adaptations. Bearing this in mind, the theoretical model that draws upon both a Polysystem and sociological approach that allows for a fruitful analysis of the presence of literature through film from the

source national (Spanish) system to the target national (United States) system must be able to incorporate the following elements:

### **1. A descriptive, target-orientated, and functional approach**

The theoretical frameworks provided by both a Polysystem and sociological approach lend towards a descriptive – rather than prescriptive – approach to the object of study. This also lends towards a functional definition of the object(s) of study, meaning that translations and film adaptations may no longer be defined by subjective value judgments regarding what they “should” or “shouldn’t” be, but instead what is considered to be a translation or adaptation within its given socio-historical context. In addition, both approaches also offer target-oriented approaches: while Polysystem Theory focuses more on the text itself within its systemic context, a sociological approach shifts its focus more to the socio-cultural context surrounding the text. Nevertheless, these focuses are not incompatible and may serve to complement each other by providing a wider understanding of both systemic and social phenomenon. In addition, it is important to mention that both approaches encourage a form of trans-individualistic research that relies, in many cases, on a statistical or corpus-based approach, a type of research that can avoid the possible aforementioned limitations of descriptive approaches by providing an objective object of study. It is therefore important that a theoretical model that embraces both a Polysystem and sociological framework allows for this sort of trans-individualistic analysis, particularly bearing in

mind the corpus-based methodology that will be used for this study.<sup>69</sup>

## **2. The framework for both macro- and micro-levels of analysis**

It has been said that one of the key limitations of the sociological approach to translation to this date has been the commonly opposing and/or reductionist scope of studies within this new paradigm. On the one hand, we find macro-level studies analyzing the transnational flow of translations from a quantitative (and often economic) perspective.<sup>70</sup> On the other hand, there exist what could be described as more micro-level interpretive studies that focus more on the cultural products themselves and the individual agents involved in their creation.<sup>71</sup> However, there is still a call for studies that embrace the entirety of all social relations involved in translation (or adaptation) to better situate and understand the full scope of the object of study. Therefore, a theoretical model that can do this while drawing from both a Polysystem and sociological framework should ideally be able to adopt both a larger (systemic) context and a more focused context that bears in mind the importance and impact of individual and collective social agents, as well as the larger political and economic mediators in between these two extremes. This is particularly relevant considering the nature and context of this study, which seeks to not only provide an overall

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<sup>69</sup> See Section 2.1 for more information on corpus-based methodology.

<sup>70</sup> See, for instance, the previously mentioned work of Heilbron (1999, 2010) and Heilbron & Sapiro (2007).

<sup>71</sup> Several examples of this can be found in Hanna (2016).

understanding of the presence of Spanish literature in the United States through film, but also to take a closer look at the role of social agents in the creation, transformation, reception, and distribution of several individual works that serve to represent a wider phenomenon.

### **3. The ability to recognize, conceptualize, and analyze the relationship between both the linguistic and intersemiotic transfer of literary texts**

Understanding the complex role of film adaptation in the reception of foreign literary texts and its relation to literary translation requires bearing in mind all possible forms of transfer, whether they be linguistic (translation, audiovisual translation), intersemiotic (adaptation), or both (cross-medial). Therefore, a model that seeks to analyze this must be able to provide a framework for conceptualizing the complex relationship between literary translation, literary adaptation, and film adaptation. This model should take into account all possible combinations of these processes to allow for a better understanding of how they may combine and impact the reception of literary works within their target context. This will also lend towards the previously mentioned microanalysis in that an understanding of these possible combinations will allow for the identification of overall patterns in the reception of Spanish literature in the United States through film adaptations, thus allowing for the selection of representative case studies that will provide for a more detailed qualitative analysis.

#### **4. A framework that allows for the analysis of the entire set of social relations within which literary translations and film adaptations are produced and circulated**

Finally, this model must address the limitations of Polysystem Theory as well as the benefits of the sociological approach in addressing them. While a systemic analysis is valid in the understanding of broader phenomena such as the transnational circulation of books and position of works within national literary systems, a new model should avoid the risk of depersonalization and the limiting notion of binary oppositions by taking into account the complex socio-cultural context that shapes film adaptation and literary translation. This calls for a framework that allows for the understanding of the location of the objects of study within the overall structure of the field of international exchanges, the broader socio-cultural constraints that influence these exchanges (whether they be political, economic, or cultural), and the agents involved in the creation, transfer, distribution, and reception of these cultural products in both their source and target fields (institutions, authors, directors, translators, critics, researchers, etc.). Meanwhile, more recent work within the context of Film Adaptation Studies has sought to promote and define a more Bourdieusian study of authorship and to better bridge the individual-collective divide (Cattrysse, 2014). Thus, it is important to emphasize both the continuously shifting nature of these aforementioned limitations as well as the complimentary nature of these two theoretical

frameworks. Bearing the useful and complimentary elements presented by theoretical models previously explored in this chapter, I have developed the following analytical model to be used in this study (Table 3).

**Table 3**

*Analytical model*

<b>Film Adaptation</b>	
<b>Phase I: Preliminary norms (Corpus I)</b>	(A) Norms governing the selection of Spanish literary works for film adaptation
<b>Phase II: Corpus 2</b>	(A) Position of source system film within the target film system
	(B) Position of source system film adaptations within target film system
<b>Literary Translation Film Adaptation</b>	
<b>Phase III: Combined norms</b>	(A) Position of source system literature within the target literary system
	(B) Position of adaptations of source system literature within the target film system
	(C) Ways in which film adaptation, literary translation, intermediary systems and audiovisual translation combine in the importation of source system film adaptations in the target film system ( <b>Corpus 3 analysis and categorization</b> )
	A. Socio-cultural aspects in historical



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<b>Phase IV: Case studies</b>	context in source and target systems	A. Socio-cultural aspects in historical context in source and target systems
	B. Social agents:	
	i. Source (Creation)	B. Social agents:
	ii. Intermediary (Transformation)	i. Source (Creation)
	iii. Target (Distribution and reception)	ii. Intermediary (Transformation)
		iii. Target (Distribution and reception)

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This model presents a combination of vertical columns and horizontal rows. The rows summarize the four analytical phases, ranging from a macro-level quantitative analysis to a micro-level qualitative analysis. Phase I will examine *selection norms*, the norms governing the selection of Spanish literary works for film adaptation. Phase II will then examine *preliminary norms* to provide a more focused understanding of the position of Spanish film adaptations within the target U.S. film system. Then, in Phase III, the notion of *combined norms* as developed by Cañuelo (2008) will be drawn upon to examine how elements of film adaptation, literary translation, audiovisual translation, and intermediary film and language systems combine in the importation of source system film adaptations in the target film system. Here, a series of seven combinations will be revealed. Finally, Phase IV will draw upon the previous phases to limit the object of study to seven case studies, each representing one of the seven main combinations governing the reception of Spanish literary works in the United States through film.

While the horizontal rows represent the phases of analysis, the vertical columns correspond to the transfer processes as objects of study: film adaptation and literary translation. Since the object of this study is to examine the role of film adaptation in the reception of literary works, the first two phases limit themselves to the examination of understanding the role of this means of transfer and the position of source system (Spanish) film within the target (United States) film system. In the third phase, however, two vertical columns are present to indicate an analysis of both literary translation and film adaptation within the context of the case studies.

The overall layout of this model was inspired by that of Susana Cañuelo (2008), while also incorporating elements from the work of Patrick Cattrysse (1992a & 2014, in particular), Johann Heilbron and Gisèle Sapiro (2007), and Simone Murraray (2013). However, unlike Cañuelo's model, it is important to highlight that this model places much less emphasis on the process of audiovisual translation, as it recognizes that film adaptations of foreign literary works may not necessarily be dubbed or subtitled to be imported into their target film system.<sup>72</sup> Instead, analytical elements of the role of audiovisual translation will be integrated into Phase II and as part of the analysis of combined norms in Phase III.

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<sup>72</sup> There are, in fact, approximately 56 million Spanish speakers in the United States according to the Instituto Cervantes' 2019 "El español, una lengua viva". It is therefore increasingly possible that films *from Spain are imported into the United States without the need for translation.*

It is also important to note that this model incorporates a mixture of terminology from both the Polysystem and sociological approaches. Borrowing from the more theoretically established terminology provided by Polysystem Theory, I have opted for the use of the term *norms* in the description of the first three phases of analysis. However, it is important to note that this term is merely a signpost for an analysis that will also be performed using sociological contributions, as I have opted for these terms simply because they allow for a better conceptualization of the scope and focus of each analytical phase. Similarly, as previously mentioned in Section 1.1, the term *system* is used to refer to the multi-layered structure of elements that form a national literature or film tradition, lending towards a more macro-level quantitative approach. Nevertheless, the third phase of this model seeks to situate the cultural object(s) of study within its(their) social contexts by examining both the wider historical, political, and economic aspects surrounding them as well as the social agents involved in their creation, transformation, distribution, and reception. Therefore, this phase, which will be comprised of case studies selected from the analyses performed in the previous phase, represents the most detailed and extensive phase of this study.

Overall, the analysis will be structured into four phases, which I will now describe in further detail.

## a) Phases of analysis

### **1. Phase I: Preliminary norms (Corpus I)**

This first phase involves a macro-level understanding of preliminary norms, which are to be understood as the norms governing the selection of literary works for film adaptation. This phase will involve the analysis of Corpus 1, a comprehensive corpus of all film adaptations made from Spanish literary works between the years 1895 and 2018. Here, the authors, literary works, and directors present will be analyzed for a better understanding of the norms governing the selection of Spanish literary works for film adaptation.

### **2. Phase II: Corpus II**

This second phase will also involve a macro-level understanding of *preliminary norms*, which are to be understood in Cattrysse's terms as the norms that are in operation before the translation and adaptation processes take place (1992a; 2014). Therefore, these norms are situated within both the literary and film system of origin and the target film and literal system. These preliminary norms are comprised of all factors that govern the position of film adaptations and literary works as products within their source and target systems. The analysis in this phase will first involve a brief overall understanding of the position of foreign film within the U.S. film system to better contextualize the position of Spanish film within

the U.S. film systems. Then, it will zoom in to the concrete object of study by seeking to examine the position of film adaptations of Spanish literary works in the target film system (United States). In summary, this second phase of the analysis will be broken down into analyses of the following phenomenon:

- A. The position of foreign film in the U.S. film system;
- B. The position of Spanish film in the U.S. film system;
- C. The position of film adaptations of Spanish literary work in the Spanish and U.S. film systems (Corpus 3).

It is important to highlight that, as the position of Spanish films and film adaptations within the U.S. film system has shifted throughout the history and the scope of this study, these trends will be briefly summarized in this phase. However, a more in-depth analysis of the historical (political and economic) landscape will be provided in further detail within the context of the case studies in Phase IV.

### **3. Phase III: Combined norms**

In this second phase, I will build off the corpora developed in the first two phases in pursuit of a deeper understanding of how literary translation, film adaptation, audiovisual translation, and intermediary systems combine in the reception of Spanish literary works through film in the United States. Using the final corpus developed in the first phase of my analysis, I will draw upon the notion of *combined norms* to identify patterns in the reception of the film adaptations of literary works that have also reached the United States as literary translations. To do this, each work found on the

final corpus will be researched individually to determine whether the film or literary work was imported first, whether or not audiovisual translation occurred (and, if so, at what point in the importation this process took place), and whether or not an intermediary system or medium was involved. Overall, a total of seven possible combinations will be revealed:

- 1. Combination 1:** Literary translation before Spanish language film adaptation
- 2. Combination 2:** Literary translation before English language film adaptation
- 3. Combination 3:** Film adaptation before literary translation
- 4. Combination 4:** Film adaptation alongside a translation
- 5. Combination 5:** Intermediate film system
- 6. Combination 6:** Intermediate literary adaptation
- 7. Combination 7:** Film adaptation from an intersemiotic translation

Here, it is important to note that, unlike Cañuelo's study – which sought to explore all of the theoretical possibilities of combined norms – this analysis will be only descriptive in nature. Therefore, only the combinations that have been demonstrated to have occurred in the works present on the corpus will be examined.

In summary, this phase seeks to provide a space for the analysis of the interplay between literary translation and film adaptation in the reception of Spanish literature through film in the United States. In this phase, all of the works found on the corpus will be examined to reveal their combinations and then sorted based on which of these

combinations they have demonstrated. Later, an exhaustive list of works that demonstrate each of the seven combinations will be shared within the context of the case studies selected for further analysis in Phase IV.

#### **4. Phase IV: Case studies**

The third and final phase of analysis following this model involves narrowing the scope of study to allow for a more detailed, qualitative analysis. Therefore, I have opted for the simple use of the term *case studies* to describe this phase, which will include a detailed analysis of the social factors that govern the object of analysis. The analysis realized in this phase will most closely draw upon sociological frameworks for the analysis of film adaptations, namely that provided by Simone Murray (2013). This will include the analysis of the following elements:

##### **I. Agents of creation**

Agents of creation are to be understood as the individuals (or groups of individuals) involved in the primary creation of a given cultural product. As such, they are located in the product's system of origin. In the context of this study, the agents of creation are the authors of the source literary texts themselves. Therefore, in this part of the third analysis, I will seek to provide an understanding of the social position of the authors represented in the case studies in their source literary system and how this position may influence the later

selection, translation, adaptation, and reception of the literary work being examined.

## **II. Agents of intermediation**

Agents of intermediation refer to all of the individuals, groups, or organizations involved in the transformation of a literary work from one language or medium to another during translation or adaptation. In the case of literary translation, we find in this category the translator as well as any industry mediators that may be involved in the translation process (publishing houses, editors, competition organizers, etc.). In the case of a film adaptation, here we find both screenwriters and directors, as well as any others that may have an impact upon this process within the film industry (production companies, crews, sponsors/patrons, etc.). The role of the author in this process will also be explored, if relevant. In the case of films that have also undergone any form of linguistic transformation (subtitling, dubbing), the agents involved in this process (audiovisual translators, voice actors) will also be explored.

## **III. Agents of distribution and reception**

Within the context of this model, agents of distribution are to be understood as the individuals, groups, and institutions involved in the distribution and reception of the cultural products under examination – literary translations and film adaptations. This includes both publishing companies and production companies, as



well as all of the individuals, groups, or organizations that may be involved in the reception of a given work (prize-organizing committees, academia, the press, reviewers, etc.). Here, the overall distribution and reception of the works in both their literary and filmic forms will be explored in detail, including the consideration of any special recognition received in both their source and target systems as well as any economic information available.

Overall, the purpose of this model is to provide a comprehensive framework for the detailed analysis of the presence of Spanish literary works in the United States through film adaptations. Each of the phases of the model represents a different analytical focus, ranging from a macro-level systemic analysis of the object of analysis to the examination of the complex interaction between adaptation and translation in the reception of foreign literary works to a detailed qualitative sociological analysis of case studies that serve to represent the wider phenomenon. Essentially, this model has been designed to encompass the strongest aspects of both previously explored theoretical frameworks and to merge them into a single framework that takes advantage of the well-developed frameworks provided by Polysystem Theory while including a necessary sociological focus. In doing so, this model seeks to address the limitations of both approaches while recognizing that neither approach is mutually exclusive. Overall, in building off of previous frameworks from both Polysystem Theory and the sociological approach to the study of translation and film adaptation, this model seeks to unite the strengths of these

approaches as developed in both fields in pursuit of the most comprehensive analysis currently possible.

## b) Conclusion

The previous chapter sought to explore the multi-disciplinary theoretical framework necessary for the study of the reception of Spanish literature in the United States through film adaptations. The first section began by presenting the theoretical approach to film adaptation as a form of intersemiotic translation. In the second section, Polysystem Theory was introduced as a framework for the study of both film adaptation and literary transition, and it was explored in detail within the context of both fields of study. In the third section, the sociological approach to the study of translation and recent research applying sociological models to the study of film adaptation was presented. Finally, the benefits and limitations of both of these frameworks were explored in the attempt to develop a working model for the study featured in this dissertation. Next, the following section will present the methodology used for the examination of the presence of Spanish literature in the United States through film adaptations.

## 2. METHODOLOGY

This study seeks to adopt the previously developed theoretical framework by understanding both translation and film adaptations as means of intersemiotic translation. Translating a literary work into a different language allows the work to cross linguistic borders and to be received in a new linguistic and/or national system.<sup>73</sup> Similarly, adapting a literary work from the page to the screen allows it to circulate within a new artistic context. When a literary work is adapted to film and exported (in some cases, thanks to the use of audiovisual translation), the source literary work is not transformed into a new medium, but also may cross national borders. Therefore, literary works can cross borders not only as translations, but also as film adaptations. Bearing in mind this assumption and the theoretical framework behind it, the objective of this study is to examine the reception of Spanish literature through film adaptations in the United States. To do so, it seeks to answer the following questions:

### I. Which films are adapted from Spanish literary works?

In order to develop a foundation for the further study of the presence of Spanish literary works in the US through film, it is first important to address the essential underlying question: Which films are

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<sup>73</sup> For more on the controversial notion of *national system* and the use of this term within the context of this dissertation, please see section 1.1.e.

adapted from Spanish works (in general)? To answer this question, several resources will be used to compile a corpus of all films that are recognized adaptations of Spanish literary works, a process that will be expanded upon later in this section.

## **II. Which film adaptations of Spanish literary works have been imported into the United States?**

Determining how Spanish literary works arrive in the United States as film adaptations also requires answering a second key research question that builds upon the first: Which film adaptations of Spanish literary works are present in the United States? To answer this question, I will determine whether the previously studied film adaptations of Spanish literary works have also been produced, co-produced, or imported into the United States.

## **III. How are film adaptations of Spanish literary works imported in the United States?**

This third question seeks to determine the various ways (combinations) in which a film adaptation of a Spanish literary work may occur and how it may consequently be imported to and/or distributed within the United States. To analyze this, I will examine which of these film adaptations of Spanish literary works have also been distributed within the United States. Then, I will gather additional information on the reception of the films and literary works. I will use this to explore the multiple possible combinations

using Cañuelo's (2008) systematization of the relations between film, literature, translation, and adaptation and the concept of norms. Finally, I will select and present representative case studies to further explore how they may impact the reception of a given work.

#### **IV. How does the presence of both a film adaptation and literary translation of the same work impact the reception of the film and literary work in both its source and target system?**

This final question will consider the means of reception and presence of both the film adaptation and the means of reception and presence of its corresponding literary translation to determine their impact upon each other. This will be done through the qualitative analysis of case studies.

The following section seeks to explain the methodology used for the creation of the corpora used for this analysis, their role in addressing my research questions, and the selection of case studies.

### **2.1 The Corpora**

#### **a) The benefits of a corpus-based approach**

Corpus-based Translation Studies is a rapidly growing field of research with several branches of application.<sup>74</sup> While the practice

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<sup>74</sup> See, for example, Laviosa (2002, 2004), Saldanha & O'Brien (2013, pp. 70-94), and Giannossa (2016).

using corpora in the analysis of translations originated in studies that sought to evaluate the quality of translated versus source texts,<sup>75</sup> corpus-based research represents a growing practice that has significantly influenced the study of translation.

According to Sara Laviosa in her 2002 survey of Corpus-based Translation Studies, the idea of investigating translation through corpora within the context of Translation Studies was first proposed by Mona Baker in 1993. While the methodology had already been widely utilized within the field of Corpus Linguistics, it was believed that the practice would facilitate the application of translation theories in empirical studies. As the popularity of corpus-based studies increased, the branch of study began to take on a clear identity and be known as Corpus-Based Translation Studies.

While much research on Corpus-Based Translation Studies is dedicated to linguistic analyses,<sup>76</sup> a recent turn has seen a rising amount of research that uses corpora to examine texts from a wider, more culturally focused lens. This includes studies that take advantage of the methodological framework provided by the previously mentioned Polysystem theory,<sup>77</sup> the sociological

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<sup>75</sup> See, for instance, Gellerstam's 1986 study of translation language in Swedish Novels Translated from English, often cited as the first computer-assisted study of translated texts.

<sup>76</sup> For a more detailed survey of the state of the art of corpus-based studies within a linguistic context, see Laviosa (2002).

<sup>77</sup> See, for instance, the work of Itamar Even-Zohar (1990, 1997, 2002) within the context of Translation Studies and Patrick Cattrysse (1992), and Susana Cañuelo (2008) within the context of Film Adaptation Studies.

approach,<sup>78</sup> and Reception Studies,<sup>79</sup> all of which have advocated the benefits of a corpus-based approach to both the study of translation and film adaptation. These benefits include the descriptive, functional nature of this type of study, as well as its target context orientation, trans-individual and systemic approach (Cattrysse, 2014). In addition, it is a rigorous and detailed methodology from a scientific perspective, as it allows for objective verification of results (Leitch, 2000).

Bearing in mind these benefits, the analysis of this dissertation seeks to borrow from the theoretical frameworks provided by Polysystem Theory and Sociological approach to the study of translation to study the reception of Spanish literature in the United States through film adaptation. To do so, I will develop a corpus of film adaptations of Spanish literary works that have been made or imported to the United States as both films and translations. This will allow for a descriptive study of the presence of these works within the United States within their target context. While the use of this methodology facilitates quantitative analysis of the object of study, it also ensures that any qualitative case studies are representative samples of overall patterns, and not anomalies or selections based on individual preferences. Overall, this corpus-based approach will facilitate the identification of patterns surrounding which works arrive and how,

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<sup>78</sup> See the work of Heilbron (1999), Sapiro (2016), van Es & Heilbron (2015), and Gouanvic (1997, 1999), among others.

<sup>79</sup> See, for instance, Elsa Andringa's 2006 investigation that merges theoretical frameworks from Reception Studies and Polysystem theory to examine the reception of Virginia Wolf in the Netherlands.

as well as how their means of arrival and the presence of their corresponding literary works affect their reception. It will also aid in the selection of case studies and ensure that the works chosen for further study are the most appropriate options.

## b) Corpus compilation methodology

The goal of this stage of the study is to compile a corpus of film adaptations of Spanish literary works that have been imported into the United States as well as information regarding their corresponding English translations. This will involve four processes:

1. Identifying films that are recognized adaptations of Spanish literary works;
2. Determining whether or not these film adaptations have been made (i.e., directed, produced) or imported in the United States;
3. Determining whether or not the corresponding literary works of these films have been translated into English and distributed in the United States;
4. Collecting essential information involving the reception of the film adaptations and their corresponding literary translations in the United States (year/s of release/publication, director/s, author/s, release, year of translation, etc.).
5. These four processes will lead to the compilation of three corpora, each with a distinct methodology for their creation.



## 2.2 Corpus 1

### a) Aim

The purpose of the first corpus is to compile a list of films that have been based on Spanish literary works in as exhaustive a way as possible. The first commercial film exhibition took place in December 1895. In order to be as inclusive as possible and provide for the most comprehensive understanding of film adaptations of Spanish literary works throughout the year of the first commercial film exhibition (1895) and ends the year the corpora were completed, 2018. It is important to note that while this wide scope is arguably ambitious, it provided for a very accurate survey of the overall presence of Spanish literature in film throughout film history and facilitated the section the case studies, a process that will be expanded upon later in this section. In summary, the compilation of the first corpus aimed to collect the titles and basic information of all films that are recognized adaptations of Spanish literary works using the best resources available as thoroughly as possible.

### b) Information provided

Due to the extensive number of films on this first corpus, only basic information for each entry is included: film release year, the original title of the film, director/s, the title of the literary work on which the film is based, and its corresponding author/s.

## c) Methodology

The data for this corpus will be collected from several sources, described in detail as follows.

### **A. The Instituto Cervantes' database *Adaptaciones de la literatura española en el cine español***

This database has collected all Spanish films or films that have been co-produced between Spain and other countries that are based on works of Spanish literature (novels, stories, poetry, and theater) between the years 1905 and 2005. Each listing provides basic information on the literary work and its author and the films that have been adapted from it as well as their year of release, director(s), producers, plot, scriptwriters, photography, music, leading actors, and distribution company/ies. The database features a total of 499 authors whose works were published between the Middle Ages and today, each of whom wrote at least one literary work that has been adapted to film, for a total of 956 entries of literary works. Thanks to the comprehensive nature of this database, the majority of the films in the first corpus come from this database and this source has proven a valuable asset to this study. However, this corpus also possessed a notable limitation: namely, that it did not include any foreign (non-Spanish) adaptations of Spanish literary works. This limitation was therefore addressed with the use of other resources.

## **B. The Wikipedia Category pages *Films based on Spanish novels***

The online collaborative encyclopedia Wikipedia includes pages whose purpose is to group major classifications (such as “Films based on novels”) into a single place. These pages are known as Categories, and they include a list of links to individual Wikipedia entries with the same classifications. In some cases, they may also include Subcategories. Overall, the *Wikipedia Category Films based on Spanish novels* provides links to 90 films that are based on Spanish novels between the years 1913 to the present (2021) in alphabetical order by the title of the film. It also includes a Subcategory *Films based on Don Quixote* (1898-present), which will be commented upon in further detail in the next section. This page is particularly useful for discovering cases of films based on Spanish literature that were produced by directors and/or production companies from countries other than Spain, as well as many of the earliest cases of silent Hollywood films based on Spanish literary works, as well as more recent adaptations (2005-2018).

## **C. Wikipedia Categories pages “Films based on works of Spanish writers” for Spanish authors with multiple adaptations**

Thanks to the discovery of the Wikipedia Category *Films based on Spanish novels* and the existence of the *Films based on Don Quixote* subcategory, I also discovered another valuable Wikipedia Category page: *Films based on works by Spanish writers.*” As of the date when this information was collected (December 2018), this

page includes a list of links to pages of Spanish authors whose work has inspired multiple film adaptations. This includes:

- a) Films based on works by Pedro Antonio de Alarcón (11 listings)
- b) Films based on works by Carlos Arniches (12 listings)
- c) Films based on works by Vicente Blasco Ibáñez (14 listings)
- d) Films based on works by Pedro Calderón de la Barca (7 listings)
- e) Films based on works by Miguel de Cervantes (28 listings)
- f) Films based on works by Àngel Guimerà (4 listings)
- g) Films based on works by Benito Pérez Galdós (12 listings)
- h) Films based on works by Alejandro Pérez Lugín (10 film listings)
- i) Films based on works by Pedro Antonio de Alarcón (12 film listings)
- j) Films based on works by Arturo Pérez-Reverte (5 listings)
- k) Films based on works by Lope de Vega (5 listings)

While most of these works had already been found in other sources, this search did lead to the addition of several more films that had been directed or produced in other countries, as well as an overall glimpse at the fascinating cases of adaptations of *Don Quijote*. These additions further supported the scope of this analysis (1895-2018). Here, however, it is important to note that the very nature of Wikipedia means that it is a resource that is constantly being edited and expanded upon. Thus, it is crucial to highlight that new listings may have been added to these pages since the creation of this corpus

(December 2018), just as new film adaptations have likely been made of Spanish literary works.

**D. Enrique Martínez-Salanova Sánchez' blog *Literatura española en el cine***

Enrique Martínez-Salanova Sánchez is a Film Studies professor whose work advocates for the use of cinema in schools (Martínez-Salanova, 2002). In his fascinating and extensive blog, Martínez-Salanova provides a comprehensive list of films based on works of Spanish literature. This list is divided into four time periods and covers the scope of 1900-2010 overall. While by this time in the compilation of Corpus 1 many of these films had already been collected, this allowed for the valuable addition of several more listings.

**E. *Enser's Filmed Books and Plays* anthology (1928-2001)**

Finally, it is also important to mention the presence of *Enser's Filmed Books and Plays* anthology throughout the process of compiling this first corpus. This anthology, in its sixth edition at the time of writing this thesis, provides over 8,000 listings of recognized film adaptations of novels and plays, with a primary focus on the English-speaking world. My first instinct upon finding this resource was to assume that it would become one of the most valuable assets in the compilation of this corpus. However, upon further examination, it became clear that its limitations far

outweighed its usefulness. Since the anthology has a clear focus on the English-speaking world, its listings are organized by film title (in English), making it very difficult to discover cases of film adaptations whose titles vary from the commonly used English translation of Spanish literary works. In addition, the nationality of the author whose work the film was based on is not listed. Therefore, this source only provided a few more listings. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the inclusion of made-for-TV movies in this anthology led to an interesting addition to the corpus in this respect.<sup>80</sup> Overall, these sources led to the compilation of an extensive first corpus that includes a total of 1,331 films (Appendix 1). The director/s, literary work/s of origin, and the corresponding author/s of the works are also listed.

#### d) Limitations

As can be imagined, the methodology used for this data collection is not without its limitations. In fact, each of the sources used in the compilation of this first corpus came with their own respective limitations. First, however, it is important to mention the limitations regarding the overall scope of this corpus. While the goal was to be able to identify all recognized film adaptations of Spanish literary works – a task demanding a very wide scope –, none of these sources provided the same scope. Nevertheless, the information

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<sup>80</sup> Here, it is important to note the inclusion of made-for-TV *movies* but not series, as series based on works of Spanish literature are not the object of analysis and are therefore excluded from this study.

from all of these sources *combined* did allow me to address the entire scope of this analysis (1895-2018). Moving on to the sources themselves, the information provided by the Instituto Cervantes' database *Adaptaciones de la literatura española en el cine español* was limited to films that were produced or co-produced by a *Spanish* director or producer. Therefore, despite its impressively comprehensive and academic nature, non-Spanish films (many of which result crucial to this analysis, as will be seen later) cannot be found on this database.

Next, there are several notable limitations when it comes to listings found on *Wikipedia*. First of all, the page itself is open to collaboration and the listings are thus produced and edited by volunteers. Therefore, the academic reliability of the information provided is questionable. In addition, the category "Films based on Spanish novels" was clearly not exhaustive, nor was the methodology used in its creation. Essentially, any Wikipedia listing that had been coded as a "Film based on a Spanish novel" by its creator appears in this Category. However, if the original page creator did not include this category when s/he created the listing and the editor did not add it later, it does not appear. Therefore, at the time of writing this, there are only 90 listings on a page that in reality should possess hundreds, or – at a very minimum – also provide links to all of the other Category pages I found while researching authors with multiple film adaptations on *Wikipedia*. While this second resource did serve to fill an important gap of non-

Spanish film adaptations of Spanish literary works up until 2018, it is very important to keep these limitations in mind.

Meanwhile, in the case of Martínez-Salanova's blog, we find the limitations of scope (1900-2010), as well as several interesting minor limitations that were discovered as I researched the films listed. The first of these is the inclusion of films based on the literary works of an author who is not Spanish, Mario Vargas Llosa. Naturally, the works of this Peruvian author were excluded from my corpus. In addition, it is also interesting to note that Martínez-Salanova's blog also includes several cases of television series adapted from Spanish literary works. While these series are very interesting areas of future research, since they are not film adaptations, they have been excluded from the corpus for the purpose of this study. Finally, as previously mentioned, the linguistic and stylistic limitations of *Enser's Filmed Books and Plays* prevented it from becoming a more valuable resource in this data collection process.

Overall, the compilation process of this corpus was subject to many limitations. Nevertheless, it provides the most exhaustive list of Spanish literary works that have been adapted to film from 1895 to the year 2018. Therefore, it not only provides a solid foundation for the realization of this study, but also for future research in the field.



## **2.3 Corpus 2**

### **a) Aim**

Using the Corpus 1 as a point of departure (Appendix 1), this second corpus sought to determine which of the film adaptations from the first corpus had also been produced in or imported into the United States. Therefore, its scope was further limited to whether or not the films from the first corpus had, at some point, been distributed in the United States. Thus, this corpus serves to answer my research questions regarding which film adaptations of Spanish literary works arrive in the United States and how. Compiling this corpus involved searching for each work in the Internet Movie Database (IMDb) to determine its presence – or lack thereof – in the United States. During this process, all films whose presence is unverified in the United States were eliminated. Therefore, the extension of this corpus was significantly reduced.

### **b) Information provided**

Since the purpose of this corpus was simply to determine the presence of these films in the United States, all of the previously recorded basic information found on the first corpus was maintained, and the films' release was coded and listed in the "Release" category (Appendix 7).

## c) Methodology

Compiling this second corpus involved searching for each film in the first corpus on IMDb to determine whether the film has been released or distributed within the United States.

### **A. The *IMDb* film database**

The Internet Movie Database (IMDb) is an online database for films, television, and video games. With over 6 million film and television episode listings from around the world, IMDb is the largest and best-known film database to date. In addition, its wide range of descriptive categories permits a multilayered descriptive analysis, as advocated by several studies.<sup>81</sup>

In this phase of the study, I searched for each film on the database by focusing on the IMDb “Release Info” category, where film release dates and locations are listed, as well as any alternative or translated titles for the film to indicate the film’s release via video/DVD. I used this information to determine whether or not the film had been released or distributed in the United States based on whether a U.S. release date or location was listed in the “Release Dates” section. If a date or location was listed, I recorded the release

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<sup>81</sup> See Wasserman, Zeng & Amaral (2015) and Canet, Valero & Codina (2016).

information (date, type of release) using the following categorization system:

a) **Standard Release:** A film with information indicating a direct release in the US following the standard release model. In this model, a film is traditionally first mass-released in movie theaters (typically, 600 or more U.S. theaters). Then, after approximately three months, it is made available as a DVD/VHS or to streaming services. The film may later be released on free-to-air TV, typically after approximately two years have passed since its initial release date (Aberdeen, 2005). In some cases, a film may also have undergone a limited release. This occurs in cases of films directly released in the U.S. in select theaters (a distribution strategy used to gauge their possible appeal). This is often the case with foreign films (Holston, 2012; Segrave, 2004). However, since this more specific information was not readily accessible on the IMDb database, it was instead researched on a case-by-case basis in the case studies.

b) **Video Release:** This categorization refers to a film with no listed box office release date/location. Instead, U.S. DVD/VHS distribution is listed, or a reference is made to the U.S. film title. This is often the case for straight-to-video releases, a more common practice in the case of independent filmmakers and companies (Lerman, 2001).

c) **Film Festival:** This categorization refers to a film shown at a film festival in the United States. Often, films selected and shown at these festivals are done so for cultural, ideological, or aesthetic – and not commercial – purposes (Papadimitriou & Ruoff, 2016).

d) **Television:** This category includes both films that were released on U.S. television stations and made-for-TV films, as well as any films that were released directly on streaming services.

As was to be expected, the process involved in the compilation of the second corpus (Corpus 2) limited the scope of the corpus significantly. A total of 137 works can be found on this corpus, as well as all of the information included on the previous corpus and a basic categorization of their release.

#### d) Limitations

Since this second corpus expands upon the first corpus, it is first important to note that it is also subject to the same limitations. In addition, the database used to determine whether or not these films have been distributed in the United States also presents its own limitations. The *IMDb* film database is a very comprehensive resource. Nevertheless, not all the entries are equally complete, and several aspects of the entries are less detailed than others. The information provided in the “Release Info” category is generally very basic. Therefore, it’s probable that not all release information is included in most of the entries. While this presents a significant

limitation to the comprehensive tracing of the presence of film adaptations of Spanish literary works in the United States, it is important to highlight that this database remains the most reliable, accessible, and comprehensive resource for the collection of this data to date.

Despite these limitations, the process of compiling this second corpus was significant in several aspects. First of all, it led to the development of a corpus that provides the most complete record of film adaptations of Spanish literary works that have reached the US between the years 1903 and 2018. Here, it is important to note that the first recorded film adaptation of a Spanish literary work, as determined by my first corpus, was Salvador Toscano's 1898 short silent film *Don Juan*. However, since the presence of this film in the United States cannot be verified via the aforementioned criteria, this film was eliminated from the second corpus (along with several others after it, for the same reason). Therefore, the first known film adaptation of a Spanish literary work that was shown in the United States is Mexican director Salvador Toscano's 1903 adaptation of José Zorrilla's *Don Juan Tenorio*, a case that will be explored in further detail in Section 4.6.

## 2.4 Corpus 3

### a) Aim

The aim of the third corpus was to narrow the scope even further. In the first corpus, I determined which films have been adapted from Spanish literary works: a total of 1,331 films. In the second corpus, I then determined which of these films had also been imported into the United States: 137 total films. This third corpus sought to take this analysis a step further by taking into account the literary works from which the films were adapted and determining whether or not they had also been translated and published in the United States. The goal of this process was to create a final corpus of Spanish literary works that have been received in the United States as both film adaptations and literary translations. This corpus would allow me to further analyze the illustrative relationship between translation, adaptation, and the reception of literary works (combinations). Corpus 3 can be found in Appendix 8.

### b) Information provided

Since Corpus 3 is the final phase of this analysis and serves to provide the information necessary for the further analysis of the object of study, this corpus provides the most detailed information on the films found on it. This includes all information previously included on the first two corpora (release year, title, director, literary work, author), as well as the country of origin of the film, genre of

the literary work on which it is based, and the year the first English translation of the literary work was published in the United States. Finally, the combination in which the film has been categorized can be found.

### c) Methodology

Parting from the list of 137 film adaptations and their corresponding literary works that comprised Corpus 2, I shifted my focus to the literary work themselves in the elaboration of this third and final corpus. Since there are multiple film adaptations of many of these literary works, this process was considerably faster than those undertaken to compile the previous corpora. This process involved the use of a single database: the *Bowker Books in Print* publication database.

The *Bowker Books in Print* database is a bibliographic database that includes over 40 million titles and is arguably “the authoritative source for bibliographic information on all books published throughout the world” (Rodzvilla, 2015). It is commonly used by publishers, retailers, and librarians, although its value has also been recognized and advocated in academic studies.<sup>82</sup> This database allows for the search of books by author, title, year, genre, country, and publishing company. While it is a paid service, I was able to gain free trial access to the database for the purpose of this study.

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<sup>82</sup> See, for example, Weinberg & Kapelner (2018), Zhou & Sun (2017), and Rodzvilla (2015) and Peters (1992), among others.

Overall, the Bowker database was a valuable resource that allowed me to determine whether the literary works on my corpus had been translated into English and – if so – whether they had been distributed in the United States. In this case, it also allowed me to collect information regarding their translation, publication, and distribution for later analysis in the case studies.

In order to determine if the literary works had been translated into English and distributed in the United States, I first performed a basic search by author. I then filtered the search results for English titles only and set the country to the United States. If the author I searched for had multiple results (a common occurrence), I used further filters such as genre to ensure that the English results provided were the same genre as the original work (therefore eliminating cases of published academic studies and biographies, for example). Naturally, this still produced many search results for many literary works, but by this time I could answer the basic question as to whether the work had been translated into English and distributed in the United States and identify its most commonly used English title. I was then able to use that title to perform a more in-depth search and collect additional information regarding the work's initial publication.

By the end of this process, I compiled a final corpus of films based on Spanish literary works and their corresponding literary works that have been imported into the United States between the years 1903 and 2018. The scope of this corpus remained the same as that



of the second corpus, since both the first and last film on the corpus are adaptations of literary works that have been translated and published (or performed) in the United States. Overall, the majority (81%) of the works found on Corpus 2 had also been translated into English, leaving a total of 111 films on Corpus 3 (Appendix 8).

#### d) Limitations

While the Bowker Books in Print is a remarkably detailed and comprehensive resource, it does possess one notable limitation: namely, that the database only includes books that have been assigned an International Standard Book Number (ISBN). The assignation of these unique, 10- or 13-digit commercial book identification numbers first began in 1968.<sup>83</sup> Thus, ISBNs were assigned to all commercial books after the year 1968 as well as any new editions of previously printed books and any previously printed books still in commercial circulation. Books published before the year 1968 with no other editions that were no longer in commercial circulation are not listed, however (Charkin, 2015). Therefore, it is possible that a literary work from my second corpus was eliminated in this phase because of this. However, bearing in mind the international prevalence of ISBNs and the reputation of the Bowker database, this database remained the most reliable resource for the compilation of this corpus and later data collection.

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<sup>83</sup> ISBN numbers are 13 digits long if assigned on or after January 1, 2007. Any assignations before then are 10 digits long (Bowker, 2014).

It is also important to reiterate that the compilation of this corpus was subject to the same limitations as the previous corpora regarding the scope and reliability of the primary sources and databases. In fact, this accumulated effect is arguably one of the biggest limitations of this methodology. Therefore, it is important to highlight that the limitations of the data provided by the resources used for the compilations of these corpora must be taken into account in their analysis. They are limitations that also necessitate a more qualitative analysis (i.e., case studies) to provide a more reliable understanding of the object of analysis. Nevertheless, despite these limitations, Corpus 3 is still an asset to this study in that it provides the most exhaustive list of Spanish literary works that have been received in the United States as both translations and films from the beginning of film (1895) to this date (2018).

## **2.5 Additional data collection**

In order to facilitate the qualitative focus of Phase III my analysis and to better understand the underlying phenomenon at work in the reception of Spanish literary works in the United States through film adaptations, the next phase of the study involved collecting relevant additional information on the works on Corpus 3. Bearing in mind my research questions, this relevance was determined based on the usefulness of the information in addressing my research questions and selecting the most appropriate case studies.

To do so, I first took into account the notion of norms in translation (Section 1.3 [c]) by paying particular attention to combined and reception norms. To examine combined norms and sort the films into categories, I built off of Cañuelo's systematization of the relations between film, literature, translation, and adaptation (2008), as previously explored in Section 1.3 (e). Therefore, the first phase of additional data collection involved collecting information on the dates of publication of the translation as well as the source language of the film and the country in which it was first released. Additional information such as whether or not the film was subtitled or dubbed was also collected after the categorization of the films into categories (combinations), since not all combinations featured films that required subtitling or dubbing.

## **2.6 The selection of case studies**

As previously mentioned, the limitations involved throughout the entire process of compiling these corpora made it clear that their value instead rests in the objective lens and wide scope used to create them as well as their ability to allow for the categorization of the object of study and descriptive selection of case studies for a more qualitative analysis. The preliminary analysis of this study will thus focus on the quantitative examination of overall patterns and trends using these corpora as guides. They will serve to illustrate overall trends in the film adaptation of Spanish literary works and the reception of Spanish film adaptations and literary translation in the United States.

Therefore, the final phase of research involved sorting the films on the third corpus into categories (combinations). This was done using the previously mentioned system of categorization of the possible relationships between literary translation, film adaptation, and audiovisual translation (Cañuelo, 2008). This model includes all theoretically possible combinations involving these transfer processes, with a total of five essential possible combinations based on the order in which each process took place. However, two additional combinations were discovered in my descriptive analysis of Corpus 3, including the case of an intermediate literary adaptation and a film adaptation made from an intersemiotic translation. Overall, the following combinations were identified:

1.     **Combination 1:** Literary translation before Spanish language film adaptation
2.     **Combination 2:** Literary translation before English language film adaptation
3.     **Combination 3:** Film adaptation before literary translation
4.     **Combination 4:** Film adaptation alongside a translation
5.     **Combination 5:** Intermediate film system
6.     **Combination 6:** Intermediate literary adaptation
7.     **Combination 7:** Film adaptation from an intersemiotic translation

Following this categorization process, I then selected a case study from each of the combinations to provide a more detailed qualitative analysis of the works and to better examine the socio-cultural

aspects governing their placement in both their source and target systems. Since the majority of the combinations included many possible cases, the selection of case studies was determined based on two criteria:

**A. The quality of the information available regarding both the film adaptation and source literary work**

This first criterion sought to prioritize the further study of films and literary works for which existing information and studies are already available, as opposed to cases in which limited data is available. This criterion is particularly relevant in the case of films, as there is often very limited information available regarding their release and reception. Therefore, whether the exact US release date is listed, the quantity and quality of information already provided in IMDb, and the existence of academic research on the film and the literary work on which it was based were the first and foremost determining factors for selection.<sup>84</sup>

**B. The ability of the film adaptations to accurately represent the common characteristics of the works found in the combination**

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<sup>84</sup> Here, it is important to clarify that canonization is a socially stratified, multi-layered phenomenon. Academic interest in a text does not necessarily coincide with the interest of a wider audience or professional interest. Thus, the importance of this criteria for the selection of case studies was merely based on the practical availability of information for the development of a study and not necessarily on the canonization (or lack thereof) of the work itself.

In addition, the case studies were selected based on their ability to demonstrate the combined norms governing the reception of Spanish literature in the United States through film. Here, elements such as the genre of the work, its release information, and the presence of audiovisual translation (or lack thereof) were considered to ensure that the cases selected were the most illustrative of the nature of the combination as possible.

## **2.7 Conclusion**

A corpus-based approach to data collection enables a wider scope and allows for a descriptive analysis of the object of study, as advocated by various theoretical frameworks within the context of both Translation and Film Adaptation Studies. The overall process of compiling these corpora provided a step-by-step means of answering my research questions. While the process was subject to many limitations due to the availability of resources, each of these corpora possesses its own value not only for answering my research questions, but also as the most complete corpora with these characteristics to date. In addition, certain aspects of the methodology used for their compilation – namely, the use of sources like IMDb and Goodreads for research purposes – may prove useful for replication in future studies.







### 3. Preliminary analysis

#### 3.1 Phase I: Film adaptations of Spanish literary works

In *Literary Adaptations in Spanish Cinema* (2004), Sally Faulkner explores the film adaptation of twelve Spanish literary works drawn from the late dictatorship, transitional and democratic periods.<sup>85</sup> “Narrative film as we know it is due to literature,” she claims in the introduction, “[and] the history of the relationship between literature and cinema is therefore logically the history of cinema itself” (2004, p. 1). This is not an unfounded claim bearing in mind the previous analysis of the history of Spanish film and its presence in the United States. In fact, it may very easily be claimed that Spanish film as we know has been largely thanks to Spanish literature. From Ricardo de Baños and Florián Rey’s early silent film adaptations to Rafael Gil’s CIFESA-founded films and Buñuel’s renditions of the works of Benito Pérez Galdós, film adaptations have consistently formed an integral part of the Spanish film system.

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<sup>85</sup> These include *Nazarín* (Buñuel, 1958), *Tristana* (Buñuel, 1970), *Pascual Duarte* (Franco, 1976), *La Colema* (Camus, 1982), *Los santos inocentes* (Camus, 1984), *Tiempos de silencio* (Aranda, 1986), *Historias del Kronen* (Armendáriz, 1995), and *Carícies* (Pons, 1998), as well as various cinematic and television adaptations of *Fortunata y Jacinta* and *La Regenta*. As previously mentioned, some of these works cannot be found on the final corpus, as their U.S. release cannot be verified or the corresponding literary works on which they have been based have not been translated and/or distributed, in accordance with the criteria for its compilation.

What makes this particular national film system so interesting to study according to many researchers is its inescapable immersion and reflection of the sociopolitical conditions in which it was created.<sup>86</sup> To trace Spanish film adaptations throughout history is to be offered a glimpse into the sociocultural conditions and ideologies in which both these films and the literary texts on which it was based were made. During the silent period of Spanish cinema, for instance, the criteria for selecting literary texts for adaptation were predominantly commercial, while the process of selection during the dictatorship was strictly governed by an ideological program.<sup>87</sup>

While Faulkner's study represents a significant contribution to the study of Spanish film adaptations, it is not a comprehensive survey of literary adaptations in Spanish cinema as a whole, nor a study of the presence of these adaptations in the United States. Thus, much as is the case with the presence of Spanish films in the United States, little quantitative information is available on the presence of film adaptations in Spanish cinema, and what little is available tends to be linked to certain periods. In Rafael de España's previously mentioned study, for instance, España reveals that 33.2% of total film productions were adaptations of literary works. This represents a very significant and sizeable portion of the industry. If the data on the prevalence of film adaptations in earlier periods of Spanish film

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<sup>86</sup> See, for instance, Faulkner (2009), and Marsh (2006), among others.

<sup>87</sup> See Moncho (1986), as well as Carmen Pena-Ardid's work on the selection of texts (1996) and Rafael de España's previously mentioned survey (1996).

history to be calculated, one might hypothesize that the percentage would be similar if not higher.<sup>88</sup>

Thus, while there is no questioning that adaptations have formed an integral – and in some cases perhaps even central – part of the Spanish film system, it is difficult to determine what percentage of Spanish films are comprised of adaptations in other periods, how this percentage has shifted throughout history, and the overall commercial and critical success of these films in comparison with original screenplays. These questions nevertheless present a very interesting area of future study, particularly bearing in mind the information available on film adaptations of literary works compiled by the *Instituto Cervantes* and the corpora of this study, to be analyzed shortly.<sup>89</sup> Should information on the precise number of Spanish films released per year be available and analyzed, an interesting, detailed study on the prevalence of Spanish film adaptations throughout history would be possible.

This is, however, not the aim of this study, which instead seeks to shift its attention to the presence of film adaptations of Spanish literature in the United States. In this regard, there has – to the best of my knowledge – been very little research on film adaptations of Spanish literary works in the United States. As is the case with the overall presence of Spanish films in the United States, the existence

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<sup>88</sup> This is, of course, bearing in mind the significantly lower number of releases overall and the previously mentioned integral role of certain adaptations in early and mid-century Spanish cinema.

<sup>89</sup> See Section 2.2.

of these film adaptations is difficult to trace and quantify, as very little data has been available on the subject. Meanwhile, what little data is available tends to be limited to the analysis of case studies of specific films, such as those mentioned previously in this analysis. This study thus represents a pioneering glimpse into the presence of film adaptations of Spanish literary works in the United States, and perhaps may invite future research on the topic or similar studies in different contexts.

The following section will provide an analysis of the data available from the three corpora compiled for this dissertation. This will be done to provide a better understanding of the overall nature and presence of film adaptations of Spanish literary works in the United States, as well as the patterns governing their importation and reception. This analysis will be followed by a detailed examination of seven works that represent each of these patterns.

#### a) Corpus 1 analysis

As discussed in the Methodology section, the aim of the first phase of this investigation was to compile a corpus of all films that have been based on Spanish literary works between the years 1895 and 2018 as exhaustively as possible. This was done using the Instituto Cervantes' database *Adaptaciones de la literatura española en el cine español* (Camarero, 2013), the Wikipedia Category page *Films based on Spanish novels*, the supplementary Wikipedia Categories

pages, Enrique Martínez-Salanova Sánchez's blog (2010), and *Enser's Filmed Books and Plays* anthology.

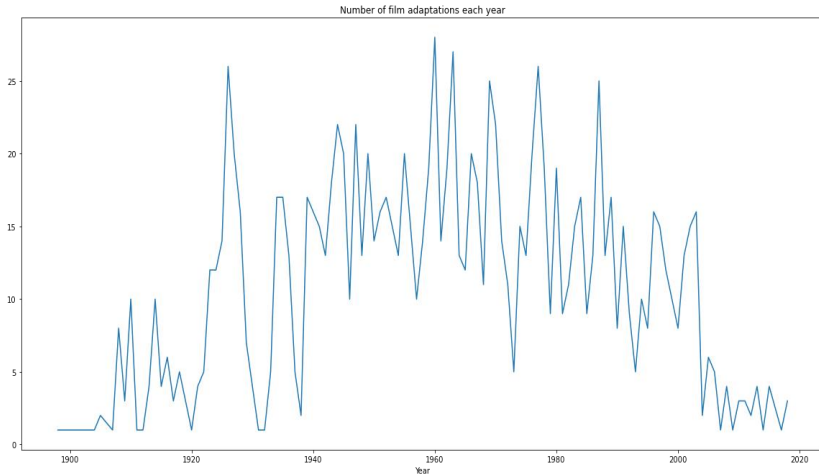
Overall, these sources led to the compilation of an extensive first corpus that includes a total of 1,331 films (Appendix 1). Bearing in mind the broad nature of this corpus, the information gathered for its compilation simply included the title of the film adaptation, director(s) source literary text(s), and author(s). Thus, this corpus may serve to provide a basic overall panorama of the state of the film adaptation of Spanish literary works throughout history, as well as valuable information regarding the most adapted authors, literary works, and most prevalent directors.

#### i. Distribution by year

It is first interesting to take a look at the overall distribution of the releases of these films during the scope of the study, especially bearing in mind that this scope represents nearly the entire history of the Spanish film system. Corpus 1 thus provides very valuable information regarding the number of film adaptations of Spanish literary works made by year, which can be visualized in the following figure.

**Figure 3**

*Film adaptation of Spanish literary works: Distribution by year*



While it is important to note that this graph traces film adaptations of Spanish literary works overall (and not Spanish film in the United States, or Spanish film adaptations in the United States), some interesting trends can be observed. First, the nearly bell-shaped curve indicates that the majority of these film adaptations were made or imported during the mid-end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, with the exception of a particular concentration in the mid-1920s. This was a period marked by many film adaptations of Spanish literary works made by prolific Republican-era silent film directors such as Florián Rey, José Buchs, and Benito Perojo (all of whom represent some of the most prolific directors on this corpus overall, as will soon be seen). This is also a period characterized by the remarkably successful English-language Hollywood adaptation of Spanish literary works, most notably those of Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, a phenomenon that will be explored in greater detail in Case Study 2

(Section 3.2). This rise in film adaptations of Spanish literary works also likely has its roots in the sociocultural, political, and technical conditions in Spain immediately preceding what some consider the golden age of Spanish cinema. The 1920s were marked by several artistic vanguard movements, from the rising work of surrealist artists such as Pablo Picasso and Salvador Dalí to the emergence of poetic and literary talent embodied by the Generation of '27. Following the proclamation of Spain as a Republic preceding the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, art, literature, and cinema flourished as young creators enthusiastically embraced the reforms of the time. Meanwhile, sound had yet to be invented in film, thus allowing Spanish directors to work with similar technology and meet on a more even playing field with Hollywood directors. Dubbing was also not necessary at this time and subtitling was limited to the editing of the intertitles,<sup>90</sup> therefore facilitating the importation of foreign films in the United States.

This boom lasted very shortly, however, as can be seen in the image. The Spanish Civil War soon devastated the early sound film era in Spain. Many productions were halted during the conflict, and filmmakers from both sides found themselves cut off from large groups of their former audiences and collaborators. Meanwhile, the elementary technical level of Spanish films following the Civil War made them difficult to export (Fernández Cuenca, 1972). By the 1940s, however, a gradual rise can be observed in the making of

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<sup>90</sup> See Section 3.2 (c) for a more detailed description of this process and its implication on the importation of foreign films in the United States.

films based on Spanish literary works, culminating around 1960. Here we find the period marked by the release of many of the films of the previously mentioned directors, as well as those of Rafael Gil, a remarkably prolific Franco-era director known for his collaborations with pro-regime screenwriter and novelist Fernando Vizcaíno Casas. Rafael Gil is the director with the most films on this corpus, as will be seen shortly, as well as the director examined in Case Study 1, Section 4.1. While prolific in number, the films released during this time, tended to be characterized by their adherence with regime ideology, glorification or retelling of classic Spanish literary texts aligned with this ideology, and little commercial or critical recognition in the United States.

This changed by the late 1950s and early 1960s, however. This was a period not only marked by the most prolific importation of film adaptations of Spanish literary works, but also by the rise of the emerging liberal filmmakers. Among these we find Luis Buñuel, Carlos Saura, Juan Antonio Bardem, Manuel Mur Oti, José Antonio Nieves Conde, Rafael Azcona, and Marco Ferreri, all of whom are responsible for multiple films on this first corpus. Thus, the early 1960s represents the peak in the importation of film adaptations of Spanish literary works, most notably those made by Spanish directors.

There is a visible shift in the graph following the 1960s, except for one rise in the late 1980s, a period marked by the resurgence of the films of some of Spain's prolific adaptors such as Vicente Aranda,



Gonzalo Suárez, and Fernando Fernán Gómez. This period is followed by a visible drop, leading to a remarkably low but steady rate of a handful of films per year in the early 2000s. There are several possible reasons for this. First, it is likely that there is indeed less production of films based on Spanish literary works during this contemporary period. This may also be linked to the rising popularity of original screenplays, as well as the decline in popularity of frequently adapted stories. There have, after all, been nearly 50 adaptations of *Don Quijote* throughout history. Meanwhile, few other canonized Spanish literary works seem to possess the same appeal, and most modern and contemporary literary works that have yet to form a more central part of the Spanish literary system have only been adapted once. Finally, it is also important to note that this was the most challenging period for the collection of data for this corpus due to the lack of resources available, and it is therefore likely that some works may be missing.

Overall, however, while this graph is in no way perfect, it does provide a basic idea of the overall trends in the film adaptations of Spanish literary works from the release of the first film adaptation of a Spanish literary work in 1898 to the year 2018.

## ii. The most adapted authors

A total of 565 Spanish authors can be found on this first corpus. Bearing in mind the 1,331 film adaptations present, this indicates that the work of many authors is naturally responsible for more than

one film adaptation. In fact, it is interesting to note the remarkable presence of certain authors in particular – i.e., those whose literary works have undergone the most adaptations throughout history. It is important to note that this list represents the total adaptations by author, not by literary work, a statistic that will be explored within the next section. The following table presents a list of the top 10 Spanish authors with the most film adaptations of their work (Table 4). For a complete list of the most adapted authors, please see Appendix 2.

**Table 4**

*Spanish writers with the most film adaptations of their work*

Spanish authors responsible for the most film adaptations	
Author	# Adaptations
Miguel de Cervantes	49
Carlos Arniches	40
Alfonso Paso	29
Benito Pérez Galdós	26
Luisa María Linares Martín	23
Enrique Jardiel Poncela	20
Wenceslao Fernández Flórez	19
Jacinto Benavente	17
Joaquín Álvarez Quintero	17
José Zorrilla	16
Pedro Antonio de Alarcón	16
Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	16
Gregorio Martínez Sierra	16
Federico García Lorca	14
Armando Palacio Valdés	12

Many interesting observations can be made from this table. First, we find the remarkable presence of adaptations of the works of Miguel de Cervantes. Overall, there have been 49 adaptations based on the work of Miguel de Cervantes between 1903 (when the first film adaptation of a Spanish literary work was released) and 2018, according to my research. This makes Cervantes the most-adapted Spanish author in film history. While the unique case of film adaptations of *Don Quijote* will be examined in further detail in Case Study 1, Section 4.1, it is interesting to note the outstanding presence of film adaptations of the works of Cervantes, an author whose work alone comprises approximately 4% of this entire first corpus.

Cervantes is followed in this category by playwright Carlos Arniches. The prevalence of the works of this author in film may appear surprising, but it is important to note that Arniches' social dramas were quite popular in Spanish cinemas in the silent and early sound era. They were also among the relatively non-controversial plays permitted by the regime following the Spanish Civil War, a fact that heavily influenced the selection of Arniches' work for both stage performances and cinematic adaptations. While *Es mi hombre* (Carlos Fernández Cuenca, 1927) was very popular in Spain and set an interesting precedent for film adaptations of the time, few of the adaptations based on this playwright's work managed to reach the United States, and none of those that did receive much critical or popular attention (Dowling, 2011). Along these lines, is also

interesting to note that while Carlos Arniches represents the author with the second most film adaptations of his work, none of his individual works feature among the top 10 most adapted works on this corpus. Nevertheless, according to my research, *La señorita de Trevélez* and *Es mi hombre* have indeed been adapted four times each throughout history, while *La chica del gato* has been the source of inspiration for three films. Thus, unlike the case of Cervantes who is not only the most adapted literary author in history but is also responsible for the most adapted literary work, the placement of Carlos Arniches on this list owes itself to the author's body of work as a whole, and not to any particularly canonized individual work.

Following Carlos Arniches, we find Alfonso Paso, a playwright best known for his popular tragicomedies marked by complex plots and original characters. There are a total of 29 film adaptations of Alfonso Paso's works on this corpus. The majority of these adaptations were concentrated in the 1960s and realized by different directors. Thus, much like the case of Carlos Arniches, here we find an author whose overall body of work led to these adaptations in place of a single and perhaps more well-known and canonized work. Much like Carlos Arniches, the work of Alfonso Paso was also tremendously popular in Spain. In fact, Paso was one of the most prolific 20<sup>th</sup>-century Spanish authors and most present on the stage and screen (Schwartz & Chandler, 1991; Marquerie, 1960). Evidence of this popularity can be found in a 1960 newspaper comic by Antonio Mingote. In the comic, a couple is seen having a cup of

coffee and reading a newspaper covered with advertisements for Paso's plays. Newspaper in hand, the husband asks his wife: "What would you prefer tonight: a movie or Alfonso Paso?" (Alesves, 2018). The irony, of course, is that it is likely that the couple would have even found an adaptation of one of Paso's plays at the local cinema bearing in mind the remarkable presence of this author on the silver screen at the time.

The next most adapted author on this list perhaps comes as little surprise: Benito Pérez Galdós. With a total of 26 adaptations of his works throughout history, several of these works can also be found on the list of most adapted works in general (*El abuelo*, with six adaptations, and *Doña Perfecta*, with four adaptations). While it is important to note the prevalence of the works of Benito Pérez Galdós in film throughout history overall, this author and the reception of his work in the United States will be explored in greater detail in Case Study 3, Section 4.3.

Bearing in mind this first group of authors, it is interesting to note the remarkable presence of the work of Spanish playwrights in film adaptation throughout history. In fact, two of the top five most represented authors on this list were primarily playwrights, indicating a marked trend in stage-to-screen film adaptations of Spanish literary works. This practice is most apparent in Spanish-language film adaptations that occur before the translations of the literary works on which they were based reach the United States (see Combination 3, Section 4.3). Meanwhile, the work of the

novelists found at the top of this list is typically received in the United States through a wider variety of circumstances (i.e., multiple combinations). Some of these adaptations have been made within Hollywood itself – as is the case with many Quixote adaptations throughout history – or have enjoyed a significant international critical following, such as Buñuel’s adaptations of the works of Benito Pérez Galdós. These patterns will be explored in further detail within the context of the case studies later in this analysis.

There is, however, another interesting observation to be made regarding the most adapted authors concerning the next most-represented author on this list, Luisa María Linares Martín. Before delving a little deeper into the fascinating case of the work of this novelist in film, it is first important to briefly address the overall representation of women on this corpus. Much has been written on the state of women’s literature in Spain throughout history.<sup>91</sup> It is commonly cited that only about half a dozen female authors managed to enter the literary canon prior to 1936. While the representation of women in literature has indeed slightly increased throughout history, writing by women has continuously been markedly underrepresented in the Spanish (and world) literary tradition. Thus, film adaptations of the work of female writers are similarly scarce. According to my research, of the 565 Spanish

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<sup>91</sup> See, for instance, Brown (1990) for a very concise overall analysis; Galerstein & McNerney (1986); Martin Gaité (1987); Servodidio (1987); Manteiga, McNerney & Galerstein (1988); and Tsuchiya (2017) for a more contemporary gender perspective, among others.

authors whose literary works have been adapted to film, only 53 (about 9%) are women. Of these 53 women, only the work of fourteen has inspired multiple film adaptations, as can be seen on the following table.

**Table 5**

*Spanish women writers with the most film adaptations of their work*

<b>Author</b>	<b>Film adaptations</b>
Luisa María Linares Martín	23
Concha Espina	5
Almudena Grandes	4
Carmen Rico-Godoy	4
Elvira Lindo	4
Emilia Pardo Bazán	4
Carmen de Icaza	3
Pilar Millán Astray	3
Concha Linares-Becerra	2
Arantxa Urretavizcaya	2
Catalina de Erauso	3
María Jaén	2
Natividad Zaro	2
Rosa Montero	2

While the work of the majority of these women remains far less known and represented in film than that of the majority of the men on this corpus, it is interesting to note the remarkable prevalence of film adaptations of one author in particular: Luisa María Linares Martín. Linares Martín was a 20th-century Spanish writer

responsible for 32 romance and adventure novels that enjoyed a great degree of popular success – so much so, in fact, that 23 film adaptations have been made from them. Among these we find films made by celebrated Spanish directors such as José Buchs (*En poder de Barba Azul*, 1940), Gonzalo Delgrás (*Un marido a precio fijo*, 1942) and Juan de Orduña (*Tuvo la culpa Adán*, 1943; *La vida empieza a medianoche*, 1944), as well as the work of Italian, Mexican, and French directors (in fact, the novels of Luisa María Linares Martín have been particularly successful in France). While it might be said that the subgenre of these novels facilitated their selection for adaptation and subsequent popularity, Linares Martín was not content with the classification of her work as *novela rosa* – a term used to refer to a popular form of modern romance novel. According to Linares Martín, the term “Is an invention, which was made in Spain to discredit certain authors. In any case, ‘la novela rosa’ was everything in North American cinema until fifteen years ago” (in ABC Madrid, 1986; author’s own translation). She is not incorrect in this – films that follow the recognizable “novela rosa” format<sup>92</sup> and adventure films consistently generate a significant part of North American box office revenue.<sup>93</sup> However, while the novels of Luisa María Linares Martín have figured quite prominently in film and are a subject worthy of future research, scarce critical or academic work can be found on this prolific author. In fact, the

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<sup>92</sup> According to the RAE, this Western novel format is most often characterized by a story narrating the vices of two conventional lovers whose love triumphs above all else.

<sup>93</sup> See, for instance, the statistics provided in Navarro (2021).



representation of the work of women authors in film remains a very interesting area of future research.

Following these five highly adapted authors is a series of authors with between 15 and 20 adaptations of their work each which deem mentioning. Among these, we find Enrique Jardiel Poncela (20 adaptations), whose *Las cinco advertencias de Satanás* and *Los habitantes de la casa deshabitada* have each been the source of several Spanish-language film adaptations; Wenceslao Fernández Flórez (19 adaptations), perhaps best known for *El bosque animado* and *El malvado Carabel*; Nobel-prize winning playwright Jacinto Benavente (17 adaptations, of which four alone are based on *La malquerida*, including the popular 1921 Hollywood adaptation *The Passion Flower*); playwright Joaquín Álvarez Quintero (17 adaptations), who together with his brother Serafín Álvarez Quintero was responsible for over 200 plays; writer, poet, playwright, and director Gregorio Martínez Sierra (16 adaptations), the fascinating and celebrated author who can also be found in the category of *director* on this corpus; Vicente Blasco Ibáñez (16 adaptations), who will be explored in further detail in Case Study 2, Section 4.2; José Zorrilla (16 adaptations), whose work will also be explored in further detail within the context of Case Study 6, Section 4.6; and Pedro Antonio de Alarcón (16 adaptations). Overall, with the exception of *La malquerida* and the English-language Hollywood adaptations of the novels of Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, the majority of the films based on the work of these authors were made within the Spanish film system. As will be seen later in

this chapter, this means that the greater part of these works has been classified in Combination 2 (literary translation before English language film adaptation, Section 4.2) or Combination 3 (Film adaptation before literary translation, Section 4.3). Overall, the top ten authors on this list are responsible for approximately 23% of the total adaptations found on this corpus. Bearing in mind that there are a total of 565 authors that can be found here, it is clear that there are certain authors whose work enjoys a particularly central location within the Spanish literary system, specifically with regards to its selection for film adaptation.

Finally, it is important to highlight that this has been a very brief and basic analysis of the top ten most represented authors in film based on my research – an analysis that could very easily comprise a much larger portion of this dissertation. Nevertheless, for the purpose of this study and bearing in mind the other categories that deserve a similar analysis, it is best to move on to examining the literary works that appear with the most frequency on this corpus, as well.

### iii. The most adapted literary works

A total of 1,031 literary works can be found on this first corpus. The following table features a list of the most adapted literary works in film (works that have inspired five or more total adaptations). For the complete list of the most adapted literary works in descending order, please see Appendix 4.

**Table 6***The most adapted literary works*

<b>Spanish literary works that have inspired the most film adaptations</b>		
Literary work	Author	# Adaptations
El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha	Miguel de Cervantes	47
Don Juan Tenorio	José Zorrilla	16
La casa de Bernarda Alba	Federico García Lorca	7
El abuelo	Benito Pérez Galdós	6
Canción de cuna	Canción de cuna	6
Poema del Mío Cid	Anonymous	5
Marianela	Marianela	5
La gitanilla	Miguel de Cervantes	5
La casa de la Troya	Alejandro Pérez Lugín	5
La dolores	Josep Feliú i Codina	5
Bodas de sangre	Federico García Lorca	5

Several interesting observations can be made upon first glance at this table. Since there is a total of 1,331 film adaptations featured on this first corpus, this naturally indicates much more diversity with regards to the sources of these films than the authors who created them. However, there is a very marked difference between the first work on this list and the subsequent works. In fact, Miguel de Cervantes' *Don Quijote* is responsible for nearly three times the number of film adaptations of the next most represented work on this list. Overall, *Don Quijote* has been the source of nearly 4% of all film adaptations of Spanish literary works throughout history and

represents nearly 5% of the Spanish literary works that have been adapted to the silver screen. However, while the presence of this particular work in film is indeed outstanding, it is important to note that there is much more diversity overall on this list of literary works than the previously discussed list of authors. This is, of course, not surprising, bearing in mind that the majority of well-known authors are not only responsible for multiple works, but also attract more attention, thus increasing the probability of adaptations of their other works.

Next, it is also interesting to note that four of the previously mentioned most represented authors are also responsible for one of the top ten literary works: Miguel de Cervantes, José Zorrilla, Benito Pérez Galdós, and Gregorio Martínez Sierra. Three of these authors will be explored in greater detail later in the case studies of this analysis. Meanwhile, works by Carlos Arniches – the second-most adapted author, according to my previous calculations – do not appear until far later on this list. Arniches' most adapted plays, *Es mi hombre* and *La señorita de Trevélez*, have each only been adapted four times to the silver screen. The same is the case for other previously mentioned playwrights and novelists such as Alfonso Paso, Enrique Jardiel Poncela, and Jacinto Benavente, while certain works of Wenceslao Fernández Flórez only underwent two adaptations at most. Thus, while these writers produced many works that were adapted to films, few of these individual works underwent multiple adaptations.

As can be seen in the figures, there is hardly any difference in the number of adaptations of each work following *Don Quijote* and *Don Juan Tenorio*. Federico García Lorca's *La casa de Bernarda Alba* (seven adaptations) is closely followed by Benito Pérez Galdós' *El abuelo* (six adaptations) and Gregorio Martínez Sierra's *Canción de cuna* (six adaptations). Following these works, we find a group of novels, plays, and a poem with five adaptations each: *La gitanilla* (Miquel de Cervantes), *La casa de la Troya* (Alejandro Pérez Lugín), *Poema del Mío Cid* (Anonymous), *La dolores* (Josep Feliú i Codina), *Marianela* (Benito Pérez Galdós), and *Bodas de Sangre* (Federico García Lorca). Thus, what truly distinguishes this list is the outstanding difference between the number of film adaptations of the first, second, and third most represented works that can be found on it. This illustrates the clear centrality of certain Spanish literary works within film – and, by extension, likely within the world literary system itself. If we embrace the assumption that film adaptation constitutes an important means of canonization, then it is possible to venture to interpret this data as a map of the centrality of Spanish literary works in the world literary system. Overall, we find the hyper-centrality of a single literary work – *Don Quijote* –, as well as the semi-centrality of *Don Juan*. Few other works have enjoyed such positions, however.

It is again important to highlight that this is a very brief and basic analysis of the most represented literary works based on the data that has been collected. There are many more observations that could be made from this analysis and prove fruitful topics for future

research. However, for the sake of this study and bearing in mind the analysis and detailed case studies that are to come, it is best to move on to the last category of data that can be analyzed from this first corpus.

#### iv. The directors responsible for the most film adaptations

Lastly, it is interesting to shift attention to a rather different statistic that can be observed on Corpus 1, and that is the prevalence of the directors of the film adaptations themselves. Here, it is possible to observe which directors have been responsible for multiple film adaptations throughout the scope of this corpus, as well as to visualize certain patterns in the literary works and authors these directors have selected to adapt. Overall, a total of 587 directors can be found on this corpus. In the following table, a list of the directors with the most film adaptations can be found. The complete list of directors responsible for multiple film adaptations can be found in Appendix 5.

**Table 7**

*Directors responsible for the most film adaptations of Spanish literary works*

Director	# Film Adaptations
Rafael Gil	43
José Buchs	25
Juan de Orduña	25

Luis Lucia	21
Benito Perojo	21
Florián Rey	18
Ignacio F. Iquino	18
Pedro Lazaga	17
Luis Marquina	15
Vicente Aranda	15

As can be observed from the table and figure, one remarkably prolific director tops the list when it comes to the most film adaptations of Spanish literary works. Spanish director Rafael Gil has been responsible for a total of 43 film adaptations throughout history, a number that is nearly double that of the next director on this list. As will be seen in greater detail in Case Study 1, Section 4.1, this prolific production is in a large part due to Rafael Gil's position as an important agent within the Spanish national film system during the Franco regime. Rafael Gil is responsible for a total of 68 films throughout his career, of which over 60% were film adaptations of Spanish literary works, according to my research. While this director did garner some international acclaim for several of his films (most notably on the European film festival circuit), few of them received much critical or commercial attention in the United States, as will be seen in Case Study 1. In fact, only two of Rafael Gil's have even premiered in the United States, according to my research: his 1944 adaptation of Pedro Antonio de Alarcón's novel *El clavo* and his 1947 adaptation of *Don Quijote*. It can therefore be said that while this director enjoyed a very central

position within the Spanish film system, his work has remained at the periphery of the U.S. film system.

In fact, a very similar conclusion can be reached regarding the other directors that comprise the top of this list. Following Rafael Gil in total number of film adaptations are four Spanish directors each responsible for between 20 and 25 film adaptations throughout their careers. First, we find José Buchs (25 adaptations), the prolific screenwriter, director, and stage actor who began his film career collaborating with Julio Roesset, the pioneering director and screenwriter responsible for several film adaptations of contemporary plays.<sup>94</sup> José Buchs is perhaps best known for his 1921 silent film adaptation *La verbena de la paloma*, based on Ricardo de la Vega's zarzuela, which enjoyed great success in Spain, where it became the first successful film under the Atlántida SACE production company.<sup>95</sup> However, despite Buchs' prolific career and remarkable centrality within the Spanish film system, none of his films reached the United States, according to my research.

Shortly following José Buchs on this list, we find Juan de Orduña, with a total of 25 film adaptations. Orduña began his career as an actor in the silent film era but is best known for his leading role in

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<sup>94</sup> Roesset appears a total of four times on this corpus, as he was responsible for the 1918 films *La dicha ajena* and *De cuarenta para arriba*, as well as the 1919 adaptations *La mesonera del Tormes* (a collaboration with Buchs) and *El regalo de Reyes*.

<sup>95</sup> See Berthier & Seguin (2007) for more information.



Spain's first sound film, *El misterio de la Puerta del Sol* (1929), as well as his later role in Florián Rey's 1935 adaptation *Nobleza baturra*. Much as was the case with Rafael Gil, Juan de Orduña was also very active during the Franco regime, particularly the decade following the end of the Spanish Civil War, when he became one of the most popular and prolific directors. During this time, Orduña specialized in historical dramas that highlighted the patriotic values of the country, among which we find his 1948 adaptation of Manuel Tamayo y Baus' historical drama, *Locura de amor*. He eventually dedicated the final years of his career nearly completely to the filming of zarzuelas, a genre that enjoyed a small revival during the 1960s in Spain (Pérez Cipitria, 2010). According to my research, however, while Juan de Orduña has been responsible for a significant number of film adaptations of Spanish literary works, none of these adaptations managed to be received in the United States.

Luis Lucia is the next director on this list. As the son of a politician and attorney-turned-production manager of CIFESA studios, Lucia enjoyed a particularly central position within the Spanish film industry between the 1940s and 1960s. *El principe encadenado* (1960), one of his 21 total adaptations of Spanish literary works, earned him the *Medallas del Circulo de Escritores Cinematograficos* medal for Best Director (Martín, 2008). Nevertheless, similar to the case of Juan de Orduña, none of his film adaptations reached the United States.

Next, we find Benito Perojo (21 adaptations). Known for his strong preference for film adaptations, Perojo played an integral part in the development of early Spanish cinema. His folkloric, flamenco-like style was disliked by Luis Buñuel and other Generation of 25 intellectuals, however, and came to be negatively referred to as “Perojismo” (Gubern, 1994). Interestingly, several of Perojo’s adaptations managed to premiere in the United States, according to my research, including his 1940 adaptation of *Marianela* and 1942 film *Goyescas*, which was selected to participate in the 1947 Cannes Film Festival.

Following Benito Perojo on this list of directors with the largest number of adaptations of Spanish literary works is Florián Rey (Antonio Martínez del Castillo), with a total of 18 adaptations. Florián Rey was a Spanish director, screenwriter, and actor best known for *La aldea maldita* (1930), a film widely recognized as a seminal work in Spanish cinema.<sup>96</sup> He is also known for helping launch the career of famous Argentinian-Spanish actress Imperio Argentina (an actress who, it is interesting to note, is featured in many film adaptations found on this corpus, including the aforementioned *Goyescas* and *Nobleza baturra*). Rey also worked with Juan de Orduña to create the production company Goya Films, for which he directed a series of zarzuela adaptations in the 1920s.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Originally intended to be a silent film, Rey decided to include sound after production. To do this, he needed to realize additional shooting in Paris in order to be able to access higher-quality equipment. However, no copy of the sound version of *La aldea maldita* exists today, and the silent version is regarded by many critics to be masterpiece of Spanish cinema (Sánchez Vidal, 1996).

<sup>97</sup> For more on the cinema of Florián Rey, please see Vidal (1991).

Of the 18 film adaptations realized by Rey, I have only been able to verify the premiere of one in the United States: *La hermana San Sulpicio*, which was released in both a silent and sound version in 1927 and 1934, respectively. The film starred Imperio Argentina.

Next, we find two Spanish directors responsible for 18 and 17 film adaptations each, respectively: Ignacio F. Iquino and Pedro Lazaga. Ignacio F. Iquino is best known as the writer, producer, and director of several low budget “paella westerns” (a Spanish version of the Italian “Spaghetti Western”). Meanwhile, Pedro Lazaga was a very prolific director responsible for 94 films between 1948 and 1979, although his work is not nearly as well-known as that of the previously mentioned directors. None of the films of either of these Spanish directors premiered in the United States, according to my research.

It is next important to mention Luis Marquina, a Barcelona-born director, producer, and screenwriter responsible for 15 adaptations of Spanish literary works. Marquina began his career as a sound technician before eventually being offered the role of director of *Don Quintin el amargao* (1935) by Luis Buñuel. This film would represent one of many adaptations made by the director, including *El bailarín y el trabajador* (1936), a musical comedy adaptation of one of Jacinto Benavente’s plays widely considered to be his best film (Dios Cuartas, 2018). Nevertheless, as has been the case of many of these directors, my research indicates that none of these

films premiered in the United States following the criteria for the compilation of Corpus 3.

There is, of course, one other director here responsible for 15 adaptations of Spanish literary works, and that is Vicente Aranda. Vicente Aranda (1926-2015) was one of the founding members of the Barcelona School of Film who became known for bringing contemporary Spanish novels to life on the silver screen, as well as for his explorations of challenging social issues and variation on the theme of desire using the codes of melodrama. The theme of desire is particularly explored in films such as *El Amante Bilingüe* (1993), adapted from a story by Juan Marsé; *La Pasión Turca* (1994), based on a novel by Antonio Gala; *La Mirada del Otro* (1998), based on a novel by Fernando G. Delgado; and his lavish, high-budget 2006 adaptation of the seminal Catalan chivalry novel, *Tirant lo Blanc*. It is also interesting to note his 1990 film *Los Jinetes del Alba*, an adaptation of the novel by Jesús Fernández Santos about the Spanish Civil War and the anarchist movement realized at the request of Pilar Miró (a director who will also be mentioned shortly). The film represents one of Aranda's most paradigmatic works (Colmena, 1986). Overall, Vicente Aranda is widely considered one of the most renowned Spanish filmmakers and is particularly well-known for his film adaptation of Spanish literary works.

Finally, I believe it is important to briefly present the women directors that can be found on this list. Much as is the case with

women in literature, women are significantly underrepresented in the making of films. Lower pay, higher turnover, age discrimination, lack of opportunities for promotion, and countless other institutionalized forms of discrimination all prevent women from thriving within the film industry.<sup>98</sup> In Hollywood, Stephen Follows' 2014 analysis revealed that women only make up approximately 23% of the crews responsible for the highest-grossing films between 1994 and 2013. Contrary to common social perceptions, there had been no improvement in the representation of women in the 20 years the study was conducted – in fact, the percentage of female crew members decreased by over a percentage, and only 2% of the directors of these top-grossing films were women. This stark inequality is not an issue unique to any one national film system in particular, however, but a worldwide phenomenon that occurs in various degrees in all filmmaking nations. In Spain, women represent only 30% of staff in the feature film industry, according to a recent report (Cuenca Suárez, 2019). This percentage drops significantly when it comes to the role of director (19%). Meanwhile, historically, the presence and recognition of women directors in the Spanish film industry has been consistently lower than this. It was not until 1996, for instance, that a woman (Pilar Miró) won Goya Awards for Best Film and Best Director. Only recently have initiatives such as the *CIMA Asociación de Mujeres Cineastas y de Medios Audiovisuales* and

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<sup>98</sup> See Wing-Fai, Gill, & Randle (2015) and Handy & Rowlands (2016) for a more detailed analysis.

the Madrid *Festival de Cine por mujeres* begun to actively work to remedy this inequality.<sup>99</sup>

However, this does not mean that women directors have been nonexistent in cinema. There are, in fact, a handful of very important directors that have formed an integral part of the Spanish film system, many of whom can be found on this corpus. The following table presents the women directors responsible for the most film adaptations of Spanish literary works. Additional information can be found in Appendix 6.

**Table 8**

*The women directors with the most film adaptations*

<b>Director</b>	<b>Film adaptations</b>	<b>Films</b>
Pilar Miró	5	<i>Ópera en Marineda (1974)</i> <i>El crimen de Cuenca (1980)</i> <i>Beltenebros (1991)</i> <i>El perro del hortelano (1996)</i> <i>Tu nombre envenena mis sueños (1996)</i>
Ana Mariscal	3	<i>Segundo López, aventurero urbano (1953)</i> <i>Con la vida hicieron fuego (1959)</i> <i>El camino (1964)</i>
Josefina Molina	3	<i>Función de noche (1981)</i>

<sup>99</sup> Along these lines, a very interesting series of detailed reports on the topic of women in the film industry can be found on the Women and Cinema webpage sponsored by the Madrid women's festival, as well as in Basso & Trelles (2018).

		<i>La Lola se va a los puertos</i> (1983)
		<i>Esquilache</i> (1989)
Rosario Pi	2	<i>El gato montés</i> (1935) <i>Molinos de viento</i> (1939)
Pilar	2	<i>Nanas de espinas</i> (1984)
Távora		<i>Yerma</i> (1998)

Overall, of the total 587 directors on this final corpus, only 27 (5%) have been women. Together, these women have been responsible for 37 film adaptations of Spanish literary works (under 3% of the total adaptations throughout history). The representation of women directors is therefore significantly lower than that of women writers on this corpus. Meanwhile, much as was the case of the most represented directors overall, the top more represented women directors are all Spanish. In fact, the women found on this table are all significant agents in the Spanish film system.<sup>100</sup> Ana Mariscal was a prolific actress and pioneer among Spanish female filmmakers in the post-war period. She became a producer in the early 1950s and began writing her own films shortly after, among which *El camino* (1963), an adaptation of the novel by Miguel Delibes, is perhaps the best known (Gutiérrez San Miguel & Calvo Ortega, 2018). Meanwhile, Josefina Molina became the first woman to graduate from Spain's national film school in 1967. Also a novelist, Molina enjoyed a significantly prolific television career, and her 1989 film adaptation *Esquilache* – based on Antonio Buero

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<sup>100</sup> For more on Spanish women directors, see Camí-Vela (2001), Zecchi (2014), and Suarez (2019).

Vallejo's play *Un Soñador Para Un Pueblo* – was entered into the 39<sup>th</sup> Berlin International Film Festival (Prada, 2019). Of course, no look at women in Spanish cinema would be complete without mentioning Pilar Miró, the female director responsible for the most film adaptations of Spanish literary works. Miró was a celebrated film and television director and screenwriter responsible for the 1991 adaptation of Antonio Muñoz Molina's mystery thriller *Beltenebros*, which won a Silver Bear for outstanding artistic contribution at the 42<sup>nd</sup> Berlin International Film Festival. Meanwhile, her 1996 adaptation of the Lope de Vega play *El perro del hortelano* took home seven Goya Awards, including Best Picture and Best Director. Pilar Miró was also in charge of Televisión Española (TVE) from 1986 to 1989, making her the most powerful and celebrated female director on this corpus – and, it may be argued, in the 20<sup>th</sup>-century Spanish film industry overall.<sup>101</sup> As will be seen later in this analysis, several of the films made by these women have indeed made their way to the United States. However, it is the early silent Hollywood adaptations of the work of Vicente Blasco Ibáñez made by Elsie Jane Wilson and Monta Bell that have received attention in the United States, according to my research. These films will be presented and explored within the context of Case Study 2, Section 4.2.

While there are many more directors on this first corpus worthy of mention, this has been a brief analysis of the directors responsible

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<sup>101</sup> For more on the career and adaptations of Pilar Miró, see Mendez (1989), Fernández Soto & Checa y Olmos (2010), and Santamarí (2013), among others.



for fifteen or more film adaptations of Spanish literary works throughout history. Again, it is interesting to note that the most prolific “adaptors” of Spanish literary works were all born in Spain. In fact, it is not until much farther down on the list of directors with the largest number of adaptations when we find Fernando Fernán Gómez, a Peruvian-born director and actor responsible for a total of 11 film adaptations of Spanish literary works. In the case of Fernán Gómez, however, it may be argued that he formed a much more integral part of the Spanish film system than his national film system of origin. A similar example is that of Ladislao Vajda, the Hungarian-Spanish film director responsible for nine film adaptations of Spanish literary works. However, in the case of Ladislao Vajda, it is important to note that his career was far more marked by his work in many different European film systems, making him a truly international director.<sup>102</sup> León Klimovsky, an Argentine-born director also responsible for nine adaptations on this list, also pursued the majority of his career in Spain, where he lived until his death in 1996 (Real Academia de la Historia, 2020). Thus, Spanish-born directors or directors who spent a portion of their career in Spain are responsible for the vast majority of the film adaptation of Spanish literary works. This is, of course, unsurprising, bearing in mind the cultural proximity and linguistic nature of the works adapted. However, it is interesting to note that while Spanish directors are predominantly responsible for most film adaptations of Spanish literary works overall, there is a markedly greater

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<sup>102</sup> See Garriga-Nogués (2019).

difference in the representation of American and other foreign directors on Corpus 3, as will be seen later in this section.

## v. Conclusion

Overall, Corpus 1 reveals very interesting information regarding the state of film adaptations of Spanish literary works throughout the scope of this study (1895-2018). The purpose of this section was to provide a brief preliminary analysis of the most adapted authors and literary works, as well as the directors responsible for the largest number of adaptations of Spanish literary works throughout this period. This was done to provide a basic understanding of the overall trends in the film adaptation of Spanish literary works, thus facilitating the analysis of the overall reception of film adaptations in the United States to be realized in the next part of this section.

### **3.2 Phase II: Film adaptations of Spanish literary works in the United States**

In the next phase of analysis, I sought to determine which film adaptations of Spanish literary works have reached the United States. Using the first corpus as a point of departure, the compilation of the second corpus aimed to determine which of the film adaptations from the first corpus had also been produced in or imported into the United States. Therefore, its scope was further limited. However, before presenting the analysis of this corpus, it is first important to contextualize the object of study. To do this, I will

provide a brief understanding of the presence of foreign films in the United States. This will be followed by a more focused analysis of the presence of Spanish film in the United States. Finally, the analysis of Corpus 2 will focus on the specific object of analysis: film adaptations of Spanish literary works in the United States. Here, a brief analysis of how these films are imported and the use of audiovisual translation in their importation will be presented.

### a) Foreign films in the United States

The United States has long represented the world's wealthiest film market. It is officially an open market: there are no screen or import quotas, meaning that a film from a foreign country has an equal opportunity of being released. When this wealthy, large, and easily accessible market is seen as such, it gives the impression that all a foreign producer must do is export to the United States for success (McDonald & Wasko, 2008). However, the reality of the U.S. film industry is far different. The United States represents one of the most difficult markets for European films to enter, and this struggle has been ongoing for close to a century.

According to Segrave (2004), there was a brief period in which foreign films held a prominent place in American cinemas prior to World War I, between the years 1895 and 1915. After all, the first moving picture presentation had taken place at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in France, a national film system integral to the development of cinema. During this time, the turmoil and

uncertainty of the U.S. film industry and the success of the growing European industries led to an increase in the importation of foreign films. However, following World War I the American film system significantly gained strength, thus limiting the need for foreign importations.

Foreign films had virtually no presence in the United States after World War I. Film industries that had once enjoyed a solid presence on U.S. screens, such as the French and British systems, had been shut down by the war. Meanwhile, the U.S. moved quickly to rebuild its industry and dominate foreign cinemas with its own prolific output (exportation that continues to this day). Overall, during both the Silent (1916-1928) and Early Sound eras (1929-1945), the U.S. film system produced so many motion pictures that there was typically enough supply to fulfill audiences' demands. If demand exceeded output, then old films were simply re-released. Within this vertically integrated industry, a handful of large companies owned all production, distribution, and exhibition facilities, leading to a monopolistic structure that ensured a continuous flow of releases. Because theater ownership could often be either directly or indirectly traced to these same companies, there was little desire to import foreign films and little screen time available to show them (Crane, 2014). Meanwhile, when U.S. production companies were interested in a foreign director, actor, or technician, they simply brought them to Hollywood rather than import films from their industries of origin, a practice particularly common during the Silent era.

Overall, the structure of the U.S. film industry was based on the mass production of motion pictures sold in company-owned theaters. Thus, the lack of foreign films in the United States has historically had little to do with the film's perceived "quality" (as some Americans may claim<sup>103</sup>) and more to do with the fact that introducing foreign films would mean disrupting the production-distribution-exhibition chain and giving away a portion of the box office to foreign producers. This also meant that foreign films were a risky gamble: for who would be willing to spend the money purchasing, subtitling or dubbing, and advertising a foreign film without any precedents? It was nearly impossible to determine how well a foreign film would do at U.S. box offices or gauge whether the efforts would be worth it. Thus, both foreign films and their stars remained unknown to American audiences. This only served to further isolate foreign industries, for if even the actors' names are unknown, then how can the film be brought to the public's attention? Add this to the fact that the more global market share was taken by the U.S. film industry the less remained for foreign film industries (leading to lower-budget films on their behalf), and it becomes very clear why few U.S. producers would be willing to take the risk on purchasing and distributing foreign films.

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<sup>103</sup> For decades, when asked to comment on the scarce presence of foreign films in cinemas, even most producers offered the explanation that the movies were simply "no good." Although clearly subjective and unrepresentative of the reality of foreign film, countless opinions along these lines can be found in major journals and newspapers, many of which are recorded in Kerry Segrave's *Foreign Films in America* (2004).

Film during the Early Sound era also displayed another feature that early film had not: sound. Since the introduction of sound technology, American viewers had grown accustomed to their own dialogue, accents, music, and effects. While some foreign actors who spoke English did indeed become popular with American audiences, these exceptions generally existed because their accents were crucial to their image and the roles they played. Non-English-language films also required subtitling or dubbing. Subtitling requires audiences to read the translated texts of the actors' dialogue, a practice that had already become tiring to the average American viewer (most experienced film importers acknowledge that subtitled films lack widespread box office appeal). Dubbing, on the other hand, is a more expensive practice often undergone for widely distributed films and series. However, bearing in mind the previously mentioned market limitations, relatively few foreign films and series were considered marketable enough for this process (Ogan, 1990).

Foreign films continued to make up a remarkably small percentage of the U.S. film market. There was, however, a brief period that deems mentioning that featured a resurgence of European films following World War II. In the years following World War II, any earnings made on American films in Europe were not permitted to be taken to the United States. American companies eager to market their films in Europe were thus left with three alternatives to access their revenues: they could leave their earnings in blocked accounts and wait until remittance to the United States was allowed, purchase

foreign goods where they could be sold for US dollars, or they could simply produce films abroad. The majority of the production companies opted for the third alternative, which inevitably brought about significant changes in their production policies. Meanwhile, many producers began to realize that the U.S. domestic market was no longer providing as much revenue for their films as it used to. Europe, on the other hand, represented a major overseas market that had begun to generate significant revenues. Soon, more foreign stars were cast in films. This not only served to increase foreign sales, but also led more American viewers to be familiar with the stars.

American producers also began to realize the advantages of shooting films in Europe. Authentic film locations were available, labor costs were often lower, and the absence of daily management (which often remained headquartered overseas) provided more creative freedom. In addition, some European governments, such as Spain, began to offer subsidies to film production in their countries, providing the films met certain qualifications. In order to take better advantage of these subsidies, many American producers joined hands with European producers to produce films that were technically American, but legally “British,” “French,” “Spanish,” or “Italian.” While the companies were still very much acting out of self-interest, foreign-made films now played an integral part in this interest. In fact, co-production – a joint venture between two or more different production companies for the purpose of film production – is still widely practiced to this day.

A co-production is a joint venture between several film production companies from different countries. While this practice has existed to some extent throughout the entire history of film, it was popularized following the Second World War when U.S. film companies were forbidden to take their film profits out of European countries in the form of foreign exchange because of the Marshall Plan.<sup>104</sup> Supported by this new regulation, a network of governmental, commercial, and noncommercial institutions was formed to produce and distribute films that facilitated cultural transmission, propaganda, and policy to encourage European nations to trade with the United States and to reform their policies according to American standards. However, some of these rules restricted the foreign funds that could be seized. As a result, several film companies began studios and production agencies in countries such as Italy and the United Kingdom to be able to use their “frozen funds.” To use their profits in England, for instance, companies would set up production agencies with the required number of British actors and film technicians to qualify as a British production. This then allowed them to take advantage of the Eady Levy, a tax on box-office receipts established in 1950 intended to support the British film industry. Meanwhile, thanks to new agreements established to aid American humanitarian workers working abroad, U.S. citizens working outside of the United States for a certain amount of time were not taxed on their earnings. Thus, agents soon

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<sup>104</sup> See Fritsche, M. (2018) *The American Marshall Plan Film Campaign and the Europeans: A Captivated Audience?* For a thorough presentation and analysis of the Marshall Plan film campaign and its effects on the European and US film systems.



discovered that Hollywood screenwriters, directors, and actors could qualify for a tax break by working outside of the United States for the given period – specifically, at least 510 days during a period of 18 months.

Under these regulations, international co-productions were thus very common in the '50s-'70s, particularly between Italian, Spanish, and French production companies. This was evidenced by the notable presence of two particular subgenres: the Italian western, or spaghetti-western (a term coined by Spanish journalist Alfonso Sánchez to refer to Italian-made western-style films), and the “sword and sandal,” or “pepla,” movies, historical or biblical epics primarily set in the Greco-Roman or medieval period that sought to emulate the big-budget Hollywood historical epics of the time. These productions were typically characterized by being Spanish-Italian co-productions directed by an Italian, with a fifty-fifty cast of Spanish and Italian actors, and shot in southern Spain. The relatively low production costs and high box office return of these films often led to Hollywood investments in foreign producers and studios, a practice that is still highly encouraged today. In fact, a very accessible section of the Spanish Film Commission’s website is dedicated to explaining – and encouraging – Spanish co-productions. According to the page, there have been 560 feature-length films co-produced with foreign countries between 2005 and 2015 alone. Nowadays, these productions are managed by the ICAA (the Spanish Film and Audiovisual Arts Institute) which is dependent upon the Spanish Ministry of Culture. Thus, access to

government funding is the same for co-productions as it would be for national productions. Foreign (non-Spanish) companies embarking on a co-production venture with Spain thus benefit from direct financial assistance from the ICAA for film creation, production, and promotion, as well as tax rebates for investment in film and audiovisual productions.

Nevertheless, these are just some of the many cited benefits of this sort of collaboration. According to Jimmyn Parc in his article analyzing the exploitation of film co-production in Europe (2020b), the practice of co-production was developed by several European countries to revive their film industries. By the end of the Second World War, European film industries were facing many financial and artistic hardships, and co-productions were believed to be possible solutions to resolve them. In fact, Parc highlights four main perceived benefits of this approach: (1) Co-productions would allow for the sharing of financial risks and burdens among partners, in particular with the assistance of government incentives; (2) This practice allowed for the expansion of market size, as the films are distributed in more than one country; (3) These collaborations permitted the advancement of technology and skills for filmmaking and related sectors; and (4) Co-productions enhance cultural diversity through interaction between partners and/or through the introduction of different styles to new markets. While these views were born from the post-war hardships, it is important to note that

they have not changed and continue to be very prevalent to this day.<sup>105</sup>

Returning to the state of foreign film in the United States during this period, is also important to note an interesting effort realized by several key players in the British film system in an attempt to gain a higher market share with the similarly English-language Hollywood system.<sup>106</sup> After the war, a wealthy British producer run by J. Arthur Rank sought to penetrate the U.S. market. In 1946, British films managed to gross over \$8.5 million in the United States, eventually leading to small market space. However, as a *Variety* reporter at the time stated, “Most section of the country – in fact, virtually every section except the metropolitan centers – are continuing to exhibit the same time-old allergy to foreign films which were evidenced before the war” (in Segrave, 2004, p. 76).

This “allergy” to foreign films continued into the changing era (1955-1976) and the dawn of the modern industry (1977-late 1990’s). While foreign films featured a brief but muffled resurgence in their presence in U.S. cinemas between 1950 and 1960 (Ogan, 1990), there remained very scarce presence of foreign motion pictures in the United States. In the meantime, many foreign producers sought to deliberately Americanize their films during this period to imitate successful Hollywood films. Some European

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<sup>105</sup> For more on the practice of co-productions in the film industry, see Hammett-Jamart (2004), Baltruschat (2013), and Parc (2020a), among others.

<sup>106</sup> For a more detailed analysis of British and European cinema and the reach for global audiences, see Higson (2015).

producers even shot multiple-language films with the intent to attract several audiences. Others launched their own tours in the United States, hoping to bring their stars to American attention. However, the small audience for foreign films was considered to be different from mainstream audiences, composed primarily of “metropolitan intellectuals,” and techniques like this largely failed (in Segrave, 2004, p. 108).

Overall, in the face of the many barriers to the importation and circulation of foreign motion pictures, few have seen large profits. Since 1980, for instance, only around 1,000 foreign-language films have entered the United States market, and only 22 of those films earned more than \$10 million in box offices (Ricky, 2010). On the other hand, Hollywood continues to enjoy a significant share of the global film market. In 2005, for instance, 25% of the 2005 world box office earnings were accounted for by just 10 films all of which were produced in the United States (Screen Digest, 2006).

Nevertheless, recent shifts in the world film system and the American market have made the latter slightly more welcoming to foreign films. A decline in the number of films made in Hollywood coupled with the rising popularity of television and streaming services have created a small gap in the demand for Hollywood that is being filled by foreign films. Meanwhile, foreign films with a fresh (and often more provocative) feel are occasionally purchased by cinemas as a means of revitalization. Initiatives such as the Global Film Initiative and the Academy Awards selection of the

Best International Feature Film have also brought more attention to motion pictures made outside of the U.S. system. In fact, just a year ago, in February 2020, Korean Director Bong Joon Ho's *Parasite* made history as the first foreign-language film to win Best Picture at the Academy Awards (Hoad, 2020). Even though the bulk of U.S. box office revenues still go to Hollywood pictures, the system is changing, and production companies are being forced to change with it.

With the rise of practices such as co-production coupled with globalization and the increase in streaming platforms, foreign films – and films that blur the lines between national film systems altogether – have never before been so accessible to Americans. Nevertheless, foreign films remain a small part of U.S. box office releases. In fact, according to the studies performed by independent film researcher Stephen Follows, 18.8% of films released in North American cinemas between the years 2003 and 2017 were foreign-language films. While this figure may appear quite high, it is important to remember that many of these films were directed to the growing native Spanish-speaking population, and – more importantly – although these films represented nearly 20% of all releases, together they only grossed 1.1% of the total domestic box office (Follows, 2018). Thus, foreign-language films still make up a remarkably small percentage of U.S. box office earnings, and the most successful foreign or co-produced films are typically made and marketed in English.

Finally, it is important to highlight that this represents a very basic and brief summary of the status of foreign (European) films in the U.S. film system to better provide a basic understanding and better contextualize the object of study.<sup>107</sup> Bearing this in mind, it is next interesting to take a closer look at the information available on the Spanish film system and its place within the U.S. film system.

## b) Spanish films in the United States

According to Roberto Fandiño and Joaquín Badajoz in their 2008 analysis, Spanish cinema has been continuously present in the United States. In fact, the presence of agents from the Spanish film system was visible even in the very beginnings of Hollywood, when studios often specifically sought out Spanish-speaking talent both in the U.S. and abroad. Actors such as Antonio Moreno and singers like Andrés de Seguro found their way into Hollywood this way, as well as an estimated 55 Spanish artists who could be found on Fox's payroll during the early film era (in Fandiño & Badajoz, 2008). As time passed, Spanish authors were also occasionally hired to adapt dialogues to English or aid in the adaptation of their own films, including Enrique Jardiel Poncela, Edgar Neville, and José López Rubio – all of whom can be found in the corpus of this study. However, it is interesting to note that while the cinema of Spain did indeed enjoy a particularly notable presence in the United States, agents from other Spanish-speaking nations were often given roles

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<sup>107</sup> For further reading on European films in the U.S. market, please see Gubak (1969) and Segrave (2002), among others.

supposedly designated for Spaniards. The lack of differentiation between the presence Spanish-language cinema (and literature) and Spanish national cinema (and literature) in the United States is also an issue that extends to academic research. For while the work of authors such as Roberto Fandiño and Joaquín Badajoz serves to provide a fascinating analysis and examples of Spanish language films and social agents in the United States, it often does little to highlight the particular presence of Spanish cinema.

Meanwhile, based on my research, scarce statistical information is available regarding the prevalence of Spanish films in the United States. To the best of my knowledge, no detailed studies examining the presence of film originating in the Spanish system that have been distributed in the United States have been completed to this date, indicating a clear area for future research. Meanwhile, the available information is often restricted to specific periods, generally within the context of the previously mentioned patterns in the overall reception of European films in the United States. In Kerry Segrave's *Foreign Films in America* (2004), for instance, Spanish film in the United States is only mentioned on four pages and specific statistics for a few years. Thus, in the following section, a brief history of the Spanish film system itself will be provided to better contextualize its reception in the United States within the periods for which information is readily available.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> For further reading on the Spanish national film system, please see Kinder (1993), Triana-Toribio (2002), and Hortelano (2011), among others.

The first Spanish film exhibition took place on May 5, 1896, in Barcelona, where the first Lumière films were exhibited (these were later shown in Madrid and Málaga in December that same year). However, there remains a certain degree of doubt regarding the first Spanish-made film, which is believed to be either *Salida de la misa de doce de la Iglesia del Pilar de Zaragoza* (Eduardo Jimeno Peromarta), *Plaza del puerto en Barcelona* (Alexandre Promio), or the anonymous film *Llegada de un tren de Teruel a Segorbe*, all of which were released in 1897. Some researchers also believe it possible that the first film was *Riña en un café* by the prolific director Fructuós Gelabert, released that same year. However, the first Spanish filmmaker to achieve international success is undoubtedly Segundo de Chomón, a pioneering director and screenwriter often compared to Georges Méliès who also worked in France and Italy (D'Lugo, 1997).

Barcelona remained the epicenter of the Spanish film industry during the height of silent cinema. Directors such as Florián Rey and Ricardo de Baños predominated the silver screen with their *españoladas* (historical Spanish epics) and adaptations of stage plays and zarzuelas. In fact, Spanish literature provided a very rich source of material for filmmakers (Faulkner, 2013). A popular adaptation of Carlos Arniches' *That's My Man*, directed by Carlos Fernández Cuenca, premiered in 1927 and set the tone for many adaptations that followed. Even the Nobel-prize-winning playwright Jacinto Benavente shot film versions of his plays.



The first *cine club* was established by Ernesto Giménez Caballero and Luis Buñuel in Madrid in 1928, marking a shift in the epicenter of the industry from Spain to Madrid. Approximately 60 films were being replaced per year by this point. Francisco Elías' *The Mystery of the Puerta de Sol* (1929) was the first sound picture produced in Spain, although little progress was made with regards to this technology and the majority of Spanish films continued to be developed as silent works, with sound synchronized into them later. By the early 1930s, the popularity of foreign sound productions hurt the Spanish film industry so much that only a single title was released that year. Dubbed and subtitled sound films continued to emerge from Hollywood with a quality that far surpassed anything being produced in Spain. Because of the poor infrastructure for filmmaking at the time, many Spanish film professionals moved to Hollywood and Paris. By 1931, the production of Spanish-language films produced outside of Spain came to dominate the Spanish market itself (Stone, 2014).

In 1932, the first sound studio, Orpheus Studios, was set up in Barcelona. The next year, a Madrid-based sound studio known as Cinematographia Española Americana (CEA) was started, as well as Estudios Cinema Español S.A. (ECESA). While these major industry players were able to produce higher-quality films, their films were still nowhere near those produced in Hollywood. Nevertheless, these major producers along with the addition of 14 smaller studios over the next two years led to a boom in Spanish cinema. In 1933, Manuel Casanova founded the Compañía

Industrial Film Española S.A. (Spanish Industrial Film Company Inc, CIFESA). Although later criticized for being an instrument of the right-wing, the CIFESA production company would grow to become the largest production company to ever exist in Spain and would be responsible for supporting many young artists, including Luis Buñuel and Benito Perojo. CIFESA was responsible for the production of 17 and 21 motion pictures in 1933 and 1934, respectively, a number that soon rose to 37 films by 1935 (Lázaro Reboll & Willis, 2004; Dios Cuartas, 2018).

When it comes to the reception of Spanish films in the United States, what few motion pictures were imported were traditionally screened in cinemas specializing in Spanish-language movies without subtitles. Thus, the majority remained invisible to English-speaking American audiences. A handful of Republican-leaning Spanish films were released like this during the 1930s, occasionally to good reviews in *Variety* or *The New York Times* but remaining widely unnoticed by the general public (Segrave, 2004).

Despite the rise of film production during the early 1930's – a time widely considered a golden age of Spanish cinema<sup>109</sup> and culture in general –, the Spanish Civil War soon devastated the early sound film era in Spain. Many productions were halted during the conflict and filmmakers from both sides found themselves cut off from large groups of their former audiences and collaborators. Meanwhile, the

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<sup>109</sup> Decades later, in 1992, director Fernando Trueba released his own nostalgic representation of the time in his Oscar-winning *Belle Époque* (1992).

elementary technical level of Spanish films following the Civil War made them difficult to export. The few films that were made also had difficulties surviving this period. Overall, it is estimated that only 10% of all silent films made before 1936 survived the war, during which time many were destroyed for their celluloid content to be made into goods (Faulkner, 2013b).

However, by 1936 both sides began using cinema as a means of censorship and propaganda. The pro-Franco nationalists also founded the National Department of Cinematography, causing many directors and actors to go into exile. In the fall of 1936 when Franco became the head of state of the new Nationalist regime, the administration began to impose obligatory censorship and dubbing on any materials deemed unfit for viewership. It also increased the promotion of filmmakers whose work was considered fitting to the ideology of the regime. Spanish film suffered internationally. In the 1940s, the Spanish-language film market was dominated by Mexico, which was undergoing its cinematic golden age.<sup>110</sup>

Meanwhile, the Spanish films that did manage to see certain degrees of success in their country of origin enforced the values of the new order. Juan de Orduña's *Follow the Legion* (1942) and Antonio Román's *Martyrs of the Philippines* (1945) were examples of two such films, both glorifying the honor of fighting for the cause.

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<sup>110</sup> The Golden Age of Mexican cinema ("Época de Oro del Cine Mexicano") is a between 1930 and 1969 when the Mexican film industry reached high levels of production, quality and economic success of its films, besides having gained recognition internationally. See Mouesca (2001) for a more detailed analysis.

However, the most significant motion picture along these lines was undoubtedly *Raza* (1942), a film scripted by Franco himself under a pseudonym. The regime's glorification of the past also led to the creation of a series of opulent costume dramas and religious-themed films, while audiences' hunger for melodrama and eroticism made room for escapist *novelas rosas*.<sup>111</sup> A law requiring Spanish to be the only language permitted on national screens led to the unforeseen consequence of placing foreign films on an equal footing with Spanish films, since all films had to be spoken in Spanish regardless of their origin. Thus, not only did Spanish films lose footing in international markets, but other foreign films soon gained a more significant hold of the Spanish market itself.<sup>112</sup>

The regime's policy of autarky eventually sought to limit foreign film exportations to establish and promote a domestic film industry, with arguable success. If foreign distributors wanted licenses to import and dub their films in Spain, these would need to be acquired from local film producers. The number of licenses granted depended on the moral, cultural, political, and artistic merits of the film (judged by a board appointed by the regime). CIFESA maintained a strong hold of the Spanish industry and market as the unofficial studio under Franco's government during this period, producing countless films reflecting the regime's ideals and tastes.

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<sup>111</sup> See, for instance, the many film adaptations of the work of Luisa María Linares in Appendix 3.

<sup>112</sup> See Higginbotham (1988) for a more detailed analysis of the state of Spanish film under the Franco regime.

However, the regime's efforts to create a Spanish film industry did result in an increase in more lavish productions and period films in particular. Benito Perojo's *Goyescas*, for example – a loose adaptation of Enrique Granado's famous opera, the first Spanish opera to appear at the Metropolitan – came to be praised by critics and was awarded the Biennale Award at the 1942 Venice Film Festival. In the United States, however, the film premiered at a Spanish-language cinema in New York known for screening B-level Mexican films. It was not particularly well-received by critics, as it was evident that the period piece was below par for Hollywood standards (Dapena, 2010).

Soon the distribution of Spanish films in the United States came to a halt for political purposes. Following the Allies' reactions at the end of the war against Franco's Spain, ambassadors in the country withdrew in 1946 and the U.S. almost entirely closed itself off to any Spanish cultural importations. (Some have theorized that this boycott was in reality a means of ensuring Hollywood dominance in Spanish box offices by eliminating the only other competing player). This included a boycott of CIFESA, which was soon forced to buy its supply of imported celluloid on the black market. The Spanish production company was saved from bankruptcy thanks to a wave of nationalistic and xenophobic sympathies, and it soon began to undertake a series of expensive costume films (Williams, 2002).

Interestingly, these were precisely the first Spanish films to appear in the United States following a loosening in the ban. In 1949, Rafael Gil's *El clavo* (1944) and *Don Quijote de la Mancha* (1947) were released, followed by Juan de Orduña's *The Mad Queen* (1948) a year later. All of these were period films based on literary adaptations, and all of them were imported by Mexican distributor Azteca. They had also all been met with tremendous critical success upon release in Spain, but very little commercial or critical success in the United States. The reviews of New York critics were sympathetic to certain virtues, but overall unfavorable (Williams, 2002).

In 1951, the regime also began the Ministerio de Información y Turismo to develop and promote the Spanish public image and social "brand" under the slogan "Spain is different." Soon, many well-known Spanish films were released in this "touristic cinema" genre, also serving to create a unique and exoticized image of Spain (Fernandez Cuenca, 1963). Some Spanish filmmakers also worked to cater to American audiences. In 1952, there was an interesting attempt to make Spanish films more attractive to American audiences embodied in the release of the film *El Capitán de Loyola* (1946). Directed by José Díaz Morales, the film was released in New York in a "revised" version under the title *Loyola-The Soldier Saint*. The changes included slight re-editing, added prologue, and the reworking of the entire soundtrack (including a new musical score). *Variety* critics commented that the changes had been very

useful to improve the movie's commercial run, but the film was ultimately of limited appeal (Williams, 2002).

In 1953, the Spanish film industry garnered international attention thanks to the establishment of The San Sebastian International Film Festival on behalf of *Fédération Internationale des Associations de Producteurs de Films* (International Federation of Film Producers Associations), the organization in charge of regulating international film festivals. Meanwhile, shifts in world politics led Spain and the United States to come together on more favorable terms due to their being faced by a common enemy in the Soviet Communists. In 1953, *Bienvenido Mister Marshall* (Luis G. Berlanga) was presented at the Cannes Film Festival. The film both served to show the poverty of rural Spain and mock interest in American aid, although this view was overlooked by censors, who instead saw the film as a veiled criticism of the U.S. for having excluded Spain from Marshall Plan aid (Fritsche, 2018). The only negative reaction to the film came from actor and member of the Cannes jury Edward G. Robinson, who protested the film's anti-American sentiments (he was particularly angered by a scene in which an American flag can be seen floating down a river, which was eventually deleted in the American version of the film). Nevertheless, according to Rafael España, *Bienvenido Mister Marshall* represents a turning point in the political and cinematic relationship between Spain and the United States (Ibarz & Ibarz, 2007). American military bases were opened in Spain, and Americans were portrayed favorably in Spanish films (with a brief exception occurring in the 1960s during

the war in Vietnam) (España, 1996). This period was also marked by the previously mentioned co-production between the two countries, providing many benefits with regards to the training of Spanish technicians as well as studios and equipment.

By the 1950s, increasing calls for liberalization and modernization in Spain led to the government allotment of the publication of a few dissident film journals advocating a more realistic Spanish cinema. A community of filmmakers with a desire for change also formed at the National Film School (Pavlovic, 2008). Here, the influence of cinematic Neorealism also became apparent, particularly in the work of filmmakers such as Luis García Berlanga, Juan Antonio Bardem, Manuel Mur Oti, José Antonio Nieves Conde, Rafael Azcona, and Marco Ferreri. Their films were often characterized by strong undercurrents of social critique, a critique that was exemplified in Carlos Saura's *The Delinquents* (1962) and later in Luis Buñuel's controversial and highly critically acclaimed *Viridiana*<sup>113</sup> (1961) and *Tristana* (1970) following the director's return from exile. These directors often developed a talent for allegory that allowed them to bypass government censorship. In fact, many innovative Spanish filmmakers like Carlos Saura<sup>114</sup> got their start during this period, just as the state was working to put a more liberal face on the country. Government-funded support for new talent offered under the pretext of a program called "New

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<sup>113</sup> See Case Study 3 (Section 4.3) for a detailed analysis of this film.

<sup>114</sup> See Case Study 7 (Section 4.7) for a detailed analysis of Saura's 1981 film adaptation, *Bodas de sangre*.



Spanish Cinema”<sup>115</sup> helped give birth to some very original films, including commercial and critical successes such as Miguel Picazo’s *Aunt Tula* (1964) and Mario Camus’ *With the East Wind* (1967) – several which, it is interesting to note, are also adaptations of Spanish literary works.

Spanish cinema was also invigorated in the 1960s, and 1970s thanks to co-productions, namely with France and Italy. Hundreds of Italian Spaghetti-westerns<sup>116</sup> and sword and sandal films<sup>117</sup> were shot in southern Spain, allocating the region a unique place in European cinema. Agreements were also reached with the United States to allow for a part of the foreign profits that had been frozen in Spain since the war to be invested in runaway productions (productions that are intended for initial production in the U.S. but are filmed outside of the Los Angeles area). These productions were then distributed abroad. It is interesting to note that during this time, several large-scale Hollywood blockbusters were shot in Spain,<sup>118</sup> for which many Spanish technical professionals were trained and hired. Some American film stars, such as Ava Gardner and Orson

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<sup>115</sup> See Kinder (2009).

<sup>116</sup> A term coined by journalist Spanish journalist Alfonso Sánchez to refer to a broad subgenre of Western films produced in Europe, most commonly produced and directed by Italians.

<sup>117</sup> Also known as *peplum* films, this is a subgenre of largely Italian-made historical, mythological, or Biblical epics mostly set in the Greco-Roman or medieval period. These films attempted to emulate the big-budget Hollywood historical epics of the time.

<sup>118</sup> These included such well-known box offices successes as *King of Kings* (1961), *El Cid* (1961), *The Fall of the Roman Empire* (1964), *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962), *Doctor Zhivago* (1965), and *The Trojan Women* (1971), among others.

Welles, even lived in Spain for years, and many international actors also began appearing in Spanish films (Phillips, 2002).

This is approximately the period for which several interesting statistics regarding the presence of Spanish film in the United States are indeed readily available. According to Kerry Segrave's research (2004), it is clear that even in this time of growing cinematic exchange between Spain and the United States, Spanish film has very little market share within foreign films in the U.S. In 1957, for example, we find that of the estimated 832 imports from 10 countries which grossed a total of \$15,907,769, only three of these films came from Spain, earning only \$12,400 in U.S. Box offices. No Spanish films were released the previous year. Mexican, Italian, French, British, German, and Japanese films earnings consistently topped the lists for highest foreign earners during this period, although many of the films that were imported from these countries were limited to ethnic art house cinemas. Typically, the majority of the earnings for foreign films were concentrated in a handful of commercially distributed titles, and the rest tend to lose money or hardly manage to break even.

A similar statistic is available from 1961, when a total of 942 foreign pictures (of which 796 were foreign-language films) earned over \$28 million, with only 13 Spanish films, which managed to earn a total of over \$500 thousand. This shifted to 24 films in 1962 (\$964,000), 13 films in 1963 (\$1.4 million), 18 films in 1964 (\$1.48 million), and approximately one-third of these earnings came from

independent Spanish language cinemas. While this remained a very small portion of the foreign-language film market (and an even smaller portion of the U.S. film market), it is interesting to notice a slight shift in the presence of commercially distributed Spanish films during this time, likely due to the coming wave of more liberal, critically acclaimed Spanish directors.

The true liberalization of Spanish culture and cinema did not arrive until Franco's death in 1975 and the ensuing transition to democracy. During this time, directors such as J.J. Bigas Luna, Vicente Aranda, Fernando Trueba, and the "poster child" of liberated Spain, Pedro Almodóvar, rose to commercial and critical acclaim. A new generation of internationally known Spanish movie stars, such as Antonio Banderas and Penelope Cruz, came with them. It is interesting to note that this period – which arguably continues to this day – is heavily marked by the government's tendency to subsidize auteur dramas over popular cinema, a practice which many believe has led Spanish films to lose market share both at home and abroad. However, a new wave of directors such as Alejandro Amenábar, Julio Medem, and Álex de la Iglesia have taken to the stage who have chosen to embrace certain aspects of commercial narrative filmmaking while preserving a healthy degree of individuality and authorship (Pavlovic, 2008).

For Pedro Almodóvar, however, the level of personal authorship enjoyed by critically successful Spanish directors is precisely due to their location outside of the cultural mainstream.

By definition, mainstream cinema avoids anything that is personal, anything that might remind us of our human nature. What is it that makes Spanish cinema ‘Spanish’? First of all, it is the absolute freedom to write, produce or direct anything you want. Secondly, we have no film industry—or what we have is very small. That means we have to make fewer compromises for money than big-budget films. The director’s criteria are the only ones that matter...This doesn’t mean that all Spanish films are art, but it does show that films like *The Spirit of the Beehive* would be completely impossible with the prevailing mainstream climate. (In Lyne, 2010)

Thus, the Spanish film system continues to be defined by its prioritization of critical over mainstream appeal. While directors like Almodóvar and films such as Amenábar’s *The Others*, shot in English and starring Hollywood’s Nicole Kidman, have achieved some degree of commercial as well as critical success, few Spanish films manage to capture the attention and ticket sales of American audiences.

### c) Corpus 2 analysis

Using the first corpus as a point of departure, this second phase sought to determine which of the film adaptations from the first corpus had also been produced in or imported into the United States. Therefore, its scope was further limited. Compiling this corpus involved searching for each work within two databases to determine its presence – or lack thereof – in the United States.

In order for a film to be considered “imported” into the United States, it had to meet one essential criterion: the film’s U.S. release date had to be evident on the IMDb website (as was the case for the majority of films found on this corpus). As can be imagined, this criterion is not without its limitations, as it is indeed possible that there have been many films released in the United States either for educational purposes (i.e., distributed in libraries) or via the more modern streaming platforms (Netflix, Amazon Prime, Hulu, etc.), for which this data may not be as readily available. Nevertheless, bearing in mind that the IMDb database remains the most comprehensive of its nature to date, it is safe to assume that the information provided is the best available for the purpose of this analysis.

Overall, Corpus 2 features a total of 137 films adapted from Spanish literary works that have been officially released in the United States between the years 1895 and 2018 (Appendix 7). This is, of course, a notable reduction from the first corpus (which featured, as a reminder, a total of 1,331 films). Thus, it is interesting to note that

approximately 10% of all films adapted from Spanish literary works have been imported or released in the United States during this period. While there exists no similar statistical data on the overall number of film adaptations released or the number of Spanish films released per year in the U.S. during this period to the best of my knowledge, it would be interesting to compare these statistics. Bearing in mind the previously mentioned data on the notable presence of film adaptations within the Spanish film system and the very limited presence of foreign films in the U.S. film system (Section 3.2a), it is likely that there is a higher presence of films based on Spanish literary works than Spanish films themselves received in the United States, a hypothesis worthy of future investigation. However, while this cannot be determined with certainty from the information available, it is evident that approximately one out of every ten of the films from the first corpus of this study can also be found on the second corpus.

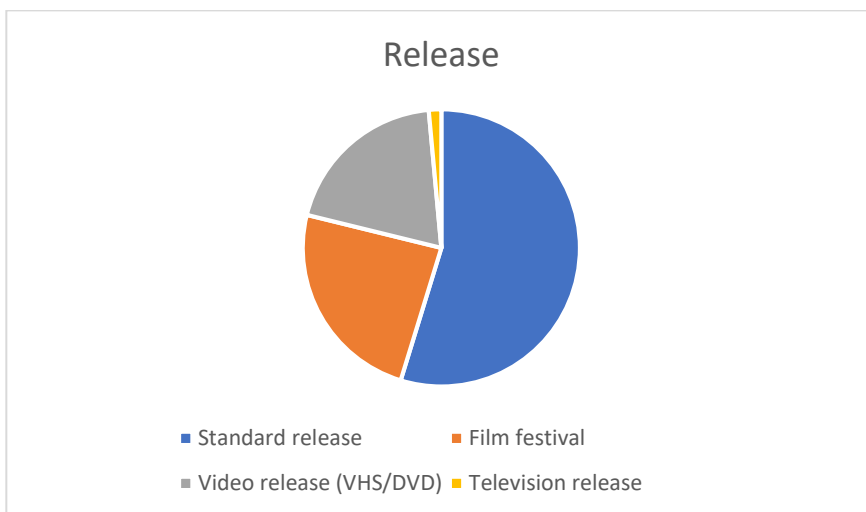
### i. Release

There is, however, another piece of information gathered in the compilation of this second corpus that is worthy of analysis, and that is *how* these films reached the United States. As mentioned in Chapter 2, I have identified four primary types of release: standard release, film festival, video release (VHS, DVD, or streaming service), and television release. Based on my research, the majority (75) of the films found on this corpus were released in the United States via a standard release (i.e., in cinemas). Meanwhile, 33 were

first released in film festivals, while 27 were directly released to video (the majority of these, it is interesting to note, to VHS, while some of the later releases to DVDs). Two of the films on this corpus – Antonio Gonzalo’s 1997 adaptation of Javier Reverte’s novel *El aroma del copal* and Peter Yates’ 2000 adaptation of *Don Quijote*<sup>119</sup> – were directly released on U.S. television stations. Overall, the release of Spanish film adaptations in the United States can be visualized in the following figure.

**Figure 4**

*Film release*



Here, it is interesting to note that over half of the film adaptations of Spanish literary works throughout history have enjoyed a traditional release in U.S. cinemas. However, here it is important to bear in

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<sup>119</sup> This adaptation will also be mentioned within the context of Case Study 1, Section 4.1.

mind the existence of Combination 2 (Section 4.2), comprised almost entirely of Hollywood film adaptations of Spanish literary works. With a total of 29 films, Combination 2 represents a very significant means by which Spanish literary works reach U.S. cinemas through film adaptations and nearly half of the films that are released this way.

Meanwhile, the notable presence of film adaptations of Spanish literary works exhibited at U.S. film festivals is perhaps unsurprising bearing in mind the unique role of film festivals in the promotion of world cinema (Maniktala, 2009) and the shaping of film canon (Vallejo, 2020). In fact, the role of film festivals such as the Chicago International Film Festival and Miami Film Festival in the exhibition of Spanish films in the United States represents a very interesting subject of research. However, for the sake of this analysis and bearing in mind the many other things worthy of analysis, this will remain an area of future research.

Next, it is also interesting to mention the presence of 27 films that were directly released to VHS or DVD on this second corpus. This is a practice more common in the case of independent films that are likely not to make a high enough profit in U.S. cinemas to justify their exhibition. This is the case for many of the Spanish-language films that will later be revealed to form part of Combination 1 or Combination 3. Here, we often find the case of films made by lesser-known directors within the Spanish system that remain at the periphery of the U.S. film system.



Finally, it must be noted that television remains an interesting possible means by which film adaptations of Spanish literary works are exhibited in the United States. While this is only the case for two films (1%) of this corpus, made-for-TV movies – or films sold to television stations – represent an often-overlooked means of exhibition. Here, it is also important to mention that according to my research, streaming services (such as Netflix, Amazon Prime, and Hulu) have not represented a significant means of arrival for film adaptations of Spanish literary works for the scope of this study, as all of the films that have indeed reached the United States have done so via the aforementioned releases. This does not, however, indicate that they are not present on streaming services – in fact, very many of them can be viewed on Netflix and Amazon Prime. It does, however, indicate that streaming services were not the film's *initial* means of arrival. That said, tracing the release of film adaptations of Spanish literary works on streaming services remains another interesting subject for future research.

## ii. Audiovisual translation

Overall, this second corpus took into account the films' release information and presence in the United States. It is important to clarify, however, that it did not serve to examine whether or not the films that were in a language other than English had been dubbed or subtitled in English on a case-by-case basis. There were two reasons for this. First, unlike release information (for which there was a clear and easy-to-access source), information regarding the

presence of subtitles or dubbing is difficult and time-consuming to find, particularly for such a large body of works. Unfortunately, bearing in mind the extensive nature of this analysis and the case studies, this was a time-consuming task that fell outside of the scope of this (already very detailed) analysis. Therefore, any additional research on this aspect was performed later in this study within the context of several of the combinations. Second, it is important to note that many of the films based on Spanish literary works found on Corpus 2 and the final Corpus 3 were produced in English. Some are also silent films. Their consumption therefore did not necessarily require audiovisual translation in the form of dubbing or subtitles. Nevertheless, while audiovisual translation and research on this mode of translation will not form part of the scope of this analysis,<sup>120</sup> I believe it is appropriate to provide a brief history of the process of dubbing and subtitling and the curious phenomenon of multiple-language films. Nevertheless, it is important to note that elements of these topics will be explored in greater detail within the context of several of the combinations and case studies later in this analysis.

The first use of language on the screen was found in Robert W. Paul's 1898 short film *Our New General Servant*. These later-

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<sup>120</sup> For more on this subject, please see Egoyan (2004), Díaz Cintas & Anderman (2009), and Nornes (2007), among others.

named “intertitles”<sup>121</sup> soon became a popular way to connect scenes, provide narrative information that may not be easily intuited by viewers, and – of course – to communicate dialogue. These intertitles also presented few obstacles with regards to introducing films to foreign markets, as they could be easily removed, translated, and then reinserted. Sometimes, this translation issue was even resolved by having live interlocutors re-voicing or “live dubbing” the dialogue from behind the screen as the film was being shown. In certain cases, these actors even imaginatively re-created and voiced the actor’s dialogue (a practice particularly popular in Japan). However, it is in 1909 when the first attempts to complement a silent film with what we would today recognize as subtitles were made and a successful technique to do so was discovered. While the use of subtitles was found in several scattered instances throughout the early to mid-1920s, it was not until the introduction of sound technology that they truly began to take off in the late 1920s. Production companies soon learned that subtitles were then both easy and cost-effective, thus allowing a film to be translated and distributed worldwide.

The first commercial screening of sound-on-film technology took place in 1923 for short motion pictures. However, the beginning of the commercialization of sound cinema began in the mid-to-late

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<sup>121</sup> There is still some academic disagreement regarding the origin of the term “intertitles.” While André Gaudreault traces the French term to the year 1955 in the 2013 edition of *Film History: An International Journal*, the Oxford dictionaries indicate that the English word originated in the 1930’s. However, there is evidence that the word “subtitles” dates back to 1826 and was always the default term for what are now generally distinguished as intertitles.

1920s, and *The Jazz Singer* (Alan Crosland, 1927) is widely cited as the first feature film presented as a “talkie” (the term used to refer to early sound films). Since the introduction of sound in films occurred in the late 1920s, it is therefore interesting to note that the majority of the films on this final corpus are “talkies,” or sound films. They thus were either limited to a Spanish-speaking viewership or required subtitling or dubbing into English.

Dubbing as we know it today is believed to have begun around 1930. The film that is generally credited with pioneering sound mixing is Rouben Mamoulian's *Applause* (1929), for which the French director experimented with editing and discovered that sound could also be created directly on the negatives after filming. Nevertheless, the technology for dubbing and subtitling was not readily feasible for most production companies. In fact, when the first American sound films reached Europe, subtitling and dubbing did not immediately become the go-to solutions for introducing the films to foreign audiences. In fact, to this day, dubbing represents a far more expensive practice than subtitling, which is why it is often adopted by larger, wealthier national film systems with significant single-language communities and larger-scale productions, such as Hollywood. Subtitling, on the other hand, tends to occur more frequently in less centralized film systems in the case of smaller-scale productions whose audiences form more restricted and diverse markets, such as many European film systems (Egoyan, 2004). That said, the fact that neither dubbing nor subtitling was readily feasible for most European production companies at the beginning of the

sound film era led to an interesting phenomenon that also deems mentioning, and that is the production of multiple-language version films.

A multiple-language version film is a film that is simultaneously produced in several different languages for international markets. This practice became a fairly popular way for American and European studios to offset the marketing restrictions of making sound films in only one language from the late 1920s to the 1930s. Instead of dubbing or subtitling a film (which at the time required a much more significant amount of work and state-of-the-art technology), the production companies simply took advantage of the same sets, crews, and costumes – only with a different group of actors. Thus, the movie was essentially re-filmed in the target language. This practice was most common for the languages of English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish. Multiple-language version films peaked in the 1930s, during which time hundreds of these films were released.<sup>122</sup> With regards to this study, it is interesting to note the presence of a single multiple-language version film on the final corpus: German director Georg Wilhelm Pabst's 1933 adaptation of *Don Quijote*, which was also simultaneously filmed in German (*Don Quichotte*, 1933) and English (*Adventures of Don Quixote*, 1933). (Here, it is important to note that since this film was made directly in English, it forms part of Combination 2, to be explored in further detail in Section

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<sup>122</sup> For more on multiple language version films and remakes within the context of Film Adaptation Studies, see Cattrysse (2014).

4.2.) Nevertheless, later improvements in dubbing and subtitling technologies, as well as the Nazi's rise to power in Germany soon marked the end of this necessarily collaborative practice, although European multiple-language version co-productions continued on a reduced scale until the end of the 1950s before dying out nearly completely. As previously mentioned, there is only one film that was made in multiple languages on this corpus, however, and because it was directly made in English, it forms part of Combination 2.

Overall, dubbing and subtitling represent an important element in the reception of Spanish literary works in the United States through film. While not all of the films on this corpus required audiovisual translation, it is important to highlight seven primary means by which their consumption was made possible U.S. audiences, according to my research:

1. **As silent films without intertitles** (as in the case of Ferdinand Zecca and Lucien Nonguet's 1903 adaptation of *Don Quijote*);
2. **As silent films with English intertitles** (such as Rex Ingram's 1921 adaptation of *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*);
3. **Directly in Spanish for Spanish-speaking audiences** (as in the case of Antón Reixa's 2003 film *El lápiz del carpintero*);

4. **Directly in English** (such as Roman Polanski's 1999 film *The Ninth Gate*);
5. **In Spanish with English subtitles** (such as Fernando González Molina's 2015 film *Palmira's en la nieve*);
6. **In another language and subtitled in English** (such as Raul Ruiz' 1987 film *Mémoire des apparences*);
7. **Dubbed into English** (such as Julio Bracho's 1942 film *Historia de un gran amor* and José Luis Gutiérrez Arias's 2007 animated *Don Quijote* adaptation *Donkey Xote*).

Here, I must also emphasize that these represent the descriptive – and not theoretical – possibilities, as determined in this study. According to my research within the context of this categorization, the most prevalent of these means are cases of Spanish-language films subtitled in English (most predominant in Combinations 1 and 3), followed by films directly made in English, whether they be with English intertitles (Combination 2) or filmed directly in English. It is important to highlight that the linguistic means by which these films reach U.S. audiences is a very fascinating subject worthy of future research – in fact, these means and examples will likely be explored in a future paper. However, for the sake of this analysis, further information on the use of audiovisual translation (or lack thereof) and the presence of intermediary linguistic systems will be explored within the context of the combinations and case studies.

## d) Conclusion

This second phase provided a brief analysis of the second corpus developed for this study, Corpus 2. The purpose of Corpus 2 was to determine which of the film adaptations of Spanish literary works from Corpus 1 had reached the United States between the years 1895 and 2018. The first of these films was released in 1903, thus limiting the scope of this corpus to the years 1903-2018. A total of 137 films can be found on Corpus 2, representing approximately 10% of all film adaptations of Spanish literary works. Thus, approximately 10% of all films adapted from Spanish literary works have been imported or released in the United States. Basic information regarding the films' means of release (i.e., standard, film festival, VHS/DVD) and the use of audiovisual translation was also presented.

### **3.3 Phase III: Film adaptations of translated Spanish literary works in the United States**

The first corpus featured all film adaptations of Spanish literary works that have been released between the years 1895 and 2018. The second corpus then served to determine which of these film adaptations have been released in the United States, whether that be in cinemas, film festivals, on VHS/DVD, or television. The third and final corpus aimed to narrow the scope even further by taking Corpus 2 as a point of departure to determine which of the films that



have reached the United States have also been translated in English and published in the United States. However, before presenting the analysis of this final corpus, it is first interesting to provide a brief analysis of the presence of foreign and Spanish literature in particular in translation in the United States.

#### a) Foreign literature in translation in the United States

A notoriously small amount of non-English language literary works is translated into English. Nowhere is this phenomenon more evident than in the United States. While the Bowker database was the first resource to state that approximately 3% of books published in the United States are translations, many estimates are even lower than this (Post, 2018). For the past decade, it has been estimated that between one to three percent of the books published in the United States are translations (Levisalles, 2004; Mackza & Stock, 2006). This percentage may vary. Nevertheless, what is clear is that remarkably few works of foreign literature are translated and published in the United States.

This should not, however, come as much of a surprise bearing in mind the previously mentioned research within the context of Polysystem Theory and sociological approach to translation. In “The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem,” Itamar Even-Zohar addressed and examined the nature of the position of translated literature within a literary polysystem and how this position corresponds to the nature of its

repertoire (1990). The position of translations within any given literary system depends largely upon the receptive literary system itself. Foreign literature occupies a peripheral location within the U.S. literary system.

Meanwhile, studies examining the global circulation of cultural goods from a sociological perspective have revealed that book translations form a part of a vastly unequal cultural world system (Casanova, 2004; Heilbron, 1999). As previously mentioned in Section 1.4 (bii), the unequal distribution of book translations by language has been demonstrated to reveal a four-tiered core-periphery structure of the global translation market (Heilbron, 1999). According to Heilbron, the first level is comprised of a single, hypercentral language: English. Between 50-60% of all translations are made from English. Meanwhile, on the second level, we find central languages, which together are the source of approximately 20% of all translations. These include German and French. The third level is comprised of semi-central languages – languages that are neither very central nor peripheral. There are approximately 7-8 of these languages. According to Johann Heilbron, Spanish is one of them.

## b) Spanish literature in translation in the United States

First of all, it is important to note that there is a significant lack of differentiation between the presence Spanish-language literature and Spanish national literature in the research on this subject. For

while there exists research on the presence of Spanish literature in the United States, this research is primarily dedicated to Spanish-language (i.e. Hispanic) literature in its entirety.<sup>123</sup>

The work of authors such as Roberto Fandiño and Joaquín Badajoz serves to provide a fascinating analysis and examples of Spanish language films and social agents in the United States.

Based on my research, scarce statistical information is available regarding the prevalence of translations of Spanish literary works in the United States. However, there exists one very interesting database that provides a detailed analysis of translations published in the United States in the past decade. The *Three Percent* database was launched by the University of Rochester to keep track of the record of books published in translation between 2008 and 2018 with data collected through catalogs and received directly from publishers. Since the database also categorizes the entries based on country of origin, it is possible to visualize how many translations of Spanish literary works have been published in the United States during this period. A summary of this data can be found in the following table (Table 9).

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<sup>123</sup> See, for instance, Schwartz & Chandler (1991) and Fernández Cifuentes (2005).

**Table 9***Spanish literature in translation in the United States: 2008-2018*

Year	Number of Translations	Percentage of all Published Translations	Ranking
2008	17	4.63%	5
2009	23	6.15%	3
2010	15	4.21%	7
2011	24	6.09%	2
2012	22	4.68%	6
2013	35	6.32%	4
2014	31	5.02%	4
2015	34	5.68%	4
2016	46	7.27%	2
2017	33	6.21%	3
2018 (part)	3	5.45%	3

*Note:* Data courtesy of the University of Rochester 3% database (Post, 2018)

According to the *Three Percent* database, Spanish literature is consistently among the most translated in the United States during this period. Comprising between approximately 4-7% of the book translations published, Spain ranks between the second and seventh-most translated nation, with a median of 3.9. Bearing in mind that there are several years in which Spain is the second-most translated nation, Spanish literature enjoys a truly central position within the U.S. translated literature system.

There are, however, a few notable limitations to bear in mind concerning this data. First, of course, is the scope of the study.

While the detailed nature of the data collected and calculations made on this database is very impressive, it is limited to the years 2008-2018. Thus, it is not possible to visualize how the overall quantitative position of Spanish literature within the U.S. literary system has shifted throughout the scope of this study featured in this dissertation (1895-2018). Meanwhile, there are – to the best of my knowledge – no databases that readily provide this information, so significant research extending beyond the limitations of this study would be required to attain it. In addition, there is also an important limitation with regards to the works registered on this database. In order to make its compilation more feasible, data gathering was limited to original translations of fiction and poetry published or distributed in the United States. This means that plays are excluded, as well as any titles that have already appeared in translation – i.e., new translations of classic titles or reprinted translations. This allowed the researchers to identify how many new books and new voices are being made available to English-speaking readers in the U.S. However, it is important to bear in mind that the percentage of translated literary works from Spain in publication in the United States is likely higher bearing in mind the countless retranslations and reprints that have been made from classic literary works (a piece of data, it is important to note, that is very useful in demonstrating the qualitative characteristic of canonocity). Pedro Calderón de la Barca's *La vida es sueño* has been translated 25 times in English alone, according to my research.<sup>124</sup> It is also a play. Thus, it is important to bear these limitations in mind, but also recognize that

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<sup>124</sup> See Case Study 5, Section 4.5.

this database provides very illustrative information on the presence of Spanish literature in translation in the United States. This information will allow for a better understanding of the final object of analysis of this study, Spanish literary works that have reached the United States as both literary translations and film adaptations (Corpus 3).

### c) Corpus 3 analysis

The third and final corpus aimed to narrow the scope even further to allow for the categorization of combined norms (Section 1.3e). To do so, a final corpus of Spanish literary works that have been imported into the United States as both film adaptations and literary translations was created. Parting from the list of 137 film adaptations and their corresponding literary works that comprised the second corpus, the focus was shifted to the literary works themselves. Each of these was individually researched in the Bowker Books in Print and WorldCat databases to determine whether a translation had ever been realized – and whether or not that translation had ever been distributed in the United States. Data on the publication date of the translation was also collected, when relevant. By the end of this process, a final corpus of films based on Spanish literary works and their corresponding literary works that have been imported into the United States between the years 1903 (the year of the first recognized adaptation of a Spanish literary work) and 2018 was compiled.

A total of 111 works can be found on this final corpus (Appendix 8). This is, therefore, the approximate number of Spanish literary works that have reached the United States as both film adaptations and literary translations, bearing in mind the aforementioned limitations of the corpus compilation. While it is important to again highlight that there may indeed be several more works that fit these parameters that were not discovered during the compilation of these corpora, this final corpus is, to the best of my knowledge, as thorough as possible bearing in mind the sources available for its creation and provides very valuable information for analysis.

First, it is interesting to note the considerable reduction in extension of this corpus compared to Corpus 1 and a remarkably slight reduction in comparison with Corpus 2. As a reminder, Corpus 1 featured 1,331 films that have been based on Spanish literary works throughout history. Meanwhile, Corpus 2 sought to determine which of these films had been received or created in the United States. This limited the corpus considerably, as it was determined a total of 137 films met these criteria. Thus, it can be approximated that only about one in ten of all film adaptations of Spanish literary works has reached the United States. However, not all of these works have also been translated into English. In fact, according to my research, only 111 film adaptations of Spanish literary works have reached the United States as both a film adaptation and literary translation at the time of the compilation of this corpus. Thus, of the 137 film adaptations that have reached the United States throughout history, around 81% of these are based on literary works that have

also been translated into English and distributed in the United States. It may be therefore concluded that it is significantly more likely for an adaptation of a Spanish literary work to reach the United States if the literary work on which it is based has also been translated (and vice versa, as will be seen in Combination 3, Section 4.3). However, it also demonstrates that an interesting portion (19%) of film adaptations are based on literary works that have yet to be translated to date. According to my research, these untranslated works tend to be either lesser-known works of canonized Spanish playwrights – such as Gregorio Martínez Sierra’s play *Julieta compra un hijo* – or contemporary novels by up-in-coming authors who are often just beginning to receive international attention for their work, such as Basque writer Unai Elorriaga, whose 2001 novel *SPrako tranbia (Un tranvía en SP)* was adapted to film in 2008 by Aitzol Aramaio and released as a DVD in the United States.

Next, thanks to the more limited extension of this final corpus and the nature of the qualitative analysis realized for its compilation, it was possible to gather more detailed information on the film adaptations and the literary works on which they were based. This information allowed for the future categorization of the combinations analyzed in detail later in this chapter, which were then used for the selection of case studies. However, before presenting these case studies, it is first interesting to take a brief look at some of the data available from Corpus 3.



## i. Authors

Overall, 54 authors can be found on the final corpus, of whom 13 appear more than once. These are the authors responsible for the most literary works that have been adapted to film and imported into the United States as both film adaptations and literary translations. They are listed on the following table in order of the frequency of their appearance. The literary works themselves and films that have been adapted from them will also be listed and analyzed in the following section.

**Table 10**

*Corpus 3: Most adapted authors*

<b>Author</b>	<b># Film adaptations</b>
Miguel de Cervantes	22
Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	9
Benito Pérez Galdós	7
Pedro Antonio de Alarcón	5
Federico García Lorca	5
Gregorio Martínez Sierra	4
José María Sánchez-Silva	3
Arturo Pérez-Reverte	3
Almudena Grandes	2
Manuel Rivas	2
Alberto Vázquez-Figueroa	2
Elvira Lindo	2
Pedro Calderón de la Barca	2

*Note.* Authors are listed by frequency of appearance and order of appearance on Corpus III (in cases of authors with the same number

of adaptations). Please note that additional details (director, combination, country of origin, etc.) can be found in Appendix 8.

Overall, this list reveals several interesting phenomena, the most obvious – and perhaps least surprising – being the remarkable presence of film adaptations based on the works of Miguel de Cervantes, namely *Don Quijote de la Mancha*. In fact, 22 of the 111 film adaptations found on this final corpus have been adapted from the novels of Spain’s most emblematic novelist (about 21% of this corpus), and 20 of these have been adapted from *Don Quijote* (nearly 20% of the corpus). This means that approximately one in five of the film adaptations of Spanish literary works that have been introduced to the United States as both film adaptations and literary translations owe their existence to Miguel de Cervantes and his best-known novel. This statistic provides very illustrative evidence of the author’s remarkable centrality not only within the Spanish literary system and film system, but also within the world literary and film system. As a matter of fact, only eight of the film adaptations of *Don Quijote* that have reached the United States originated in some way from the Spanish film system, and half of these were co-productions with other countries. Thus, the majority of the adaptations that have been made of *Don Quijote* (and, interestingly, all of those made of *La Gitanilla*) have originated in other national film systems, primarily those of France and the United States. As will be explored in further detail within the context of Combination 1 (Section 4.1), this evidences the remarkable prevalence of English-language film adaptations of the

works of Cervantes, which are the inspiration for nearly half of all English-language film adaptations of Spanish literary works, according to my calculations. From Edward Dillon's black-and-white silent 1915 film to Robert Butler's old western retelling *Scandalous John* (1971) and Terry Gilliam's recent imaginative modern retelling itself, *The Man Who Killed Don Quixote* (2018), the presence of Don Quijote in film adaptations of Spanish literature throughout history is truly outstanding. As previously mentioned, this will be examined in further detail in the first case study, Combination 1 (Section 4.1).

Following Cervantes, the next most prevalent Spanish author on this corpus is Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, who has had a total of nine adaptations made from his novels that have reached the United States. Curiously, eight of these are English-language film adaptations that were made in Hollywood. This is what makes the presence of film adaptations of the work of Blasco Ibáñez' so remarkable: according to my research, Vicente Blasco Ibáñez is the adapted Spanish author with the largest number of American box office releases, as will be analyzed in further detail in Section 4.2. Consequently, Vicente Blasco Ibáñez is also the author responsible for the literary works with the highest-grossing film adaptations of in the United States. What is particularly interesting about the case of Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, however, is that while the Valencian author is the second-most represented translated Spanish author in film in the United States, he is only the eighth most-represented author in film adaptations overall. The work of Blasco Ibáñez has

therefore enjoyed a very central position within the U.S. film system (particularly during Hollywood's silent era), while it has not been as canonized within the Spanish film system, as will be seen in the case study dedicated to its analysis.

Nevertheless, it is important to add that a notable presence of early-to late-nineteenth-century Spanish playwrights and novelists can also be found on this list, many of whom also represent some of the most adapted Spanish writers in history. Here, we find the film adaptations of the works of Benito Pérez Galdós – a total of seven, nearly half of which owe their existence to internationally renowned director Luis Buñuel, as will be explored in further detail in Section 4.3. We also find five film adaptations of the works of poet and playwright Federico García Lorca, whose work will also be explored in further detail later in Section 4.7, and five of the arguably lesser-known nineteenth-century popular novelist Pedro Antonio de Alarcón. What is important to note about this group of authors is that, apart from a few exceptions,<sup>125</sup> the majority of the film adaptations made from their literary works originated in Spanish-language film systems. Thus, they often have not received as much commercial – and, in many cases, critical – attention in the United States compared with the adaptations of the works of Blasco Ibáñez and Cervantes.

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<sup>125</sup> See, for instance, Elsie Jane Wilson's 1918 Hollywood adaptation of Galdós *Doña Perfecta* (*Beauty in Chains*), and Stuart Burge and Núria Espert's 1991 made-for-TV adaptation of *The House of Bernarda Alba*, as well as Souheil Ben-Barka's 1977 Moroccan adaptation of Lorca's *Bodas de sangre*.

Next, there are a total of six authors whose works are responsible for two to four film adaptations each that can be found on this final corpus who deem mentioning. These include Gregorio Martínez Sierra, whose play *Canción de cuna* has been adapted three times to the silver screen alone, once by the author himself; José María Sánchez-Silva, winner of the Hans Christian Anderson Medal in children's literature, whose children's novel *Marcelino, pan y vino* can be found three times on this corpus; bestselling author Arturo Pérez-Reverte, whose late-20<sup>th</sup>-century mystery thriller novels have been adapted three times to the silver screen (Section 4.4); contemporary author and journalist Almudena Grandes, responsible for two different novels that have been adapted to film; Golden Age playwright Pedro Calderón de la Barca, responsible for two works that have led to film adaptations that can be found on this corpus (Section 4.5); Galician writer and journalist Manuel Rivas, whose short story and novel have both been adapted to the silver screen by directors within the Spanish film system; and Elvira Lindo, author of the popular classic work of children's literature, *Manolito Gafotas*, which has been translated into English and adapted to films that have reached the United States twice. Among these authors, we find much more diversity – including, for instance, the presence of several works of children's literature and two women authors.

Here, it is again important to note the scarce presence of the work of female authors. Only six women can be found on this final corpus (assuming, of course, that the anonymous works of literature were written by men, as was indeed likely bearing in mind the historical

context at the time of their publication). These are Catalina de Erauso (author of the memoir *Historia de la monja alférez*, adapted to film in Mexico in 1944), Mercè Rodoreda (author of *La plaça del Diamant*, adapted to film in Spain in 1982), Adelaida García Morales (author of *El Sur*, adapted to film in Spain by Víctor Erice in 1983), Almudena Grandes (author of *Las edades de Lulú*, adapted to film by Bigas Luna in 1990), and Elvira Lindo (author of the *Manolito Gafotas* series, adapted in 1999 and 2001, respectively). Together, these female authors and their works comprise about 6% a percentage even lower than the overall representation of women analyzed in Corpus 1. This is not only a reflection of the historically scarce presence of film adaptations of female authors, but also of the scarce presence of translations of female authors and their overall canonicity. The work of women appears to be much less likely to be selected for film adaptation or translation.

The rest of the authors on this final corpus are only featured once, even though many of them can be found multiple times on Corpus 1 (Appendix 1). This is because their works have either not (yet) been translated into English, or the film adaptations based on their works have not reached the United States according to the criteria for the compilation of this corpus. A complete list of these authors can be found in Appendix 2. In summary, there are a total of 54 authors found on Corpus 3 responsible for the 80 literary works that have been the source of these 111 films (Appendix 8).

## ii. Literary works

While the previous analysis of the most represented authors on Corpus 3 provided a good overall idea of the most adapted literary works throughout history, it is important to also take a brief look at the works themselves. The following table lists the most adapted Spanish literary works that have reached the United States as both a film adaptation and literary translation (1895-2018).

**Table 11**

*Corpus 3: Most adapted literary works*

<b>Literary work</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b># Adaptations</b>
El ingenioso hidalgo Don Miguel de Cervantes Quijote de la Mancha		20
Canción de cuna	Gregorio Martínez Sierra	3
Marcelino, pan y vino	José María Sánchez-Silva	3
Sangre y arena	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	3
Manolito Gafotas	Elvira Lindo	2
Los cuatro jinetes del Apocalipsis	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	2
Bodas de sangre	Federico García Lorca	2
La casa de Bernarda Alba	Federico García Lorca	2
El sombrero de tres picos	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón	2
La gitanilla	Miguel de Cervantes	2

*Note.* Works are listed by frequency of appearance and order of appearance on Corpus III (in cases of literary works with the same

number of adaptations). Please note that additional details (director, combination, country of origin, etc.) can be found in Appendix 8.

Once again, we find the remarkable presence of adaptations of *Don Quijote*. In this case, it is evident that a little under half of all of the film adaptations of *Don Quijote* have reached the United States. In fact, a significant number of them have been made in the United States, as will be seen later in the analysis dedicated to this literary work (Section 4.1). Meanwhile, regarding the authors responsible for the most adapted works, it is interesting to note that more than half of these works come from the same authors. This suggests a – perhaps unsurprising – tendency to prioritize the selection of works by canonized authors for film adaptation, particularly when these works have already been translated and published in the United States. Overall, these ten literary works have been the source of inspiration for 41 film adaptations (approximately 30% of this corpus).

### iii. Directors

Next, it is interesting to also take a look at the directors that can be found on this final corpus, as these represent the directors responsible for the most film adaptations of translated Spanish literary works that have reached the United States. The following table provides a list of the directors with the most film adaptations found on Corpus 3.



**Table 12**

*Corpus 3: Directors responsible for the most film adaptations of Spanish literary works*

<b>Director</b>	<b># Adaptations</b>	<b>Films</b>
Luis Buñuel	3	<i>Nazarín</i> (1959) <i>Viridiana</i> (1961) <i>Tristana</i> (1970)
Pedro Olea	3	<i>Tormento</i> (1974) <i>Un hombre llamado Flor de Otoño</i> (1978) <i>El maestro de esgrima</i> (1992)
Carlos Saura	2	<i>Bodas de sangre</i> (1981) <i>¡Ay, Carmela!</i> (1990)
Fred Niblo	2	<i>Blood and Sand</i> (1922) <i>The Temptress</i> (1926)
Benito Perojo	2	<i>Marianela</i> (1940) <i>Goyescas</i> (1942)
Miguel Picazo	2	<i>La tía Tula</i> (1964) <i>Extramuros</i> (1985)
Raúl Ruiz	2	<i>Mémoire des apparences</i> (1986) <i>La chouette aveugle</i> (1987)
Rafael Gil	2	<i>El clavo</i> (1944) <i>Don Quijote de la Mancha</i> (1947)
Rex Ingram	2	<i>The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse</i> (1921) <i>Mare Nostrum</i> (1926)
Mario Camus	2	<i>La colmena</i> (1982) <i>La casa de Bernarda Alba</i> (1987)
Vicente Aranda	2	<i>Si te dicen que caí</i> (1989) <i>Tirant lo Blanc</i> (2005)
Manuel Gutiérrez Aragón	2	<i>El Quijote de Miguel de Cervantes</i> (1991) <i>El caballero Don Quijote</i> (2002)
Agustí Villaronga	2	<i>El mar</i> (2000) <i>Pa negre</i> (2010)

*Note.* Additional details (combination, country of origin, etc.) can be found in Appendix 8.

Overall, there are 13 directors responsible for multiple film adaptations on this corpus. Unlike the case of authors and literary works, however, there is very little overall difference in the number of films made by the directors with the largest number of adaptations. While there are two directors with slightly more film adaptations than the rest – Luis Buñuel and Pedro Olea, each with three adaptations – the rest of the directors that can be found represented on this corpus are only responsible for two film adaptations each. This suggests that there is a far less marked degree of difference in the qualitative and quantitative centrality and canonicity of directors responsible for film adaptation than there is for the authors and works selected themselves.

However, it is interesting to briefly note several shifts in the representation of certain directors between this corpus and the previously examined Corpus 1 (Appendix 1). It is clear, for example, that the adaptations of Luis Buñuel are far more prevalent on this corpus, while those of the prolific previously mentioned “adapter” Rafael Gil (who, as a reminder, was responsible for 43 adaptations on Corpus 1) are significantly less so. In addition, two previously unmentioned Spanish directors can also be found here: Manuel Gutiérrez Aragón and Agustí Villaronga. Both of these directors have been celebrated in both Spanish and European cinema. While they have each been responsible for fewer adaptations overall, those that they did make have reached the United States. This is particularly interesting in the case of Agustí

Villaronga, whose adaptations of two contemporary Spanish novels have been exhibited at several U.S. film festivals. While there is indeed little difference between the number of adaptations made by these directors, much as was the case with many of the directors mentioned in the analysis of Corpus 1, the Spanish directors found on Corpus 3 are often characterized by their central location in the Spanish film system, semi-central location in the European film system (where their work often garners critical attention at film festivals), and peripheral location in the U.S. film system, where their work is exhibited within an international festival context but typically does not receive any special recognition.

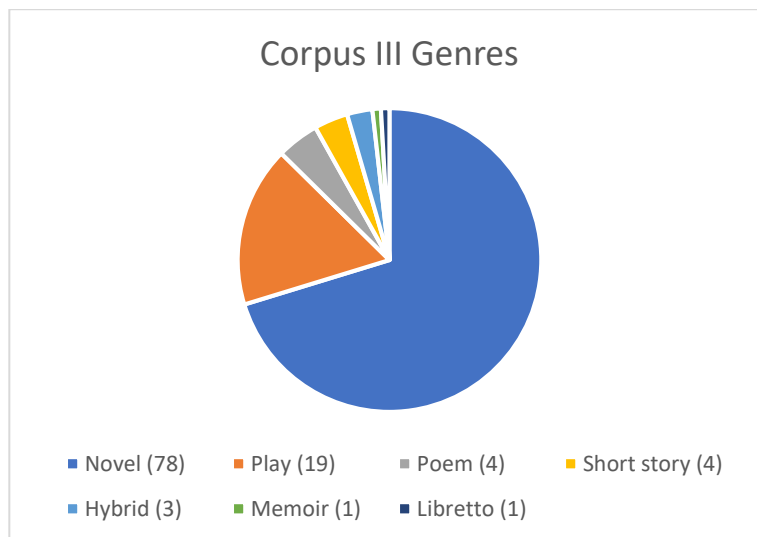
Meanwhile, directors from non-Spanish film systems are much more prominent on this list than that of Corpus 1. Overall, three of the twelve directors on this list work outside of the Spanish film system. This includes two Hollywood directors with two film adaptations of Spanish literary works each: Rex Ingram and Fred Niblo. Both of these directors are responsible for silent film adaptations of novels by Vicente Blasco Ibanez, an author with a tremendous amount of success in the United States, as will be seen in Section 4.2. In addition to these two Hollywood directors, we also find the interesting case of Chilean French director Raúl Ruiz, whose work will be explored in greater detail in Section 4.5.

#### iv. Literary genres

Next, thanks to the information collected for further categorization, it is interesting to briefly note the genre of the works found on this final corpus. There are, as a reminder, a total of 111 film adaptations found on this final corpus. These works can be classified into a total of seven genres.<sup>126</sup> These include novel, play, short story, poem, memoir, libretto, and hybrid (a work combining two or more of the other genres). The following figure illustrates the overall breakdown of the genres of the works found on the final corpus of this dissertation.

**Figure 5**

*Genres of the literary works found on Corpus III*



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<sup>126</sup> For a more in-depth description of the criteria used for the determining of these genres, Key Concepts and Terminology, Section 1.1.

Overall, the majority (approximately 70%) of the film adaptations on this corpus were made from novels. Despite the often-cited inherent differences between the cinematographic and novelistic mediums, the most common form for film adaptation continues to be the use of a novel as a basis.<sup>127</sup> Generally, there exists a preference for this genre both with regards to the publishing industry (i.e., what gets translated) and the film industry (i.e., what sparks enough interest to inspire an adaptation). Ever since the rise of the genre in the 18<sup>th</sup>, the novel has consistently represented the most popular and bestselling form of literature (Mullen, 2018). Meanwhile, from the perspective of the film industry, popular novels are a notably faster and commercially supported way for studios to develop film and television plots. According to television producer and screenwriter Hawk Otsby:

It's all about managing risk for the studios. It's extremely difficult to sell a blockbuster original script today if it isn't based on some popular or recognizable material... Audiences know the story, so they're sort of pre-sold on it. In other words, it has a recognizable [intellectual property] and can rise above

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<sup>127</sup> See, for instance, the seminal work of Bluestone (1957) and Stam & Raengo (2004), as well as Naremore's 1999 published lecture.

the noise [and] competition from the internet, video games, and Netflix. (In Liptak, 2017)

Meanwhile, the lack of temporal, spatial, and creative limitations inherent to the novel genre – as compared to a stage play, for instance – allows for more imaginative possibilities on the screen (Leicester, 2018). A greater diversity of stories, characters, and worlds can be introduced – many of which have already amassed a significant following. This following then increases with the introduction of the adaptation, thus benefitting publishers. Not only is a successful adaptation likely to bring in revenue for the screen, but it is also likely to see a significant rise in book sales even long after the adaptation has been released. According to Penguin Random House editor Scott Shannon, “[Adaptations have] expanded our reach for our authors” (in Liptak, 2017). Overall, in the race to find new stories and attract viewers, Hollywood – and countless other film systems – have recognized the value of novels. Thus, this genre has consistently provided a major source of inspiration for films, which is also evidenced by its prevalence on this corpus overall.

Nevertheless, it is also interesting to note the existence of 19 film adaptations of plays on this corpus. Plays represent the second-most prevalent genre in film throughout history, and plays have served as the inspiration for everything from experimental films to made-for-TV co-productions. In *Theater versus Film: An Historical Introduction* (2012), Bert Cardullo explains that the relationship

between theater and film nearly dates back to the origins of cinema itself, when actors, directors, and writers began to move freely between the stage, set, and studio. Thus, this relationship has been widely studied throughout history. While this topic will not be expanded upon in this study, it is important to note that plays have consistently served as a significant source of material for films. The theater was a tremendously popular form of entertainment before the rise of the cinema, and the scripts of these plays represented texts that were very easy to adapt to the screen. As the cinema gradually managed to capture the audience of popular theaters over time, screenwriters and directors continued to turn to the stage for inspiration and stories their audiences would easily recognize. While few studies provide statistics on the prevalence of stage adaptations in film, countless case studies attest to the popular practice of stage-to-screen adaptation.<sup>128</sup> Thus, it is likely that the representation of plays found on this corpus (the source of approximately 17% of the film adaptations) is representative of the overall presence of this genre in film, although further research is needed in this respect.

It is next interesting to note the presence of several other lesser-adapted genres, among which we find short stories, poems, memoirs, operatic librettos, and hybrid works. Overall, there are five adaptations of poems on this corpus. Here, the majority of these films are based on epic poems from the Middle Ages. Along these

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<sup>128</sup> See, for instance, those found in Cardullo (2012) and Lowe (2020), among others.

lines we find, for instance, Anthony Mann's well-known 1961 adaptation of *El cantar de mio Cid*, which is the oldest preserved Castilian epic poem. We also find Spanish director Javier Setó's 1961 film *El valle de las espadas*, an adaptation of the epic poem *Poema de Fernán González*, as well as Julio Coll's 1971 adaptation of Alonso de Ercilla's *La Araucana*. In addition to these poems, it is also interesting to note the presence of a film adaptation of Archpriest of Hita Juan Ruiz's poem *El libro del buen amor*, widely considered to be one of the masterpieces of Spanish poetry and the medieval "mester de clerecía" subgenre.<sup>129</sup> All of these poems were written before the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and the oldest of them (*El cantar de mio Cid* and *Poema de Fernán González*) demonstrate certain characteristics of having been designated for oral transmission. It is, of course, no coincidence that the poems found on this corpus are all narrative in nature, as narrative epic poetry is characterized by its grand stories that easily lend themselves to exciting screen narratives. Overall, there is a total of five adaptations of poems on this final corpus, representing a little over 4% of the adaptations.

There are also a total of four films adapted from short stories. Here, we find the notable presence of film adaptations of José María Sánchez-Silva's children's book *Marcelino, pan y vino*, including Ladislao Vajda's critically and commercially successful 1955 adaptation which went on to inspire versions in several other

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<sup>129</sup> Developed in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, this subgenre was characterized by being written on paper by a known educated author (i.e., not anonymous). Regular meter was used, and the subject matter tended to be more seriously, with religious, historical, and novelesque undertones (Villoria, 2020).



countries, including that of Luigi Comencini (1991, Italy) and José Luis Gutiérrez Arias (Mexico, 2010), which can also be found on this corpus. Ladislao Vajda's 1955 adaptation was nominated for the Palme d'Or at the Cannes Film Festival, where it received several special mentions, and later went on to win a Silver Bear at the 5th Berlin International Film Festival. In addition, there is another short story that has been adapted to film that deems mentioning here, and that is Galician writer Manuel Rivas' "La lengua de las mariposas," which forms part of his 1995 collection *¿Qué me quieres, amor?*. The collection won several literary awards, and "La lengua de las mariposas" was later selected for adaptation by José Luis Cuerda and screen written by Rafael Azcona. The film was nominated for many awards at the Goyas, where it ended up winning Best Adapted Screenplay.<sup>130</sup>

In addition to works from these genres in the film adaptations found on the final corpus of this study, it is also important to mention the existence of three films that are based on what I have classified as *hybrid works* – that is, film adaptations based on works from various genres. Among these, we find the fascinating case of Carlos Saura's 1981 adaptation of *Bodas de Sangre*, a film which will be explored in further detail in Section 4.7. We also find French-Chilean director Raúl Ruiz' 1987 film *La chouette aveugle* – adapted from both a play by Tirso de Molina and novel by Iranian writer Sadegh Hedayat –, which will also be mentioned later in this dissertation

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<sup>130</sup> See Guisasola (2015), Romea Castra (2001), and Solana (2007) for studies on the film and its adaptation.

within the context of the fifth case study (Section 4.5). It is also important to also mention the case of Montxo Armendáriz's 2005 adaptation of Basque writer Bernardo Atxaga's award-winning collection of short stories, *Obabakoak*. What is unique about this film compared with the previously mentioned adaptations of short stories is that the film is based on the entire collection as a whole, instead of primarily being adapted from a single short story. Thus, it represents a rather unique case of a film based on a collection of short stories. Overall, all of these films are fascinating examples of adaptations that have been born from literary works from multiple genres.

It is finally important to comment upon the existence of several other genres of literary works on this corpus. First, we find the unique case of a film based on a memoir: Emilio Gómez Muriel's *La monja alférez* (1994), based on the fascinating story of Catalina de Erauso, the nun who traveled Spain and Spanish America under male identities during the first half the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Morales, 2000). Erauso's story has been the source of many works, including novels, films, and even comics (Castro Morales, 2000). It has also been adapted several times to the silver screen throughout history, although Mexican director Emilio Gómez Muriel's adaptation is, to the best of my knowledge, the only of these films that managed to reach the United States.

Lastly, it is interesting to observe the existence of a film adaptation based on a libretto: Benito Perojo's previously mentioned award-

winning 1942 film *Goyescas*, based on Spanish composer Enrique Granados' opera. The corresponding libretto was written by Fernando Periquet y Zuaznabar with melodies taken from his 1911 piano suite by the same name. The opera was first performed at the Metropolitan Opera in New York City in 1916, and, according to my research, some of the lyrics were translated into English (although the opera was performed in its original Spanish language version).

Overall, approximately 70% of the final corpus is comprised of film adaptations of novels, 17% of plays, over 4% of poems, 4% of short stories, 3% of hybrid works, and 1% of memoirs and librettos. While an analysis of the genres present was only completed for this final corpus, performing a similar analysis on Corpus 1 remains an interesting area of future research.

## v. Combinations

There remains one final aspect of this corpus to be analyzed before presenting the case studies, and that is the combinations present. As discussed in Section 1.5, I have drawn upon the notion of combined norms to explore how film adaptation, literary translation, and audiovisual translation may combine in the importation of Spanish literary works to the United States through film. To do this, an analysis of the final corpus was performed to identify patterns in the reception of these works. Each of the works found on this corpus was researched to determine whether the film or literary work was

imported first, whether or not any previously existing literary or film adaptations existed, and whether or not an intermediary system or medium was involved. Overall, I have identified a total of seven possible combinations, which I will summarize here:

### **1. Combination 1: Literary translation before Spanish language film adaptation**

This first combination includes cases in which the literary translation of a work occurs before its film adaptation. Therefore, the first phase of transfer occurs between the Spanish source text and its target English translation. Later, an intersemiotic transfer takes place in the form of a film adaptation. However, this transfer occurs from the source (Spanish) literary text, therefore producing a Spanish language film adaptation. In most instances, this film must then undergo a third transfer process to be imported into the United States, that of audiovisual translation. This occurs either in the form of subtitling or dubbing. A list of the film adaptations that fit this combination can be found in Appendix 9.

### **2. Combination 2: Literary translation before English language film adaptation**

In this second combination, we again find a case in which the literary translation occurs before a film adaptation. However, in this instance, an intersemiotic transfer occurs between the translated literary work and the first film adaptation. Therefore, the language

of the film adaptation is the same as the literary translation. Film adaptations of Spanish literary works that were made in English can be found in this category (although it is important to note that English language films are not limited to this category). In most cases, the creators of these films (crews, screenwriters, directors) formed part of the U.S. film system. A list of the film adaptations that fit this combination can be found in Appendix 11.

### **3. Combination 3: Film adaptation before literary translation**

In this third combination, the film adaptation precedes the literary translation. Therefore, the first transfer process is the intersemiotic transfer from page to screen. This process may occur directly – in this case, between Spanish and English– or in combination with another linguistic transfer, as is the case of several films that were made in another of Spain’s official languages, such as Basque or Catalan. This film then undergoes a form of audiovisual translation to be exhibited in the United States. Afterward – and perhaps even years so – the literary text on which the film is based is translated into English and distributed in the United States. A list of the film adaptations that fit this combination can be found in Appendix 12.

### **4. Combination 4: Film adaptation alongside a translation**

In this combination, we find the case of a film adaptation that is realized alongside a literary translation (or vice versa). Therefore, both the intersemiotic and linguistic transfers processes occur more

or less simultaneously. Images and marketing materials from one work – typically, the film – are then used in the promotion of the literary work, or vice versa. The works found in this combination can be found in Section 4.4.

### **5. Combination 5: Intermediate film system**

In the fifth combination, an intermediate national film system enters into play. A Spanish literary work is translated into another language and a film adaptation is made based on this literary translation. This film is then subtitled or dubbed and imported into the United States. An English translation of this text may or may not exist prior to this translation (in many cases, it does); the key here is that the film adaptation of this literary work is imported from another national film system. The works found in this combination can be found in Section 4.5.

### **6. Combination 6: Intermediate literary adaptation**

This combination involves the unique case of an intermediate literary adaptation, i.e., a recognized inter-medial literary adaptation of a literary text (such as a book based on a book). In this case, a literary work is translated into another language. After this transfer, a literary adaptation of the work is created within this new literary system. A film adaptation is then made from this literary adaptation. Interestingly, however, this film is not based on

the source literary work or its translation; it is based on the literary adaptation. This is explored in detail in Section 4.6.

### **7. Combination 7: Film adaptation made from an intersemiotic translation**

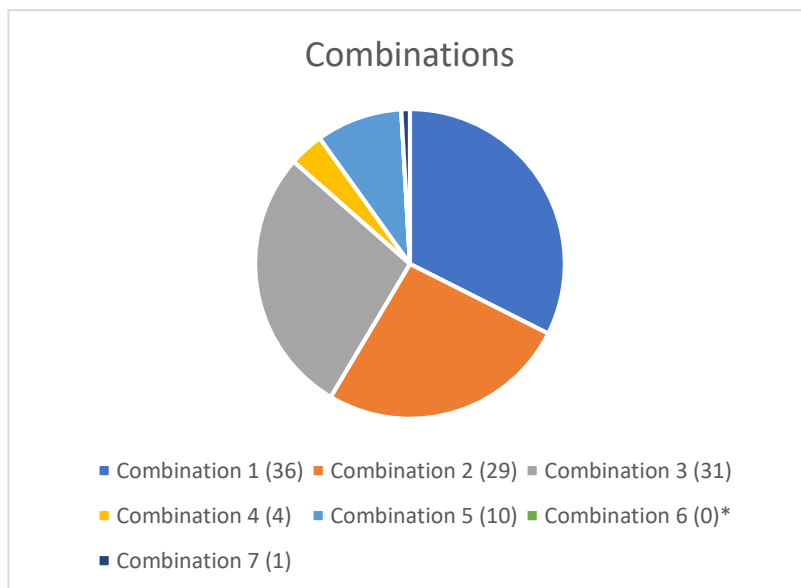
This final combination examines a rather unique phenomenon, and that is the case of a film adaptation that is made from an intersemiotic translation of a literary text. For this combination, the first phase of transfer occurs between the source text and another non-literary artistic work (song, painting, sculpture, dance, etc.) Bearing in mind the primarily non-linguistic nature of this artistic work, the work may originate from the culture of origin of the source text, or – hypothetically – from an intermediate culture of origin or even the target culture itself. After this intersemiotic artistic transfer takes place, an additional intersemiotic transfer occurs in the form of a film adaptation, and this film is received into the United States. The film may or may not undergo a form of translation (subtitles, dubbing). The film that demonstrates this category is explored in Section 4.7.

While these combinations will be explored in further detail in the following chapter, I will briefly present an overall analysis of the distribution of works on the final corpus. Overall, a total of 36 works can be found in Combination 1 (32% of the corpus); 31 works in Combination 2 (28% of the corpus); 19 works in Combination 3 (17% of the corpus); four works in Combination 4 (about 4% of the

corpus); ten works in Combination 5 (9% of the corpus), and one work in Combination 7 (less than 1%). Here, it is important to note that due to the unique nature of Combination 6, no film adaptations from this combination are listed on the final corpus, as will be explained in further detail in Section 4.6. Overall, this distribution is illustrated in the following figure.

**Figure 6**

*Combinations*



*Note.* \*Due to the nature of Combination 6, no film adaptations from this combination are listed on the final corpus.



## vi. Conclusion

Three corpora were created for this dissertation. While it is important to reiterate that the data available or the compilation of these corpora was subject to limitations, these corpora nevertheless provide very interesting information on the film adaptation of Spanish literary works and the patterns in the reception of these works in the United States. The purpose of this section was to provide a brief preliminary analysis of the most adapted authors and literary works, as well as the directors responsible for the largest number of adaptations of Spanish literary works throughout this period. This was done to provide a basic understanding of the overall trends in the film adaptation of Spanish literary works, thus facilitating the qualitative analysis of the case studies that will be presented in the next section.



## 4. CASE STUDIES

### 4.1 Combination 1

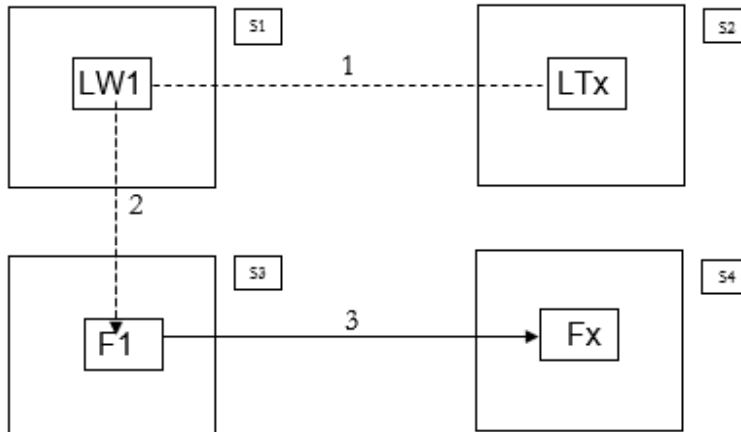
This first combination includes all cases in which the literary (cross-lingual) translation of a work occurs before its film adaptation. Therefore, the first phase of transfer takes place between the source text (LW1) and its target translation (LWx). In most instances, this film must then undergo a third transfer process: that of audiovisual translation.<sup>131</sup> This occurs either in the form of subtitling or dubbing, thus creating a new version of the film (Film 2), as illustrated in Figure 7.

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<sup>131</sup>This is excluding the case of a Spanish film that does not undergo any form of audiovisual translation but is instead shown in Spanish, an increasingly probable occurrence considering the number of Spanish speakers in the United States. However, bearing in mind the nature of this study and the focus on texts that have undergone various transformations, films that present this combination will only be briefly examined later as a part of this case study and further analysis of them will remain an area for future research.

## Figure 7

*Combination 1: Literary translation before Spanish language film adaptation*



Bearing in mind the nature of this combination, films that have been made within the Spanish language film system can all be found in this category – including, of course, films made in other national systems in which Spanish is spoken, for which a brief analysis will be provided later in this section.<sup>132</sup> Overall, 36 films demonstrate this combination, representing a total of approximately 36% of the works on the final corpus. This combination thus represents the most common means by which Spanish literature is imported into

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<sup>132</sup> Here, it is also important to note the possibility of an additional case study examining films coming from each one of these other national systems, or from one of Spain's peripheral language systems, such as Catalan, Galician, or Basque. However, bearing in mind that every one of these unique systems may provide a possible case study, examining each in detail is unrealistic for the scope of this study. Thus, only a brief analysis of this phenomenon will be provided within this analysis and these cases will remain possibilities for future research.

the United States through film overall. For a complete list of the films found on this combination, see Appendix 9.

Before presenting an analysis of these films, it is important to mention that this is the combination that presented the most difficulties with regards to verifying the films' release in the United States. As mentioned in the Methodology section of this dissertation, the films' reception was authenticated by IMDb release information parting from a primary corpus of all film adaptations of Spanish literary works. Therefore, this authentication was dependent upon the information provided by IMDb which – while to this date is the most detailed database of its kind – still leaves much to be desired with regards to detailed release information, particularly in the case of early- to mid-century films made outside of the United States. That said, it is very possible that some of the many Spanish-language film adaptations listed on Corpus 1 were at one time introduced on a smaller scale in the United States or that their release information was not listed on this database. The probability of this occurring is much higher for this combination than others bearing in mind the fact that it represents approximately one-third of the final corpus and that it is comprised of foreign films that have been limited to the periphery of the U.S. film system for which scarce information has been collected or is available. Nevertheless, it is important to highlight that this section is as comprehensive and rigorous as possible bearing in mind the information available.

There is much that can be observed regarding the phenomenon of Spanish-language film adaptations of Spanish literary works that have been imported to the United States from this list. First, however, it is important to highlight the crucial difference between a linguistic film system (i.e., Spanish-language film) and a national film system (i.e., Argentinian film), which will be specified as such throughout this analysis. This is particularly relevant considering the nature of this combination, as there are a number of films present that are not from the Spanish (Spain) national film system, but instead have their origins in other national systems, a phenomenon which will be examined later within the context of this study. There are also several films present on this list that were made within the Spanish national film system but not in the Spanish language, a phenomenon which is also important to bear in mind. Overall, of the 36 films that demonstrate combination, a total of five national film systems are represented: Spain (20 films), Mexico (6 films), Argentina (2 films), and seven co-productions. All of these involved Spain. Four of them also involved Italy, two involved the United States, and two films were made in collaboration with Chilean and Mexican production companies. Therefore, when it comes to the case of Combination 1, the vast majority of these films are made within the Spanish national film system. Meanwhile, the Mexican and (to a much lesser extent) Argentinian national film systems have historically acted as intermediaries. That said, the notable number of Mexican film adaptations of Spanish literary works found in this combination likely comes as no surprise bearing in mind its post-colonial connection to Spain; nor should the

importation of these films in the United States come as a surprise considering the geographic and socio-cultural proximity between these two countries. In the case of Argentina, however, it is interesting to note that of the two films originating from this system, only one was actually directed by an Argentinian director (*Bodas de sangre*, Edmundo Guibourg, 1938), although this director was aided by the Spanish writer and director of the other film produced in Argentina, Gregorio Martínez Sierra. Interestingly, the other film originating in this national system - *Canción de cuna*, 1941 – was actually directed by the author of its literary work of origin, Martínez Sierra himself. This represented one of the three total films the author directed in Argentina during his stay in the country following the end of the Spanish Civil War.<sup>133</sup> The case of a Spanish author who adapted his own works is only found once on this final corpus, it represents a fascinating phenomenon that deems mentioning. That said, it remains evident that the most likely source of Spanish-language film adaptations imported into the United States is from the Spanish national film system itself, followed by the Mexican national system.

Next, it is interesting to note the distribution of the release dates of these films. The first film meeting the criteria for this combination (Florián Rey's *La hermana San Sulpicio*) was released in the year 1934 in the United States. Bearing in mind the remarkable

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<sup>133</sup> The other two films are *Tú eres la paz* (1942) and *Los hombres las prefieren viudas* (1943), adapted from the novels of the same name. However, neither of these films was imported in the United States and therefore are not found on the corpus of this dissertation.

concentration of English-language adaptations of Spanish literary works that occurred between the years of 1915-1936 to be expanded upon in further detail in Combination 2 (Section 4.2), it is evident that Spanish-language film adaptations began making their appearance in the U.S. film system later. In fact, interestingly, the first version of Florián Rey's *La hermana San Sulpicio* was actually released in 1927 in Spain. However, it was not until seven years later after Rey remade it as a sound film that it was released in the United States.

As previously mentioned in Section 3.2, dubbing represents a much more expensive practice than subtitling. It is therefore interesting to observe that – based on the limited information available – nearly all of the films in this category were subtitled for their release and therefore fell into the latter of these categories.<sup>134</sup> In fact, of the 36 total films on this corpus, approximately 20 are verified to have subtitles, while only three are verified to have been dubbed (Julio Bracho's 1942 film *Historia de un gran amor*; Javier Setó's 1963 film *El valle de las espadas*; and José Luis Gutiérrez Arias's 2007 animated Don Quixote adaptation *Donkey Xote*). While it is clear that the dubbing of the latter animated film was necessary for it to be introduced to a U.S. audience primarily comprised of children,

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<sup>134</sup> There is remarkably little information available on the presence of subtitles or dubbing in movies (or lack thereof), particularly in the case of films released before the rise of DVD technology. In order to discover this information, each film was individually researched to determine the languages available for its viewing. Since many of them did not provide any language information, their English language availability was categorized as "Unknown," and this lack of data is considered indicative in itself for the sake of this analysis.



little else can be deduced regarding the significance of the dubbing of these other two films. Meanwhile, regarding the rest of the films on the list, their English language availability is either unknown (11 films) or the film was directly shown in Spanish, as was the case for Antón Reixa's 2003 film *El lápiz del carpintero*. Overall, bearing in mind the fact that the more expensive practice of dubbing is often attributed to more centralized, powerful film systems and larger-scale productions, it may come as no surprise that the majority of these relatively small-scale adaptations that comprise Combination 1 were either subtitled or do not contain information regarding the availability of English translations, in which case they may have likely been released directly in Spanish.

Thus, bearing in mind that technology for subtitling was not readily available until the late 1920s and that of dubbing until the 1930s, it is interesting to note the short gap in the timeline between the films comprising this combination (with release dates beginning in 1934 and fairly evenly concentrated throughout the rest of the 20<sup>th</sup> century) and the English-language releases found on Combination 2 (with release dates highly concentrated in the first three decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>135</sup> Based on this observation, it becomes evident that film adaptations of Spanish literary works released in the United States in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century were more likely to originate within the English language film system, while those from the Spanish language film system were not imported until the 1930s. This, of course, ironically occurred even though early silent films

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<sup>135</sup> See Figure 3, Section 3.1.

would have required little to no special technology for their importation. In fact, the earliest film on Corpus 3 – Ferdinand Zecca and Lucien Nonguet’s 1903 *Don Quichotte (Adventures of the Ingenious Hidalgo Don Quijote)* – was imported from the French film system. Thus, based on the works found on this corpus, it may be concluded that the early adaptations of Spanish literary works – including, of course, silent films – were more likely to originate from non-Spanish film systems, particularly the U.S. film system, as will be seen in Combination 2.

With regards to the directors of the films comprising this combination, a great diversity of names is represented. In fact, nearly every film found on this corpus was directed by a different director, with the exception of Benito Perojo and Rafael Gil, two notoriously prolific Spanish directors each responsible for two of the films found both in this combination and the corpus overall. However, the diversity of directors represented in Combination 1 suggests a lack of canonization in the importation of particular directors’ work.

Next, turning to the literary works represented by these films, it is also interesting to briefly examine the literary genre of the works that comprise this particular combination. Overall, a total of 21 of the films were adapted from Spanish novels (about 58% of the films in this category), 8 from plays (about 22% of the films in this category), and four from works of poetry (about 11% of the films in this category). In addition, one film – *El Clavo*, by Rafael Gil – is

adapted from a work of short fiction (Pedro Antonio de Alarcón's short story by the same name), and another from a memoir (*Memorial de los méritos y servicios del alférez Erauso* by Catalina de Erauso). We also find Benito Perojo's 1942 adaptation of Enrique Granados and Fernando Periquet's opera in this category. In comparison with the composition of genres comprising the final corpus, it is interesting to note that while the percentage of novels is slightly lower in this category, the overall representation of plays and poetry is remarkably higher. In fact, this combination is comprised of nearly all of the film adaptations of poems found on the final corpus. Bearing this in mind as well as the additional presence of adaptations of the lesser-represented genres of short stories and memoir, this combination features the most overall genre diversity out of all of the combinations found in this study, including the next-most diverse category, Combination 3. This lends to several interesting possible conclusions. First, it is more likely for a film adaptation to be made from a literary work in a genre other than the novel (the most common source of film adaptations) when the work has already been translated into English, indicating to a certain degree the passage of time and canonization of the source text. For instance, eight of the films here were based on literary works translated before the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and only three of the works on this corpus were translated after the year 1952, with the majority of the translations occurring between 1889 and 1945. Second, the diversity of genres represented in this combination also suggests that it is more likely that a director or screenwriter within the Spanish-language system selects a poem or

memoir for adaptation than a director in the English-language system, also suggesting a greater familiarity with the literary canon in all its diversity.

With regards to the literary works and authors themselves, however, we find that film adaptations of the works of Miguel de Cervantes – a total of seven adaptations exclusively made of *Don Quijote de la Mancha* – are unsurprisingly the most prevalent, a phenomenon that can also be observed in the next section in Combination 2 and is quite evident overall on the final corpus. The film adaptations of this work will be analyzed in further detail shortly. Nevertheless, it is important to add that here we also find a notable presence of early- to late-nineteenth-century Spanish playwrights and novelists, including Federico García Lorca (three film adaptations), Benito Pérez Galdós (three film adaptations), Pedro Antonio de Alarcón (three film adaptations), and Gregorio Martínez Sierra (two film adaptations). Regarding the adapted literary works of these authors themselves, however, there is scarce repetition: just two adaptations of Gregorio Martínez Sierra's *Canción de cuna*. This suggests that when it comes to the Spanish-language adaptations of Spanish literary works that have already reached the United States via literary translations, there is a tendency to prioritize the selection of works by canonized authors over the works themselves – except, of course, in the fascinating case of *Don Quijote*.

a) Case Study 1: *Don Quijote de la Mancha* (Rafael Gil, 1948)

To speak of Don Quijote is to speak of a legend, an archetype born from a monumental pillar of Western literature. It is an ambitious and nearly unattainable undertaking – a Quixotesque one, if it might be allowed. Bearing in mind the vast amount of academic and artistic work inspired by Miguel de Cervantes' most famous work, it is important to first clarify that the purpose of this case study is not to provide a thorough analysis of this body of work (which could very easily form a dissertation of its own, or more likely several), but instead to provide a basic understanding of the work's prevalence in film in the United States within the context of this combination and the reception of Rafael Gil's 1948 adaptation *Don Quijote de la Mancha* in particular. To do this, I will begin by providing a basic presentation and analysis of the literary work and its reception in its literary system of origin. A very abbreviated biography of the author of the work, Miguel de Cervantes, will also be provided to allow for a better understanding of this reception. This will then be followed by a brief analysis of the work's translation and reception in its target literary system. I will then proceed to analyze the fascinating presence of this novel in film throughout history thanks to the information collected in the compilation of the corpora. This will be followed by a more close-up look at Rafael Gil's 1948 adaptation, including its significance in its film system of origin and target system in the United States.

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra was a Spanish novelist, poet, and playwright who is now widely regarded as the greatest writer in the Spanish language and the most important and celebrated figure in Spanish literature. While little is known of the writer's early life, Cervantes' first published poem is believed to have appeared in his early 20's, just before he served in the Ottoman-Venetian War. The novel-worthy adventurous period of the to-be writer's life supplied ample subject matter for several of his later literary works, including "the Captive's tale" in *Don Quijote* and the two Algiers plays, *El trato de Argel* ("The Traffic of Algiers," 1582) and *Los baños de Argel* ("The Bagnios [an obsolete word for "prisons"] of Algiers," 1582).

Cervantes claims to have written over 20 plays in his early writing career, of which only a few have survived. There are also records of Cervantes being contracted to write plays for the theater manager Gaspar de Porras in 1585, one of which, *La confusa*, he later described as the best he had written. Nevertheless, these works were typically very short-lived (despite being relatively well-received – or, at the very least, not booed off the stage), and the majority of the most successful and celebrated playwrights at the time could not entirely live off of their proceeds. Nothing came of further contracts to provide plays. In 1596, he managed to win first prize in a poetry competition in Zaragoza. According to biographers, this is likely the time when Cervantes began seriously writing stories. Here, it is interesting to note that although the writer later published under the name *Cerbantes*, his printers used the form *Cervantes*, which soon

became the common form. Later, he used *Saavedra*, the name of a distant relative, rather than *Cortinas*, after his mother. The first use of the name *Cervantes Saavedra* appears in 1586, on documents related to his marriage.

While scarce information exists on the years during which the author was writing *Don Quijote*, the idea was likely conceived shortly after the summer of 1597, when discrepancies in his tax accounts landed Cervantes in the Crown Jail of Sevilla. A later account in the first prologue of the novel has led many to believe that his imprisonment was likely the time in which he began exploring the idea for the novel. What is certain, however, is that in the late summer of 1604, Miguel de Cervantes sold the rights of *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*, Part I to the publisher-bookseller Francisco de Robles for an unknown sum. A publishing license was granted, and the novel was published in January of 1605. (The press in charge of its publication, Juan de la Cuesta's press in Madrid, is now known to have been responsible for many of the errors in the text which had long been attributed to the author.)

The novel was met with immediate success in its literary system of origin. By August 1605, five editions already existed: two in Madrid, two in Lisbon, and one in Valencia. Meanwhile, the novel was soon also translated into English, an event that will be expanded upon shortly. Meanwhile, the remarkable success of the novel had its downsides. In 1614, just a year before the publication of Part II, a spurious sequel published under the pseudonym of Alonso

Fernández de Avellaneda appeared. While much mystery surrounds the identity of the author of this unofficial sequel and critical opinion has generally held Avellanda's work in low regard, it is interesting to note that the work itself would later go on to enjoy its fair share of English translations – at least three, in fact.<sup>136</sup> Cervantes was not far behind in releasing the true sequel, however. Part II, *Segunda parte del ingenioso caballero don Quijote de la Mancha*, came out in 1615. Since the author had sold his publishing rights, however, this meant that he made no more financial profits from Part I of his novel and had to instead make do with patronage. Thus, we find his dedications to the Count of Lemos as well as to the Archbishop of Toledo, Don Bernardo de Sandoval. This was, of course, a very common practice in the Spanish Golden Age, and one that also facilitated the work's diffusion. During Cervantes' time, for instance, the Spanish rule in Naples allowed for the diffusion of cultural products, most notably art.

Meanwhile, the growing military omnipresence of the Spanish monarchy and large extent of its realm meant that Spain had become “to a particular degree the starting point and node of cultural transfer processes in the 16<sup>th</sup> century” (Weller, 2011). This was, in part, due to economic factors. The Spanish empire was financed by a lucrative steady inflow of precious metals from its territories in the Americas, which also attracted merchants and entrepreneurs from

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<sup>136</sup> These include those of Captain John Stevens (1705), William Augustus Yardley (1784), and Alberta Wilson & John Esten Keller, with footnotes by Tom Lathrop (2009).



across Europe. Spain represented a gateway not only for precious metals, however, but also many other products, including animals, plants, and artifacts not yet known in Europe. Political and sociocultural factors also played an important role in the centrality of Golden Age Spain. The networks created by the marriages of governing royal families spanned across Europe, while the practice of the Grand Tour and establishment of permanent embassies promoted both personal and cultural exchanges between European courts. Despite this influence, the Spanish language remained a European vernacular language and never achieved the status of a court language, unlike French. Latin remained the official language in politics and diplomacy, while Italian was considered the “gallant language of conversation” among European courtiers (Well, 2011: 22). The greater prestige of Italian is heavily reflected in early Spanish Renaissance poetry, for instance, although the rise of masterpieces written in the Spanish language at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century soon changed that. This is particularly the case of Cervantes' *Don Quijote*, which caused a great stir outside of the Iberian Peninsula and was translated into numerous European languages as early as the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

What is perhaps most evident about the work of Miguel de Cervantes is the author's larger-than-life legacy. While the success of *Don Quijote* in Spain and other Western literary systems was evident during the author's lifetime, Cervantes remained plagued with financial difficulties and a perpetual desire to prove himself equal to the Golden Age playwrights and poets of the time, most

notably Lope de Vega. Nicknamed "the Phoenix of Wits" by Cervantes himself because of his prolific nature (over 1,500 authored works), Vega was envied by not only authors of the time such as Cervantes and Luis de Góngora but also by many others throughout history. (For instance, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe once expressed his desire to have been able to produce such a vast and colorful body of work.) Bearing in mind that Vega's life was almost nearly as colorful and extravagant as his works, it perhaps comes as no surprise that despite an initial friendship, the struggling tax collector Cervantes harbored envy for him. Meanwhile, the envy was met in kind upon the reception of the first part of *Don Quijote*. Vega, who was later sent the manuscript for the second part by Cervantes – likely out of a genuine desire for feedback and comradeship – previewed the novel and wasted no time slandering it. Just months before its release, Vega wrote to a friend saying, "There is none as bad as Cervantes; nor as foolish as Don Quijote," thus marking what would later be considered a continuous feud between the two Golden Age emblems (Vega, Letter 32, author's own translation). In addition to this, some believe that Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda's spurious sequel was a collaboration by friends of Lope de Vega (Roncagliolo, 2016). While this may all seem anecdotal, it might be said to serve as a metaphor for Cervantes' strained reception among his peers in his literary system of origin, a reception that left the struggling writer longing for more despite the popular success of his work. This is supported by the fact that no confirmed portrait of Miguel de Cervantes is known to exist. In fact, the best-known portrait of the writer made by Luis de Madrazo

– and the image that would later come to be featured on the Spanish Euro coins – was actually painted in 1859, nearly two centuries after the author’s death, from the artists’ imagination. *Don Quijote* may have been an immediate success, but Cervantes did not enjoy very much of it during his lifetime. The canonization of *Don Quixote*, it appears, came later.

The novel itself requires little introduction. The plot revolves around the adventures of Alonso Quixano – a member of the Spanish nobility, a hidalgo, from La Mancha. Quixano has read so many chivalric romances that he loses his mind and decides to become a knight errant under the name Don Quixote de la Mancha to serve his nation and revive chivalry. He recruits a farmer, Sancho Panza, as his squire. The simple man serves to provide a singular, down-to-earth wit in his responses to Don Quixote’s noble rambles and rhetorical monologues on knighthood, a practice already considered out-of-fashion at the time. In the first part of the book, Quixote’s madness is marked by his inability to see the world as it really is and instead imagine that he truly is living out an adventure as a knight. Over the course of their travels and countless adventures, the protagonists are met with characters from all levels of society, all of which are magnified by Don Quixote’s imagination and tendency to violently intervene in matters that do not pertain to himself. Eventually, he is persuaded to return to his home village.

Stylistically speaking, the two parts of the adventures *Don Quijote* feature a slightly different focus but are very similar in their realism

and clarity of prose. Part I is more comical in nature, and thus enjoyed a greater popular appeal. Meanwhile, Part II is often considered more intricate and sophisticated, with a greater depth of characterization and philosophical insight. Overall, however, the entire work itself was, in many ways, ahead of its times. Widely considered to be the first modern novel, *Don Quijote* features a wide array of new literary ideas and structures, many of which would not become popular until centuries later. While the author still made quite liberal use of verse, he played with style and prose and developed a more accessible, conversational tone that was highly innovative at the time (and remarkably still understandable by modern Spaniards today). In fact, it has been said that the novel not only serves to illustrate the universal quality of any visionary action aimed at undermining or changing an existing institution (what would later be referred to as “Quixotism”), but may also serve as a metaphor for the art of fiction and storytelling itself, both the process of writing it and (mis)reading it.<sup>137</sup> This is perhaps best summarized in a rousing defense of the novel in chapter 47, expressed in the words of a cathedral canon from Toledo (who novelist Vladimir Nabokov later claimed is “Cervantes himself in disguise”), well worth citing:

And if this is done in a pleasing style and with ingenious invention, and is drawn as close as possible to the truth, it no

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<sup>137</sup> See Moore (2013), *The Novel: An Alternative History, 1600-1800*, for a more detailed analysis.

doubt will weave a cloth composed of many different and beautiful threads, and when it is finished, it will display such perfection and beauty that it will achieve the greatest goal of any writing, which, as I have said, is to teach and delight at the same time. Because the free writing style of these books allows the author to show his skills as an epic, lyric, tragic, and comic writer, with all the characteristics contained in the sweet and pleasing sciences of poetry and rhetoric; for the epic can be written in prose as well as in verse. (In Moore, 2013, p. 4).

This marked tremendous innovation in literature for the time – enough, as was previously alluded, to perhaps intimidate Lope de Vega. It is therefore difficult to gauge exactly how far ahead of its time the novel really was. However, its subsequent reception, legacy, and countless adaptations do provide hints.

It is impossible to overstate the success and influence of Cervantes' masterpiece throughout history. Since the very first publication of Part I in 1605, well over 1,500 editions have been

produced.<sup>138</sup> The novel is estimated to have sold more than 500 million copies worldwide according to calculations, leading it to be consistently listed as one of the best-selling literary works of all time. It is also commonly cited as holding the distinction of being the second-most-translated book in the world after the Bible, having been translated into more than 140 languages and linguistic varieties throughout history, according to the Instituto Cervantes. In addition, the novel has had a tremendous influence on the literary community – so much so, in fact, that countless works have been dedicated to tracing its nearly endless presence in drama, novels, music, opera, ballet, art, and film throughout history.<sup>139</sup> Within the context of this dissertation, however, it is perhaps best to now shift focus on the work in English translation.

While it is important to note that there exist academic works that have dedicated themselves entirely to the subject of Quixote in English translation,<sup>140</sup> I will include a simple list of the versions of *Don Quijote* in English translation throughout history, followed by a brief discussion of the most interesting translations:

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<sup>138</sup> This estimate stems in part from Dr. Ben Haneman’s collection, donated to the New South Wales library in 1977 and featured in its Cervantes Collection. While it remains the most extensive library collection of its kind to date, it is, nevertheless, likely incomplete. A similar collection can be found at the Rare Book and Special Collections Division at the Library of Congress focused on the oldest and most unique first volumes.

<sup>139</sup> For a more detailed and extensive information on the many works influenced by *Don Quijote* throughout history, see Mancing (1982, 2004), Duran & Rogg (2006), Johnson (2006), Ardila [ed] (2009), and D’Haen (2009), as well as the abbreviated but nonetheless interesting summary presented on the Wikipedia page “List of works influenced by *Don Quixote*.”

<sup>140</sup> See, for instance, Cunchillos (1984), Reichenberger (2005), Alvarez Calleja (2007), Eisenburg (2006), and Rutherford (2007).

**Table 13***Translations of Don Quijote (1612-2015)*

#	Year(s)	Translator
1.	1612 & 1620	Thomas Shelton
2.	1687	John Phillips [the nephew of John Milton]
3.	1700	Captain John Stevens [revision of Thomas Shelton]
4.	1700	Pierre Antoine Motteux
5.	1700	Ned Ward
6.	1719	John Ozell [revision of Pierre Antoine Motteux]
7.	1742	Charles Jervas
8.	1755	Tobias Smollett [revision of Charles Jervas]
9.	1769	George Kelly [considered to be another revision of Pierre Antoine Motteux]
10.	1774	Charles Henry Wilmot
11.	1818	Mary Smirke
12.	1881	Alexander James Duffield
13.	1885	John Ormsby
14.	1888	Henry Edward Watts
15.	1910	Robinson Smith
16.	1949	Samuel Putnam
17.	1950	J. M. Cohen
18.	1964	Walter Starkie
19.	1981	Joseph Ramon Jones and Kenneth Douglas [a revision of Ormsby]
20.	1996	Burton Raffel
21.	2000	John Rutherford
22.	2003	Edith Grossman
23.	2005	Tom Lathrop
24.	2006	James H. Montgomery
25.	2011	Gerald J. Davis

The first English translation of *Don Quijote* was published in 1612 and done by Thomas Shelton, just seven years after the publication of the first part of the novel. Interestingly, it also represents the first translation of Quixote in history, according to various sources (Instituto Cervantes; Knowles, 1958). In fact, Cervantes was still alive when it was published. There is, however, no evidence that suggests that the translator had met the author. The text served to introduce an English-language readership to the novel, and while scarce records exist tracing its reception, it likely enjoyed its share of success. Shelton's translation of Part II appeared eight years later in 1620. Although this first English translation is cherished by some, according to several modern theorists, it was far from satisfactory in carrying over the text. The door remained open for other translations to appear, and they soon did.

Near the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, John Phillips, a nephew of poet John Milton, published what modern translator Samuel Putnam (known for his version in contemporary English) considers the "worst" English translation, which was not based on Cervantes' text but instead upon a French work by Filleau de Saint-Martin and notes written Thomas Shelton. Just 13 years later, in 1700, several translations appeared, the most celebrated being that of French-born English author and playwright Pierre Antoine Motteux, which enjoyed lasting popularity and was eventually reprinted as the Modern Library Series edition of the novel. While Motteux's translation has not been free from criticism, it is considered to be the source of several notable linguistic novelties, such as the



proverb 'The proof of the pudding is in the eating' – widely attributed to Cervantes, but actually a mistranslation.<sup>141</sup> In 1742, Irish painter, art collector, and translator Charles Jervas' translation appeared posthumously. It was widely considered the most scholarly and accurate English translation of the novel up to that time. However, due to a printing error in the translators' name, it came to be known as "The Jarvis translation," a title that has stuck to this day. This as well as another 18<sup>th</sup>-century translation by Tobias Smollett continue to be reprinted. More translations appeared in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, including that of John Ormsby (1885), the version which has been cited as the model for several modern translations. In 1922, an expurgated children's version appeared, *The Story of Don Quixote*, which omits the more risqué sections and chapters that might be considered dull by young readers and embellishes upon the original text.

Of the many English-language translations that appeared in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, the most widely read are those of Samuel Putnam (1949), J. M. Cohen (1950, for the Penguin Classics edition), and Walter Starkie (1957), all of which appeared within the same decade and were published by different publishing houses. Meanwhile, five new translations of the novel into English have already appeared in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, including that of Edith Grossman, considered to be one of the most important contemporary translators of Latin American and Spanish literature. Grossman is also the recipient of

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<sup>141</sup> In Smolletts' 1755 translation, he notes that the original text literally reads "you will see when the eggs are fried," meaning "time will tell."

the PEN/Ralph Manheim Medal for translation and is best known for her highly praised translations of several Nobel laureates. Grossman's translation of Cervantes' novel was praised by *The New York Times* as a "major literary achievement" (in Fuentes, 2003), and another review called it the "most transparent and least impeded among more than a dozen English translations going back to the 17th century" (Eder, 2003). While Grossman's translation remains to this day the most praised contemporary version, several others have also appeared, including a translation by Tom Lathrop published in 2005, the year of the novel's 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary, as well as former university librarian James H. Montgomery's 26-year-in-the-making attempt to "recreate the sense of the original as closely as possible, though not at the expense of Cervantes' literary style" (in McGrath, 2006). Overall, these are just a few noteworthy of the approximately 25 (and counting) translations that have been made of Cervantes' masterpiece throughout history, each with its own unique history and style.<sup>142</sup>

Bearing in mind the remarkable number of translations of *Don Quijote* throughout history, it should come as little surprise that the work has also made its way to the silver screen on nearly countless occasions. In fact, according to my research, there have been 49 adaptations of the novel throughout history, nearly half of which can be found on the final corpus of this dissertation (p. 24). This

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<sup>142</sup> For a brief but nonetheless interesting online glimpse at 19 of these translations organized along a timeline, see Alvarez & Joque (2012) "*Don Quijote* in History: A chronology," sponsored by the University of Michigan.

means that *Don Quijote* represents both the most-adapted Spanish literary work in film history and the most prevalent adaptation of a Spanish literary work in the United States. All of these adaptations are listed in Appendix 10, as well as their availability in the United States and information regarding the combination in which they can be found in this analysis, when relevant. Here, it is also important to mention Rafael de España's 2004 publication *De la Mancha a la pantalla. Aventuras cinematográficas del ingenioso hidalgo*, which serves to provide a more detailed analysis of many of the films found in Appendix 10.

It is important to note that, as with the overall corpus itself, while this table does provide the most thorough compilation of all films based on the novel to date, it is probably not exhaustive for several reasons. First, films or television series that were likely to be based on the novel (often very obviously so) but that did not directly credit Cervantes were not included. This is, of course, following the previously mentioned criteria for the identification of a film adaptation (i.e., for the sake of this dissertation, adaptations are only works that are identified as such). Second, as a brief search on IMDb will clearly demonstrate, there have been countless minor adaptations of *Don Quijote* throughout history in the form of single episodes within a television series for which scarce information is available. While I did my best to include any episode or series that was clearly identified as an adaptation of the novel, some likely slipped past, particularly episodes and films from the most peripheral film systems. This topic could, therefore, provide a good

foundation for future research, as it may very well be worthy of another dissertation in itself. Nevertheless, the relatively accurate list found in Appendix 10 does provide interesting overall information with regards to the many adaptations of this monumental literary work throughout history.

Upon examination of the list, what is perhaps most interesting to note is the sheer presence of Don Quixote in film throughout history. In fact, the very first adaptation of *Don Quijote* takes us back to quite nearly the origin of filmmaking itself: Ferdinand Zecca and Lucien Nonguet's six-minute-long short *Adventures of the Ingenious Hidalgo Don Quijote*, released in France in 1903 and the United States a year later.<sup>143</sup> This whimsical silent film represents the first adaptation of *Don Quijote* in history. Interestingly, the novel was not adapted within the Spanish film system until three years later in 1907 by early film director Narciso Cuyás in a version that did not manage to reach the United States, likely because of Spain's more peripheral nature within the developing world film system. In fact, all of the early film adaptations of Quixote found on the final corpus form part of either Combination 2 (English-language film adaptations of Spanish literary works) or Combination 4 (film adaptations of Spanish literary works that reached the United States through an intermediary film system). On the other hand, the very last recorded adaptation on this list appeared in 2018, just as this corpus was being compiled, although it is very likely that more adaptations have

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<sup>143</sup> The listing for the film can be found in Combination 4 (Section 4.4).

already occurred between this year and the presentation of this dissertation.

Hardly a decade has passed in history without a minimum of one film adaptation of Cervantes' novel. In fact, this is a very interesting revelation from this list: there have been film adaptations of *Don Quijote* at an overall rate of approximately one every 2.3 years throughout film history. However, a very visible exception to this fairly steady production rate can be found during one particular period: between the years 1934 and 1947. This represents, of course, a very significant period in Spanish history, as it marked the years leading up to the Spanish Civil War, the war itself, and the beginning of Franco's dictatorship. Meanwhile, in the rest of the world, the majority of formerly active national film systems (the U.S., Germany, France, Italy) also found themselves preparing for war, and it comes as little surprise that we find no film adaptations of *Don Quijote* during this period. While the cinema represented the most popular form of entertainment during World War II, it was used not only to entertain and lift spirits but also to motivate and inform its audiences, thus making film an important means of distributing propaganda. Therefore, governments used film as a means of influencing the public to support the war effort in their everyday lives and to justify their efforts and sacrifices. The films that premiered often featured information on the country's war efforts or overall progress of the war itself, as well as messages regarding how to cope with loss or to be alert for the presence of

enemy spies.<sup>144</sup> It can be hypothesized that there was, therefore, little room for the adventures of *Don Quijote* – adventures marked by a madman’s futile efforts to challenge the existing social system and often colored by the silly use of gallant violence in situations where it is not necessary. This was clearly not a theme that audiences needed during the war.

Meanwhile, while the Spanish State under Franco espoused neutrality as its official policy during the war, the conflict surrounded, and a certain degree of involvement was inevitable. In 1941, for instance, Franco approved of the recruitment of volunteers to go to Germany under the condition that they only fight against the Soviet Union and not the Western Allies. Three years later, American pressure for Spain to stop tungsten exports to Germany eventually led to an oil embargo. Later, Spain was not allowed to join the newly created United Nations after the war because of its support for the Axis. In fact, the country would go on to be isolated by many other western nations until the mid-1950s. Overall, while this is a brief and arguably primitive historical analysis, all of this serves to provide a basic possible socio-historical explanation for the notable lack of presence of *Don Quijote* in world film at the time.

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<sup>144</sup> For more on this topic, see McClure (1972), Kracauer & Levin (1987), Koppes (2000), and Glancy (2010), among others.

There is, of course, one exception to the lack of film adaptations of Spain's most famous novel throughout history: Rafael Gil's 1948 *Don Quijote de la Mancha*. This ambitious undertaking represented Spain's first attempt at a feature-length sound film adaptation of the novel. In fact, until that time, the country had only offered Narciso Cuyás' 1908 short silent retelling. There is therefore much that makes Gil's adaptation special and why it is worthy of special attention in this combination, beginning with the events surrounding the film's creation.

In 1946, Spain celebrated the 330<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the death of Miguel de Cervantes. A major exposition was inaugurated on April 23<sup>rd</sup> at the National Library, organized by the Secretary of Education. A year later, in 1948, the fourth century of the author's birth (i.e., baptism, by records) was celebrated, for which another exposition was inaugurated. It is within this context that the creation of *Don Quijote de la Mancha* took place. The project was undertaken by CIFESA, Spain's most influential production company from the 1930s-1980s.<sup>145</sup> The significance of the project was not underestimated, as evidenced by the words of Vicente Casanova, the company's executive director at the time:

The making of *Quijote* represents the culmination of our aspirations, since we have always been driven by a desire to

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<sup>145</sup> For a more detailed history of Rafael Gil's work with CIEFSA, see Castro de Paz (2007).

improve the cinema produced by Cifesa Productions, with its natural repercussion on the improvement of Spanish cinema. I believe this desire to improve is crowned by the accomplishment of *Don Quixote de la Mancha*, a landmark work of Spanish literature, which I aspire to be the peak of our cinematography. (Latino, 1947, no page number; author's own translation).

Rafael Gil, a remarkably prolific and quite celebrated Spanish director during the Franco era,<sup>146</sup> was selected as screenwriter and director. Some of Gil's other films would go on to be nominated many times for both the Venice and Berlin Films Festivals, and *La guerra de Dios* [1953] did eventually win the Bronze Lion at the Venice Film Festival and earned Best Director at the San Sebastián International Film Festival. Gil was, in many ways, Spain's cinematic poster child during the Franco regime: a truly prolific artist with an impressive curriculum of films that often managed to impress, but never offend. While Gil's work was continuously awarded a stream of praise from the National Syndicate of Spectacle of Spain (a total of nine prizes throughout his career), he was not nearly as internationally known as some of the other Spanish directors featured in this dissertation. There may be several reasons

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<sup>146</sup> See Section 3.1a. iv. for information on all film adaptations of Spanish literary works made by this director.



for this. First, unlike other more internationally-renowned Spanish directors (such as Luis Buñuel), Gil's films tended to play by the rules – no disruption, no biting social critiques. In fact, many of his films feature adaptations of literary works that are marked by their alignment – or, perhaps better said, lack of disagreement – with the Franco regime. This also led to a very nationalistic style of filmmaking that likely increased the director's popularity within his film system of origin at the expense of notoriety within the world film system. Second, Gil's obvious support for the dictatorship was not likely met very favorably abroad. In fact, his later works, which were often created in collaboration with Pro-Franco screenwriter and novelist Fernando Vizcaíno Casas, looked back nostalgically to the years of Franco's rule. This likely played a role in detracting from the director's credibility outside of Spain – for while the great filmmakers throughout history have shown support for a wide variety of political systems, those whose films do little to disrupt the social and artistic status quo often end up in the footnotes. It thus comes as no surprise that despite Gil's success in his Spanish film system of origin, he was up against some tough competition in the form of previous adaptations, most notably G.W. Pabst's highly praised 1933 multiple language remaking of *Don Quijote*, against which Gil's work would later inevitably be compared.

The screenplay for the film was written by Gil himself from a literary summary of the novel written by journalist and screenwriter Antonio Abad Ojuel. It obtained the approval of the Royal Spanish Academy by D. Armando Cotarelo at the end of April 1947. It was

declared “of national interest.” The film thus received 1,904,628.40 pesetas in financing from the *Sindicato Nacional del Espectáculo*, the Spanish Film Syndicate - approximately 11,500 Euros, the equivalent of approximately 6.5 million Euros today according to inflation calculators. This was, of course, added to funding provided by the production company itself, for which no costs were spared. In fact, this Spanish adaptation may likely have cost more money than any previous film adaptation of the literary classic. Gil’s *Don Quijote de la Mancha* represented a tremendous undertaking for Spanish cinema at the time and went on to become the longest film version of the novel to date (two hours and twelve minutes, plus an intermission). Overall, the conditions of the making of the film represented the epicenter of Spanish film and literary system – not only had the screenplay been approved by the Royal Academy of Letters, but the film also had its seal of approval from Franco’s Spain, and was partially financed by it. Rafael Rivelles was cast as the notorious knight errant and would later become known for his role in the film as well as Sanchez-Silva’s 1955 adaptation of *Marcelino pan y vino* and his work in Hollywood making Spanish-language versions of American films. Juan Calvo, who was also later cast in *Marcelino pan y vino* (for which he was awarded Best Supporting Actor by the Spanish Screenwriters Guild), was cast as Quixote’s faithful squire Sancho Panza. A young Fernando Rey was also featured as Sansón Carrasco, as well as popular Spanish actress Sara Montiel as Antonia, Quixote’s niece. The film was entirely shot on location in La Mancha and other neighboring Spanish regions and later set to music composed by Ernesto Halffter, best

known for his forming part of the *Grupo de los Ocho* (Group of Eight), a sub-set of the Generation of '27.

In its over two hours, the film follows the complete adventures of the knight errant and his loyal sidekick chronologically. In fact, Gil's *Don Quijote de la Mancha* not only represented the longest film version of the novel up to that time, but it also is widely cited as the most faithful. The film reverently follows the book both in its dialogue and the order of episodes – unlike Pabst's 1933 version or the later Russian version, which shifts the order of the adventures, as many film versions often do. In addition, characters such as Dorotea, Don Fernando, and Cardenio – who are usually omitted because their subplots have little to do with the main plot of the novel – were kept in this film.

In her 2006 article on the film, María del Mar Mañas Martínez provides a detailed analysis of the cinematic shifts undertaken by this remarkably loyal adaptation. In fact, she cites several interesting reviews realized in the 1947 issue of *Radiocinema* which had been almost entirely dedicated to the film. First, we find evidence of a tremendous reverence for the source text on behalf of the director himself and that of the screenwriters on whose works he based his screenplay. In fact, according to Gil, he did not realize an adaptation, but a “literary synthesis,” thanks to the meticulous summary provided by Antonio Abad Ojuel, who had, in turn, created his summary with “the same care with which one manipulates sacred things” (Vilches, 1947, no page number;

author's own translation). The result is a film with remarkable loyalty to its source text, bar a few variations. These variations, summarized in meticulous detail in del Mar Mañas Martínez's article, first include changes made for cinematographic purposes: shifts in the presentation of the characters, dialogue, and the necessary disappearance (omission) of the meta literature and metaliterary context of the novel. However, they also include changes made for ideological reasons, such as an intensified idealization or glorification of the character of Don Quixote (through the omission of episodes in which he may appear entirely ridiculous), as well as that of his beloved Dulcinea, who is also elevated. All eschatological and vulgar elements are likewise omitted. Thus, in addition to shifts for cinematic purposes, we also find clear sanctification of the source text, its story, and its characters. It is, essentially, a move to dignify Don Quixote as the inevitable image of Spain he had become, while at the same time remaining as loyal as possible to the most "beautiful" elements of the source text.

Finally, it is also important to note the film's omission or modification of certain subversive elements of the novel. We find, for example, the case of the episode featuring the *galeotes*, a group of prisoners condemned to be hung by the crown. Unlike the novel, these prisoners are not given a voice or names in the film – they are less sympathetic, less human. All traces of the moors are similarly erased, as well as Roque Guinart's Catalan bandits (for whom sympathy is demonstrated in the novel). In fact, no social injustice

appears whatsoever in the film. This, of course, is only part of what marked a clear ideological manipulation. The “discourse of arms and letters,” which extends over two chapters in the novel (Chapters 37 and 38), finds itself reduced to a mere summary of “a discourse of arms.” The letters are entirely omitted (an omission that would likely have Cervantes turning in his grave). Bearing these changes in mind, it is interesting to include the words of José Antonio Pérez Bowie regarding the purpose of the film:

The project that the fascist theorists designed for Spanish cinema had, as may be recalled, a twofold nature: on the one hand, to combat the ‘dirty realism’ of the republican period, its vulgarity, its materialism, its run-of-the-mill nature, by proposing the image of a ‘clean,’ idealistic, Christian Spain invested in the construction of a future full of promises; on the other hand, to assume a vague universalism that would lead to proposing Spanishness as a paradigm for the rest of the countries of the world by highlighting certain heroic episodes from national history which offer an idealistic and therefore falsified version. (2004, p. 204; author’s own translation).

Therefore, while Rafael Gil’s *Don Quijote de la Mancha* is still widely cited as being the most loyal to Cervantes’ celebrated novel,

the film still presents a series of important shifts and omissions that very significantly reflect the socio-historical context in which it was made. But did the loyalty to the source text pay off in the reception of the film?

In the film's system of origin, it did. Here, it is important to remember the context in which the film was released. In 1946 – the year filming began to take place – the country was celebrating the 330<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the death of Miguel de Cervantes. Just a year later, the celebration continued in honor of the fourth century of the author's birth took place. As previously mentioned, major expositions were held at the National Library, interviews with the director were featured in countless publications, and nearly an entire issue of *Radiocinema*, the official film journal of the regime, was dedicated to exploring and praising the film.

*Don Quijote de la Mancha* film was released on March 2, 1948, at the Rialto cinema in Madrid, at a big gala celebration sponsored by the national Ministry of Education. It was met with tremendous critical acclaim in Spain. Nearly all of the reviews and statements surrounding the film pointed to the belief that Rafael Gil's *Don Quijote de la Mancha* was the ultimate culmination of Cifesa's aspirations, the consecration of the coming-of-age of Spanish cinema. It was understood to be a symbolic payment of Spain's debt to Cervantes and the most loyal and patriotic of all appropriations of the great text because "only the Spanish can give an accurate and endearing version of Don Quixote" (Alcaraz, 1947, no page

number). This “quixotic” endeavor was even praised by Spanish critics who appreciated Pabst’s former adaptation as a surefire, straightforward path to a solid, respectable adaptation. It may not, as some had anticipated, have been Gil’s strongest artistic work, according to critics, but *Don Quijote de la Mancha* had something even Pabst’s adaptation was missing: unprecedented loyalty to Spain’s most sacred literary work.

This loyalty was not, however, appreciated by U.S. audiences. *Don Quijote de la Mancha* was released a year later in the United States on May 12, 1949. The subtitles were written by Herman G. Weinberg, a film critic and historian best known for his essays on German-born American director Ernst Lubitsch. The Spanish remake of Cervantes’ novel may well have cost more than any previous adaptation of the literary classic and represent the most faithful film adaptation in history, but the 138-minute film “proved too much of a good thing for American filmgoers” (Erickson, 2021, no page number). In fact, according to the same review by Hal Erickson on *AllMovie*, an online film review platform, “it is Calvo's sure-handed comic performance that keeps this elephantine production afloat” (2021). U.S. critics could not help but agree with this modern opinion, as evidenced by a review in *The New York Times* the day after the film’s release, an excerpt that goes a long way towards illustrating the film’s overall reception in the United States:

Though ‘Don Quixote’ already has been filmed several times, it would seem reasonable that the definitive version should come from the land of its origin. The Belmont's new Spanish import, however, is sad and conclusive proof that the real thing has yet to come along. For this time Cervantes’ masterpiece about the demented old ‘knight’ with a passion for chivalry and justice has undergone a lavish but strangely hollow transformation. In fact, Spain’s Hollywood has fashioned that country’s noblest literary heirloom into a cumbersome, tedious pageant which rambles meaninglessly for well over two hours and as entertainment never even gets one foot off the ground. (H.H.T, 1949, p. 29).

The movie was too slow, too tiresome. While no expense had been spared, this ended up working against the film, as the two lead “competent performers can’t make much headway in a picture that is as crowded and raucous as Times Square on a Saturday night” (H.H.T, 1949, p. 29).

As can be imagined by this cold reception, the film has not enjoyed a lasting presence or viewership in the United States – or even in the world film system, for that matter. While its 7.0 popular rating on IMDb does speak well of the inherent value of the film, this comes from only a total of 143 ratings. Pabst’s 1933 version has double this number; Terry Gillman’s recent 2018 Hollywood retelling has over 16,000 ratings (with a total of 6.4 overall). Even *Donkey Xote*, the 2007 animated parody for children, has been



reviewed by more viewers (2,034 at the time of writing this). Gil's fiercely loyal adaptation has not, therefore, been the most significant lens through which American viewers have seen *Quixote*, as much as the regime likely aspired it to be so. Don Quixote may be the world's icon of Spanishness, but it is a Spanishness that has been refracted and created through countless other national lenses, many of which have had a more lasting influence in the United States.

This is what makes this film such an interesting case to illustrate this particular combination of films based on works of Spanish literature that have been made within the Spanish language film system and later imported to the United States. While the 35 films in this category represent a wide array of themes and talent and were often celebrated within their film system of origin, none of them enjoyed remarkable or lasting success in the United States. And while many of the films listed represent an adaptation of a canonical literary work, such as *Don Quijote*, none of them represent the most acclaimed, celebrated, or appreciated adapted version of that work in the United States. This appears to be an honor historically reserved for films from other, less peripheral systems, highly canonized Spanish directors, or the central U.S. film system itself, as will be seen in later case studies. It is, however, very interesting to note the remarkable prevalence of film adaptations of Miguel de Cervantes' world-renowned masterpiece throughout history, a prevalence that originated quite nearly with the origin of film itself and continues to this day. Thus, to trace *Quixote* in film throughout

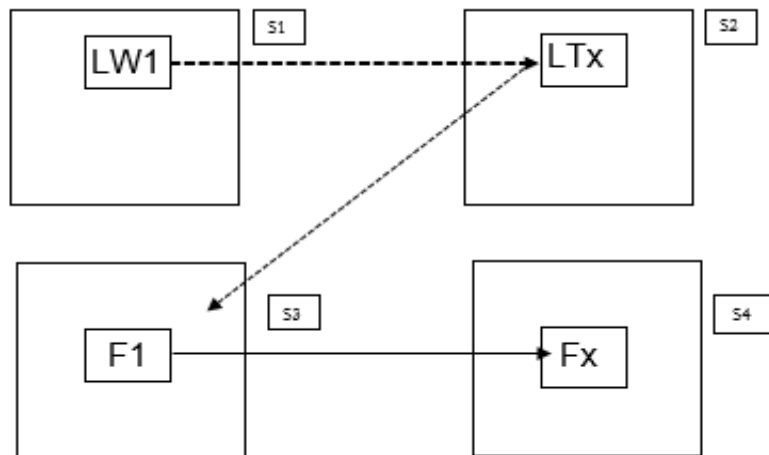
history is very nearly to provide a history of the world film system itself and the sociological conditions of the subsystems involved in its creation. Meanwhile, while Rafael Gil's 1948 epic regime-backed adaptation was met with open arms in Spain, this reverent, faithful film represents one of many that trot behind the legendary knight errant like loyal squires but have very nearly become lost in La Mancha of world film.

## 4.2 Combination 2

In this second case study, we again find ourselves with a case in which the literary translation (LW1 to LTx) occurs before a film adaptation. However, in this case, an intersemiotic transfer occurs between the *translated* literary work and the first film adaptation (F1), therefore producing a film adaptation in the same language as the literary translation, as illustrated in the following figure:

**Figure 8**

*Combination 2: Literary translation before English language film adaptation*



*Note.* In this combination, the first stage of the transfer process involves a literary translation. Then, this translation is used to create a film adaptation in the same language. This film adaptation may or may not be later translated (dubbed, subtitled) into the language of the source literary text.

In this category, film adaptations of Spanish literary works that were made in English can be found. In most cases, the directors of these films formed part of the U.S. film system. However, in several cases, we can also find directors from other countries within the U.K. or European film system, and several instances of English-language films made within the Spanish film system itself. Overall, a total of 29 films that demonstrate this combination can be found, representing a total of approximately 21% of the works on the final corpus. These films as well as relevant information surrounding their reception can be found in Appendix 11.

There is much that can be observed regarding the phenomenon of English-language film adaptations of Spanish literary works that can be illustrated in the films found in this particular category. First, it is interesting to note a clear trend in the release dates of the films demonstrating this combination. A distinctly visible concentration of these adaptations occurred between the years 1918-1935. This parallels a very interesting period in U.S. film history, a time in which foreign films went from predominantly dominating American screens to finding the U.S. film market “as good as closed” to foreign work (Blackwell, in Segrave, 2004).

Nevertheless, this did not halt *American* adaptations of foreign works (always, of course, featuring American actors). Nor, it is important to note, did it stop the act of “poaching” and importing foreign talent to the U.S. film system (Segrave, 2004, p. 40). Thanks

to the growing wealth of U.S. film producers at the time, the ability to purchase foreign talent not only became an increasingly popular option but a trend. By 1927, nearly 85% of the world's film output came from the United States, "with the majority of the principals of alien birth," many of whom had been living and working in Hollywood for years (Segrave, 2004, p. 35). Overall, this phenomenon is most clearly visible in the fact that there is a total of 14 foreign-born directors on this list whose films fall into this category (approximately 47% of the directors represented). Six of these directors ended up permanently installing in the United States – living, working, and eventually passing away in Los Angeles. These six include Australian-born director and actor Elsie Jane Wilson, Irish-born director Herbert Brenon, French-born director George Fitzmaurice, British-born director Charley Rogers, Russian-born director Rouben Mamoulian, and Canadian-born director Arthur Hiller (in order of their appearance on this list). The remaining eight foreign-born directors returned to working in their countries of origin – as evidenced by the case of world-renown Austrian director Georg Wilhelm Pabst<sup>147</sup> - or pursued creative endeavors in other countries. Overall, this remarkable phenomenon demonstrates the openness of the American film industry to the importation of foreign talent at the time, something that will also be evident in the following case study.

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<sup>147</sup> Georg Wilhelm Pabst was one of the most influential German-language filmmakers during the Weimar Republic. Pabst traveled to the United States in 1910 where he worked as an actor and director at the German Theater in New York City and later in Hollywood and Paris before eventually returning to Europe (in Langham, 2000).

Bearing in mind the work that was previously explored in the Theoretical Framework of this dissertation, one possible explanation for this can be drawn from Even-Zohar's research on young (developing) literary systems.<sup>148</sup> Even-Zohar detected the tendency for these developing systems to borrow from other more established literary systems to build upon their repertoire. A similar phenomenon likely occurs in film systems. For instance, during the early development of U.S. film (and, arguably, many other developing national systems that continue to exist to this date), the burgeoning construction of a national repertoire led to the importation of foreign films. Later, as the U.S. film system began establishing itself, it continued to borrow upon foreign talent in its expansion. When the system eventually reached its massive central position within the world film system, however, it relied increasingly less on foreign importation, leading to the current remarkably exclusive system.<sup>149</sup> This is, of course, just a hypothesis drawn from the research done in the preliminary analysis of this corpus and observations of this small sample of English language film adaptations of Spanish literary works. However, it would be interesting for future studies to explore this hypothesis in further detail concerning a wider object of study.

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<sup>148</sup> See Section 1.3 for details.

<sup>149</sup> Recall, for instance, that it was estimated that less than 1% of films shown in the United States come from other countries as of the year 2005 (Marvasti & Canterbury, 2005).

It is also interesting to note the presence of three Spanish directors in this category. First, we find Catalan theater director and actor Núria Espert, who worked with British director Stuart Burge on a 1991 made-for-TV adaptation of *The House of Bernarda Alba* that was released in both the U.K. and the United States, for which she later won the London Evening Standard Theatre Award for Best Director. The film, however, was restricted to the television in its distribution, and limited information is available on its production and viewership. Second, we find the very interesting case of Xavier Gens' 2017 fantasy action film *Cold Skin*, based on Albert Sánchez Piñol's novel of the same name, a co-production between France and Spain that was filmed entirely in English. Similarly, we also have a third case of Fernando León de Aranoa's 2015 critically acclaimed war drama *A Perfect Day*, based on the novel *Dejarse llover* by Paula Fariás. These two films represent very interesting examples of a film adaptation of a Spanish literary made in English within the Spanish film system – a growing phenomenon that deserves mention.

In fact, according to one online account, there have been well over 40 films made by Spanish directors in the English language throughout history.<sup>150</sup> The majority of these films are not recognized as film adaptations. Here, we find the work of Spanish directors who have come to form a part of the U.S. film system (Hollywood), such as Juan Antonio Bayona – best known for his

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<sup>150</sup> For a basic list, please see *Decine21* (2020), “Las 40 mejores películas españolas rodadas en inglés.”

work on the 2018 film *Jurassic World: Fallen Kingdom*, widely cited as the highest-earning film by a Spanish director in history – as well as Isabel Coixet, the most prolific Spanish director of English-language films with a remarkable total of six films on the list. However, some of these films have indeed been adaptations of literary works: American literary works. There are, in fact, six cases of English-language films by a Spanish director based on English-language (American or British) novels, including *Two Much* (Fernando Trueba 1995; based on the novel of the same name by American author Donald E. Westlake); *A Monster Calls* (Juan Antonio Bayona, 2016; based on the novel of the same name by British-American author and journalist Patrick Ness); *My Life Without Me* (Isabel Coixet, 2003; based on the short story collection of the same name by American author Nanci Kincaid); *El segundo nombre* (Paco Plaza, 2002; based on the novel *Pact of the Fathers* by British author Ramsy Campbell); *Ways to Live Forever* (Gustavo Ron, 2010; based on British author Sally Nicholls' novel of the same name); and *Perdita Durango* (Álex de la Iglesia, 1997; based on the novel of the same name by U.S. author Barry Gifford). It is therefore interesting to note that film adaptations of English-language novels do indeed have a place in the Spanish film system, although the focus of this dissertation is primarily placed on this phenomenon in reverse. Similarly, it is also important to note the presence of English-language film adaptations made by a Spanish director based on a novel from another Spanish-language literary system, such as the case of Álex de la Iglesia's 2008 film *The Oxford Murders*, based on Argentine author Guillermo Martínez'



novel *Crímenes imperceptibles*. While also not the focus of this dissertation, this does represent another noteworthy means by which Spanish language literature crosses borders through film adaptations. Finally, we also have the case of English-language film adaptations made by a Spanish film director that have not, in the end, been imported into the United States, such as Pilar Miró's 1991 film *Beltenebros*, based on Antonio Muñoz Molina's novel of the same name, and Jaume Balagueró's 2017 film *Musas*, based on José Carlos Somoza's horror novel *La dama número trece*. Therefore, *Cold Skin* and *A Perfect Day* are the only English-language film adaptations by Spanish directors that qualify for the final corpus. It is important to note that these two films could represent an additional combination and case study. However, for the purpose of this thesis, they will not be explored in further detail but do provide very interesting cases of future research.

Next, it is important to examine the selection of the authors and literary works found in this combination. First of all, it is interesting to briefly remark upon the genres represented in this category. Out of 29 films total, 24 are based on novels (83%), four are based on plays (14%), and one is based on a work of poetry (3%). This means that there is a higher prevalence of novels in this category in comparison with the overall corpus (in which novels represent approximately 70% of the adaptations and plays represent approximately 17%). While this difference is perhaps too slight to draw any definitive conclusions, it does indicate that English-language film adaptations of Spanish literary works have been more

predominately made from novels throughout history, a practice common to film adaptation in general. This may point to an overall preference for this genre both with regards to the publishing industry (i.e., what gets translated) and the film industry (i.e., what sparks enough interest to inspire an adaptation). Bearing in mind the fact that the lack of creative limitations inherent to the novel genre allows for the possibility of more imagination and excitement on the screen, it comes as little surprise that novels form such a significant part of this category, particularly in the case of silent films that are closely tied to Hollywood. In fact, as Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, the author of the work that will be later explored in detail in this case study, stated:

Cinematography is not non-verbal theater, as many believe. It is in fact a novel expressed through images and short sentences. Theater has conventions of place and time, imposed by the brief limits of a stage, from which it cannot be ridden. Instead, the action of a novel recognizes no limits. It is infinite, like that of a cinematographer. (*El paraíso de las mujeres*, 1922)

Bearing this in mind, it may come as no surprise that this category – characterized by its prevalence of Hollywood adaptations – demonstrates a minor preference for the novel, as this literary genre most easily adapted to the narrative-centered Hollywood style

known for its innovative visual techniques (Bordwell, Staiger & Thompson, 1985).

As a reminder, there are a total of 29 film adaptations in this category. However, only ten Spanish authors and 17 total literary works are represented. The most represented author is – by far – Miquel de Cervantes, a phenomenon that will briefly be remarked upon within the context of this combination but will be explored in further detail in Case Study 1 (Section 4.1). This is, perhaps, unsurprising, especially because literary works by Cervantes represent an approximate total of 20% percent of the entire final corpus of this analysis. What is remarkable, however, is the fact that Cervantes's novel adaptations comprise 41% of this particular category, which means that nearly half of all English-language film adaptations of Spanish literary works made between the years 1898 and 2018 are based on Cervantes novels. Unsurprisingly, the majority of these (10 out of 12) are adaptations of *El ingenioso caballero Don Quijote de la Mancha* (*Don Quijote*). Cervantes' prolific presence in this category demonstrates the centrality of his work both within the Spanish film system and outside of it, in the latter case with adaptations ranging from Edward Dillon's black-and-white silent 1915 film to Robert Butler's old western retelling *Schandous John* (1971) to Keith Fulton and Louis Pepe's celebrated account of Terry Gilliam's failed making of a film adaptation of *Don Quijote* to Gilliam's recent (finally complete) imaginative modern retelling itself, *The Man Who Killed Don Quixote* (2018). Overall, the presence of Don Quixote in film adaptations of Spanish

literature is quite remarkable. While it will indeed be explored in further detail later in this analysis, it is likely worthy of a dissertation in itself. Nevertheless, for the sake of this case study, it is the next most prevalent author on this list that results of interest.

Following Cervantes, the next most prevalent author on this list is Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, who has had a total of eight English-language film adaptations made from his novels. This represents a significant portion of this category bearing in mind that, apart from Cervantes, the other authors found on this list each only have a single film adaptation of their work. What makes it even more remarkable, however, is the fact that only nine film adaptations based on the work of Vicente Blasco Ibáñez can be found on the entire corpus of this dissertation – and eight of these are found in this particular category. Therefore, out of all the film adaptations made from the works of this author throughout history, all but one of them was made in English. In fact, all but one of them were made in Hollywood. This makes Blasco Ibáñez the adapted Spanish author with the most American box office releases. For reference, in comparison, of the 12 total English-language adaptations of Cervantes' works, there have only been two verifiable traditional U.S. box office releases (Edward Dillon's 1915 adaptation and Robert Butler's 1971 Western remake). The rest were either released in different countries and later distributed in the United States (such as Harley Knoles' 1922 film *The Bohemian Girl*), only released on television (i.e. Peter Yates's 2000 adaptation of *Don Quijote*), present in the film festival circuit but with limited box

office presence (such as Terry Gilliam's 2018 film *The Man Who Killed Don Quixote*) or with an unverifiable but limited release (such as Ub Iwerks' 1933 animated short, for which the director still occasionally remains uncredited). Therefore, few even featured a U.S. box office release. Consequently, this likely means that Vicente Blasco Ibáñez is the Spanish author with the highest-grossing film adaptations in the United States throughout history (a phenomenon which will be expanded upon later in this section). Overall, there is no question that the works of Vicente Blasco Ibáñez have left a singular and lasting impression on American cinema. The impact and reception of his work will now be examined in further detail in the following case study: that of Rex Ingram's 1921 film *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* adapted from Ibáñez' novel of the same name, *Los cuatro jinetes del Apocalipsis*.

a) Case Study 2: *The Four Horseman of the Apocalypse*  
(Rex Ingram, 1921)

Vicente Blasco Ibáñez was a journalist, politician, and novelist whose most widespread and lasting name to fame and critical acclaim appeared in the English-speaking world thanks to the Hollywood adaptations of his works. As a writer, Blasco Ibáñez' work is chronologically coetaneous with the Generation of 1898 (Generación del '98), characterized by its prolific group of modernist novelists, poets, essayists, and thinkers active during and following the Spanish-American War who are often esteemed for

their role in the cultural and aesthetic renewal of Spanish literature. However, the author is not commonly directly associated with the generation.<sup>151</sup> Overall, Vicente Blasco Ibáñez was a tremendously prolific writer – a “literary machine,” as Manuel Vicent calls him in his biographical portrait of several journalists *Los últimos mohicanos* (2016). Among his many novels, it is interesting to note the markedly melodramatic and sensationalistic *Sangre y arena* (1908) within the context of this case study. First translated in 1913, this soon became his most internationally successful novel even before its 1921 film adaptation. However, this success is not without its explanation: “It’s all brass bands and tambourines in the novel, so it’s no surprise that Hollywood loves it” he stated (in Reig, 2000; author’s own translation).

*Los cuatro jinetes del Apocalipsis* was published in 1916, during a period in which Blasco Ibáñez published some of his most popular novels surrounding World War I, including *Mare Nostrum* (1916) and *Enemigos de la mujer* (1918). The novel follows the intertwining tales of French and German sons-in-law of an Argentinian landowner who find themselves fighting on opposite sides in the war. The title and the Biblical allegory of the four horsemen of the apocalypse are used to metaphorically explore the theme of war. In addition, themes of duty, honor, betrayal, and growth are also explored, with a particular focus on the trajectory of Julio, the French son-in-law who transforms from spoiled

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<sup>151</sup> See Fuster (2017) for a more in-depth analysis of the author’s exclusion from the generation, as well as Entralgo (1947) for an overall survey of the period.

inheritor and reluctant soldier to a man of honor and integrity unwilling to give up the fight. Blasco Ibáñez's strong anti-German sympathies and ties with the allied powers are made clear throughout the novel, which was written as the war itself surrounded him. In fact, the Spanish author wrote the novel under rather challenging conditions: at the time, he was living in Paris "as the Germans were just a few dozen kilometers from the capital" (in Blasco Ibáñez, 1916).

*Los cuatro jinetes del Apocalipsis* did not experience any noteworthy commercial success in Spain at the time of its publication and did not garner any significant literary attention in its literary system of origin. In fact, hardly any of the works of Blasco Ibáñez received noteworthy critical acclaim in the author's literary system of origin, where his work was sometimes even met with disdain from fellow writers. In the early 1900s, pamphlets and books circulated ridiculing the author and his works, including titles "El novelista que vendió a su patria" ["The novelist who sold his homeland"] (in Carretero, 1924). Later criticism, while friendlier, often expressed a similar opinion: Blasco Ibáñez was a good novelist, but a poor literary writer. "On many occasions, Blasco Ibáñez was considered to be a popular novelist for the masses or, at the very least, for the average reader... Perhaps his very literary neglect is what has led him to be preferred by such large masses of readers," stated J.M. Castro Calvo in *Historia de la literatura Española* (1965, pp. 215-216; author's own translation). Similarly, shortly before this in an earlier volume of *Historia de la literatura*

*española*, professor, historian, and literary critic Ángel del Río shared a similar opinion of Blasco Ibáñez' work, calling the other a "great creative power [but] with no psychological fineness" (1963, p. 218).

According to Paul Smith in his review "Cien años de crítica en torno a Blasco Ibáñez" (1999), there may be several reasons behind such vehement early criticism and the later critical reluctance towards the author in his country of origin: the hostility provoked by the author's extreme anti-cleric, anti-monarchy, and Republican opinions; envy of his tremendous commercial success and acclaim outside of Spain; academic reluctance to praise an author who had become so popular among the "common masses"; reluctance to take his work as a writer seriously considering all of his other professional and personal pursuits; a tendency to undervalue his work because of his Valencian origins; and a general habit of judging the prolific author by his worst – and not his best – works. All of these explanations provide plausible reasons for the author's lack of success within his literary system of origin. However, the fascinating paradox surrounding Blasco Ibáñez's critical acclaim in Spain is the fact that it so remarkably contrasts his tremendous acclaim in the United States, as we will see later in more detail. According to Emilio Sales Dasi, author of a recent detailed exploration of the writer's reception across the Atlantic, *Blasco Ibáñez en Norteamérica* (2019), a possible explanation for the difference in the reception of Blasco Ibáñez' work in his country of



origin versus the United States may be due to an inherent cultural difference in literary perceptions:

Spaniards are great sticklers for style: when they make literary criticisms they differentiate carefully between the man who writes well and the man who tells a story well. Over and over again I found this differentiation in the opinions of Blasco Ibáñez gathered from among Spaniards, literary and otherwise. The attitude of mind and prompting it was best summed up a writer of Madrid, who said: “Vicente Blasco Ibáñez is a good novelist, but a bad writer.” (pp. 59-60)

This opinion echoes throughout Spanish literary criticism of Blasco Ibáñez’s work. Nevertheless, while his works received scarce literary acclaim in Spain at the time in general, it is important to note that *Los cuatro jinetes del Apocalipsis* was eventually posthumously included on the 2001 list of *El Mundo* newspaper’s “100 mejores novelas en castellano del siglo XX,” in addition to *Cañas y barro*, therefore making it one of his most critically acclaimed works in Spain. However, perhaps the most fascinating phenomenon surrounding the reception of the work of Blasco Ibáñez’ is the fact that, while the author was – and often still continues to be – considered a second-rate author (or mere

“novelist”) in Spain, he soon became one of the most widely sold novelists in the United States.

The first of his novels translated into English was W.A. Gillespie’s 1909 translation of *La Catedral*, *The Shadows of the Cathedral*. The profits were meager. This was not, however, the first time his writing appeared in the United States. In fact, a short story from *Cuentos valencianos* (1896) made its first translated appearance in the journal *Transatlantic Tales* (1906, Vol. 32/6), where a review of *Maja desnuda* had also once appeared. Here, it is important to note that these publications occurred because of the work and advocacy of several interested researchers from the Hispanic Society of America. They were therefore limited to a narrow – primarily academic – readership. These same researchers were also in charge of the earliest promotion of the Spanish author in the United States. In 1910, following his successful tour in Argentina, Blasco Ibáñez was contacted by Archer Huntington, the founder of the Hispanic Society of American, querying about the possibility of the author visiting New York to give a series of talks on Spain. While these particular talks never took place, two more translations of his novels were published a year later: Frances Douglas’ 1911 translation of *Sangre y Arena* - translated *The Blood of the Arena* - and *Sonnica*, a translation of *Sonnica la cortesana* (1901) published by the New York publishing house Dutton. However, these works still did not experience any significant critical or popular success at the time.

Following several subsequent years of silence in the United States, Ibáñez sold the translation rights of *Los cuatro jinetes del Apocalipsis* to Charlotte Brewster Jordan in 1917. Jordan worked at the U.S. embassy in Madrid at the time. She was a writer herself, but her name to fame soon undoubtedly became her translations, particularly – and nearly exclusively – those of the novels of Vicente Blasco Ibáñez. Here, it is interesting to note a conflict faced by the Spanish author concerning the Copyright Law of the United States publishing industry. Until the internationalization of intellectual property law at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, international conflicts between writers and publishers were quite common, and the Spanish author was not spared. The United States and the countries of Europe were particularly fraught with legal differences making the exchange of certain cultural products challenging for those with a lack of knowledge on American Copyright Law. Such was the case for Blasco Ibáñez, who sold permanent exploitation right of the novel to the translator for a very low sum.

The translation of *Los cuatro jinetes del Apocalipsis* – *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* – was published in July of 1918. The novel became an immediate editorial phenomenon in the United States. Within just a few days, the novel sold over 100,000 copies. Suddenly, Blasco Ibáñez began receiving fan letters and newspaper reviews at his residence in Nice, as Emilio Gascó Contell describes in his biography *Genio y figura de Blasco Ibáñez* (1967):

One morning he suddenly received a batch of mail much more voluminous than usual: letters, postcards, and newspapers, all with postcards and stamps from the United States...Blasco's first impression was one of mystification and that perhaps one of his friends in the States wanted to play a joke on him. As he continued to wade through the pile, he soon became convinced that all that correspondence was really addressed to him. (pp. 195-196)

The popularity of the novel was in a large part due to the large demand for literary and cinematic works exploring the war both during and after the conflict, particularly in the novel's target system. Hailed as "the greatest novel of the great war" (in Pederson, 2020), *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*, along with its pro-allied sympathies and depiction of the barbarities of the German Kaiser's military forces,<sup>152</sup> helped justify their country's participation in the war in the eyes of the Americans. By 1919, the translated novel had made its way to the top of the *Publisher's Weekly* list of best-selling novels, where it was hailed as "a superbly human story told by a genius" (in Korda, 1992). Overall, the novel eventually underwent over 200 reprints – each with 10,000 copies – and sold a total of over two million copies (Sales Dasi, 2019). At

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<sup>152</sup> It is interesting to note that the author's anti-German sentiments were not confined to this novel alone. In fact, he also expressed his dislike for the Spanish kings of German descent in his early work *La Catedral* (1903).

the time, this meant it was the most sold book in the United States after the Bible. This converted Vicente Blasco Ibáñez into the European author with the most impact in the United States. To this day, the author has been credited for being one of the inventors of the novelistic form known as the “bestseller.” In fact, there was even a very recent article in *El País* dedicated to exploring this topic in honor of the anniversary of Blasco Ibáñez’s arrival in New York (Alberola, 2020), following a similar previous exploration in the same newspaper (Vázquez, 2017).

However, the remarkable success of the novel also led Blasco Ibáñez to a frightening realization: he was not making money off the text. In fact, in a letter received a year (and 47 reprintings) after the translation was published, the vice president of the publishing house admitted that despite the attempts to “make his name as the most important novelist in the United States at the time,” because of a “legal technicality,” Jordan had received a sum of over \$25,000 that should have corresponded to him, in addition to \$1,500 for the translation.<sup>153</sup> Ibáñez was, unsurprisingly, not pleased. In his response that arrived shortly after on the 28<sup>th</sup> of June 1919, he wrote: It so happens that from what I see I’ve written the novel *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* in order for that woman to pocket an enormous quantity of thousands of dollars. But how could you, as a

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<sup>153</sup> According to modern inflation calculators, this is the rough equivalent of over \$350,000 today, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor.

businessman, make such an unfair contract with that woman? (In Ariza González, 2018; author's own translation)

The author's shock and indignation upon learning the difference between the copyright protection laws were imminent. "In Europe, a translator is nothing more than a translator," he explained within the same letter. "They're paid for their translation work by the page and receive nothing more; the job deserves nothing more. To earn such a percentage by copy sold – editors only do this with the authors of the work" (In Ariza González, 2018; author's own translation). So uninformed had the Spanish author been that it only occurred to him to blame his editor. (The editor would, in his defense, later clarify that it had been Blasco Ibañez's own fault for his lack of knowledge of American laws and having ceded the entirety of his rights). Nevertheless, the conflict was eventually settled and the author and translator signed a new agreement for future translations. While this legal agreement may appear anecdotal, the case of *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* provides an excellent illustration of the role of copyright in the transatlantic circulation of cultural products. While conflict surrounding copyright is a part of the everyday life of cultural agents in the digital age, the "copyright wars" stretch back three centuries and have played a role in governing – and occasionally even limiting – the circulation of cultural goods.<sup>154</sup> Meanwhile, in the case of Blasco Ibañez, time and the author's central location with the target U.S. literary system eventually allowed him to

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<sup>154</sup> For more on this subject, see Baldwin (2016).

recover the money lost on the novel – time, and another noteworthy event in the life of *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*: a cinematic adaptation.

Thanks to the remarkable popularity of the novel, it was not long before Blasco Ibáñez made his first journey to the other side of the Atlantic. He departed on October 18, 1919, aboard the *Lorraine*, from Le Havre. The reason for the voyage was clear: Metro Pictures Corporation<sup>155</sup> had offered the author \$190,000 for the film rights to *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*. In addition, the company also purchased the rights to some of his other novels for \$25,000 each.<sup>156</sup> Meanwhile, he also received an invitation from Columbia University professor Federico Onís, a member of the American Association of Teachers of Spanish, to give a series of academic lectures across the United States under the sponsorship of the Pond Lecture Bureau (Sales Dasi, 2019).

The author's arrival was highly anticipated. Waiting for him was a large group of journalists and a series of interviews later published in both *The New York Times* and *The Sun*. In fact, the day before his arrival, *The Sun* even published one of his previous interviews,

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<sup>155</sup> After a series of acquisitions, the company was eventually renamed Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM Studios), a title that remains to this day. The company is still running and continues to be an influential production company (Balio, 1985).

<sup>156</sup> This included *Mare Nostrum*, later adapted to film also under the direction of Rex Ingram, *The Temptress*, directed by Fred Niblo, and *Torrent*, directed by Monta Bell, all released in 1926. *Blood and Sand*, on the other hand, was produced by Paramount Pictures, while *Enemies of Women* was produced by the more small-scale Cosmopolitan Productions.

which had taken place in Paris, in which he highlighted his exploits as a man who had been persecuted for his defense of freedom (a topic that easily aroused American sympathy). Interestingly, “Míster Ibáñez” fit in very well with American ideology. He admired republics and detested monarchies. He had defended Cuba’s right to independence from Spain, which had also been backed by the United States. Thanks to his total of six personal properties – including houses in Valencia, Madrid, Paris, and several chalets – he was also an advocate for the right to private property, another viewpoint very favored in the country in which his novel had found such success. In addition, *Los enemigos de la mujer*, his most recently published book at the moment, shed a very favorable light on American republicanism and the American president at the time, Woodrow Wilson (Ariza González, 2015). While this may all seem anecdotal, these views and his overall presentation only favored the reception of his work in the United States and planted the seeds for later collaborations.

His visit to the United States was a tremendous success. Accompanied by a translator, he visited a new city every two days. He attended countless conferences, banquets, and receptions in his honor everywhere from universities to churches to military schools. He participated in the “For Actor’s Memorial” campaign organized by film producer Daniel Frohman, kissed an American flag given to him by the Rotary Club, and was applauded by the U.S. press for raising money to erect a monument in honor of Edgar Allan Poe. He signed paying contracts with newspapers (Ariza González,



2019). In February of 1920, his prestige solidified with the reception of an honorary Doctorate from George Washington University. Over 4,000 people attended the ceremony, including fellow award-recipient and to-be President Herbert Hoover. Rector William Miller Collier described Blasco Ibáñez in his speech as one of the most relevant novelists of his time.

Blasco Ibáñez also came to form an influential network in the U.S. film industry during this visit. Fox Film Corporation invited him to visit their studios, where he met with director William Fox and movie star Pearl White. In Los Angeles, Metro Pictures Corporation executives took Blasco Ibáñez on a tour of the Hollywood studios where the filming of *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* was underway. T.R. Ybarra, a *New York Times* reporter, followed the author on his visit and later published an article entitled “Blasco Ibáñez, Movie Fan,” where the author is quoted saying, “I’m going to write for the screen. I am not only going to adapt for movie-picture production novels I have written, but I intend to write for the movies directly” (1921, Sec. 3, pg. 16). Ybarra’s article also describes how the U.S. film industry worked at the time, highlighting the important role of marketing films and how this influenced the reception of Blasco Ibáñez’s cinematic work. In fact, Blasco Ibáñez presented a series of proposals to the production company, ranging from Westerns to an Oriental, Spanish, or French setting. However, these were all turned down. Nevertheless, the executives suggested what they knew would attract an audience: “Why don’t you try something with an American background,

American characters, a plot based on modern American life?” (Corbalán, 1998, p. 326).

And so he did. In 1922, Blasco Ibáñez completed his first novel designed and written expressly for a North American Studio, *El paraíso de las mujeres*. At nearly 285 pages in length, the script significantly exceeded the typical 70-page Hollywood scripts of the time. It was essentially a novel and was later transformed into the author as such. Driven by his motivation for screen exposure and professed admiration for the cinematographic medium, it had taken him less than a month to finish. The text showcased a radical change in the author’s literary technique, clearly favoring an action-filled text with little “filler.” A sort of re-adaptation of *Gulliver’s Travels*, the novel explored a hypothetical country where a women’s revolution had overthrown the leadership of men and the women governed well, but with excessive authority. However, the script was met with controversy not only for its disputed subject matter (women had just been given the right to vote in the United States, but women’s rights were still a controversial subject) but also because of a sexist remark made at one point in an interview with the author. *El paraíso de las mujeres* was never produced. The Metro Corporation claimed that the film techniques at the time were not capable of capturing the giants and pygmies and flying machines found throughout the text. However, its controversial themes also clearly played a part in this decision. Nevertheless, the failure of this interesting venture did not prevent the Hollywood adaptation of several of Blasco Ibáñez’s novels – most of which had

already been purchased. *Blood and Sand* (Fred Niblo, Paramount Pictures, 1922), *Enemies of Women* (Alan Crosland, Cosmopolitan Pictures, 1923), *Mare Nostrum* (Rex Ingram, Metro Studies, 1926), *The Temptress* (Fred Niblo and Mauritz Stiller, Metro Studies, 1926), and *Torrent* (Monta Bell, Metro Studies, 1926) all soon followed the release of Blasco Ibáñez's shining Hollywood debut, *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*.

It is important to note that screenwriter and scenario director June Mathis – one of the first female executives in film history – was a principal agent in the Metro Corporation's decision to take on what became its most impressive project to date. After reading *The Four Horseman of the Apocalypse*, Mathis was determined to adapt the novel to the silver screen, even though other studios had considered it to be an impossible feat. Her motivation was not solely due to the popularity of the novel, but also Mathis' personal belief system: she was a Spiritualist with a strong faith in the Book of Revelation, the New Testament source of the Biblical allegory of the Four Horsemen of the apocalypse. Mathis wrote her adaptation and presented it to the studio, and they were so impressed by it that they even asked for her input in choosing a director and star. She chose up-in-coming Rex Ingram as director and proposed the young actor Rudolph Valentino for the starring role of Julio. Studio executives were uneasy about this proposal considering Valentino's lack of experience at the time, but Mathis insisted. Eventually, Mathis and Ingram worked together to expand the role of Julio to showcase

Valentino's talent.<sup>157</sup> Plus, this talent came at a low price: Valentino signed onto the film for just \$350 per week (less than Wallace Beery earned weekly for his small appearance as a German officer), and the young actor was also in charge of purchasing the majority of his own costumes. Meanwhile, the risky chance taken on the inexperienced lead actor was to be backed by a star-studded cast, "two dozen principal players who in other performances would be rated as stars" (Metro Pictures Corporation, 1921, p. 2).

The popularity of the novel meant that no costs were spared in the production of this spectacular "million dollar production." In fact, Metro Picture Corporation even provided a 16-page illustrated prospectus booklet describing the remarkable making of the film.<sup>158</sup> According to the prospectus, "All records in motion picture-making eclipsed by 'The Four Horsemen of the Apolopyse,' which tops every known work of the camera in cost and number of persons and accessories employed" (2). This was, of course, not an unfounded claim: 125,000 tons of building material, several miles of settings, and an impressive 12,500 actors were involved in its production. A costume factory, armory, and two machine shops were erected on the Metro Studios grounds. Complete field kitchens were required to feed everyone involved. An entire French village was constructed

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<sup>157</sup> This most notably occurs in the film's well-known tango scene, which never occurred in the novel. Here, Ingram sought to showcase Valentino's dancing skills while drawing on the adulterous love story between Julio and Marguerite, one of the themes that most differentiates the film from its novel source. In fact, just the kiss itself at the end of this scene was said to take up 75 feet of film before editing, evidencing the director's clear gravitation towards this theme.

<sup>158</sup> See Metro Pictures Corporation, 1921. "Metro Pictures Corporation offers Vicente Blasco Ibanez' *The Four Horsemen o the Apocalypse*."

and then later destroyed before the camera in one of the war scenes. Fourteen camera operators were employed to shoot the biggest scenes from every possible angle, and several new mechanical devices for special photographic effects were even developed and patented in the making of the film. The entire production took over a year to complete, half of which was dedicated to filming. Overall, more than 500,000 feet of raw film were exposed, which was later edited and cut into approximately 12,000 feet – leading to a visually spectacular 2.5 hours of silent film.

The *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* premiered on March 6, 1921, at the Lyric theater in New York City. The reserved-seat-only premiere broke the house record. Immediately, the film received positive critical acclaim. *Variety* called it “a masterpiece of monography” and claimed that Rex Ingram had earned “a place alongside [D.W.] Griffith...his production is to the picture of today what *The Birth of a Nation* was” (1921, in Balio, 2018). In its April 1921 review, *Picture-Play Magazine* raved “*The Four Horsemen* may have been a spectacular and million-dollar flivver. As it is, it is an artistic triumph” (in Carter, n.p). The film was similarly praised in Robert E. Sherwood’s 1921 *Life* magazine review, where he stated: “*The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* is a living, breathing answer to those who still refuse to take motion pictures seriously. Its production lifts the silent drama to an artistic plane that it has never touched before.” Eight years before the American Academy

Awards were founded,<sup>159</sup> praise like this represented the top critical acclaim a film could aspire to. However, *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* continued to prove its relevance decades after its original success, leading it to be nominated for the American Film Institute's 1998 list of the Top 100 Greatest American Movies. The film figured among 400 other nominees and eventually was not selected. Nevertheless, in 1995, it was selected to form part of the Library of Congress's National Film Register, a register dedicated to the conservation of films deemed worthy of presentation.

Meanwhile, no expenses (or modesty) were spared when it came to marketing the film. On May 29<sup>th</sup>, a four-column-wide quarter-page display advertisement appeared in the *San Bernardino Daily Sun* read:

Produced at a cost of a MILLION DOLLARS, it is the greatest feat ever performed by makes of motion pictures. Translated to the screen from the internationally famous novel that has been read by ten million persons in the United States alone. Interpreted by a case of 50 principals and an ensemble of 12,500. (2019; Volume XLIX, Number 90)

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<sup>159</sup> The first Academy Awards ceremony, presented by the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, took place on May 16, 1929, at a private dinner held at the Hollywood Roosevelt Hotel in Los Angeles.

Thus, it comes as no surprise that the film's critical success came accompanied by remarkable commercial success. During its initial run, the film earned an impressive \$4,500,000 in the United States alone. It soon became the top-grossing film of 1921,<sup>160</sup> surpassing even Charlie Chaplin's *The Kid*. Overall, it earned a total of \$9,183,673. Adjusting for inflation, this makes *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* the sixth highest-grossing silent film of all time.

The film also marked the breakthrough in the careers of several key figures involved in its making. It transformed June Mathis into one of the most powerful and respected women in Hollywood at the time, second only to Mary Pickford. She became one of the highest-paid Hollywood executives and went on to work with other production companies as well, including Famous Players-Laskey and Goldwyn Pictures.<sup>161</sup> Meanwhile, the role of Julio turned Rudolph Valentino into the face of the film and a star nearly overnight. A July 1922 issue of *Photoplay* magazine featured him on the cover dressed as his character. Valentino and Mathis became known for their collaboration and friendship, and she went on to write many more films for him. The Metro Pictures Corporation lead executives, on the other hand, refused to recognize that they had created a star and immediately cast him in a B-picture. Valentino soon left them for Famous Players-Lasky. His subsequent

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<sup>160</sup> See Variety, 1932. "Biggest Money Pictures: Sound Films Shy Big Silent Sums."

<sup>161</sup> The Metro Pictures Cooperation and Goldwyn Pictures Corporation merged with Louis B. Mayer Pictures in 1924, forming the MGM Studios that still exists today.

roles in *The Eagle* (1925) and *The Son of the Sheik* (1926), and his shocking premature death in 1926 only increased his fame. In fact, director Rex Ingram was reported to resent Valentino's break-out stardom, claiming that it was his work that had made the film such a success. Nevertheless, his directing career similarly benefitted. Following the success of *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*, Ingram became the top director at Metro Studios. He was granted his own production unit through which he could make his films without studio interference. While the remainder of his career as a director was marked by a rapid decline due to personal disputes with colleagues, he did go on to direct several other notable films, including *Mare Nostrum* (1926), the MGM Studios production of Blasco Ibáñez' novel of the same name.

Meanwhile, Blasco Ibáñez continued to enjoy his remarkable success across the Atlantic. He returned to Spain after his year-long U.S. visit, where he enjoyed increased commercial success and mainstream popularity thanks to his success in the United States and the film. However, the author still experienced a marked lack of critical literary acclaim in his country of origin – as well as underlying currents of envy from fellow writers. Ramón del Valle-Inclán defined the author as “policastro” [a carpetbagger], and “a great businessman” (Sales Dasi, 2019). These sentiments echoed throughout the Spanish literary community.

Vicente Blasco Ibáñez returned to the United States in 1923, but the visit was not met with as much attention or enthusiasm. His moment



in the spotlight had passed, but his reputation remained. In fact, Blasco Ibáñez's U.S. film success continued long after the author's death: a remake of *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* came out in 1962. The film was produced by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer and directed by celebrated director Vicente Minnelli and starring Glenn Ford. It represented a looser and more modern adaptation: this film featured World War II instead. However, the 1962 adaptation of the *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* was widely considered both a critical and commercial disaster and is considered to have contributed greatly to the financial problems experienced by MGM studios at the time (Balio, 2018). The studio recorded a commercial loss of \$5,853,000, and the film was consistently unfavorably compared to its famous 1921 predecessor. Many claimed that Ford had been miscast and had been unable to reprise Valentino's famous career-launching role. Minnelli claimed the film received a better review in Europe and the Los Angeles Times wrote that the filmmakers had "pulled it off" (in Minelli & Acre, 1975). Nevertheless, the film was destined to remain in the shadow of Ingram's 1921 box-office hit *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*, much as the author's reputation in Spain will forever remain overshadowed by his remarkable reception in the United States.

Overall, in this second case study, the category of film adaptations that occur after a literary translation was examined. However, unlike the first case, this category is marked by an intersemiotic transfer that occurs between the *translated* literary work and the

first film adaptation, leading to the case of English-language film adaptations of Spanish literary works. Films fitting this criterion make up around 20% of the total corpus of this dissertation. As explored in the preliminary analysis, the majority of the 29 films found in this category were Hollywood films characterized by their early releases (between 1918-1935) and use of foreign – but not Spanish – talent. It is hypothesized that these two traits may go hand-in-hand: as a young (developing) system, the U.S. film system at the time borrowed from foreign talent to build its repertoire.

Regarding the literary works represented by the films, it is interesting to note the slight predominance of novels in comparison with the overall corpus as well as the remarkable prevalence of the work of two authors, in particular, Miquel de Cervantes and Vicente Blasco Ibáñez. However, the fact that works from Miquel de Cervantes represent such a large percentage of this category is not surprising bearing the prevalence of this author's work on the overall corpus in general; what is interesting to note is the remarkable prevalence of the work of Vicente Blasco Ibáñez. Of all the film adaptations made from the works of this author throughout history (nine total), all but one were made in the English language. This makes Vicente Blasco Ibáñez the Spanish author with the most American box office releases in history.

The particular case of the reception of Blasco Ibáñez's work *The Four Horseman of the Apocalypse* in both its literary and film form was then explored in detail. A brief presentation of the author and his literary career was presented to better contextualize the

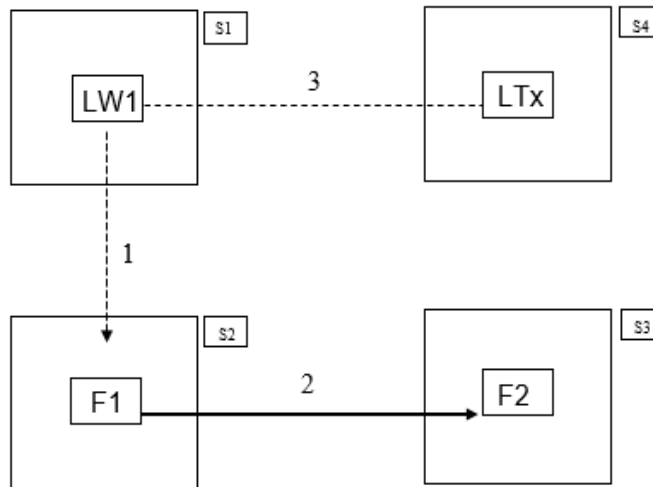
reception of his work, followed by an analysis of the novel, its translation, and its reception in Spain and the United States. A notable difference in the critical success of the author's work in each of these countries was revealed, demonstrating a unique case of an author who found more literary prestige in a foreign literary system than his system of origin. A variety of possible reasons for this were presented, including cultural differences in literary taste and explanations related to the personal reputation of the author himself. Meanwhile, the tremendously commercially and critically successful film adaptation of the novel under study only served to further consecrate the author's prestige in the United States while simultaneously causing him to be viewed with more critical disdain in Spain. The relevance of the case of the Hollywood film adaptation of Vicente Blasco Ibáñez's novel lies in its ability to demonstrate the unique nature of this combination, a combination that is characterized by the presence of a (often popular) English-language Hollywood film adaptation of a Spanish literary work. While his literary merit in his country of origin continues to be debated to this day, there is no denying that Vicente Blasco Ibáñez made an impressive mark on both the U.S. literary and film system, and *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* will forever live in history as the translated bestseller that started it all.

### 4.3 Combination 3

In combination 3, the film adaptation precedes the literary translation. Therefore, the first transfer process that occurs is between Literary Work 1 and Film 1. This process may occur directly – in this case, producing a Spanish-language film – or combined with another linguistic transfer, as we will see in the case of films made in another one of Spain's official languages (Galician, Basque, Catalan, or Occitan). After this transfer occurs, the third process involves the audiovisual translation of the film (F1 to F2) in the form of subtitles or dubbing. After this film is imported – and, in some cases, many years after – the literary work is also translated and imported (LW1 to LTx). This combination is illustrated in the following figure:

## Figure 9

### *Combination 3: Film adaptation before literary translation*



*Note.* Combination 3, in which the film adaptation of a Spanish literary work takes place before its literary translation.

Overall, a total of 27 films can be found in this category, all of which represent film adaptations of works that have preceded their literary translations in their arrival to the United States. The films – as well as their directors, the year in which they were released, and the corresponding literary work on which they were based – can be found in Appendix 12. At first glance, several common trends are visible in this combination. First, and perhaps most obviously, is the number of works that can be found in this category. With a total of 31 films, this combination represents the second most common means by which Spanish literary works are imported into the United States through film. In fact, bearing in mind the total number of

films found on the final corpus, this means that about 28% of the literary works that have been imported to the United States as film adaptations were imported before their literary translations took place.

This may be due to several important and often complementary reasons. First, in this category we find many cases of critically-acclaimed films and widely recognized filmmakers within the Spanish – and, in some cases, world – film system. Names like Mario Camus, Gonzalo Suárez, Pedro Olea, Agustí Villaronga, and Luis Buñuel – the latter of which will be explored in further detail in the following case study – highlight the central nature of the agents found in this category within the Spanish film system. Meanwhile, in many instances, the literary works on which these celebrated directors' films were based are slightly lesser known within both the Spanish and world literary system. This is in large part due to the nature of their publication: with a few exceptions, the majority of these literary works were published within the last 100 years, leaving little time for the work to be translated, circulated, critically recognized, and canonized. Gone are the Quixotes and Don Juans, and in their place, we find a more diverse group of literary works and authors, many of whom are still alive at the time of writing this. This goes a long way towards demonstrating two of the key factors involved in the canonization of literary works: translation and time. The film system, on the other hand, is not quite as established, allowing for the entry of more

modern and lesser-known adaptations – providing, of course, they are well-executed and created by established or promising directors.

This leads to another interesting observation about the films that comprise this combination: the distribution of release dates. The first film found on this corpus, Chano Urueta's 1934 film *El Escándalo*, based on Pedro Antonio de Alarcón's novel of the same name, not only represents a later release date when compared to the films found on other combinations (most notably, Combinations 1 and 2) but – more importantly – stands alone in this category. The rest of the films were released after 1955, which a notable concentration of releases in the 1980s, followed by the 1990s and the first decade of the 2000s. While the difference in the number of releases may be slight, it may be hypothesized that there is a historical significance to this concentration. Bearing in mind the more modern nature of the literary works found in this category, it is safe to assume that many of the films and works that were released or published between 1936 and 1966 were subject to censorship in Francoist Spain.<sup>162</sup> Every book or film published in Spain between these years had to be submitted to a national board of censors for examination, where it was determined whether the text required censorship or should be banned altogether. After 1966, the Press Law – *Ley Fraga* - was introduced, and partially liberalized freedom of speech, although authorities still retained the

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<sup>162</sup> See Faulkner (2013b) for more details on censorship in Franco's Spain as well as a comprehensive history of Spanish film between the years of 1910 and 2010.

power to withdraw any book or film from circulation that they considered unacceptable. While this topic will be explored in further detail later in this section within the specific context of Luis Buñuel's 1961 film *Viridiana*, it is important to bear in mind this censorship when considering the distribution of the releases of these films widely based on contemporary Spanish novels. It also allows for a possible explanation for the slightly higher number of releases in the decades following Franco's death and the fall of the regime.

Next, moving on to characteristics that are perhaps not as easily visible upon simple observation of this list, we find the fascinating topic of language. There are a total of five films based on literary works written from what many researchers refer to as “peripheral nationalisms,<sup>163</sup>” or the nationalist sentiments of certain regions or territorial entities within a sovereign state. In this case, we find works originating in Catalonia, Mallorca, and Basque Country represented in this category. The first – and perhaps most exemplar – example of this is Francesc Betriu's 1982 film adaptation of Mercé Rodoreda's highly celebrated novel tracing everyday life during the Second Republic, Spanish Civil War and post-war, *La plaça del Diamant*. The novel was published in 1962, during a time when an increase in foreign investment by the Spanish government aided the publication of books in Catalan – a total of 270 books were published in the language that year alone, which marked a stark

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<sup>163</sup> See Billiani (2007), *Modes of Censorship and Translation: National Contexts and Diverse Media*.



increase compared with previous years.<sup>164</sup> The novel has been considered by many critics to be the prolific author's most accomplished work and is regarded as one of the most important pieces of contemporary Catalan Literature. That said, unlike many of the other novels found in this category, evidence of canonization of this author and this work in particular is evident: *La plaça del Diamant* (which was translated into English four years after the release of Beltriu's film adaptation) made its way into well-known literary critic Harold Bloom's 1995 book *The Western Canon* as part of the list of canonical books of the "Chaotic Age." This is the best-known and celebrated example of works found within Spain's peripheral nations found on this list, of course, but it is not the only one.

We also find Jaime Chávarri's 1983 adaptation of Majorcan writer and psychiatrist Llorenç Villalonga i Pons' *Bearn o la sala de las muñecas*. Interestingly, the novel was written between 1952 and 1954 in Catalan and was intended to be published in this language. However, Villalonga was bothered by the stylistic corrections imposed by the Barcelona publishing house in charge of its publication, Editorial Selecta, and re-wrote it entirely in Spanish. It was therefore first published in 1956 in Spanish and republished five years later for the first time in the original language in which it had been written (Porcel, 1983). The novel in its Catalan version

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<sup>164</sup> See Cornella-Detrell (2011) in *Literature as a Response to Cultural and Political Repression in Franco's Catalonia* for more details on this and similar cases.

went on to win a Premio de la Crítica in 1963, and a later Serra d'Or survey cited it as the second-best novel in Catalan literature, following Mercè Rodoreda's previously mentioned *La plaça del Diamant*. Finally, we also find the case of Agustí Villaronga's highly celebrated *Pa negre*, winner of Fotogramas de Plata Best Spanish Film award, the Nantes Spanish Film Festival Jules Vern Award, Ariel Award for Best Latin-American Film, and a remarkable 13 Gaudí Awards and nine Goya Awards, among countless others. The film is based on Emili Teixador's novel of the same name, which had also garnered its own praise: the Joan Crexells narrative prize, a Lletra d'Or award, and the Catalan National Award in Literature. Thus, it is interesting to note that the Catalan novels found on this list represent highly celebrated works within their peripheral literary system of origin.

Catalonia is not the only one of Spain's peripheral regions represented in this category, however. The Basque Country is also represented by Montxo Armendáriz's 2005 film *Obaba*, 2005) based on Bernardo Atxaga's Basque National Novel Prize-winning collection of short stories, *Obabakoak* (1988). The subsequent translation of the novel brought the Basque language to the attention of English literary critics, evidenced by a very interesting review written by Maggie Traugott in 1992 in *The Independent*. In it, Traugott wrote that the Basque language "has been 'hiding away like a hedgehog', fortifying itself largely on an oral tradition. Atxaga has

not only awakened the hedgehog, but has brought it into the context of his own wide and idiosyncratic reading of world literature." <sup>165</sup>

The region of Galicia also makes an important appearance in this category in *La lengua de las mariposas*, José Luis Cuerda's award-winning 1999 adaptation of Gallaecian writer, journalist, and poet Manuel Rivas' short story "La lengua de las mariposas," which follows a young Galician boy who joins a new school just the Spanish Civil War begins to break out. Much as in the case of the highly celebrated works of Catalan literature found in this category, it is interesting to again note the presence of contemporary themes of resistance and dissent. This case is also interesting to bear in mind because it supports the aforementioned cases in demonstrating a common thread among the non-Spanish-language works found in this category: here are cases of highly celebrated works within their peripheral nationalities that not only managed to make their way not only into the Spanish literary and film system, but also to reach the United States. Overall, it is important to highlight that all of these works also present a slight variation on this combination, in that they often involve an initial translation to be received in the Spanish film system. Typically, in the case of films, this is done in the form of dubbing, and this dubbing may also be realized simultaneously

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<sup>165</sup> For a more detailed exploration of the collection of short stories and the work of Bernardo Atxaga, see Olaziregi (2005), *Waking the Hedgehog. The Literary Universe of Bernardo Atxaga*.

in English to present the film in an international context, such as a film festival.

Next, it is also interesting to take a look at the genre of the works found in this category. Of the 31 works that demonstrate this combination, there a total of 24 are novels. While the prevalence of this genre is common overall, it is interesting to note that there is a slightly higher percentage of novels in this combination compared to the others (77%). This means that when it comes to film adaptations of Spanish literary works that reach the United States before their corresponding literary adaptations, these films are a slightly more likely to be adapted from novels – and contemporary ones, at that. Plays are the second-most represented genre on this list, with a total of four cases: Pedro Olea's *Un hombre llamado Flor de Otoño* (1978) based on *Flor de Otoño* by José María Rodríguez Méndez (1973); Fernando Colomo's *Bajarse al moro* (1988) based on the play of the same name by José Luis Alonso de Santos (1985); Carlos Saura's *Ay, Carmela!* (1990), based on José Sanchis Sinisterra's play of the same name (1986); and Imanol Uribe's *Bwana*, based on *La mirada del hombre oscuro* by Igacio del Moral. Much as in the case of the novels found in this category, these plays are marked by their remarkably contemporary nature: all of them were written and first performed between 1970 and 1990.

Finally, it is also important to mention another genre that can be found represented by the works in this combination, a genre that is

very nearly exclusive to this category: short stories. In fact, there are two films based on short stories – or collections of short stories – found here: the award-winning *La lengua de las mariposas* (José Luis Cuerda, 1999), based on the short story "La lengua de las mariposas" found in Manuel Rivas' collection *Que me quieres, amor?* (1995); and *Obaba* (Montxo Armendáriz, 2005), based on Bernardo Atxaga's collection of short stories, *Obabakoak* (1988). In addition to their contemporary and unique nature as works of short stories that were later adapted to the silver screen, it is also interesting to note the strong regional ties represented by these works. While Basque-language collection *Obabakoak* explores the mythical Basque village of Obaba, "La lengua de las mariposas" follows a young Galician boy who joins a new school just as the Spanish Civil War begins to break out. It might, therefore, be reflected that the peripheral nature of the genre of short stories is, in a way, a reflection of the peripheral nationalisms represented by these collections, both of which managed to make their way into a more central position in Spanish literature thanks to translation and film adaptation, and then eventually reached the United States through film.

Another observation that deems mentioning is the remarkable diversity of the literary titles represented in this category. Unlike other categories in which multiple adaptations can be found of the same literary work, only one repetition can be found on this list: Elvira Lindo's popular children's novel, *Manolito Gafotas*, which was adapted twice to the silver screen and imported into the United

States before being translated and published in English. Similarly, apart from the unique case of three adaptations based on different works by Benito Pérez Galdós which will be examined in further detail later (all of which were made by Luis Buñuel), a very wide variety of authors are also represented in this category. In fact, apart from these exceptions, every one of the other works on this list is singular not only in this category, but on the final corpus itself (barring a few exceptions). Gone are the long-canonized Quixotes and Don Juans, and in their stead, we find a colorful variety of contemporary tales, many of which, as previously mentioned, provide fascinating lenses into other Spanish identities. Perhaps, as time goes by, additional film adaptations will lend towards the canonization of some of these writers and their more contemporary works. In the meantime, however, it is interesting to note the unique diversity that characterizes the titles found in this category.

The same cannot be said for directors, however. While there are many important and easily recognizable directors from the Spanish film system represented in this category, there are several interesting repetitions to take note of. First, we find Pedro Olea, former winner of the 1993 Goya for Best Adapted Screenplay for *El maestro de esgrima* (1992), whose name can be found twice on this list – once for *El maestro de esgrima*, but also for his earlier adaptation of José María Rodríguez Méndez's play *Flor de Otoño* (1978). We also find the case of celebrated director and screenwriter Agustí Villaronga, whose highly praised 2010 adaptation of *Pa negre* won the 2011 Goya for Best Director and was selected as the

Spanish entry for the Best Foreign Language film at the 84<sup>th</sup> Academy Awards (but did not, eventually, make the shortlist). The second film adaptation directed by Villaronga on this list is his 2000 Catalan-language adaptation of Blai Bonet's *El Mar*, which went on to win the Manfred Salzgeber Award at the Berlin International Film Festival. Both of these films are strongly rooted in the Catalan identity and serve as artistic means of processing some of the many traumas of the Spanish Civil war from this perspective.

Last – but certainly not least – we find the case of Luis Buñuel. A total of three film adaptations by the world-renowned Spanish director can be found in this category: *Nazarín* (1959), *Viridiana* (1961), and *Tristana* (1970), all of which are based on novels by Benito Pérez Galdós. This fascinating director and author will be analyzed in further detail with a particular focus on Buñuel's highly praised 1961 adaptation in the following case study.

#### a) Case Study 3: *Viridiana* (Luis Buñuel, 1961)

In her 2003 article “Artful Relation: Buñuel's Debt to Galdós in *Nazarín* and *Tristana*,” film critic Sally Faulkner examines the commonly overlooked similarity between Buñuel and Galdós in terms of narrative enunciation. She argues that the formally ambiguous nature of Buñuel's films has its roots in the novels of Galdós, and that, in this sense, the director indeed owes a remarkable debt to the Spanish novelist. To better understand this debt and the unique connection between the two represented by the

works in this category, it is first important to take a closer look at the author on whose works these films were based.

Benito Pérez Galdós has been widely regarded as the greatest Spanish novelist since Cervantes. The author's enormously prolific output of works chronicling the history and society of 19<sup>th</sup>-century Spain has earned Galdós comparison with canonic names in world literature such as Honoré de Balzac and Charles Dickens. However, it is within in literary system of origin in which Pérez Galdós has received the most recognition. His first novel, *La Fontana de Oro* – a historical work set between 1820-1823 – was published privately with the financial assistance of his sister-in-law. Critical reaction to the novel was slow in gaining momentum at the time, but *La Fontana de Oro* was eventually recognized for its literary quality, social and moral merit, and praised as the beginning of a new phase in Spanish fiction. After the success of his first novel, Pérez Galdós began a series of novels retelling Spanish history from the 1805 Battle of Trafalgar to the 1874 restoration of the Bourbons. The complete cycle of the resulting 46 novels would later come to be known as the *Episodios Nacionales* (“National Episodes”). Throughout these works, Galdós perfected a unique brand of historical fiction that was rooted in meticulous research using old newspaper articles, memoirs, and recorded eyewitness accounts. The resulting novels are characterized by their realistic, vivid, and historically accurate accounts of events as they must have appeared to those who were experiencing them.



Following this immense project, Pérez Galdós went on to write another long collection of novels dealing with the contemporary Spain of his time in the 1880s and 1890s. Beginning with *Doña Perfecta* (1876) and ending with *El abuelo* (1897), this collection was comprised of a total of 21 novels, known as the *Novelas españolas contemporáneas* (“Contemporary Spanish Novels”). Written at what is now widely considered the height of the author’s peak of literary maturity, the collection includes such well-known and celebrated novels as *La desheredada* (1881) and his four-volume novel and class examination *Fortunata y Jacinta* (1886–87), widely recognized as one of the best examples of European literary realism. This collection is further divided into two cycles: a “material cycle,” characterized by a reforming liberal nature and opposition to Spain’s powerful clergy, and a “spiritual cycle,” characterized by a greater tolerance towards the idiosyncrasies of the country and exploration of religious themes, as evident in his later novels such as *Nazarín* (1895) and *Misericordia* (1897), among others.

In addition to his novels, Pérez Galdós also wrote plays. Here, it is important to mention *El Abuelo*, *El Abuelo* was, in fact, a novel. However, it is based on dialogues, which led the work to be easily reconstructed as a work of theater. The first performance of *El Abuelo* took place at the Teatro Español on Carnival Sunday, February 14, 1904. On the following three days, it was played twice daily to capacity audiences, and thereafter it enjoyed an indefinite run in the Capitol. The play has been performed countless times

since then across the world and has often been considered to rank among the greatest contemporary plays. It has also been adapted several times to the silver screen, all of which can be found on the first corpus of this dissertation.

Overall, Galdós was a tremendously prolific writer, publishing 78 novels, 23 plays, and the equivalent of 20 volumes of shorter fiction, journalism, and other writings. While this impressive and highly documented body of work – primarily dedicated to chronicling the history of the author’s country of origin – testifies Galdós’ status in Spain, it is his nature as an “author of the people” that truly defines the work of Benito Pérez Galdós. In fact, *Episodios nacionales* is often credited for marking a new era in Spanish literary history, helping pave the way for the rise of the novel in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, and serving as “a major contribution to the formation of an enthusiastic reading public in Spain” (Faye Urey, 1996, p. 1). Throughout his works, the author demonstrated a remarkable knowledge of the Spanish capital and the people who resided in it. It was a knowledge that was not limited to a single gender and social class, however: in fact, women characters are protagonists in over half of Galdós’ 78 novels and serve as central figures in nearly all of them. In addition, his writing displayed a deep and empathic understanding of various and differing social experiences, including abnormal psychological states. This outstanding attention to society as a whole accompanied by such a detailed chronicling of history are what have led Benito Pérez Galdós to be considered one of the

most important Spanish novelists of all time – only second to Cervantes, according to researchers.<sup>166</sup>

It is perhaps unsurprising, then, to observe the remarkable number of film adaptations that have been made from his works throughout history, particularly within the Spanish film system. In fact, on the first corpus – which, as a reminder, lists all film adaptations that have been made from Spanish literary works throughout history – we find a total of 23 films based on the works of Benito Pérez Galdós. (For context, there have been a total of 44 adaptations of the works of Miguel de Cervantes, while the next most-represented author, José Zorrilla, is listed 22 times). Meanwhile, however, on the third corpus – film adaptation made from Spanish literary works throughout history for which both the film adaptation and literary translation have been imported into the U.S. – this number is reduced to eight, nearly a third of the original film adaptations. (Adaptations based on the works of Cervantes, on the other hand, are reduced to half, with a total of 22 listings). Why is this? Why haven't as many film adaptations of the works of such a prolific and well-known author in his literary system of origin reached the United States?

The answer lies in translation. As recently as 1950, very few of Galdós's works had been translated into English. In fact, the novel *Doña Perfecta* – often cited as one of Galdós' most-read English

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<sup>166</sup> For more on the life and work of Benito Pérez Galdós, please see Walton (1927), Berkowitz (1948), and Casalduera (1974).

translations – was only first translated in 1960 by Harriet de Onís. Meanwhile, *Fortunata and Jacinta* – often, as previously mentioned, considered to be the author’s literary masterpiece – was not translated until 1973 and is currently out of circulation, according to *The Neglected Books Page* (where it is introduced as “The Greatest Novel You’ve Never Heard of”). Bearing in mind that these are considered to be examples of the most celebrated works by the author, it is easy to understand the circumstances surrounding the translation of his other works – the majority of which have not yet even been translated at all. While scarce information is available that summarizes the author’s work in English translation, there does exist a rather interesting summary by a semi-anonymous author on a blog named “A common reader,” which provides some information on the works translated and the years in which their English translations were published (Dwight, 2012). Here is a summary of the information available, listed in order of date of translation, which has been supplemented with my research:

1. *Maranella* (1878), translated by Clara Bell, in 1883, W.S. Gottsberger
2. *Trafalgar* (1873), translated by Clara Bell in 1884, W.S. Gottsberger
3. *El abuelo* (1897), translated in 1923
4. *The Spendthrifts (La de Bringas)* (1884), translated by Gamel Woolsey in 1952, Farrar Straus & Young Inc,
5. *Torment* (1884), translated by J.M. Cohen, Farrar in 1952, Straus & Young

6. *Doña Perfecta* (1876), Translation and introduction by Harriet de Onís in 1960, Barron's Educational Series, Inc
7. *Fortunata and Jacinta* (1887), translated by Lester Clark in 1973
8. *The Shadow* (1870), Translated by Karen O. Austin in 1980, Ohio University Press
9. *Torquemada* (1889, 1893, 1894, 1895), translated by Frances M. López-Morillas in 1986, Columbia University Press
10. *Our Friend Manso* (1882), translated by Robert Russell in 1987, Columbia University Press
11. *Nazarín* (1895), translated by Jo Labanyi in 1993, Oxford University Press
12. *Tristana* (1892), translated by Margaret Jull Costa in 2014, NYRB Classics
13. *Halma* (1895), translated by Robert S. Rudder in 2015, Cambridge Scholars Publishing
14. "The novel on the tram" (short story, "La novela en el tranvía," 1871), translated by Michael Wooff in 2016, Project Gutenberg

Here, it is interesting to note the prevalence of several very early translations: that of *Marianela*, and that of *Trafalgar*, both made by Clara Bell and published by the same U.K. publishing house, W.S. Gottsberger, a year apart. No information is available regarding why these particular works were selected. However, it may be hypothesized that *Trafalgar* was of historical interest in its receptive literary system, bearing in mind that it was the first of the *Episodios Nacionales* and chronicled the Battle of Trafalgar fought between

the British Royal Navy against the combined fleets of the French and Spanish Navies during the Napoleonic Wars. Barring these first two works and the 1923 translation of the novel-turned-play *El abuelo*, it was not until the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when the majority of the English translations of the works of Benito Pérez Galdós were published. By this time, countless film adaptations had already been made, the majority of which were released and reached the United States before an English translation had been published, with the exception of Elsie Jane Wilson's celebrated 1918 Hollywood adaptation of *Doña Perfecta* (Combination 2); and Benito Perojo's 1940 adaptation of *Marianela*, Pedro Olea's 1974 adaptation of *Tormento*, and José Luis Garci's 1998 adaptation of *El Abuelo*, (Combination 1). This leads to what makes the works of Benito Pérez Galdós such an interesting case to exemplify this particular category: here, we find examples of countless celebrated Spanish works within their literary system of origin that were not translated into English until after a film adaptation had been made.

Of the three film adaptations of the works of Pérez Galdós that can be found in this category, I would like to place particular attention on *Viridiana*, Luis Buñuel's highly celebrated adaptation of *Halma*. The novel was published in the fall of 1895, immediately after *Nazarín*, within the spiritual cycle of the author's *Novelas españolas contemporáneas* collection. In the novel, the formerly explored character Christ-like of Nazarín is revived and paired with Catalina de Halma, an aristocratic woman and widow of a German count, who is frustrated with the social order and seeks to create a

charity for the local poor with her fortune on one of her properties. To do so, she seeks the help of Nazarín. Throughout the novel, Galdós presents very similar themes as those demonstrated in *Nazarín*: individual failure in the face of social institutions, while placing a particular focus on the use of private property for charity. Unlike the suburban settings found in *Nazarín* and *Misericordia*, the action of *Halma* takes place in the fictional rural village of Pedralba. The characters that support the plot are scarce. According to the analysis of Leopoldo Alas (“Clarín”) (2001) and Joaquín Casaldueiro (1951), the framework of the novel – as well as its predecessor – is loosely taken from Cervantes’ *Quixote* and the New Testament of the Bible in its exploration of characters who undertake *Quixote*-esque adventures in pursuit of seemingly out-of-fashion ideals. Much as in the previous novel, the powerful notion of Nazarín being considered insane by the Church while trying to live as Christ presents a powerful social commentary.

Scarce information is available regarding the initial reception of the novel *Halma* in its literary system of origin. However, it is important to highlight that it tends to take a back seat to *Nazarín* and *Misericordia*. As with the other novels in the collection, it was published by *La Guirnalda*. Similarly, scarce information is available regarding the novel’s translation and reception in the United States. As shown in the previous list of Galdós in translation, *Halma* was not translated into English until 120 years after the novel’s first publication. When it was, it was within a primarily academic context: the translation was funded by Cambridge

Scholars Publishing and realized by Robert S. Rudder, the translator who has also been responsible for the translation of many other Spanish classics, from a recent edition of *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes* to a 2013 version of *La Celestina*. He was also responsible for the most recent translation of *Nazarín*, published in 2019 and created alongside Gloria Arjona. Overall, the reception of the novel in both Spain and the United States is far overshadowed by the reception of the creation that preceded it: its film adaptation, realized by the highly celebrated filmmaker Luis Buñuel.

Luis Buñuel formed an integral part of the Spanish surrealist avant-garde. This position was fomented by his close relationship with artists such as poet Federico García Lorca and painter Salvador Dalí. The three would go on to form the nucleus of the Spanish Surrealist avant-garde and became some of the key members of what would later be known as the Generation of '27 literary and artistic movement. He later moved to Paris, where he also met several influential names that helped develop his career, including pianist Ricardo Viñes, who later helped secure him the position of the artistic director of the Dutch premiere of Manuel de Falla's Quixote-inspired puppet-opera *El retablo de maese Pedro*. Buñuel decided to enter the film industry and enrolled in a private film school run by Jean Epstein, who was one of the most celebrated commercial directors working in France at the time. Before long, Buñuel made his debut working for Epstein as assistant director on *Mauprat* (1926) and *La chute de la maison Usher* (1928), and he even appeared on screen in a small role in Jacques Feyder's *Carmen*



(1926). After a subsequent fallout with Epstein, Buñuel worked as a film critic for several reviews – one of which led to the establishment of Madrid’s first cine-club – and collaborated with Dali on a series of essays on cinema and theater. He also worked with celebrated writer Ramón Gómez de la Serna on a script for what he hoped would become his first film.

In 1929, Buñuel shot and directed a 16-minute surrealist Freudian short film with Salvador Dali, *Un Chien Andalou*. It was met with immediate enthusiasm amongst the growing French surrealist movement of the time – and continues to be shown regularly in film societies to this day, leading it to be considered “the most famous short film ever made” by Roger Ebert (2000). His subsequent feature-length film, *L’Age d’Or* (1930), brought with it a significant amount of controversy for its leftist sympathies and was at one point banned by the Parisian police “in the name of public order” (Instituto Cervantes, 2001). However, the scandal only served to fuel the filmmaker’s career and create ties across the Atlantic. Both Buñuel and the film’s leading actor, Lya Lys, received offers from Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer and traveled to Hollywood at the studio’s expense. There, Buñuel rubbed shoulders with big names in the industry and fulfilled his contract, which simply required that he “learn some good American technical skills” (Walters, 2006).

Buñuel returned to Spain in 1931, a country marked by significant political and social turbulence at the time. In 1932, he was invited to serve as a film documentarian for the first large-scale French

anthropological field expedition, the Mission Dakar-Djibouti, which piqued the director's interest in ethnography and led to several subsequent documentaries, including *Las Hurdes: Tierra Sin Pan* (1933), which was subsequently banned by the Second Spanish Republic and later by the Francoist dictatorship. Afterward, he went on to work in the Paramount Pictures dubbing department in Paris but switched to the Madrid Warner Brothers department in 1934. Ricardo Urgoiti, a friend of his and owner of the commercial film company Filmófono, invited Buñuel to produce films for a mass audience. Buñuel agreed, under the condition that he do so anonymously – he did not want to damage his reputation as a surrealist. Out of the 18 films produced by Buñuel during his time at Filmófono, there are four that are believed by critical consensus to have been directed by him, including *Don Quintín el amargao* (1935), *La hija de Juan Simón* (1935), *¿Quién me quiere a mí?* (1936), and *¡Centinela, alerta!* (1937).

During the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), Luis Buñuel placed himself at the disposal of the Republican government. He was responsible for cataloging Republican propaganda films and several other diverse tasks, including spying and the supervision of the making of documentaries, such as *España 1936*, in France. Essentially, however, he served as the coordinator of film propaganda for the Republic, which meant that he was in the position to examine all film shot in Spain and to determine which sequences could be developed and distributed abroad. It was soon suggested by the Spanish ambassador that he return to Hollywood

so he could offer advice on the films being made there about the Spanish Civil War. Almost immediately upon his arrival, the war ended and the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors Association of American discontinued their films on the Spanish conflict. Return to Spain was made impossible under the new Fascist leadership, so Buñuel decided to remain with his family in the U.S., claiming that he was “immensely attracted by the American naturalness and sociability” (Buñuel, 2002, p. 255).

But the U.S. was not so attracted by Buñuel. While the director did befriend several important figures at the time, such as MGM producer and member of the Communist party Frank Davis, he could not manage to make a place for himself in the American film industry. According to one biographer, there Buñuel and his family "lived from one unsatisfactory crumb of work to another" (Brandon, 1999, p. 358). In fact, as Buñuel himself later reflected, “I could not work in the movies because I had bad grades from Hollywood. My previous experience, as you will remember, was not recommendable” (in Jose de la Colina, 1994, p. 160). This was true: he was, for the most part, snubbed by most of the Hollywood film community, even those he had met on his first trip.

He decided to try his luck in New York instead. There, he joined a committee dedicated to helping educate U.S. government officials on the effectiveness of film as a medium of propaganda, alongside the chief curator of the Museum of Modern Art. He went on to create “maybe 2,000 remarkable works...which the museum turned

into marvelous films...He would create a good documentary through editing,” according to one biographer (Aranda, 1976, p. 124). In 1942, the filmmaker applied for American citizenship, anticipating that the museum would soon be under national control. That same year, however, Dalí published his autobiography *The Secret Life of Salvador Dalí* in which the artist made it clear that he had split with Buñuel because the director was a Communist and Atheist. News of this soon reached an American archbishop, who angrily confronted the New York museum for harboring “The Antichrist, the man who made a blasphemous film *L'Age d'Or*” (Taylor, 1983, p. 214). Meanwhile, a campaign on behalf of Hollywood seeking to undermine the museum’s film unit resulted in a 66% reduction in the department’s budget, and Buñuel felt compelled to resign. He left New York, returning to Hollywood. Buñuel’s next stint in Hollywood found him once again in dubbing work with Warner Brothers.

In 1946, an old friend and producer, Denise Tual, proposed that she and Buñuel adapt Lorca’s play *La Casa de Bernarda Alba* for film production in Paris. However, before they could travel to Europe, they encountered problems securing the rights from Lorca’s family. While on a layover in Mexico City, they asked Óscar Dancigers, a Russian émigré producer who was active in Mexico at an independent production company, for financing. While Dancigers was not enthusiastic about the Lorca project, he did express interest in working with Buñuel and persuaded him to take on a new project. The Golden Age of Mexican Cinema was just peaking at that time.

The film industry represented Mexico's third-largest industry by 1947, with 72 film producers and over 1,500 cinemas across the nation – 200 in Mexico City alone. Buñuel had reached the right place at the right time, and thus began one of the most fruitful periods of his entire career. Although the majority of Buñuel's Mexican films are commercial works, they are also very accomplished and widely admired.<sup>167</sup> Overall, he directed 21 films over 18 years.

While the director remained in Mexico for the rest of his life, he also spent periods filming in France and Spain. In 1960, he reluctantly returned to Spain (which was still under Franco's control) to make *Viridiana*, a film and project which will be described in further detail shortly. The subsequent success of the film opened a door to a new period of European production and international attention for Buñuel. Many of his remaining films were made in France, including such well-known names as *Diary of a Chambermaid* (1964), *Belle de Jour* (1967), which received the Golden Lion at the Venice Film Festival; *The Milky Way* (1969); *Tristana* (1970), his final adaptation of a Pérez Galdós novel; *The Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie* (1972), which received the Academy Award for Best Foreign Film); *The Phantom of Liberty*

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<sup>167</sup> Among the countless notable films from this period, some of the most highly praised include *Los Olvidados* (1950, for which he received the prize for Best Director at the Cannes Film Festival, partly thanks to the efforts of future Nobel Prize in Literature winner Octavio Paz to have the film nominated), *Mexican Bus Ride* (1952), *Él* (1953), *Robinson Crusoe* (1954), *The Criminal Life of Archibaldo de la Cruz* (1955), *Nazarín* (1959), *The Young One* (1960), *The Exterminating Angel* (1962), and *Simon of the Desert* (1965).

(1974); and *That Obscure of Object of Desire* (1977). With the exception of *Tristana*, the majority of his later films were co-written with Jean-Claude Carrière, a close collaborator at the end of Buñuel's life.

To this day, Luis Buñuel is widely considered one of the most celebrated directors of all time and a key figure in world cinema. Despite his initial lukewarm welcomes on his various visits to the United States, Luis Buñuel would later go on to be praised in his *New York Times* obituary as "an iconoclast, moralist, and revolutionary who was a leader of avant-garde surrealism in his youth and a dominant international movie director half a century later" (in Flint, 1983). While countless bibliographical works exist providing more information on this direction,<sup>168</sup> it is important to highlight that this brief presentation of this filmmaker serves to provide context for a better understanding of the creation and reception of the subject of this case study, *Viridiana*.<sup>169</sup>

*Viridiana* was shot in early 1961 and is Buñuel's first film made in his native Spain since his departure for the United States in 1939. At the time of the making of the film, Fascist dictator Francisco Franco still governed the country, which led the director to be very criticized for his return. After all, how could Buñuel – the loyalist,

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<sup>168</sup> See, for instance, Aranda (1976), Taylor (1983), Aub (1985), Fuentes (1989), de la Colina (1994), and Brandon (1999), among others.

<sup>169</sup> For more on the life and work of this prolific director, please see Kyrou (1963), Buache (1973), William (1995, 2002), William & Santaolala (2004), and Edwards (2005).

protestor, Republican, and long-term exile – consent to working in “enemy land”? Of course, he had his reasons. In fact, a widely circulated contemporary cartoon by Alberto Isaac entitled “Veni Vidi Vici” goes a long way towards demonstrating the later effects of the film. In the first vignette, we find Buñuel arriving in Spain and being greeted by a beaming Franco while a man protests loudly in the background. In the second frame, Buñuel hands Franco a box with a fancy ribbon (the film) while the man continues to protest in the background. In the third and final frame, the box has exploded in Franco’s face, and Buñuel is leaving. The protester appears speechless. This is, in fact, a wonderful, simple rendition of the film’s reception in its country of origin. (However, Buñuel did later admit in his autobiography that Franco himself did not particularly object to the film – the rest of his regime did that work for him). But what was in the exploding box?

*Viridiana* follows the story of the turbulent life of the young novice, the beautiful Viridiana (played in the film by Mexican actor Silvia Pinal), just before she takes her final vows as a nun. Before doing so, she is encouraged by her Mother Superior to visit her uncle (played by Fernando Rey), who has been supporting her financially. When she arrives at his estate, Viridiana becomes the victim of her depraved uncle’s lust due to her resemblance to his late wife, who died on their wedding night. Viridiana refuses to yield to her uncle, even after being drugged. He does not go through with his intended act, and then commits suicide. Nevertheless, believing her innocence to be tainted and that she is therefore unable to return to

the convent, Viridiana decides to use his estate as a base for a social experiment: she tries to help a group of beggars by giving them a place to live and work. However, their corruption overshadows her goodness in a series of increasingly shocking scenes (including the very famous shot in which they freeze into a recreation of the *Last Supper*). The estate is left in shambles, and Viridiana is a changed woman. The film ends with what soon became an infamous and controversial scene: Viridiana enters her cousin's room with her hair untied, where he is playing cards with another woman and urges her to join them. The film fades after she is seen joining their game. It is not, in any way, a "feel good" film. Viridiana offers a desolate and disturbing vision of humankind, a vision that aligned with that of its director. In fact, when once asked why he made movies, the director famously responded: "I should like to make even the most ordinary spectator feel that he is not living in the best of all possible worlds." *Viridiana* demonstrates this.

The previously mentioned "explosion" in the reception of the film begins with its ending. While the script for the film was initially approved by the Spanish board of censorship (with a few minor changes), it rejected the ending of the film after its obligatory submission – after all, playing cards like this suggested an immoral activity and it was too suggestive. Consequently, a new ending was written and filmed. However, the authorities had no opportunity to view the finished film until it played at the Cannes Film Festival and were eventually horrified by what they saw. The new ending turned out to be even more suggestive than the first, as it more explicitly suggests a *ménage à trois* among the three characters.



*Viridiana* won the Palme d'Or at the festival at its premiere, but the Spanish authorities were so horrified that they (unsuccessfully) sought to have the film withdrawn and banned its release in Spain. Here, the explosion also continued with the film's bleak themes and social commentary, and sharp criticism of the Roman Catholic Church. *L'Osservatore Romano*, the official Vatican newspaper, condemned the film as "blasphemous" (in Malcolm, 1999). The film was not released in its country of origin until 1977, after Franco's death, when Buñuel was 77 years old.

Meanwhile, in the United States, the controversial nature of the film as well as its award led to a much more enthusiastic reception. To better understand the hype surrounding the film in the United States, one need not look any farther than the trailer for the film itself. "Probing daringly into the lower depths of human emotions," it begins, "...a powerful new drama bursts upon the screen with the force and clarity of lighting!" It goes on to cite the film as the Grand Prize Winner of the Cannes Film Festival "directed by the internationally renowned Luis Buñuel" and includes several raving reviews ("unprecedented praise by the critics!"), from sources ranging from *Newsweek* to *The New Yorker* and *The New York Times*. Most notably, it features a *New York News* review that calls the film, "An orgy that makes the orgy in 'La Dolce Vita' look like a family picnic!" (Interestingly, this is also the review currently featured on the screen on the film's IMDb page). Bearing in mind that the film was released in 1962 in the United States (and was not released in Spain until after Franco's death), this goes a long way

towards highlighting the remarkable cultural differences between the United States of the 1960's – characterized by its counterculture and revolution in social norms – and the extremely conservative regime that governed Spain, differences that played a critical role in the reception of the film in each of these countries.

While the praise for the film in the United States was nearly unanimous – and seemingly endless -, it is interesting to note that not all critics of the day were in awe of it. In fact, influential American journalist, author, and film critic Bosley Crowther wrote in *The New York Times*:

Luis Buñuel is presenting a variation on an ancient theme in his new Spanish film, *Viridiana*... The theme is that well-intended charity can often be badly misplaced by innocent, pious people. Therefore, beware of charity... It is an ugly, depressing view of life. And, to be frank about it, it is a little old-fashioned, too. His format is strangely literary; his symbols are obvious and blunt..." (20 May 1962)

It is, however, this very format that appeared to appeal not only to the majority of other members of the critical elite, but also to general audiences. "No summary could really do this film justice, since the visual elements and symbols are just as important as the express

message portrayed by the events,” writes an IMDb member in the film’s first non-professional review on the database (Infofreak, 2005). Hundreds of similar reviews follow. In fact, it is interesting to note that *Viridiana* represents the most reviewed – and highest rated – film on the final corpus of this dissertation. With over 22,353 reviews on the IMDb platform (and counting), *Viridiana* has consistently maintained an 8.1 rating in the decades following its release. (For reference, the highest-ranked film on the platform is *The Shawshank Redemption*, with a 9.2, followed closely by *The Godfather*, with a 9.1). Bearing in mind that the majority of films found on this list were made in the United States, this testifies not only of the film’s reception in the country that has long represented the center of world film, but also of the director’s central place within the world film system itself.

In fact, *Viridiana* is widely considered one of Luis Buñuel’s finest works, often cited as representing “a creative apex” (Russel, 2018). The film can be found included on critic Roger Ebert’s “Great Movies” list, as well as among the “1001 Movies You Must See Before You Die,” edited by film critic Steven Schneider (2019). It also forms part of the Criterion Collection, an American video distribution company centered on licensing “important classic and contemporary films.” And even though the highly celebrated film undoubtedly had a head start in the United States and the rest of Europe, it eventually went on to be voted by Spanish film professionals and critics as the best Spanish film in history in 1996. Perhaps the lasting legacy and consecration of the film can best be summarized by a 1962 review in *The New York Post* (as shown on

the film's trailer): "A film experience like no other. A film that becomes part of the history of the motion picture."

It was a film that owes its underlying plot to Pérez Galdós. In fact, as the director himself once said regarding the influence of the author, "My only influence that I would recognize, in general, is that of Galdós" (in Aub, 1985, p. 118; author's own translation). Despite this, it is interesting to note that this influence was not openly recognized in the three films rooted in the author's work. In the same interview, Aub commented on the absence of Galdós' name from the final credits of *Nazarín*:

"At one point, I realized that it never spoke of Galdós...and then the moment for the film credits came along. The list of credits was made and Galdós' name didn't appear. I said to myself, 'Well, that's not possible,'" to which the director replied, "Well, it's just very personal, it has nothing to do with Galdós." Apparently, the interviewer expressed his shock, stating "But how is it that it doesn't have anything to do with Galdós?!" and Buñuel ended up adding a small credit at the end of the film. "Big jealousy of Galdós," Max Aub went on to conclude. "It left an enormous impression on me" (1985, pp. 188-189).

Viridiana presents an even more exaggerated case of this: Galdós' name does not even appear. In the beginning credits, we simply find "plot and script by Luis Buñuel and Julio Alejandro." There's no mention of the film being inspired by *Halma* is listed at the end, either. "But few people know it," the director later claimed (Aub, 1985). This is, of course, not the case: the film is widely cited as being an adaptation of Galdós' novel. In fact, this is the case with all three of Buñuel's Galdós adaptations. All of them are widely recognized to be adaptations, but with their source texts credited – at best – as a very small, almost unnoticeable final note stating, "inspired by..."

"He loves Galdós," Aub concluded following the interview, "but he considers himself to be the creator, and he is in his works, as he forgets where they come from, where there were pulled from. And I don't like that. It's perhaps the only defect I find in Buñuel" (1985, p. 409). Meanwhile, Victor Fuentes presents a different theory regarding this lack of accreditation. According to Fuentes, while Buñuel does indeed openly recognize Galdós as his greatest influence, his films present essential divergences from their source texts, each with their own "Bunuelian imprint." In doing so, it is as if he sought to release his debt to the novelist. "In his adaptations of the works of Galdós, Buñuel has remained quite loyal to the letter and spirit of the source texts, and has, at the same time, introduced great changes, enriching them with new perspectives and meaning" (Fuentes, 1989, p. 121). While the critical trend tends to lean

towards overlooking *Viridiana*'s nature as a film adaptation – in fact, it is even excluded from Sally Faulkner's 2003 article analyzing Buñuel's Debt to Galdós – there is no denying this origin. What is interesting are Buñuel's clear attempts to erase it, as if by doing so, the debt itself would be erased. He could, then, be considered the sole creator, and his films could be works in their own right – not merely adaptations.

What is so fascinating about the notion of authorship in the adaptations of Buñuel is the fact that these films managed to be imported in the United States long before the literary translations of the works on which they were based. According to my research, the first translation of *Halma* (1895), made by Robert S. Rudder, was not published until 2015 – over 50 years after the celebrated *Viridiana* was released. This is a very exaggerated case that perfectly illustrates the nature of this category of films. Here, we find films based on literary works whose English-language translations (and releases in the United States) come after the importation of their film adaptations. The majority of these film adaptations come from within the Spanish-language film system itself and were made from contemporary literary works that have not yet been canonized. In fact, only time will tell whether or not they will enter the center of the world literary system – or even that of the Spanish literary system.

Meanwhile, however, thanks to the work of highly celebrated social agents within the film system, these works have come to life on the

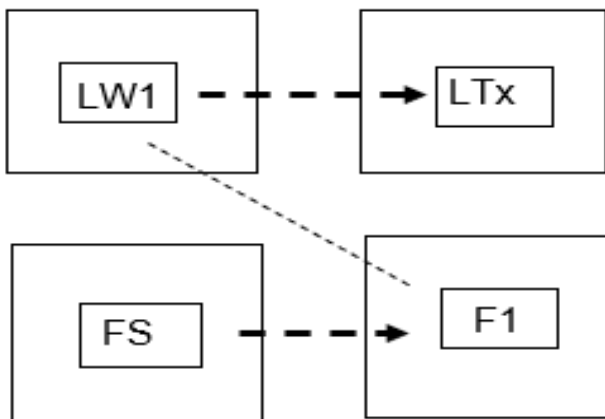
big screen. In many cases – such as the films of Buñuel – we find that the reputation of the film adaptations far overshadows that of their source texts in the United States. This phenomenon is fertile ground for the classic statement “The movie is better than the book,” a very arguable subjective opinion on the remarkable work of internationally celebrated film director Luis Buñuel, one who clearly forms a part of the center of the world film system. That said, while it has been stated that Luis Buñuel owes a debt to Benito Pérez Galdós, bearing in mind the nature of this combination, perhaps the opposite might be said: when it comes to the reception of the prolific Spanish author’s work in the United States, perhaps Galdós’ owes a debt to Luis Buñuel.

#### 4.4 Combination 4

Combination 4 is characterized by a rather unique phenomenon: a film adaptation is made alongside a literary translation. The literary translation (LTx) and film adaptation (F1) of a literary work take place at the same time. Therefore, both take place from the literary work of origin (LW1). However, as we will see in the following case study, the screenplay of the film (FS) is written in the same language as LW1 and then translated for the making of the film. Therefore, both the intersemiotic and linguistic transfers processes occur more or less simultaneously, but also independently, as illustrated in Figure 10.

**Figure 10**

*Combination 4: Film adaptation alongside a translation*





This combination can be observed in the case of four film adaptations (about 4% of the final corpus). All of these films were released within the past three decades. They include Sergi Lara and Carles Porta's 2015 adaptation of Manuel de Pedrolo's well-known Catalan language post-apocalyptic coming-of-age novel *Mecanoscrit del segon origen*, Xavier Gens' 2017 adaptation of Catalan novelist Albert Sánchez Piñol's thriller *La pell freda*, *Cold Skin*, and two adaptations from the novels of Arturo Pérez-Reverte: Jim Macbride's 1994 film *Uncovered*, an adaptation of *La tabla de Flandes*, and Roman Polanski's 1999 film *The Ninth Gate*, adapted from *El Club Dumas*. It is interesting to note that these two pairs of film adaptations share several interesting features.

First, both *Segon origen* and *Pell freda* are very recent films adapted from works of Catalan literature. Interestingly, despite the popularity of the novel in Catalonia, the English translation of Manuel de Pedrolo's *Mecanoscrit del segon origen* did not appear in the United States until 2016, just a year after the film was released in select U.S. theaters. Entitled *Typescript of the second origin*, it was realized by Sara Martín. While this is not as exaggerated of overlap as some of the other films in this combination, the translation was likely being realized at the same time the film adaptation was being made. However, no reference to the film can be found in the novel itself, according to my research. Meanwhile, in the case of *Cold Skin*, we find a film adaptation of a work of Catalan literature that was actually realized in English and released in U.S. cinemas by Samuel Goldwyn Films. Neither of these two

films was particularly well-received in the United States or received much critical attention.

Meanwhile, *Uncovered* and *The Ninth Gate* also share several interesting features. First, both are adaptations from the novels of bestselling Spanish author Arturo Pérez-Reverte. Also, both of these films – and, by extension, the novels from which they were adapted – fall into the genre of mystery/thriller. Finally – and perhaps most importantly for the case of this categorization – in each of these cases the film was released within a year of the literary translation. Thus, the intersemiotic and interlinguistic transfer processes overlapped.

Next, it is interesting to note that all of the film adaptations in Combination 4 involved international co-productions involving two European countries. *Segon origen* was realized between Spain and the United Kingdom. *Cold Skin* was a co-production between Spain and France. The film *Uncovered* (1994) was a co-production between the U.K., France, and Spain directed by U.K. director Jim McBride and featuring up-in-coming English actress Kate Beckinsale. The movie was filmed in Catalonia, Spain, and featured several supporting or minor actors from both Spain and France. It was released primarily in Europe – first at the Cannes Film Festival – and later made its way to the United States via television and video

release following lukewarm reviews.<sup>170</sup> Meanwhile, in the case of *The Ninth Gate*, we find a truly international co-production between the United States, Portugal, France, and Spain directed by well-known Polish French filmmaker Roman Polanski and featuring American movie star Jonny Depp. These agents were selected to increase the likelihood of the film's commercial success both in Europe and the United States. In the following section, the making of this film adaptation and the simultaneous literary translation of the novel on which it is based as well as the reception of both of these works will be presented and analyzed in further detail within the context of this combination.

a) Case study 4: Roman Polanski's *The Ninth Gate* (1999)

In 1993, Roman Polanski was presented with a screenplay. Written by Spanish screenwriter Enrique Urbizu, the script featured an adaptation of the Spanish novel *El Club Dumas* by bestselling Spanish author Arturo Pérez-Reverte. Polanski was impressed by the script. According to the director in later interviews, he went on to read the novel and enjoyed it because he “saw so many elements that seemed good for a movie. It was suspenseful, funny, and there

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<sup>170</sup> See, for instance, Todd McCarthy's 1994 review in *Variety*, which stated “Generous dollops of sex and colorful Barcelona settings dress up but can't disguise the routine and predictable whodunit plot of Jim McBride's ‘Uncovered.’ ...this handsome European production doesn't offer enough in the way of a marquee cast or alluring premise to put it over as a theatrical attraction Stateside, where cable and video release look more suitable.”

were a great number of secondary characters that are tremendously cinematic” (in Hartl, 2000). These elements are, in fact, common characteristics of the works of Arturo Pérez-Reverte and have often been cited as leading to the novelist’s remarkable commercial and literary success.

Arturo Pérez-Reverte is considered the most commercially successful Spanish author in the last few decades. However, it is important to note that his career as a novelist came well after his rather outstanding career as a journalist. Born in Cartagena in 1951, Pérez-Reverte graduated with a degree in Journalism from the Universidad Complutense de Madrid. He began his journalistic career as a writer for the now-defunct newspaper *Pueblo*, where he worked for twelve years. In 1977, he also began writing for *Defensa*. This journalistic trajectory continued until he was hired for Televisión Española (TVE). He worked for the television station for nine years. Throughout these first 21 years of his career as a journalist, Pérez-Reverte served primarily as a war reporter, during which time he covered a wide variety of conflicts, an experience which provided the writer with a unique historical perspective that is so often reflected in his action-packed novels.

Bearing this in mind, the theme of Pérez-Reverte’s first novel, *El húsar*, is perhaps unsurprising. Set in the Napoleonic Wars and centered on the realities and misconceptions of war, the novel was written in 1983 and published in 1986 by Akal publishing company. Pérez-Reverte allegedly wrote *El húsar* at a time when he held no

desire to dedicate himself to literature. Conflict between the author and the publishing company led to a loss of rights which were not regained until 20 years later, when the novel underwent a reprint with Alfaguara publishing house. The novel was a surprising commercial success – not only because of its action-packed nature and timeless reflections on the reality of war drawing from the author’s firsthand experience, but also because of his growing notoriety as a reporter and journalist. In fact, just years after its release, in 1991, Pérez-Reverte was contacted to write a weekly opinion page for *XL Semanal*, a Vocento group newspaper supplement that is simultaneously distributed to 25 Spanish newspapers and has become one of the most-read Spanish newspaper sections, with over 4.5 million readers. He continues writing for the supplement to this day. While the readership of the supplement does not necessarily reflect the commercial audience for his novels, it is important to note this visibility, as it undoubtedly helped play a role in the to-be author’s notoriety and persona.

The unanticipated success of his first novel soon led Pérez-Reverte to continue his literary pursuits as a remarkably prolific novelist. Two years later, *El maestro de esgrima* (1988) was released – a novel which, it is interesting to note, was adapted to film four years later by Spanish director Pedro Olea and was selected as the Spanish entry for the Best Foreign Language Film at the 65<sup>th</sup> Academy Awards (although it was eventually not accepted as a nominee). *La table de Flandes* (1990) followed shortly after, as well as countless others. In fact, since the release of his first novel, Arturo Pérez-

Reverte has published a total of approximately 32 novels, all of which have seen varying degrees of commercial success both in Spain and abroad. Among these, it is important to also mention *El club Dumas* (1993) – which will be examined in further detail later in this chapter –, *Territorio comanche* (1994), *La piel del tambor* (1995), *La Reina del Sur* (2002), the *Falcó* series (2016, 2017, 2018), *Los perros duros no bailan* (2018), and the recent *Sidi* (2019) and *Línea de fuego* (2020). In addition, there is *Las aventuras del capitán Alatriste*, a seven-part young adult novel series released between 1996 and 2011 following the adventures of fictitious veteran soldier Diego Alatriste y Tenorio, which has served as inspiration for several interesting adaptations, including a pair of comic books,<sup>171</sup> a role-play board game, the Telecinco TV series *Las aventuras del capitán Alatriste*, and the 2006 film *Alatriste* directed by Agustín Díaz Yanes and starring Viggo Mortenson, which can be found on Combination 1 of the corpus of this study. In fact, the larger-than-life character of Diego Alatriste has become a part of pop culture and has even made his way into Spanish soap operas (in *El Ministerio del Tiempo*, one of the characters adopts the name Alatriste after being compared to the character) and music albums (the metal group Mägo de Oz dedicated a song from their 2000 album to the writer). This is, of course, just a brief example to illustrate the author's remarkable influence; there have, in fact, been entire works dedicated to its study as well as the literary and

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<sup>171</sup> See, for instance, *El capitán Alatriste* (2005) and *Limpieza de sangre* (2008), both by Carlos Giménez and illustrated by Joan Mundet, the artist who was also in charge of illustrating the board game in 2002.

academic examination of many of Pérez-Reverte's best-known works.<sup>172</sup>

According to Jose Manuel Lopez de Abiada, co-editor of the previously mentioned volume, it is difficult to situate the work of Pérez-Reverte within the modern Spanish narrative because the author has written novels that fall into various – and varied – genres, including historical, adventure, and detective fiction (2020, p. 540). While the setting and subject matter of his works have varied greatly, there are a few common features that tend to characterize the author's work. First, Pérez-Reverte's novels are typically centered on one strongly defined – and habitually masculine – character. The storyline moves quickly and is often narrated by a character who is part of the story but distanced from the main plot. The novels are primarily set in Spain or around the Mediterranean and thus often draw on many references to Spanish history, its colonial past, art and culture, ancient treasures, and the sea. Meanwhile, modern issues, such as the relationship between politics and religion or drug trafficking, are often interwoven into the novel. In addition, it is important to also note that Pérez-Reverte's novels tend to have several parallel plots that appear to have very little connecting them except for shared characters. This juxtaposition serves as a tool to both move forward the plot and creates an overall

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<sup>172</sup> See Lopez de Abiada & Lopez Bernasocchi, (Eds., 2020), *Territorio Reverte*, a volume which compiles a wide variety of essays on the author's life and work as well as analyses of particular works.

air of intrigue (Moreno, in Lopez de Abiada & Lopez Bernasocchi, 2020).

According to the author himself, his works can be defined as “novels like the good old days, in which extraordinary things happen, with fear, adventures, heroes and villains” (in anonymous, *El País*, 1994; author’s own translation). It is, without a doubt, a recipe for success. In fact, to say these novels have been commercially successful is an understatement. By 1994 – just six years after the release of his first novel – the author had already sold over one million copies, marking an unprecedented record in contemporary Spanish literature (in *El País*, 1994). As of the year 2010, Arturo Pérez-Reverte had already sold a total of over 15 million copies, according to the publishing house Alfaguara (in Ruiz-Ocaña, 2010). According to some calculations, as of that same year the author had likely already earned nearly 29 million Euros in author’s rights alone – an estimation that does not even take into account possible earnings from selling the rights of several of his novels for film adaptations. Since the early 1990s, the author’s new releases have consistently found their way onto Spain’s lists of bestsellers. Most recently, his historical fiction novel *Sidi* and collection of articles *Una historia de España*, both released in 2019, made first and fourth place on the list of top-selling books in Spain for that year, respectively.

This commercial success has also been accompanied by significant acclaim as both a novelist and journalist. However, according to the



author, his work was not met without criticism at first. “At first, critics treated me badly, especially in Spain,” he recently told interviewers in *El Independiente* (2020). This admission is nevertheless difficult to believe, bearing in mind both the literary and popular recognition that followed. The first film adaptation of his work, *El maestro de esgrima* (1992), not only occurred very early in his literary career – just six years after the publication of his first novel – but was co-awarded with a Goya Award for Best Adapted Screenplay that same year. As previously mentioned, the film very nearly served as the Spanish selection for the Academy Awards. Literary praise for his other novels soon followed. His novel *La piel del tambor* (1995) won the Premio Jean Monnet for European literature in 1997 and was selected by Spanish *Elle* magazine for the Reader’s Choice award as well as a Premio del Día Mundial del Turismo from the city of Seville for setting the book in the Andalusian city. That same year, the author was awarded the Grupo Correo Prize for human values for his work as one of the most read and translated Spanish authors. By the early 2000s, the novelist had already been awarded a San Telmo Gold Medal from the Letras del Mar Foundation and the Liber Prize for the most outstanding Hispanic-American author. A decade and countless other recognitions later in 2016, Pérez-Reverte was named one of the 10 most important writers of the year by the Spanish national newspaper *ABC*.

Meanwhile, the novelist remains just one of Pérez-Reverte’s remarkably successful profiles. His journalism has been equally

praised and celebrated, with awards including the Austrias Prize in Journalism for his television coverage of the ex-Yugoslavian war (1993), the González-Ruano Prize for Journalism (2004), and the King of Spain International Prize in Journalism, among others. And while the writer's profiles of novelist and journalist have remained quite separate – interlacing, of course, through certain elements of realism found in his novels<sup>173</sup> – both have contributed to his consecration as a central figure of the Spanish literary system. Arturo Pérez-Reverte was appointed member of the Royal Spanish Academy of Letters in 2003, a position he continues to hold.

As is the case with countless cultural personas, it is important to note that it has not all been praise for the novelist and journalist, however. Throughout his career, Pérez-Reverte has been notorious for his cultivation of a certain trademark non-partisan maverick and – at times – abrasive persona, which has often been a source of conflict with other writers and journalists. In addition, several controversies have surrounded the originality of some of his work (Gómez, 2013), and countless controversies have and continue to follow the uncensored writer as he unabashedly shares his opinions (typically on Twitter). Bearing all of this in mind, it is important to note that Arturo Pérez-Reverte remains a remarkably present, current, and central figure in the contemporary Spanish literary system.

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<sup>173</sup> For a more detailed analysis of how these two distinct profiles have interacted in the career and work of the author, see Cruz Mendizábal (in Lopez de Abiada & Lopez Bernasocchi, Eds., 2020).

Bearing in mind the writer's hyper-central position in his literary system of origin and the outstanding popular, critical, and commercial success of his work, it should come as little surprise that the novels of Arturo Pérez-Reverte have made their way into other literary systems. However, it is first interesting to mention that the novelist is rumored to have originally refused to have his novels translated from Spanish to any language other than French. Thus, the author has enjoyed a rather privileged centrality within the French literary system from the very beginning of his career as a novelist and has been awarded several honors worthy of mention in France. In 1993, the French magazine *Lire* selected the author as one of the ten best foreign novelists in France for *La tabla de Flandes*. Five years later, Pérez-Reverte was named Knight of the Order of Arts and Letters (*Chevalier dans l'Ordre des Arts et des Lettres*), an honor dedicated to the recognition of significant contributions to the arts, literature, or propagation of these fields. His novel *La carta esférica* won the Academia Goncourt Mediterranean Prize for the best foreign work published in France in 2001, and *El pintor de batallas* was awarded the Saint-Emilion Pomerol Fronsac Prize in Literature seven years later. That same year, Arturo Pérez-Reverte became a knighted member of the French National Order of Merit (*Ordre national du Mérite*). There is therefore no denying the author's clear affinity and centrality within this neighboring literary system, a system which would also play a key role in the distribution of his work and the co-creation of

film adaptations, as will be seen with the case of the nations involved in the co-production of *El Club Dumas*.

Nevertheless, the author's desire to only have his works translated to French did not last long. By the year 1994, his works had already also been translated into English, Portuguese, Danish, Dutch, Japanese, Swedish, and Greek. In Sweden, *La tabla de Flandes* was recognized by the Swedish Academy of Crime Writers for the best foreign translation. In Italy, *El pintor de batallas* won the 2008 Premio Gregor von Rezzori award for foreign fiction translated into Italian. Meanwhile, in the United States, the first novel made available in English was *La tabla de Flandes*. It was first released in 1994 and translated by a prolific translator – and the most-selected winner of the Oxford-Weidenfeld Translation Prize in history – Margaret Jull Costa. That same year, the novel was cited by *The New York Times Book Review* as one of the year's five best foreign novels published in the United States. The book is recommended by the same review again in both 1997 and 1998. In 1998, *Time* magazine highlighted the appearance of *La piel del tambor* – translated as *The Seville Communion* by Sonia Soto, the translator also responsible for *The Dumas Club* and winner of the Premio Valle-Inclan for Spanish translation in 2000 – as one of the outstanding releases of the year. Two years later, *The New York Times* literary supplement praised *The Fencing Master* (also translated by Margaret Jull Costa) as one of the best fiction pocket editions of the year, highlighting the novel's "splendid performance," and praising Costa's translation as "first-rate, with

very few of those infelicities that remind us we are reading a book originally written in another language” (Satterthwait, 1999). There even exist several English language blogs dedicated entirely to the English translations of his work. “He has a very distinctive writing style that’s clear and precise, almost like Hemingway except with more detail and lush prose,” one librarian writes in a blog dedicated to his work (Martinez, 2019). According to his English-language fans, not much has been lost in translation.

Arturo Pérez-Reverte, however, does not always seem to agree with this. In a 2016 interview about the release of his novel *El tango de la Guardia Vieja* (translated as *What We Become*), the author presented his doubts about translation and translation into English in particular. “There are differences, linguistically it’s another world...[a] labor of approximation,” the author stated (in EFE, 2016; author’s own translation). Among other changed aspects, the author mentioned that the translation gave the book a sense of political correctness that was not originally intended: “I don’t need to be politically correct, I’m not a politician, or a professor,” the author emphasized, although clarifying that this is not a blatant attempt to provoke, but instead that he simply does not see the need to conform to rules that “aren’t law.” Nevertheless, despite Pérez-Reverte’s original hesitance to be translated into any language other than French, the translations continue – in fact, at the time of writing this, his webpage states that his novels have now been translated into 44 languages (Martinez, 2019). Meanwhile, English translations of some of his new works continue to appear, as well as

new editions of his best-known novels, among which we find *El Club Dumas*.

*El Club Dumas* is a crime mystery novel set in the world of antiquarian booksellers, a setting that mirrors that of Pérez-Reverte's previous work, *La tabla de Flandes*. The story centers on the investigation of a mercenary book dealer, Lucas Corso, who is hired to authenticate a rare manuscript allegedly written by Alexander Dumas. The protagonist's investigations lead him to a search for two copies of a fictional rare book known as *De Umbrarum Regni Novem Portis* ("Of the Nine Gates of the Kingdom of Shadows"), believed to have been written by the devil and to be able to grant its owner access to supernatural powers. Throughout the investigation, Corso's adventures take him to Madrid, Sintra, Paris, and Toledo, where he encounters an array of intriguing characters, including obsessive bibliophiles, devil worshippers, and a femme fatale who goes by the name "Irene Adler" – one of over 50 references to other literary works scattered throughout the book, not least of which we find the obvious homage to Alexander Dumas.<sup>174</sup> In fact, according to literary theorist Carolyn Durham, this intertextuality creates a shared literary experience that not only serves to passively draw readers into the novel, but also invites the active re-creation of these texts (2001). The countless and constant references to "a canon of popular fiction

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<sup>174</sup> It is interesting to note that a complete list can be found in the English *Wikipedia* listing of the novel. However, for a more academic analysis, see Montaner Frutos (López de Abiada & López Bernaocchi, 2020).

and particularly to certain beloved books of our youth, a time when most of us regularly read ‘beyond (national) borders,’ will encourage many readers to recall and perhaps even to reread some of these texts (2001, p. 468). On the other hand, other researchers have analyzed the interactive – or perhaps isolating – role this “excess of intertextuality” plays while reading the novel (Belmonte Serrano, 2015). Regardless, the countless literary references in *El Club Dumas* remain one of the unique features of this novel.

With regards to genre, while the mystery and action-packed plot of *El Club Dumas* might feel familiar to many avid readers – reminiscent of perhaps other modern bestsellers such as the novels of Dan Brown – it is important to note that, according to the author, it contributed novelty to the literary system at the time that supposed a risk. “Now, writing this type of novel is playing with a market that already exists, but 15 years ago you ran the risk of not being read, because there was no audience for this type of book,” Pérez-Reverte stated in a 2008 interview in *El País*. It may have been a risk, but it was a risk that opened the door to a new style of narrative. In fact, according to Isaac Gómez Laguna’s analysis, *El Club Dumas* features several traits that have made it the trademark novel for postmodern Spanish narrative, among which the author lists the novel’s aspects of indetermination and unreality, the individual and society, its intertextuality and genre (2015). In fact, according to several researchers, not only does the novel fixate itself clearly within postmodern narrative, but it also sets a paradigm for the “grammar of the best-seller within the literary canon” (Belmonte

Serrano & López de Abiada, 2003). It is a grammar that has “spawned a new genre” and marked a milestone for Arturo Pérez-Reverte’s career as a novelist (Mendoza, 2008).

The novel was published in 1993 by Alfaguara, a publishing house based in Madrid that was founded by Spanish writer and Nobel prize winner Camilo José Cela in 1964 and serves Spanish-language markets in Spain, Latin America, and the United States (essentially, the Spanish language literary system). The release was met with immediate commercial success. When the novel was published, Reverte had already published three novels (*El húsar*, *El Maestro de esgrima*, and *La table de Flandes*). Nevertheless, there was something that set *El Club Dumas* apart, both on a personal and professional level. The novel marked the first time that Pérez-Reverte felt comfortable as a writer. “Up until that point, I was an adventurer; I wasn’t a part of the literary world, I had no aspirations in that area. But with this novel I realized that I could make a living from literature and that there was a readership base, in Spain and abroad, that had already given me peace of mind. With *El Club Dumas*, I began to leave journalism,” he commented in the 2008 interview with *El País* (author’s own translation). Years later, the author would reminisce on the novel that officially began his career as a novelist. “*El Club Dumas* is a piece of my life. It’s the best book that I could have written at the time and I poured all of my efforts and illusion into it” (*El País*, 2008; author’s own translation). In an interview published in *El Español* celebrating the release of a commemorative hardcover edition 15 years after the publication of



*El Club Dumas*, the author stated that he wouldn't change a single line. And when it came time for a reprint, he didn't. "I really enjoyed writing it," he admitted in another interview, "perhaps it was my favorite" (Iglesias García, 2018). While this may be the case, one thing is certain: it was the novel that marked a clear transition in the author's career from journalist to novelist.

It was also the novel that served to set a commercial pattern for the author's work – the bestseller-to-steady-seller dynamic. "Steady-seller" is a term given to bestsellers that continue selling well for years following their publication after having disappeared from the bestseller lists. Such was the case with *El Club Dumas*. Within the first few years of its publication, the novel made the bestseller list in Spain and sold over 350,000 copies within the Spanish language system in which it was distributed by Alfaguara. Twenty-five years and dozens of translations later, it was reported that the novel had become a "surprise worldwide bestseller," with over 2.5 million copies sold in 51 countries (Martinez, 2019). As can be imagined, the United States is among these countries.

Scarce information is available regarding the creation of the English translation of *El Club Dumas*. As has been typical of Pérez-Reverte novels, the first translation of the novel was made into French and released just a year after the novel.<sup>175</sup> The first English translation,

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<sup>175</sup> In fact, on the author's website, one can find a nearly complete list of all foreign translations of Pérez-Reverte's novels, and it is interesting to note that the French translations are often published very shortly after the novel is released, while the English translations tend to lag behind a few years.

however, was not published until 1997 – just as pre-production for the film adaptation had begun. This lapse did not escape reviewers. In fact, in her 1997 review of the newly released novel, novelist Margot Livesey wrote:

Mr. Perez-Reverte's work seems to be very slow in making its way across the Atlantic. "The Flanders Panel" appeared here in 1994, four years after it came out in Spain; the English edition of "The Club Dumas," eloquently translated by Sonia Soto, is being released after a similar time lag. Let's hope we won't have to wait so long for his next one. (Livesey, 1997)

Harcourt Brace was the publishing house in charge of the edition, and Sonia Soto was selected as translator. *The Club Dumas* appears to be the translator's first noteworthy novel – or, at the very least, the first noteworthy novel featured on her *Wikipedia* page. Soto's translation was briefly praised in Livesey's previously cited *New York Times* book review. Thus, it perhaps may be assumed that the novel marked a shift in her career, for the years that followed led to the translation of several more notable works, including *Winter in Lisbon* by Antonio Muñoz Molina and *The Oxford Murders* by Guillermo Martínez, the former of which was selected for the Premio Valle-Inclan for Spanish translation in 2000 and the latter of which was runner-up for the prestigious translation prize in 2000.

The translation was warmly received in the United States. By the time *The Club Dumas* was published, *The Flanders Panel* had already undergone two successful reprints in the U.S. and had been listed as one of the year's five best foreign novels published in the United States the year of its release. Even within the review of *The Club Dumas*, we find mention of "Mr. Pérez-Reverte (whose previous book was an engrossing art history and chess thriller, 'The Flanders Panel')," referring to the author's previous literary success in the United States (in Livesey, 1997). However, when compared to *The Flanders Panel*, *The Club Dumas* did not have quite as warm a welcome at first. "I have to confess that at times I found myself growing impatient with the farfetched antics of the clandestine society that lies at the heart of his plot," Margot Livesey also confesses in her review, "I was also baffled by the author's decision to lapse occasionally into the voice of a first-person narrator. But these are small charges to bring against an otherwise intelligent and delightful novel" (Livesey, 1997). Meanwhile, the *New York Daily News* praised the novel as "A cross between Umberto Eco and Anne Rice...Think of *The Club Dumas* as a beach read for intellectuals" (anonymous, 1997). Sales soon rose. A year later, *The Club Dumas* was nominated for the Anthony Award for Best Novel, the Macavity Award for Best Novel, and the World Fantasy Award for Best Novel. Meanwhile, rumors spread that the novel was soon about to take on a new life – a life on the silver screen.

The backstory behind the creation of *The Ninth Gate* is well-documented by many news sources. According to an interview in

the *Seattle Times*, Roman Polanski read a screenplay adaptation of the novel by Enrique Urbizu, the Spanish director and film writer who is perhaps best known for introducing film noir into the late Spanish film industry. According to the interview, Polanski was captivated by Urbizu's script and then read the novel. However, the language in which the multilingual director read the novel is not certain, bearing in mind that an English translation was still not available at the time. It is, therefore, quite likely that Polanski either read both the source script and novel in Spanish, or that the director read the first French translation of the novel, which had already been published. What is certain is that the final screenplay, written in English, was translated with the help of John Brownjohn, the prolific British literary translator who is frequently cited for his collaboration with the script.

The selection of screenwriter and director as the social agents in charge of the film adaptation of *The Club Dumas* was no accident. Both Urbizu and Polanski had been specially selected for the task, according to Urbizu:

When Antonio Cardenal, the producer, and Arturo Perez-Reverte, author of the work, called me to create the adaptation, they told me that the movie was going to be high-budget and that it was going to be a European production. I was a, let's say, beginner screenwriter. I consider myself a director who writes,

that's why this project was interesting, and when I was doing it, it struck me that the ideal director would be Polanski...I thought of him because he fit all the bills. Polanski has a great complicity with the public and a great sense of humor, he narrates quickly, is intelligent, curious, and an expert in looking at everything, and masterfully handles narrative points...When he accepted, I couldn't believe it (ABC Guionistas, 2007; author's own translation).

While the linguistic nature of the original novel Polanski read remains a mystery, according to Urbizu, he was merely a “plumber, in charge of redirecting the waters of *La novena Puerta*,” the title of the original script (ABC Guionistas, 2007). Meanwhile, Polanski is also credited as a co-writer. In this, he and Polanski were clearly aided by assistant linguistic “plumber,” John Brownjohn. This blurring of linguistic and national borders involved in the creation of this film is a trait that is very characteristic of multinational co-productions and is perhaps made even more interesting in its parallelism with the blurry nature of this combination featuring an English-language film adaptation that takes place at the same time as the source text's literary translation.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> With regards to the latter transformation, it can be assumed that Sonia Soto was now well underway with her translation. *The Club Dumas* was published in English in February 1997 as pre-production was beginning, but without any mention of the soon-to-be-released film in the novel.

Meanwhile, just as Ubizu already clearly had Roman Polanski in mind for the director as he was writing the screenplay, Polanski also already had his star in mind when reading the script – Johnny Depp. The American movie star joined the production in 1997 after meeting Polanski at the Cannes Film Festival. Doubts were raised regarding the actor’s age – he was, at the time, only 34, and the character of Dean Corso was meant to be over 40 – but Depp persisted and ended up landing the role. Meanwhile, Tony-award-winning actor Frank Langella was cast as one of the novel’s supporting characters, wealthy book collector Boris Balkan, and the British Royal Shakespeare Company’s Barbara Jefford was selected as a last-minute replacement for the German actress originally cast as Baroness Frida Kessler. *The Ninth Gate* was filmed in the summer of 1998 in France, Portugal, and Spain – all countries that also participated in the film’s production. The Polish classical music composer Wojciech Kilar – who had previously worked with Polanski – created the soundtrack, which was later released in 1999 just several months after the film.

Several notable shifts occurred in the transformation from novel to film undertaken by Reverte’s *El Club Dumas*. First – and perhaps most obviously – we find the title itself, a shift that was made to emphasize the occult and supernatural over the literary nature of the story. Polanski, who had become very well-known for his supernatural film *Rosemary’s Baby* (1968), could attract a wider audience this way. Interestingly, as we will soon see, *The Ninth*

*Gate* was even compared to *Rosemary's Baby* by several reviewers after its release. Similarly, the majority of the literary references from the novel are deleted, as is the novel's subplot involving Corso's investigation of an original manuscript of a chapter of Alexander Dumas' *The Three Musketeers* – the namesake for the novel itself. The finale is therefore greatly altered, and several characters' roles expand, diminish, merge, switch, or disappear altogether. All of this was likely done not only to simplify the story to make it easier to follow and more accessible for a wider audience (not just “a beach read for intellectuals”), but also to emphasize what Polanski believed would be the true appeal of the film, “a mystery in which a book is the leading character” and its engravings “are also essential clues” (Arnold, 2000). According to another interview, several of the changes were also made to avoid some of the clichés of the mystery-thriller genre (in Howell, 2000). Reference to the fact that the film is an adaptation of Pérez-Reverte's novel is made approximately four and a half minutes into the film, after the first teaser scene and during the opening credits.

The premiere screening of *The Ninth Gate* took place in San Sebastian, Spain, on August 25<sup>th</sup>, 1999, a month before the San Sebastian International Film Festival. The film did not appear in the United States until ten months later, when it was released in 1,586 cinemas during the weekend of March 10<sup>th</sup>, 2000. During the weekend of its release, *The Ninth Gate* earned a total of \$6.6 million in the United States and \$18.6 million overall throughout its showing. It was therefore considered commercially unsuccessful in

North America, where it had been expected to earn much more. Nevertheless, overall, *The Ninth Gate* earned a total of \$58.4 million worldwide against a \$38 million production budget. Shortly after the film's release, Artisan Entertainment sued Roman Polanski for taking more than \$1 million from the budget in refunds from France's value-added take that the director did not give to the completion bond guaranteeing that the company completed the film. Bearing in mind the previously mentioned financial grey lines of co-productions, this illustrates a case in which we find a director clearing seeking to take advantage of them.

The relative lack of commercial success of *The Ninth Gate* in the United States went hand-in-hand with the film's disappointing reviews. In a critical review for *The New York Times*, Elvis Mitchell wrote that the film was “about as scary as a sock-puppet re-enactment of *The Blair Witch Project*, and not nearly as funny” (Mitchell, 2000). Similarly, a review in the *Los Angeles Times* said the film was “too laid-back, and unconcerned about the pacing of its story to be satisfying” (Turan, 2000). *Entertainment Weekly* rated the film a D+ (on a scale of A-F), and reviewer Lisa Schwarzbaum wrote that it had an “aroma of middle-brow, art-house Euro-rot, a whiff of decay and hauteur in a film not even a star as foxed, and foxy, as Johnny Depp, himself, could save” (2000). In the *Village Voice*, J. Hoberman wrote that the film was “barely releasable hokum, stuffed with cheesy blah-blah” (2000). Meanwhile, Roger Ebert wrote in the *Chicago Sun* that the ending was lackluster: “While at the end, I didn't yearn for spectacular special effects, I did



wish for spectacular information — something awesome, not just a fade-to-white," the renowned film reviewer wrote, an interesting comment bearing in mind that the ending was one of the most notable shifts the novel underwent in its transformation to film.

Despite these negative reviews, the film's accessibility was also praised in *Time Magazine* (Corliss, 2000). In addition, one review in the *San Francisco Chronicle* did present a favorable remark, stating that "Polanski's sly sense of film-noir conventions pokes fun at the genre, while, at the same time, honoring it" (Graham, 2000) The same review featured heavy praise for the film's leading actor: "Depp is the best reason to see Polanski's satanic thriller." This is interesting bearing in mind the creative fiction reported between Depp and Polanski at the time of the film's release, when the director stated that "He [Depp] decided to play it rather flat, which wasn't how I envisioned it; and I didn't tell him it wasn't how I saw it" (Schaefer, 2000). Meanwhile, Depp also pointed fingers at the director, retorting that "It's the director's job to push, to provoke things out of an actor" (Schaefer, 2000).

Much as was the case with the film's European earnings, European reviews were typically more favorable. One German review in *Cinema* praised the film's pace and irony (2000). In the British magazine *Sight and Sound*, Phillip Strick wrote that the film was "...not particularly liked at first outing — partly because Johnny Depp, in fake grey temples, personifies the odious Corso of the book a little too accurately — the film is intricately well-made, deserves

a second chance, despite its disintegrations, and, in time, will undoubtedly acquire its own coven of heretical fans” (Strick, 2000).

Perhaps it has. The current top user review on the film’s profile on IMDb – written in 2003 by a user under the name “Bloodfordarcula” and upvoted by a total of 491 users since its publication – raves about the film, calling it “one of Roman Polanski’s most underrated films... Ignore the negative reviews and comments from people who’ve been brainwashed and blinded by the current Hollywood fast-food style of filmmaking with the intention of only appealing to the lowest common denominator... Rating 10 out of 10.” An entry by Tony Sokol on the cult-fan blog *Den of Geek* makes a similar analysis and praise (2012). After all – the film may not have earned as much as its producers had hoped or received as positive of reviews as some of the director’s other work, but that \$58.4 million in box office earnings had to come from somewhere.

By this time, of course, the English translation of the novel had already been published – twice, in fact. Just a year after its 1997 hardcover release by Harcourt Brace, Vintage publishing company released the paperback pocket edition. On the cover of the reprint, we find the emblematic phrase “#1 international bestseller.” This was the same year the novel was selected for the Anthony Award for Best Novel, the Macavity Award for Best Novel, and the World Fantasy Award for Best Novel. The insert of the novel is linked with the praise accumulated since its first print. What is interesting to note about this reprint, however, is the fact that no mention is made

of the film-in-progress. One could argue that perhaps the publishing press was ignorant of its existence. However, the truth exists in that there have been two additional reprints well after the movie was released – one, a rustic 2006 edition by Harcourt, and another limited-edition signed 2010 hardcover edition by Subterranean Press – neither of which makes any reference to Polanski’s film adaptation. The same is true for the 2009 audiobook edition. In fact, according to my research, *The Ninth Gate* film has never been used in the advertisement of *The Club Dumas* in any of its English reprints, a practice which is quite common in the case of novels-turned-films of similar genres. It can only be assumed that the social agents in charge of the creation of the novel (its author, translator, and publishing houses) do not seek to form an association between the novel and the movie. Therefore, despite *El Club Dumas*’ unique simultaneous linguistic and intersemiotic transformations, the novel and film remain separate entities.

There may be many possible reasons for this. Perhaps the rising controversy surrounding Roman Polanski – which anecdotally helped give rise to the #MeToo movement in France – encouraged the separation. Perhaps Arturo Pérez-Reverte did not want much to do with the film (despite, of course, the rights payment). There is, after all, a remarkable lack of interviews with the author following the film’s release. Perhaps it was the poor critical and popular reviews of the film. After all, a quick look at IMDb displays a 6.7/10 rating – quite low for this popular platform. Meanwhile, on the popular reading platform Goodreads, the novel is rated 3.81/5, a

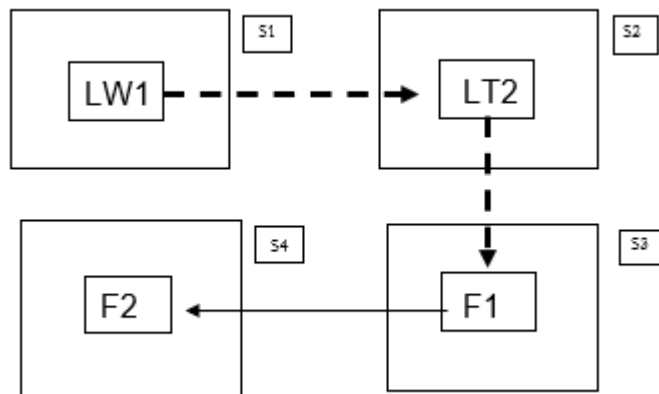
fairly strong rating on the typically selective platform. Perhaps, as decades of previous comparative Film Studies work often conclude, “the book really is better than the movie.” While the reasons behind the distancing of the novel from the film may remain a mystery, *The Club Dumas* mystery remains at the center of the Spanish literary system and helped earn its bestselling author a place in the world literary system.

## 4.5 Combination 5

In combination 5, an intermediate film system enters into play. In this combination, a Spanish literary work (LW1) is translated into another language (LW2) and a film adaptation is made based on this literary translation (F1). This film is then subtitled or dubbed and imported into the United States (F2). An English translation of this text (LW3) may or may not exist prior to this translation (in many cases, it does); the key here is that the film adaptation of this literary work is imported from another film system.

**Figure 11**

*Combination 5: Intermediate film system*



This phenomenon can be observed in cases of films based on Spanish literary works that come from non-Spanish language systems – most notably the French and Italian language film

systems. Overall, there are a total of ten films found in this combination on the final corpus

1. *Adventures of the Ingenious Hidalgo Don Quixote* (Ferdinand Zecca & Lucien Nonguet, 1903)
2. *La Toile d'araignée merveilleuse* (Georges Méliès, 1908)
3. *Il cappello a tre punte* (Mario Camerini, 1935)
4. *Mammy* (Jean Stelli, 1951)
5. *Don Kikhot* (Grigori Kozintsev, 1957)
6. *Noces de sang* (Souheil Ben-Barka, 1977)
7. *Tuareg - Il guerriero del deserto* (Enzo G. Castellari, 1984)
8. *Mémoire des apparences* (Raúl Ruiz, 1986)
9. *La chouette aveugle* (Raúl Ruiz, 1987)
10. *Marcellino* (Luigi Comencini, 1991)

While relatively few films demonstrate this combination on the final corpus, it is interesting to observe the national and linguistic systems of origin in which these films were produced. Four of the ten films - *Don Quichotte (Adventures of the Ingenious Hidalgo Don Quixote)*, *La Toile d'araignée merveilleuse*, *Mémoire des apparences*, and *La chouette aveugle* – were produced within the French film system. Often considered “the birthplace of cinema” due to the nation’s many noteworthy contributions to film and its role as a gathering place for artists from around the world throughout history (Riding, 1995), it is perhaps unsurprising to see the frequency with which Spanish literature has reached the United States through film via the French film system within the context of this study. In fact, the very first film found on the corpus of this

dissertation can be found in this category: Ferdinand Zecca and Lucien Nonguet's 1903 adaptation of Don Quijote, *Don Quichotte*. Released in the United States in 1904 as *Adventures of the Ingenious Hidalgo Don Quixote*, this film represents the first-known film version of Miguel de Cervantes' novel. Meanwhile, Chilean-French director Raúl Ruiz' *Mémoire des apparences* and *La chouette aveugle* demonstrate the unique continuing role of the French national system as an international locus of experimental artistic creation. These films and their director will be addressed in greater detail later in this section.

However, before doing so, it is also important to briefly mention some of the other national film systems that make an appearance in this section, as they also represent important intermediary systems through which Spanish literature reaches the United States through film. As can be discerned by the aforementioned list, three Italian films can also be found in this category: Mario Camerini's 1935 film adaptation of Pedro Antonio de Alarcón's *El sombrero de tres picos* (1874), entitled *Il cappello a tre punte*; Enzo G. Castellani's 1984 adaptation of Alberto Vázquez-Figueroa's novel *Tuareg*, entitled *Tuareg - Il guerriero del deserto*; and Luigi Comencini's 1991 adaptation of the children's classic *Marcelino pan y vino* by José María Sánchez Silva (1953). As is the case of the majority of the previously mentioned films from the French system – barring those of Raúl Ruiz, which will be explored in further detail later – most of these films are not the only adaptations of their source texts. In fact, another less well-known adaptation of Alarcón's novel was

made within the Spanish film system in 1944 by Juan Bustillo Oro, and there has been a total of three film adaptations of Silva's classic children's tale throughout history, more notably those of internationally celebrated Hungarian-Spanish director Ladislao Vajda (1955) and Venezuelan director José Luis Gutiérrez Arias' more recent 2010 adaptation.

Finally, it is important to mention that this category also features several films from other national systems, including Moroccan director Souheil Ben-Barka's 1977 adaptation of Lorca's *Bodas de sangre*, *Noces de sang*,<sup>177</sup> and People's Artist of the USSR director Grigori Kozintsev's 1965 adaptation of *Don Quijote, Don Kikhot*. Therefore, overall, we find many instances of adaptations of literary works that have also been subject to other adaptations within other national film systems. It may be hypothesized that the selection of these works serves as a means of appropriating them to the other national systems through film.

It is next interesting to mention that all of the films found in this category represent adaptations of literary works that were made after the translation of the works themselves. Thus, were it not for their unique status as film adaptations introduced to the United States through non-Spanish systems, they could also be categorized in the previously explored Combination 1, which examined film adaptations made after literary translations – the most common combination in this study. With regards to the genre of the literary

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<sup>177</sup> This case will be explored in further detail in Combination 7 (Section 4.7).



works on which these films are based, a notable proportion of plays can be found in comparison with some of the other categories. Three out of the ten works in this combination are plays, in fact, and one film is actually based on both a play and a novel. While the small number of works found in this category make forming any definite conclusions difficult and imprudent, this higher percentage is nevertheless interesting to note, as it suggests the increased centrality of these plays within other literary systems.

Finally, with regards to the authors represented, it is perhaps unsurprising to find two works based on Miguel de Cervantes' *Don Quijote*. Similarly, the works of two very prolific and internationally renowned Spanish playwrights are also represented in an adaptation of Lorca's famous play (*Noces de sang*) and Raúl Ruiz's adaptation loosely based on Tirso de Molina's play *El Condenado por desconfiado* (1635). In fact, it is this aforementioned director, whose films can be found twice and exclusively in this category whose work will be examined in further detail in the following case study.

a) Case Study 5: *Mémoire des apparences* (Raúl Ruiz, 1986)

Much has been written about the classic play on which *Mémoire des apparences* (Life is a Dream) is loosely based and its author. Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600-1681) was a central agent in the Golden Age Spanish literary system and represents a highly canonized author in the Spanish literary system. After the death of Lope de Vega in 1635, Calderón soon became known as Spain's greatest living playwright. A volume of his plays, edited by another of his brothers, was published in 1636, in which *La vida es sueño* first appeared.

Several researchers have argued that *La vida es sueño* was actually first written around the year 1630, and therefore constitutes part of the playwright's early and predominantly secular work (Cruickshank, 2009). According to several sources, Calderón de la Barca sold the play to the Cristóbal de Avendaño theater company, although little is known about the details surrounding the play's first performances and a certain degree of uncertainty remains (Rodríguez López-Vázquez, 2002). It is believed that the first performance took place around 1635. Subsequently, several accounts confirm that a volume containing the play was published in two editions in 1636 and edited by his brother, José, shortly before Calderón was commissioned by the king to write other plays.

Arguably the best-known work within Calderón de la Barca's large body of secular and religious plays, *La vida es sueño* is a Baroque philosophical allegorical *comedia* that deals with the mystery of life and our ability to distinguish between reality and illusion. It unfolds in three acts written in verse. The play is set in a mythical version of the kingdom of Poland and tells the story of King Basilio, who imprisons his son Segismundo after a prophecy has given the king reason to fear that the boy would bring disaster to Poland and disgrace to the king. The boy is later given sedatives that put him in a dream-like state similar to death, and he becomes increasingly enraged at his limitations when lucid. Segismundo finds it increasingly difficult to distinguish between what is real and what is a dream, as several side-plots take place around him. Eventually, the people of the country discover the existence of the prince, and a rebellion is formed. Segismundo is broken free from his tower and goes on to form an army, which eventually leads him to face the king. In the final scene in which the king prepares to meet his death at the hands of his son, as foretold, the prince instead decides to spare the king's life. The play concludes with the prince's resolution that "God is God," and that – whether asleep or awake – one must strive for goodness.

Overall, several notable universal themes preside in *La vida es sueño* that have undoubtedly contributed to ensuring the play's lasting legacy. The overarching concept of life as a dream that so clearly defines the work has been widely explored throughout history, with roots in Greek philosophy and Hinduism – such as the

well-known Platonic Allegory of the Cave and the Hindu-Buddhist concept of reality as an illusion. In fact, it is believed that key elements from the play may have been derived from the Christian legend of Barlaam and Josaphat, which, in turn, is thought to have been derived from the story of the life of Siddhartha Gautama, the founder of Buddhism. Here, it is also important to highlight the clear influence of the work of Lope de Vega on Calderón de la Barca, bearing in mind the former playwright's earlier adaptation of the Christian legend (*Barlaan y Josafat*, 1611). *La vida es sueño* demonstrates the influence of Lope de Vega in its representation of a form perfected by the Golden Age playwright, the *comedia*. Thus, it is likely that both the form and overarching theme of the work are inspired by Vega's earlier work (García-Reidy, 2013).

In addition to the most evident theme of reality versus illusion, we also find the classic theme of conflict between father and son – a typical representation of the baroque comedy opposition between the different values represented by the two, likely stemming from the classic mythological struggle between Uranus and Saturn or Saturn and Jupiter (De Armas, 1993). An exploration of the concept of honor – epitomized in the drama surrounding the character Rosaura's subplot<sup>178</sup> - as well as several smaller themes and motifs,

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<sup>178</sup> It is interesting to note that the Rosaura subplot has been subjected to criticism in the past as to not belonging to the play. Early theorists believed it to be a strange and somewhat exotic plot, while others believed Rosaura was simply a representation of the jilted woman (Menéndez Pelayo, 1881). This view shifted in the work of later theorists, who demonstrated how the main and secondary plots are linked and tend to consider Rosaura to be central to the work, as she parallels Segismundo's actions and serves as his guide, eventually leading him to transformation (Whitby, 1965; Wilson, 1980).

such as free will, original sin, pride, and disillusionment as well as the labyrinth, the monster, and the four elements – are also worth mentioning. Due to its fascinating exploration of these themes, the lyrical and linguistic beauty of its verse, and its clear adherence to traditional form, *La vida es sueño* has been described as "the supreme example of Spanish Golden Age drama" (Racz, 2006).

While there are limited details surrounding the reception of the play in its first run, it is known to have been well-received and a success in court, which led to many subsequent performances and international acclaim. In Spain, notable performances of the play include actor Manuel Vallejo's 1673 performances before the court of King Carlos II, which continued for eleven years and were eventually taken over by the actor's son, Carlos. The popularity of the play in Spain continued well into the 18<sup>th</sup> century, during which time it was performed 47 times in the *Madrid Corrales de comedias* alone – the flagship Golden Age Spanish theater (Vega García-Luengos, 2009). Some of these performances featured Isidoro Máiquez, one of the most celebrated actors at the time. The popularity of *La vida es sueño* extended well into the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, during which time several noteworthy runs took place, including performances by renown actor Rafael Calvo at the Teatro Español in 1872 and the Teatro de la Princesa in 1888, as well as countless highly celebrated performances at the Teatro Español in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. More recently, *Rosaura*, a 2016 Spanish adaptation by Paula Rodríguez and Sandra Arpa shifted focus to the female character and her fight against her destiny and limitations as well as

the established order. This interesting re-adaptation also provides a new, more modern reading for the aforementioned historically controversial subplot.

It did not take long for Pedro Calderon de la Barca's best-known work to cross national borders. Following the publication of the complete volume of his works after Calderón de la Barca's death in 1681, his plays became readily available in Spain and to translators. In fact, the play was also performed very shortly after its release in Brussels (*Het Leven is maer Droom*, Jan Mommaert, 1647), Amsterdam (1654), Hamburg (1658), and Dresden (1674). *La vida es sueño* was also very frequently performed in Paris in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, where it enjoyed great popularity. In 1925, the renowned Austrian poet and playwright Hugo von Hofmannsthal wrote a German adaptation of it called *Der Turm (The Tower)*, which reflected the chaotic pre-fascist climate in Germany. Within the Spanish language system, it is interesting to note that the play reached Lima as early as 1684 and has been shown across the continent as well as in central America countless times throughout history. The play reached Mexico in 1702, where it is interesting to note that a later adaptation by Guillermo Schmidhuber de la Mora, *Los herederos de Segismundo*, earned the playwright the Mexican National Prize in Theater in 1980 and was a finalist for the Tirso de Molina Prize in Theater that same year. Naturally, these are just a few of the innumerable performances of this play throughout the world – an estimated 652 as of the year 2013, according to an inventory prepared by Jose Manuel Trives Perez (2013). While the

majority of these performances have taken place in Europe and within the Spanish language system, it did not take long for the play to make its way into the English language system.

One of the earliest and best-known translators of Calderón de la Barca's work into English was the romantic Poet Percy Bysshe Shelly, whose 1822 notebook features translations from *La vida es sueño* and others of Calderón works. However, this work was never completed or published in its entirety. Therefore, it is Malcolm Cowan's 1830 translation *Life, a Dream* (published anonymously at the time) that is widely credited as being the first published English translation of Calderon de la Barca's play. It is, as can be imagined, one of many. In fact, throughout history, there have been approximately 24 translations of the Spanish playwright's work, which can be found listed in chronological order in Appendix 13. Additional information, such as the edition (if printed under a different name) and type of verse is also listed, when available:<sup>179</sup>

Of these many translations, it is interesting to mention Irish poet Denis Florence MacCarthy's work, as well as that of Edward FitzGerald (best known for his translation of the Rubáiyát, by Persian poet Omar Khayyám) freely translated *La vida es sueño* into blank verse, entitled the work *Such Stuff as Dreams are Made Of*, published in 1865. More recently, Edward and Elizabeth

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<sup>179</sup> Additional information can be found on the Out of the Wings Authors, Plays & Translators database online (Jeffs, 2012) and the Wikipedia page "List of Calderón's plays in English translation."

Huberman's 1963 prose translation has been praised for the flow and ease of the translation without sacrificing the beauty and philosophical playfulness of the original play.

Regarding performances, according to the previously mentioned inventory compiled by Trives Perez (2013), the first English-language performance of the play is cited to have taken place in Cambridge in the year 1925, and it was soon followed by another performance in London a year later. However, relatively few performances are listed as having taken place in the English theater system, and it is not until 1971 when we find evidence of a performance in the United States. Nevertheless, it is clear that this is not the first performance of the play in the U.S. – or even in New York – as, according to the *New York Times* article released following its premiere, “There can't have been a greater demand, seasonal or otherwise, for an off-Broadway revival of ‘Life Is a Dream,’” (1971, p. 10). Meanwhile, the Christmas-day review praises the 1971 adaptation as “a highly philosophical drama of royal intrigue...[whose] shifting plot and golden torrent of words are constantly fascinating,” realized by a “gifted, purposeful cast, handsomely costumed and subtly lighted against a striking stage” (p. 10). While it is uncertain exactly when the play first arrived in the United States, what can be certain is that it was met with open arms.

During the twentieth century, and as evidenced by the many previously mentioned translations, *La vida es sueño* was never off



stage for very long in its many English versions. More recently, in 2000, an operatic adaptation written by Lewis Spratlan with a libretto by James Maraniss – *Life is a Dream* – won the Pulitzer Prize in Music. Another operatic version, composed by Lewis Spratlan and James Maraniss (librettist), premiered by the Santa Fe Opera in 2010. It was shortly followed by yet another version, composed by Jonathan Dove and Alasdair Middleton (librettist), which premiered in Birmingham, U.K., in 2012. Among the more recent and well-known productions, we find Helen Edmundson's stage adaptation of *Life Is a Dream*, which was produced at the Donmar Warehouse in 2009 and starred the British Academy's Film and Television Award-winner Dominic West. In addition, it is interesting to note an even more recent 2017 performance entitled *Calderón's Two Dreams*, which was presented by the Magis Theatre Company at La Mama Experimental Theatre Club in New York and featured a new stage translation by George Drance, S.J.

Bearing in mind the many translations and adaptations of Calderón de la Barca's play, it comes as little surprise that the work made its way from the page to the screen in Raúl Ruiz's experimental 1987 film *Mémoire des apparences*, the title of which has been translated as *Life is a Dream* in English. What is interesting to note, however, is that Ruiz's film represents – to the best of my knowledge from this study – the only film adaptation of the play that has been imported into the United States (barring, of course, any stage versions that were at some point filmed). There are, in fact, a total of two films based on plays by Pedro Calderon de la Barca on the

final corpus, the other of which is George Fitzmaurice's 1927 English language adaptation of *No hay burlas con el amor*, entitled *A Night of Love*, within the U.S. film system. Meanwhile, a total of ten film adaptations of the playwright's work have been made throughout history. In addition to the previously mentioned films, these include *El alcalde de Zalamea* (Enrique Gutiérrez, 1914), *Der Richter von Zalamea* (Ludwig Berger, 1920), *La dama duende* (Luis Saslavsky, 1945), *El alcalde de Zalamea* (José Gutiérrez Maesso, 1954), *Der Richter von Zalamea* (Martin Hellberg, 1956), *El príncipe encadenado* (Luis Lucia, 1960), *La vida es sueño* (a made-for-TV episode by Pedro Amalio López, 1967), *La leyenda del Alcalde de Zalamea* (Mario Camus, 1972), and *La vida es sueño* (a made-for-TV movie directed by Roger Justafre, 2001). Therefore, despite being widely cited as the playwright's most performed play, it is far from his most screen-adapted play - *El alcalde de Zalamea* takes the prize for this, with a total of five film adaptations throughout history, two of which were made in the German film system. Nevertheless, according to my research, *El alcalde de Zalamea* never reached the United States as a film adaptation, leaving Fitzmaurice's 1927 adaptation - which can be found in *Combination 2* - and Ruiz's 1987 adaptation as the only cases of film adaptations of the prolific Golden Age playwright's work to have reached the United States.

Before taking a closer look at the nature and reception of *Mémoire des apparences*, it is important to briefly note the position of the film's director, Raúl Ruiz, in both his film system(s) of origin and

the target U.S. film system. Born in Chile in 1941, Ruiz abandoned his university degree in theology and law to write plays with the support of a University of Chile Writing Workshop Rockefeller grant at the age of 21. He went on to pursue filmmaking, working for Chilean and Mexican television stations and studying at a film school in Argentina. He made his debut in 1968 with *Three Sad Tigers*, an adaptation of the play of the same name by Alejandro Sieveking, which itself was based on the novel by Cuban writer Guillermo Cabrera Infante – an adaptation, it is interesting to note, that features a blurring of medial and semiotic boundaries that is very characteristic of the work of this direction. Raúl Ruiz soon became known for the experimental, surrealistic, and ironic nature of his work. Because of this, the director was considered somewhat of an outsider among the more politically oriented Chilean filmmakers of his generation.<sup>180</sup> In 1973, following Pinochet's *coup d'état*, Ruiz and his wife, director Valeria Sarmiento, fled Chile and relocated to Paris. There, he was soon met with a welcoming atmosphere for his unique stylistic approach.

The director came to develop a reputation among European cinephiles and critics as an avant-garde filmmaker. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Ruiz wrote and directed an astonishing number of eccentric, whimsical, surreal, complex, and highly literary low-to-no-budget films, often for France's *Institut national de l'audiovisuel* or Portuguese producer Paulo Branco. In the 1990s, Ruiz began

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<sup>180</sup> See, for instance, the politically charged films of Chilean directors Miguel Littín and Patricio Guzmán.

working with larger budgets and more well-known actors. In 1997, his film *Genealogies of a Crime* won the Silver Bear at the 47<sup>th</sup> Berlin International Film Festival, and his 2000 film *Comedy of Innocence* – which featured celebrated French actress Isabelle Huppert – was nominated for the Golden Lion at the Venice Film Festival. His lush, star-studded adaptation of Marcel Proust's *In Search of Lost Time*, called *Time Regained* (1999), was perhaps the most commercially successful of his films at the time, and *That Day* (2003) was the fourth and last of his films shown at the Cannes Film Festival. During the last decade of his life, Ruiz made several forays in the English-language mainstream with the suspense thrillers *Shattered Image* (1998) and *A Closed Book* (2010), as well as a handful of low-budget productions in Chile. His last international success was the Franco-Portuguese epic *Mysteries of Lisbon* (2010).

Stylistically speaking, Raúl Ruiz is best known for his one-of-a-kind experimental approach to film, which was often considered whimsical and surreal because it rejected narrative logic and gravitation towards the bizarre. In a 1991 interview, the director stated that he was "always trying to make this connection between different ways of producing: film, theater, installations, and videos" and that he hoped his "films would have to be seen many times, like objects in the house, like a painting. They have to have a minimum of complexity" (Klonarides, 1991). This complexity led to his own brand of film theory, which he taught over the years in a variety of prestigious universities and film schools across the world – including, of course, the United States – and explained in two

books, *Poetics of Cinema 1: Miscellanies* (1995) and *Poetics of Cinema 2* (2007). Nevertheless, despite the director's famed complexity and experimentation, even his most experimental works also remain grounded in nuanced emotion and clearly informed by the director's appreciation for philosophy, history, literature, and sociological observation. In fact, throughout the director's remarkably long and prolific career (with over 100 films to prove it), he directed several adaptations of literary works – such as the previously mentioned version of Proust's novel, as well as a dark comedy adapted from short stories by Nathaniel Hawthorne –, as well as a biopic of painter Gustav Klimt (featuring fantasies of pirates and mythical creatures, of course). Literature, film, philosophy, and history significantly inform the majority of his works. Overall, Raúl Ruiz's philosophical-yet-playful films often explore the nature of truth and perception while experimenting with the concepts of parallel realities and identities. It is therefore unsurprising that the director found inspiration for his 1987 film in *La vida es sueño*.

*Mémoire des apparences* (*Life Is a Dream* in English) developed from Ruiz's staging of the 17<sup>th</sup>-century play at the Avignon Theater Festival in 1986. The film was made possible with funding from *La Maison de la Culture* at Le Havre, where Ruiz had recently been as director by the French minister of culture. The film is not easily summarized. Set in 1984, it features scenes of the director's staging of the play with the actors in complete 17<sup>th</sup>-century costumes. The protagonist, literature teacher Ignacio Vega (Sylvain Thirolle), is a

Chilean dissident and former member of the underground who returns to the provincial French town where he grew up (yes, this is, of course, an incongruity – there are several in the film). A voiceover goes on to explain that Ignacio had learned the names and mission of 15,000 anti-regime activists ten years earlier using the verses of Calderón’s play as a mnemonic device: “Each line contained a militant’s name, each metaphor, and address, each stanza an armed operation.” He was later discovered and forced to forget the information. Meanwhile, back home, he spends time at the local movie theater, where the films he sees begin to jog his memories of the play. Overall, the entire film is situated in an unfixed space between Ignacio’s moviegoing experiences, the films he watches, and the magical workings of his memory as he gradually begins to recall fragments of Calderon’s play.

*Mémoire des apparences* is composed of a collage of episodes organized around two main narrative threads: the protagonists’ return to his hometown (presented as a sort of spy thriller), and the French-language performance of Calderón’s play. These narratives are interspersed with green-tinged snippets of a science-fiction side-story inspired by the *Flash Gordon* serials (which were, apparently, among Ruiz’s childhood favorites), a *Columbo*-like detective story set at a country manor, a black-and-white romantic costume drama, a bit of musical comedy, and an old-Western-style gunfight inside the movie theater. Meanwhile, the film also performs a shot-by-shot dissection of itself. The same handful of actors play most of the roles. The “disorientating and delightfully deranged” film ends with

Segismundo delivering a soliloquy as the cast roams a beach in suits and sunglasses declaring “Death to nudists” (Robbins, 2014). Yes, it is indeed nearly impossible to make this plot up – it is just bizarre enough that it must be true. It is interesting to note that the film’s French title – which literally translates to “memory of appearances” – goes a long way to suggesting the parallels between memory, dream, and cinema featured in the film. In this whacky, collage-like montage, Ruiz manages to mimic the hazy, bizarre, truth-like-yet-surreal structure of a dream. This dream logic is in turn applied to both the story and *mise en scène*, leading to a film with no reliable chronology or stable reality – a true blurring of fact, memory, and dream.<sup>181</sup>

For those familiar with the work of Ruiz, *Life is a Dream* may result strangely familiar. This is because it shares many traits with another film found in this combination by the same director: *The Blind Owl* (*La Chouette aveugle*), released a year later in 1987, also funded by *La Maison de la Culture*. In fact, the two films were actually conceived as a pair and shot in consecutive years. While *Life is a Dream* has its roots in Pedro Calderón de la Barca’s play, *The Blind Owl* is loosely based on Iranian writer Sadegh Hedayat’s famously complex 1937 Persian magnum opus *The Blind Owl* and 17<sup>th</sup>-century Spanish playwright Tirso de Molina’s *Damned for Despair* (*Condenado por desconfiado*). As such, both of these films share several notable similarities, inasmuch as they are both loosely based on literary works that present a shared point of view that

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<sup>181</sup> For an interesting analysis of this, see Marinescu (2014).

imagination and dreams are no less real than waking reality. These adaptations also both uniquely blur the lines when it comes to defining where creation begins and adaptation ends. With regards to their plots themselves, both *Mémoire des apparences* and *La Chouette aveugle* feature protagonists who hallucinate or dream the very films in which they appear, and this blurring of reality is all the more intensified by an intentional overlap of actors.

*Mémoire des apparences* was released in France in late 1986 – although some accounts claim it was released a year later in 1987, the same year it was released in West Germany and presented at the Toronto Film Festival. It did not receive much critical recognition in its system of origin or as a European film in general. In contrast, *The Blind owl* was later praised as “French cinema’s most beautiful jewel” of its decade, and the French filmmaker-critic Luc Moullet wrote that “it is at once an enormous joke and a cosmic, existential work on the human condition” (Moullet, 1987).

*Mémoire des apparences* was first released in the United States on January 6, 1988, two years after its first release in France, under the name *Life is a Dream*. In the U.S., a dubbed version was distributed in select cinemas and arthouses thanks to the work of IFEX, a global network that seeks to promote and defend freedom of artistic expression. Ten months later, in October, the film was shown at the New York Film Festival. A brief, unopinionated snippet summarizing the film could be found in the *New York Times* on December 30<sup>th</sup> under the title “Chilean’s Life is a Dream.” Apart



from this small recognition of the film's release, scarce information is available regarding its initial reception in the United States. This is not surprising, however, bearing in mind what little of Ruiz's work had reached the States at the time. After all, *Life is a Dream* formed part of the works produced during a period of low-to-no-budget (and bizarrely experimental) cinematography – not exactly the type of film to make it big in U.S. movie theaters. However, thanks to some of the director's later work – most notably, his adaptation of Proust's novel and forays into English language suspense thrillers – later articles published around the time of his death go a long way towards illustrating the overall reception of the cinematic auteur and providing a better context in which to understand the reception of this particular work. According to A.O. Scott in a 2011 review of the work of the filmmaker in *The New York Times* interestingly entitled “A Mild-Mannered Maniac”:

Discovering Raul Ruiz is like stumbling into a secret room in an old, echoey mansion. You lean against a wall, your shoulder innocently trips a hidden mechanism and you find yourself whirled into a hidden chamber. Curios litter every surface, and the walls are lined with old volumes — uniform editions of the collected works of prolific authors whose names ring vague, perhaps imaginary bells. You may recall a name from a college syllabus or a paperback you once saw on someone else's

nightstand, but you had no idea there was such a diverse and enormous body of work. (2011, n.p.)

The review goes on to praise the director who “seems to make films in the way a 19<sup>th</sup>-century polymath might write,” later citing Ruiz’s film adaptation *Time Regained* as “the perfect adaptation of Proust.” A 2000 article in *The Guardian* expressed a similar opinion: “Many directors have tried to film Proust's huge novel, but experimental film-maker Raúl Ruiz may be the first to succeed” (in Romney, 2000). According to a similar article in *The New York Times* in August of 2011, the director’s 1996 film *Three Lives and Only One Death*, starring Marcello Mastroianni, which had been shown at the Cannes Film Festival, marked the beginning of the author’s reaching a broader international audience. His final film, *Mysteries of Lisbon* (2010), is cited as being praised by critics as “the capstone to his career” (Grimes). Only a small reference is made to *Life is a Dream* within these reviews, where it is mentioned as a mere bibliographical side note – it was, after all, based on the director’s stage play, made after Ruiz had been appointed director of the *Maison de Culture* by the French minister of culture.

Meanwhile, the experimental film has garnered a certain degree of attention within academia that is worth mentioning. In "Antidictatorship Neobaroque Cinema: Raúl Ruiz's *Mémoire des apparences* and María Luisa Bemberg's *Yo, la peor de todas*" (2012), Monika Kaup explores how the film appropriates *La vida*

*es sueño* and its exploration of Baroque absolutism to make reference to the tyranny of the Chilean regime. While the films of Ruiz were far from demonstrating the political activism so characteristic of other Chilean filmmakers of his generation, there is no mistaking the reference. In fact, while much attention has often been paid to the unique mnemotechnical devices used in the film,<sup>182</sup> according to Michael Goddard in his extensive 2013 exploration of the director's work, not enough context has been paid to the specific context presented in the film – that is, a former Chilean militant who is clearly still trying to resist the dictatorship even within a setting in which this resistance has become impossible. In this sense, Goddard considers the film to be one of Ruiz's most political films, even if the political is approached through a highly ambiguous and metaphorical lens.

Other researchers have offered a similar perspective, with a focus more directed towards the film's nature as a truly transnational work. As Catherine Benamou states, *Mémoire des apparences* represents “A humanist, self-reflexive premise, a departure from straightforward realism, open narrative discourse (facilitated by the baroque), uneasy plot endings, and a creative exploration of socio-cultural displacement,” which facilitated new forms of authorship through a practice increasingly directed towards collaboration and transnational productions (López-Vicuña & Marinescu, 2017, p. 97). The circumstances attached to Ruiz's exile lend towards this predilection for the baroque, as well as to the director's status as a

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<sup>182</sup> See, for instance, Stern (1995) and Pick (1993).

truly transnational artist. The film was, after all, created after Ruiz's self-exile to France thanks to the European country's funding for the arts. This sort of cinema that transcends borders – a cinema that was in a big way made possible because of exile – is also reminiscent of that of Orson Welles, according to Benamou. It also provides a very interesting case demonstrating this particular combination, as the film exemplifies how political exile served as a means of providing a director with a greater international audience that likely played a key role in the reception of his work in the United States. Whether or not the same film would have reached the United States had Ruiz stayed in Chile is uncertain, of course, but it cannot be denied that the shift from filmmaking within a very periphery film system to a semi-peripheral system helped facilitate the ability of the work to reach a wider audience.

It is also interesting to mention that, much like the work of Orson Welles, the early work of the prolific director never quite reached the same status in his country of birth as it did in Europe. “In the early 90s, for our generation, the figure of Raúl Ruiz was that of a legend: a fascinating and prestigious filmmaker, the most talented of his time, living abroad, with a long list of films of which no one could see, or hardly any, except for some imagined works based on a few photograms, references in interviews, descriptions (mind you this was before the time of YouTube, Torrent, and Netflix),” Valeria De los Ríos writes in her introduction to *Metamorfosis. Aproximaciones al cine y la poética de Raúl Ruiz* (2019). It was only when the director began to come back to Chile in the late 90s

and early 2000s that his status as an “unknown star, and urban legend for the initiated,” began to change in Chile. In 2002, a well-attended retrospective of his work was held at the Cinépolis Chile – a branch of the Australian-based Hoyts cinemas – that marked a milestone for the open reception of the director’s work in Chile, according to De los Ríos. Meanwhile, more recent retrospectives – such as the one held at the Lincoln Center in New York in 2018 interestingly entitled “Life Is a Dream: The Films of Raúl Ruiz” – go a long way to demonstrating the lasting legacy of the director as a celebrated experimental auteur whose work has managed to make its way into the United States.

These aforementioned works are just a few of the numerous academic works dedicated to the examination of the cinema of Raúl Ruiz, of course.<sup>183</sup> They have been mentioned due to their particular focus on the subject of this case study, *Mémoire des apparences*, and also to provide additional information for contextualization of the scholarly reception of this unique film. What is evident through the scarce information available regarding the film’s reception is that *Mémoire des apparences* was clearly limited to the periphery of both its film system of origin and its system of reception, where its showing has been restricted to arthouses and film festivals – something quite common with the work of Raúl Ruiz in general, as William Grime’s 2011 article in *The New York Times* reminds us.

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<sup>183</sup> For a more detailed and extensive analysis, please see De los Ríos & Pinto, eds. (2013), Goddard (2013), López-Vicuña & Marinescu, eds. (2017), and De los Ríos (2019).

Despite the director's wide and prolific variety of films – and several critically praised works – the cinema of Raúl Ruiz remains a labyrinth that most U.S. viewers have not entered. It is too bizarre, too foreign. *Mémoire des apparences* is very reminiscent of this cinema: its whimsical and experimentally stylized adaptation of Pedro Calderón de la Barca's timeless play goes a long way towards continuing to blur the lines between memory, history, nations, literature, film, and adaptation.

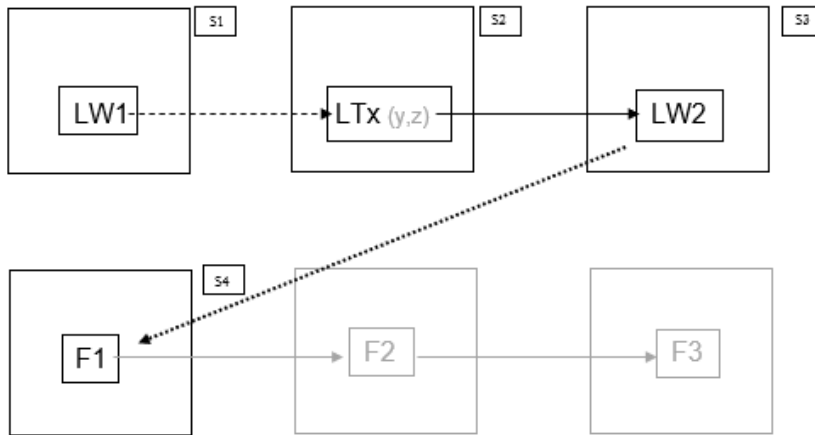
## 4.6 Combination 6

The previous combinations sought to examine the various ways in which literary translation, film adaptation, and audiovisual translation combine in the reception of Spanish literary works in the United States. There is, however, another unique phenomenon in the reception of literary works via film adaptation that deems exploration, and that is the case of a film adaptation made from a literary adaptation.

In this case, a literary work (LW1) is translated into another language (LW2). Then, an adaptation of the work is created within this new literary system (LW3). A film adaptation is made from this literary adaptation. This process may repeat itself via several different literary and film systems until a film that can be traced back to a LW1 (in this case, a Spanish literary work) eventually reaches the target film system (in this case, the US film system). The key is that this final film is not based on LW1 nor its translation (LW2); it is based on another literary adaptation. This transfer process is illustrated in Figure 12.

**Figure 12**

*Combination 6: Intermediate literary adaptation*



*Note.* Film adaptation from a literary translation, in which the blue line indicates the process of literary adaptation. Note how the film adaptation transfer process occurs from Literary Work 2, which is based on a literary translation. After the first film adaptation takes place, other adaptations may occur using this or other versions as a foundation.

The most evident example of this combination can be found in the case of the Don Juan legend, as it was, in fact, the many film adaptations of the legend that drew my attention to this phenomenon to begin with. The relevance of this legend in demonstrating this combination lies in its adherence to a unique phenomenon, i.e., the film adaptation of what I refer to as a “literary adaption.” Thus, it is interesting to explore the historical roots of the Don Juan legend in order to be able trace later film adaptations back to their source texts



to demonstrate an example of this combination within the context of this dissertation. To better explain this unique case, a slightly different approach will be taken in its presentation in comparison with the other case studies in this dissertation. Instead of beginning the analysis by presenting the film adaptations that demonstrate this combination on the final corpus, a brief background will first be provided of the origin and history of the Don Juan legend in literature and film. Later, my findings from the corpus will be provided within the context of this chronology. Finally, an additional analysis of a representative case, that of Alexander Korda's 1934 film *The Private Life of Don Juan*, will be provided.

The legendary fictional libertine that is Don Juan requires little introduction. Best known for his tenacious dedication to the seduction of women, the name "Don Juan" has come to be a generic expression for a womanizer. *Don Juanism*, or *Don Juan Syndrome*, has even become a non-clinical psychiatric descriptor for men with such a desire – a desire that perhaps, according to analytical psychologist Carl Jung, stems from a deeply unconscious urge related to the mother complex. This is, of course, a very recognizable psychological pattern in our patriarchal Western society. It is also a pattern that goes a long way towards explaining the pervasive presence of the Don Juan image and legend throughout history, a legend deeply rooted within the collective subconscious well before it made its way to the page or screen. "He would not be a myth unless he stirred the emotions of most men everywhere," Ann Livermore writes in her 1963 analysis of the

legend. There is, however, a very important aspect of the Don Juan legend that deems special attention here, and that its remarkable association with Spanishness.

“No legend is more Spanish,” José Ortega y Gasset writes, “Like the heart of our nation, it is made of pure contrast, and the anonymous soul that has imagined it seems to have taken pleasure in joining all extremes within it” (1961). According to Livermore, while the Western universality of the figure is recognizable, Don Juan has undoubtedly become a source of pride to Spaniards, many of whom have long insisted on the existence of a historical basis for the legend – a Spanish man of noble birth, the real Don Juan. There have even been studies dedicated to identifying the historical figure on which the legend is believed to be based,<sup>184</sup> although it is likely that the origin of the legend takes us back even earlier than the lives of many of these figures. In fact, in seeking to trace the legend, some researchers have managed to uncover certain similarities with medieval legends: a gallant nobleman who goes to church not for the mass, but to appreciate the women and who later meets with the figure of a dead man who invites him to dine, where is he met with a supernatural warning to fix his sinful ways or meet his death.

There are, however, even earlier legends reminiscent of Don Juan and may have been the original roots from which the legend grew. These are the Spanish and Portuguese songs of *La Noche de San Juan*, St. John’s Eve, the summer solstice festival held in honor of

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<sup>184</sup> See, for instance, the analysis presented by Marañón (1945).

Saint John the Baptist, who had historically been popularly considered the matchmaking saint. The church processions and religious rites that traditionally characterized the holiday were followed by secular celebrations: feasting, bullfights, bonfires, fireworks, and displays of masculine vigor (such as boys and men jumping over the tall flames of bonfires). Many of these traditions continue to this day. Meanwhile, love-seeking spells rooted in pagan traditions were cast on the occasion by young women to channel the saint's powers. According to Livermore, there can be no doubt that the author of the earliest written version of Don Juan, Tirso de Molina, was aware of the overlapping of pagan rites with the celebrations of Christian saints – and if his Don Juan can be linked to these rites in honor of the saint who bears his name, then it may be said that Don Juan boasts a very ancient and noble origin indeed. In fact, the legend holds fascinating elements of not only the Christian-overlaid solstice celebrations, but also references to the wider celebrations in honor of the two-headed Roman god Janus in later adaptations of the legend, such as Mozart's opera. However, despite the clear Spanish roots of the legend, critics admit that these sources only account for a piece of the drama as it was first staged, and it is widely recognized that the original inspiration of the Don Juan legend remains a mystery.

There is, however, far less mystery surrounding the first written version of the Don Juan legend itself: *El burlador de Sevilla y convidado de piedra* ("The Trickster of Seville and the Stone Guest"), a play published in Spain around 1630 by Tirso de Molina.

Tirso de Molina has been credited not only for being the first to bring Don Juan to center stage, but also for having woven together two stories related to the legend and forming a credible drama from both of them. In fact, traces of both of these stories can be found within the title of the play itself, “The trickster of Seville,” and “The Stone Guest.” In this double-edged portrayal of the legend, Don Juan is depicted as an evil tempter who seduces women thanks to his ability to disguise himself. This is, of course, an unquestionably demonic trait, as the devil had long been portrayed as a shape-shifting character with the ability to take on other forms. In Molina’s play, however, the devilish Don Juan not only pursues, but is pursued in turn. He murders the father of one of his victims, Doña Ana, and this father later returns to haunt Don Juan as a ghostly statue and eventually brings the libertine to his death.

Here we find the moralizing intention of Tirso de Molina’s play: the condemnation of vice and sin and the threat of severe spiritual repercussions. While later retellings would eventually take a lighter stance regarding Don Juan’s sins - offering, for example, the opportunity for him to repent – Molina’s Don Juan is not so fortunate. According to biographers,<sup>185</sup> Molina felt that many young people were throwing their lives away because they believed that as long as they made an act of contrition before they died, their sins would automatically be forgiven. This is not the case, argues Molina through this first written version of the Don Juan legend: there is a

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<sup>185</sup> See, for instance, Patterson (1967) and Cotarelo & Mori (1983), among others.

penalty for sin, and some sins are unforgivable. Even the devil himself – represented by the shape-shifting protagonist – cannot escape. Much like a medieval *Danse Macabre*, we find that death itself makes even this nearly larger-than-life, devilish noble our equal in facing eternal judgment. Meanwhile, the theme of honor and chastity – particularly within the context of women’s sexual behavior – is deeply pervasive throughout the play. It is representative of the Golden Age attitude that a woman’s chastity was reflective of her entire family’s honor. The woman seduced by the libertine in Molina’s play appear to fall under his spell effortlessly, and their fathers, husbands, or suitors indeed come rushing to their rescue, for their honor is also at stake. Tirso de Molina’s theological perspective could not be made any clearer through the ending of the play: Don Juan is punished by death itself, and all of the women who have a claim to Don Juan as their husband are declared widows, with the others who had not yet fallen for his seduction free to marry.

Bearing in mind the religious and moral undertones of the very first literary representation of Don Juan, is perhaps unsurprisingly to recall that apart from being a dramatist and poet, Tirso de Molina – the pen name of Gabriel Téllez – was a Roman Catholic priest. Born an illegitimate son of a powerful Andalusian duke in Madrid in 1583, Téllez studied at Alcalá de Henares and went on to join the Order of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mercy (more commonly known as the Mercedarians) in 1600. He was ordained a priest ten years later. He had already been writing plays for several years – his

first play was likely published around 1605 –when he was sent by his superiors on a mission to the West Indies in 1615. He adopted the pen name Tirso de Molina likely to distance his work from his religious career. Nevertheless, Molina made a more official literary premiere upon his return in 1618 at the proceedings of the *Academia poética de Madrid*, where he competed in the literary tournaments. He then began to officially write for the stage (Patterson, 1967).

It is, however, only within the last century that it has been possible to provide an accurate outline of Molina's life and work, as only a fraction of his plays has been preserved. His earliest existing piece dates back to 1605, although it is possible that his plays were performed before this date. By 1634, he claims to have written four hundred plays within the previous twenty years, of which only eight survived. Regarding his reputation in his literary system of origin, there is evidence suggesting that the playwright was very nearly as popular as Lope de Vega, whom Molina is known to have greatly admired. In fact, Molina formed part of Vega's literary circle, thus indicating a central location within the innovative system of Spanish Golden Age literature. However, despite the moralistic leaning of his best-known work, his plays were not without controversy. The very realistic nature of some of his productions allegedly gave rivals an excuse to denounce Molina as a corruptor of public morals to the council of Castile in 1625, and although no action was taken against him, he appears to have been reprimanded privately. It was then thought advisable to transfer him to Salamanca, where he went in 1626, determined to never write for the stage again. Meanwhile, he

continued to work tirelessly on behalf of his order and eventually rose to the position of monastery superior and appointed chronicler of the Order of Mercy in 1632.

Molina did nevertheless return to writing, and another wave of works composed of twelve plays was published in two parts in 1634 and 1635. A fourth and fifth part were published shortly afterward, likely in a haste evident of the author's desire to save part of his work from destruction. All of these later publications bear the name of the author's nephew, Francisco Lucas de Ávila, on the title pages, an indication of Molina's desire to avoid conflict with authorities bearing in mind his elevated clerical position. The possibility of a sixth volume of plays was entertained, but the project abandoned – his work as a playwright ended after the publication of his sixth volume. His duties as the official chronicler of his order occupied him through the years before the end of his life. He went on to become the superior of the monastery at Soria in 1645, where he later died.

*El burlador de Sevilla y convidado de piedra* was first published around 1630. The play was written just after Molina had completed three dramas on Santa Juana. He had been living in Salamanca for several years. The play was included in the second volume of the collection *Doce comedias nuevas de Lope de Vega Carpio y otros autores*, published by Gerónimo Margarit's press in Barcelona. The credits read: "Comedia famosa del Maestro Tirso de Molina." Scarce records are available regarding the play in performance,

however. It may, according to some theorists, have been performed as early as 1616 (Patterson, 1967). Similarly, scarce information is available regarding the reception of this first literary representation of the Don Juan legend. However, it is known that Tirso de Molina's plays were widely enjoyed by the Spanish public, and his friendship with other influential Golden Age playwrights at the time offered him the privilege of being at the center of literary innovation and public attention (Cotarelo & Mori, 1893; Paterson, 1967).

Translations of *El burlador de Sevilla y convidado de piedra* were met with immediate popularity throughout the rest of Europe. The play first appeared in Italy, where several translations were made, the most important of which is considered to be Onofrio Gilberti's free version, published in Naples in 1652 under the title "Il Convitato di Pietra." The play was soon taken up by several traveling theatrical troupes, who appreciated its dramatic possibilities. All of them added their own unique flavors to the story. One of these troupes brought the play to Paris, where it was received with tremendous enthusiasm (Ortiz-Rosado, 2014). French playwrights and actors were immediately interested in Don Juan, and several other versions soon appeared. Among these, we find Parisian actor Dorimond's 1658 "Festin de Pierre" (he had mistakenly taken "Convitato" to mean "Feast" and "Pietra" to mean "Peter," assumed to be the name of the ghost), and "Peter's Feast" went on to enjoy its fair share of success among the French public. We also find Claude Deschamps de Villier's play, "Le Fils Criminel," a liberal adaptation of the Italian translation published in



1660. Such was the popularity of the great Don Juan that it soon caught the attention of the highly celebrated French literary figure Molière (Jean-Baptiste Poquelin). In 1665, he published “Don Juan, ou le Festin de Pierre.” This is, of course, a notably more correct translation of the Italian than Dorimond’s version. However, it is believed that Molière’s play does not, like many other versions, derive from the Italian translations, but from Tirso de Molina’s source text itself. Nevertheless, there may indeed be certain traces of the other French versions, although scarce evidence points to these as Molière’s inspiration (Waxman, 1908).

It was through Molière that Don Juan was introduced to the rest of Europe. As Molière’s name far overshadowed that of Tirso de Molina, it is Molière’s play that typically represents the universally accepted characterization of Don Juan. In this version, the character was, in fact, subject to a slightly pejorative transformation: now, not only was Don Juan a devilish fiend, but also a more hypocritical and cowardly one. Meanwhile, Elvire, Don Juan’s wife, and Sganarelle, Don Juan’s servant, are given more merit and importance: Elvire becomes a pure, loving figure who attempts to convince her husband to lead a better life (Molina did not portray women in such a favorable light), while the endearing Sganarelle brings to life Molière’s talent for mastering comic characters. The plot of the French playwright’s play, however, does follow the thread of events as presented in the original Spanish play overall.

Soon, even more versions were written – this time, based on Moliere’s play. In 1667, French lexicographer and dramatist Thomas Corneille’s version came out, which is, as the author himself states in its introduction, a verse arrangement of Moliere’s play. Three years later, a French actor known as Rosimond wrote another version, “Le Nouveua Festin de Pierre,” which is a hybrid adaptation of all three preceding French plays (although some phrases are even directly taken from Molière’s version). It is interesting to note, however, that as far as several literary critics are concerned, all of these lesser-known French translations are “based on corrupt Italian translations of Tirso’s play” (Waxman, 1908). They are “but pale reflections of Tirso’s ‘Burlador’” (Fitzmaurice-Kelley, 1901).

From France, Don Juan then traveled throughout the rest of Europe. Translations of the French versions were made in nearly every language. In Germany, a number of translations were made from Moliere’s version, while numerous other versions were likely (re)written from the legend itself. Meanwhile, in England, Thomas Shadwell took advantage of the already distorted image of Don Juan and published what is often cited as one of the most appalling, inhuman characterizations in his “Libertine” (1676). Shadwell had not read Tirso de Molina’s play, but his inspiration instead came from several French versions, including Rosimond’s version, which in turn revealed unquestionable borrowings from Dorimond’s, Villiers’s, and Molière’s versions of the theme. Shadwell’s degraded version of Don Juan soon became popular among the

lower classes in Europe, where he was often made the hero of marionette and puppet shows (Díaz-Cuesta, 2005).

By the eighteenth century, it is safe to say that Don Juan had come to stay in Europe. During this time, it is interesting to note the appearance of two noteworthy versions, one in Spain and one in Italy. First, however, it is important to highlight that since Tirso's "Burlador" had taken to the stage in the early 1600s, nothing of great notice had been written for over half a century on the legend in Spain. Antonio de Zamora's "No hay plazo que no se cumpla ni deuda que no se pague y Convidado de piedra," published around 1700 and likely written from Tirso's play with elements of other versions managed to bring the legend back to life in its alleged country of origin. Meanwhile, over three decades later in 1736 in Italy, the great Italian dramatist Carlo Goldoni published his rendition of the legend, "Don Giovanni, o sia Il Dissoluto," which, according to Waxman's 1908 analysis, in reality also appears to be based on an accurate translation of Tirso de Molina's original play, with the only difference being the ending (the statue scenes are eliminated and Don Juan is instead more realistically struck down by lightning). Overall, while not quite as many versions of the Don Juan legend were made during the eighteenth century as the previous century, the libertine remained alive.

Don Juan continued to appear on stages throughout Europe, and it was most notably during the eighteenth century that the Don Juan legend was also adapted to music. Here, two versions are worth

special mention. First, there is composer Christoph Willibald von Gluck's 1760 ballet "Don Juan ou Le Festin de Pierre," which was first performed in Vienna in 1761 and represented an innovative work in the history of ballet. Second, we have a work that cannot be ignored: the great Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's opera. "Don Giovanni" – the commonly and popularly used title of the two-act opera "Il dissoluto punito, ossia il Don Giovanni", premiered with the Prague Italian opera at the National Theater of Bohemia on October 29, 1787. The libretto was written by librettist Lorenzo Da Ponte and was modeled after Goldoni's *Don Giovanni* (which, in turn, had been modeled off of Tirso de Molina's play). However, the librettist later admitted in his memoir that his libretto was also based on a libretto by Giovanni Bertati for the opera *Don Giovanni Tenorio* (composed by Giuseppe Gazzaniga, and interestingly also adapted from Molina's play), which had premiered in Venice earlier that same year (the very same day and city as Francesco Gardi's opera *Don Giovanni* premiered).<sup>186</sup> In the case of Bertati's libretto, some of the most important elements that Da Ponte copied included the idea of opening the drama with the murder of the Commendatore (in earlier versions, this appeared somewhere in the middle), and the omission of specifying Seville as the setting, as had been customary in Don Juan dramas since the appearance of the libertine himself. Instead, the setting is simply "a city in Spain."<sup>187</sup> The opera was billed as a *dramma giocoso*, a common designation during the

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<sup>186</sup> See the analysis in Freeman (2013).

<sup>187</sup> This represented an interesting shift in transplanting Don Juan's Andalusian roots. See Freeman (2013) for a detailed discussion of Da Ponte's vague specification.

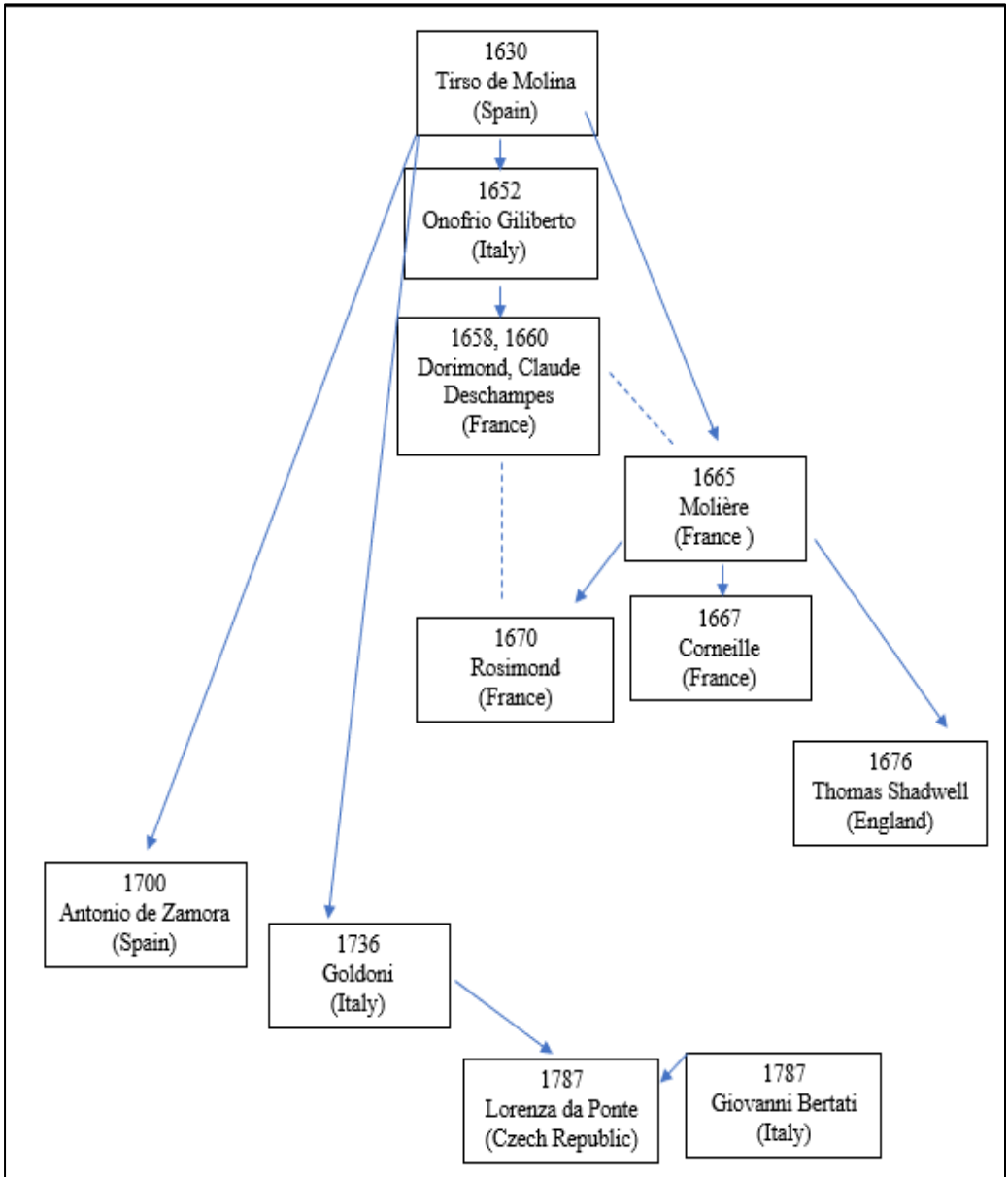
period that suggested a mixture of serious and comic action. However, Mozart himself entered the work into his catalog as an *opera buffa*. Regarding the plot, it is interesting to note that, unlike Goldini's version on which it was based, the scenes with the statue remain. Don Juan remains a fiend, of course, but he is artistically elevated in his operatic form. Meanwhile, it is also interesting to note Mozart's slightly more modern approach to the sinner, who is allowed to repent before his eventual demise – an opportunity Tirso de Molina clearly would not have permitted. Of course, it is well known that *Don Giovanni* is widely regarded as one of Mozart's supreme masterpieces – if not his finest work – and one of the greatest operas of all time. Much could be written on the critical praise of this work alone, but perhaps it is enough to say that at one point the celebrated composer Richard Wagner said that there was nothing in music more completely beautiful than every piece in Mozart's *Don Giovanni*. This is, of course, the version of the Don Juan that many westerners are most familiar with today, a version that is likely being performed on some stage in the world even as this sentence is being written (it was, in fact, also very recently performed at the Liceu opera house in Barcelona, where an interesting analysis of Don Juan within the contemporary struggle for gender equality and the #MeToo movement was provided in the playbook).

It is important to note that up until the nineteenth century, all renderings of the legend could in some way be traced back to Tirso de Molina's "Burlador." Few new situations had been introduced,

if any. In fact, it is here where I would like to provide a very basic visual conceptual representation of how these works can be traced back to Molina's play, in the following figure:

**Figure 13**

*The early roots of the Don Juan legend, 1630 (Tirso de Molina) to 1787 (Mozart's opera)*



*Note.* Straight arrows demonstrate officially recognized sources, while broken arrows indicate likely uncredited sources.

From the figure, the traceable links to Tirso de Molina's play can be more easily observed. However, it is important to recognize that this figure is very simplistic, as only the most recognized and basic links are shown and it is very likely that other influences also figured in the creation of these new adaptations, not to mention each author's unique personal approach. Nevertheless, it does allow for better visualization of the early works based on the myth. Bearing in mind these links, it may be said that the majority of the best-known literary renderings of the Don Juan legend do indeed have their roots in Tirso de Molina's play up until around the nineteenth century, and therefore later film versions based on these works may be said to represent film adaptations of literary adaptations, a concept which will be explored in further detail later in this chapter.

However, it is important to add that it is around this time when Don Juan undergoes a powerful transformation. In the early nineteenth century, attempts at loyalty to previous source texts were blatantly abandoned as Don Juan became "the creature of the author's fancy, and in some cases, nothing but his name remains" (Waxman, 1908, p. 195). After all, could there be any theme more appealing to a Romanticist than Don Juan? The dramatic and poetic possibilities of Don Juan were fully appreciated by early nineteenth-century authors, and the character became the subject of countless plays, poems, and novels (not to mention renditions in other forms, such



as painting, music, and dance). There were so many renditions, in fact, that listing them in their entirety is very easily a subject of a book itself. That said, I will provide a basic summary of those relevant to the context of this case study.<sup>188</sup>

According to Samuel Waxman, the first author to revive the theme was likely the popular German romanticist E.T.A. Hoffmann, who in his 1812 story provides a unique psychological analysis of the characters in Mozart's opera with the addition of morbid and fantastic elements. However, it is undoubtedly Lord Byron's epic poem that represents the best-known treatment of the legend in the nineteenth century. The first canto of the – likely unfinished - over 550-page-poem was written in 1819, but the poem in its entirety was not published until shortly before the author's premature death in 1824.<sup>189</sup> Here, we have an entirely new characterization of Don Juan: a young, daring Spanish hero who arguably resembles Lord Byron himself. In this version, Don Juan's immoral deeds are excused in the same way Byron would excuse his own childish pranks. Similarly, Byron's Don Juan does not seduce women by false promises and trickery, but by his magnetic personality, handsome bearing, and ready wit. In fact, he does not even need to

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<sup>188</sup> There have, of course, been several on the topic, among which Singers 1993 annotated bibliography of versions and adaptations deems mentioning, as well as Sumillera's survey of the myth of Don Juan on stage up to the Victorian times.

<sup>189</sup> The poem is in sixteen cantos but features a rather abrupt ending. Thus, it is likely that Byron intended to write twenty-four cantos following his plan to write an epic. This is supported by the fact that he was said to have intended to have the hero of the poem guillotined in the French Revolution at the end (Waxman, 1908).

go out and seek new conquests – his charm naturally brings them right to him. This represents a tremendous shift in characterization in comparison with Tirso de Molina’s and even Mozart’s Don Juan, who both hide behind their disguises and are in the endless pursuit of new victims. While Byron’s celebrated poem is not nearly as read today as Mozart’s opera is viewed, its importance in the history of the Don Juan legend lies in its representation of the birth of an entirely new breed of Don Juan, one which, as we will see later, can be found in its fair share of film adaptations.

Meanwhile, Don Juan was an extremely popular character in France during the first half of the nineteenth century. Traces of the character managed to appear in the works of countless major French authors, although no works managed to stand out in the way that Byron’s had in England. Scenes from Don Juan appear in Alfred de Musset’s poetry and one of his plays, in one of Théophile Gautier’s poems, and even in a posthumous sketch of a novel left behind by Gustave Flaubert. Around this time, it is also interesting to note the appearance of a new name for Molina’s “burlador”: *Juan de Marana*. While various critics have attempted to prove that Juan de Marana, a Sevillian count, was, in fact, the historical name of the legendary libertine, this could not be verified, and instead only served to provide a realistic conception of another version of the character, a Don Juan who allegedly repents and relents before his death. This new name appears in many of the French contributions to the theme at the time. It can be found, for example, in Prosper Merimee’s 1834 “Ames du Purgatoire,” which presents an action-

packed tale of a saintly youth who is later corrupted by a schoolmate, goes on to live his life of conflict and debauchery, but eventually renounces his criminal ways and becomes a priest. This, in turn, represented yet another “storehouse for future adaptations” (Waxman, 1908, p. 197). Along these lines we find Alexandre Dumas senior’s 1836 play *Juan de Marana, ou la Chute d’un ange*, which also presents the innovative element of a spiritual woman who loves Don Juan and tries to make him change his ways – a characterization that made its first appearance in Moliere’s play, it is interesting to recall. In this sense, the image of women is elevated. Add to this the addition of certain supernatural elements of the Faust legend,<sup>190</sup> and you have Dumas’ play, which is significant in that its plot is most easily comparable with what is arguably the best-known version of the Don Juan legend among the modern Spanish public, José de Zorrilla’s *Don Juan Tenorio*.

*Don Juan Tenorio: Drama religioso-fantástico en dos partes* (“Don Juan Tenorio: Religious-Fantasy Drama in Two Parts”) was written in 1844 and represents the most romantic of the two best-known Spanish-language literary interpretations of the Don Juan legend. In this version, Zorrilla shifts his tone from the moralistic threats of Tirso de Molina’s play and instead presents a more carefree but psychologically conflicted Don Juan. The bold, defiant libertine is now placed in the sixteenth century (in Molina’s version, his story takes place in the twelfth century), and we also find the introduction

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<sup>190</sup> See Blackall (1978) for an interesting analysis of the similarities between the Don Juan and Faustian legends.

of a character who serves to corrupt Don Juan, as was introduced in Dumas' play. However, the powerful force of the pious love of Don Juan's wife Inés eventually leads to his salvation, for just as he is about to be conducted to hell by the ghost of Don Gonzalo, Inés rescues him.<sup>191</sup> This is the happy ending Molina would not have dared to pen in his threatening and moralistic work. While still very religious in its nature, the lighter undertone and happy ending of Zorrilla's play managed to strike a tone with Spaniards, and the play became immensely popular in its country of origin. In fact, *Don Juan Tenorio* is widely considered the longest-running play in Spain. This is because it has become a tradition of both Spanish and Mexican theater to perform Don Juan Tenorio on All Saints Day or Day of the Dead, respectively, so the play has therefore been performed at least once a year for over a century. The play also represents one of the most lucrative plays in Spanish history, although Zorrilla himself did not, unfortunately, benefit from this. Zorrilla originally sold the rights to the play not long after he finished it, not expecting it to be very successful. (Apparently, he later wrote sharp criticisms of the work in an attempt to get it discontinued long enough for him to revise it and market a second version himself, but these attempts were unsuccessful). What is so interesting about this particularly significant Spanish adaptation is that it not only represents such a central play in Spanish drama and culture, but also that it represents a sort of middle ground between

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<sup>191</sup> For an interesting analysis on the theme of salvation in Don Juan, see Cornejo (2011), as well as Feal (1986) for an analysis of the role of women in the character's salvation.

Tirso de Molina's biting moralistic warning and the romantic French versions of the tale, most notably that of Dumas. Gone is Lord Byron's dashing figure, and in his stead, we find a more complex but significantly more Catholic-friendly image.

Don Juan had also made his way into Spanish poetry, of course. In fact, we find his legend in the work of Zorrilla himself, who was, apart from being a dramatist, also well-known as a folklore poet. His long lyrical poem "La Leyenda de Don Juan" and two minor poems "El Desafío del Diablo" and "El Testigo de Bronce" are testament to the writer's fascination with the legend. In addition, it is important to mention the work of the great Spanish romanticist José de Espronceda, an admirer and follower of Lord Byron. Espronceda's rendition of the legend through protagonist Felix de Montemar, "Estudiante de Salamanca," appeared for the first time in a collection of his poems published in 1840. This dramatic poem employs a variety of techniques and meter while, according to Samuel Waxman, portraying "the Don Juan of old, the Don Juan of Tirso, the fearless and daring libertine" (1908, p. 200). Meanwhile, traces of Merimee's novel can also be found in the protagonist's status as a student, and although he pursues his sinful behavior until the end, he is eventually united in a spiritual marriage with Elvira, a maid who died out of love for him. To add to the Spanish legend in romantic poetry in Spain, we also find the poem "El Nuevo Don Juan," by Lopez de Ayala. Published in 1863, Ayala's poem presents a comedy of manners in which a Byronic-type protagonist tries to dishonor the wife of an acquaintance (it was not, it deems

noting, considered one of Ayala's best works). In addition, Ramón de Campoamor's poetic continuation of Byron's Don Juan, "Don Juan: (pequeño poema)," depicts an aged Don Juan who repents of his wickedness and writes to each of his former victims begging for their forgiveness in its first part ("The women on earth.") Meanwhile, in the second part of Campoamor's poem, "The women in Heaven," Don Juan is faced with their reproach, where only Julia, who remained true to him on earth despite his sinfulness, now stands by him in Heaven.

Keeping with the nineteenth century, it is also important to mention Charles Baudelaire's *Don Juan aux enfers (Don Juan in Hell)*, released in two parts in 1857 and 1861, as well as *Don Juans Ende*, a play derived from an unfinished 1844 retelling of the tale by Austrian poet Nikolaus Lenau, which in turn inspired Richard Strauss's orchestral tone poem, *Don Juan*. The play premiered in 1889 at the Weimer opera house where Strauss served as music director and conducted the orchestra. In Lenau's deeply psychological retelling of the story, Don Juan's promiscuity stems from his determination to find the ideal woman. He even despairs that he can never find her and surrenders to a melancholy that brings about his own death. This is a very interesting read from a psychological perspective, as it bears traceable similarities to Carl Jung's later analysis of the legend and is in some ways reminiscent of Herman Hesse's *Narcissus and Goldmund*, a work that is strongly rooted in man's futile search for the mother and divine feminine. While this is a perspective that has not been as widely

adopted in retellings of the legend, it represents yet another noteworthy retelling of the legend.

Several other interesting readaptations of the legend appeared in the 1900s that deem mention, particularly because of their relationship to the Don Juan legend in film. In 1920, we find French dramatist Henry Bataille's *L'Homme à la rose*, which later made its way to the silver screen in Alexander Korda's 1934 film *The Private Life of Don Juan*. In 1926, a similar adaptation occurred from Jules-Amédée Barbey d'Aurevilly's short story "Le plus bel amour de Don Juan," the source of inspiration for highly celebrated Swedish director Ingmar Bergman's 1960 retelling of the Don Juan legend *The Devil's Eye*. In Italy, Vitaliano Brancati's novel *Don Giovanni in Sicilia* was published in 1941, which also inspired a later film adaptation of the same name.

These are, of course, just some of the most remarkable and well-known literary retellings of the Don Juan legend. They do not in any way represent the entirety of the work created surrounding this theme, nor do they represent the other creative genres in which Don Juan can be found – such as art, music, dance, etc. - for which another dissertation would be likely be needed. It is also important to highlight that this chronology has been very obviously written from a Western European lens, as it has not dealt with the numerous cases in which the Don Juan legend appears in Eastern European and Russian literature, an extensive topic that would also require a

separate detailed investigation.<sup>192</sup> However, it is the remarkably extensive body of these works that make the case of Don Juan so unique and fascinating. For while the majority of these texts are not considered to be adaptations of Tirso de Molina's source text, they can, in some way, be traced back to the first representation of Don Juan on the page. Thus, they are, in this sense, literary adaptations: retellings of the same legend through countless lenses, each with their own degree of faithfulness to the text that first managed to capture Don Juan on the page.

To continue with this chronology, it is, of course, important to highlight that there have also been many modern and contemporary retellings of the Don Juan legend in literature, while none of them arguably reached the same degree of fame as some of the previously mentioned adaptations. However, it is in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century when Don Juan began to make his way into another creative medium of particular interest to this dissertation: film. Thus, in order to both continue tracing the Don Juan legend throughout history and bring us to the purpose of this case study, it is best to now shift focus to film.

The first case of Don Juan in film takes us very nearly to the beginning of the medium itself. In fact, the libertine managed to make his way into film less than a decade after Nikolaus Lenau's previously mentioned play premiered in Germany. However, the

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<sup>192</sup> See, for instance, Göbler's 2020 German language book *Don Juan in der russischen Literatur*.



first known film adaptation of the Don Juan legend takes us not only across mediums but also across the Atlantic, for it is Mexican director Salvador Toscano's 1898 short silent adaptation of José Zorrilla's play that holds the honor of being the first film adaptation of the Don Juan legend. Salvador Toscano is widely considered to be Mexico's first filmmaker, and *Don Juan Tenorio* represents the first feature-length short in Mexico. Here, it is, of course, interesting to note that the film was based on Zorrilla's play, particularly bearing in mind the previously mentioned popularity of the play in both Spain and Mexico, as well as the play's unique ties to Tirso de Molina's original adaption of the Don Juan Legend.

In fact, what makes analyzing the Don Juan legend in film so interesting is the diverse array of source texts on which the numerous adaptations are based. According to my research, approximately 84 film adaptations of the Don Juan legend have been made throughout history in Europe and the Americas, which will be listed on the next page. This is, of course, bearing in mind that many of these films represent filmed versions of Mozart's opera and numerous examples were presented as made-for-TV movies (for the sake of this analysis, made-for-TV episodes recognized as bearing traces of the legend have been omitted). Here, however, it is important to highlight that this quantity is likely in no way definitive or exhaustive for two main reasons. First, in searching for these adaptations, I was limited to the Latin alphabet. Therefore, any instances of "Don Juan" appearing in titles in any other alphabets – such as the Russian Cyrillic alphabet – cannot be found

here. Second, and perhaps more obviously, the sheer quantity of the adaptations made from the Don Juan legend means that many works are likely missing from this list. Thus, it is important to highlight that the following is nowhere near an exclusive list of all film adaptations of the Don Juan legend throughout history – a task which fell outside of the limitations and scope of this corpus. However, it does represent a fairly exhaustive list of film adaptations of the Don Juan legend in Western Europe and the Americas to the best of my knowledge. As such, it provides an interesting means of tracing the Don Juan legend in film throughout history, most notably through its ability to provide a means of tracing the documented source texts of these films.

The films are listed in chronological order in Appendix 14. The table also includes information regarding the director, release country (film system of origin), and source text (when recognized, as some adaptations bear the name of “Don Juan” but were made simply from the legend itself). Bearing in mind that many of these films were not based on works of Spanish literature and did not reach the United States and therefore are not found on the final corpus of this dissertation, an overall analysis will be provided following this general list, followed by an analysis of the works that have indeed been imported to the United States.

First, it is interesting to observe the remarkable presence of the Don Juan legend in film throughout history. In fact, this may arguably be one of the most explored legends in film. Much like the

previously explored case of *Don Quijote* (Section 4.1), hardly five years have gone by throughout history without a film adaptation of the Don Juan legend. Film adaptations of the Don Juan legend have been steadily released in the West throughout film history, bar a few small breaks, such as during World War II. The likely reason for this, as previously explored in Combination 1 within the context of the case of *Don Quijote*, is the need to dedicate cinema to wartime efforts, and the image of Don Juan was perhaps deemed unsuitable for this. However, Vincent Sherman's foreignizing Hollywood adaptation of the dashing Spanish hero *Adventures of Don Juan* came out just three years after the war ended, demonstrating that little time was wasted in bringing Don Juan back to the silver screen.

Next, it is important to note that despite the notably extensive nature of this list, only one of these films is listed on the final corpus: René Cardona's 1937 Mexican adaptation of *Don Juan Tenorio* (Combination 1). This is because this is the only film that meets the criteria for the final corpus, as it has both been recognized as an adaptation from a work of Spanish literature and was imported into the United States. Meanwhile, all of the rest of the films on this list are either not adaptations from a *Spanish* work of literature (i.e., Tirso de Molina's play or José de Zorrilla's later version) and instead are adaptations from one of the other previously mentioned versions of the legend or were not recognized to have been imported into the United States. Thus, while these films do not form part of the primary analysis of this dissertation, this list does provide a

fascinating glimpse at the Don Juan legend in film throughout history.

That said, what is perhaps most evident upon first glance is that despite the Spanish origins of the Don Juan legend, very few of these films have actually been based on works of Spanish literature. In fact, of the 84 films featured on this list, only about a fourth of them are based on the work of a Spanish author, and nearly all of these are credited to be based on the work of one author in particular: José de Zorrilla, whose *Don Juan Tenorio* has been the most instrumental Spanish work in the diffusion of the Don Juan legend in film. Meanwhile, Tirso de Molina is only credited once on this list, in the case of José Luis Sáenz de Heredia's 1950 film *Don Juan*, for which both Spanish playwrights are credited. This is unsurprising bearing in mind the previously mentioned renown of the latter Spaniard's play both in Spain and the Americas. Meanwhile, while Tirso de Molina's Golden Age play may have been the first written version of the Don Juan legend – and arguably the source of many of the versions to come, including that of José de Zorrilla – his name often remains a footnote in the history of Don Juan in film.

It is, of course, impossible not to notice the remarkable presence of Mozart's adaptation in film. There are a total of 33 films recognized as adaptations of Lorenzo da Ponte's libretto on this list, therefore Lorenzo da Ponte's libretto likely represents the source text of approximately 40% of all film adaptations of the Don Juan legend

between the origins of cinema and the year 2018. Here, however, it is important to clarify several things. First, it is likely that the vast majority of these adaptations are not films in the traditionally understood sense, but filmed versions of the opera itself. They therefore likely were subject to a more limited diffusion (in many cases, made-for-TV recordings or specific cultural venues). Thus, they are so prevalent and abundant because of their musical and cultural value – not, necessarily, for their cinematic value. Thus, while Lorenzo da Ponte’s libretto clearly represents one of the most significant means through which the Don Juan legend has been spread throughout the world, it may not necessarily be the most viewed cinematic version. Instead, it is likely that José de Zorrilla’s aforementioned play has arguably proven to be one of the most influential source texts in the Don Juan legend in film, in addition to several other important authors and the overall legend itself.

With regards to the former, there are, of course, other significant source texts and authors found on this list that deem mentioning. Molière’s play is credited as the source text of four film adaptations of the Don Juan legend – Alberto Lattuada’s 1967 *Don Juan in Sicily*, Mario Missiroli’s 1977 *Don Giovanni*, Gonzalo Suárez’ critically celebrated 1991 *Don Juan in Hell*, and Jacques Weber’s 1998 *Don Juan* – only one of which (Weber’s) was actually made within the French film system itself. Meanwhile, Lord Byron’s dashing romantic hero is credited to have provided the source for a total of three films: Alan Crosland’s silent 1926 *Don Juan* (famous for its star planting a total of 191 kisses throughout the film, an

average of one in less than every minute), Jeremy Leven's 1995 modern retelling *Don Juan DeMarco* (starring Johnny Depp as a psychotic young man who is convinced he is Don Juan), and Remo Venzani's 2009 lesser-known Austrian retelling, *Don Juan*. In this case, we have a source text that inspired two Hollywood retellings of the legend, both of which enjoyed some degree of popularity (but were not, it might be added, blockbusters). In addition, there are also several other films whose retellings of the legend have served as the source texts for a handful of adaptations throughout history: French playwright Henry Bataille, whose play is credited as inspiring the script for Alexander Korda's 1934 British film *The Private Life of Don Juan*; French novelist and short story writer Jules-Amédée Barbey d'Aurevilly's (Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly) *Le plus bel amour de Don Juan*, which inspired world-renowned Swedish director Ingmar Bergman's 1960 film *The Devil's Eye*; Vitaliano Brancati's 1941 novel *Don Giovanni in Sicilia*, which was the source of Alberto Lattuada's 1967 Italian film of the same name; and Russian playwright Samuil Aljoschin's play, which inspired Arvo Kruusement's musical 1967 Estonian adaptation of the legend, *Don Juan in Tallinn*, in which the infamous libertine is a woman.

The latter of these film adaptations provides a very interesting example of what makes the Don Juan legend in film so unique, and that is its creative malleability. So many versions of the story have existed throughout history that Don Juan is no longer simply a literary hero, but a piece of clay that can be molded into whatever

form the artist desires. In several modern retellings – such as the aforementioned Estonian film and Roger Vadim’s 1973 *Don Juan (Or If Don Juan Were a Woman)* – the womanizer has become a woman. Meanwhile, we also have versions such as that of actor-turned-director Joseph Gordon-Levitt, whose 2013 retelling of the legend re-imagines Don Jon through the story of a porn addict who must come to terms with his difficulty in achieving true intimacy. While very different in their settings and plots, all of these versions share crucial, unchanging characteristics that still define them as film adaptations of the Don Juan legend as opposed to any other legend or innovative story.

These key elements that define the Don Juan legend are, according to French literary theorist Jean Rousset (1978), quite simply: the hero, the group of women, and death. However, I would argue that perhaps they may be better interpreted in a more modern light as the hero, the interplay between masculinity and femininity, and loss. The hero may be male or female, but s/he is always bold, lustful, powerful, seductive, and/or immoral. The hero’s traditionally direct, masculine nature stands in stark contrast to the passive, feminine nature of the group s/he pursues or seduces. As readers or viewers, we recognize that this hero represents something (for why else would s/he be so fascinating and so prevalent?). However, we also recognize that this *something* is unbalanced and often perverse. Thus, Western patriarchal society has condemned or praised Don Juan’s behavior differently throughout history: he (or she) may be a deceitful sinner, an erred man in need of redemption, or a

psychologically imbalanced character. His (or her) charm threatens to steal the hearts of the women (or men) away from their suitors or partners. This is a dangerous seduction, and here enters the loss: perhaps it is Don Juan's behavior itself that has led to this loss in the form of the murder of the father of one of his victims and a ghost that returns to haunt him. Or maybe it is a deeper, more psychological loss: the ever-allusive mother who he desperately seeks in every woman he seduces. Early literary and film versions of the legend tended to extort this loss for religious and moralistic purposes, as was the case in Tirso de Molina's play or Mozart's opera. Other versions, such as those stemming from Lord Byron's poem, treat this loss more lightly, as the inevitable "broken eggs" that come with the bold, enigmatic Don Juan omelet. Modern film versions often lend a more sympathetic hand to our hero. This may be in the form of redemption through the feminine (Don Juan meets his match), thus allowing the formerly distorted interplay between masculine and feminine to be resolved (see, for instance, the film adaptations from Zorrilla's play, Ingmar Bergman's retelling, and even Gordon-Levitt's *Don Jon*). Or it may be our sympathy for the psychologically imbalanced protagonist (such as Don Juan DeMarco), whose romantic value is eventually demonstrated. Overall, it is the interaction and remarkable adaptability of these three key elements of the Don Juan legend that leads to a wide variety of storytelling possibilities, many of which can be seen in the films represented on this list.



It is also what makes this combination so interesting, for here we have a legend with traceable Spanish roots that has found its way into film on numerous occasions, some of which have been made or imported into the United States. Now, to better understand the presence of the Don Juan legend in the United States in film, it is first important to clarify which of the aforementioned films were also imported into the United States (following the criteria specified in the methodology of this dissertation). They are as follows:

**Table 14**

*Film adaptations of the Don Juan legend in the United States*

<b>Year</b>	<b>Film title</b>	<b>Director</b>	<b>Release Country</b>	<b>Source text author</b>
1908	Don Juan	Albert Capellani	Italy	Unlisted
1925	The Lucky Horseshoe	John G. Blystone	United States	Unlisted
1926	Don Juan	Alan Crosland	United States	Lord Byron
1934	The Private Life of Don Juan	Alexander Korda	United Kingdom	Henry Bataille
1937	Don Juan Tenorio	René Cardona	Mexico	José Zorrilla
1942	Loves of Don Juan	Dino Falconi	Italy	Unlisted
1948	Adventures of Don Juan	Vincent Sherman	United States	Unlisted
1955	Don Juan	Walter Kolm-Veltée	Austria	Lorenzo da Ponte
1955	Mozart's Don Giovanni	Paul Czinner	United Kingdom	Lorenzo da Ponte

1956	Don Juan	John Berry	France, Italy, Spain	Unlisted
1960	The Devil's Eye	Ingmar Bergman	Sweden	Jules- Amédée Barbey d'Aurevilly
1973	Don Juan, or If Don Juan Were a Woman	Roger Vadim	France, Italy	Unlisted
1979	Don Giovanni	Joseph Losey	France, Italy, West Germany	Lorenzo da Ponte
1990	Don Juan, mi querido fantasma	Antonio Mercero	Spain	Unlisted
1995	Don Juan DeMarco	Jeremy Leven	United States	Lord Byron
2000	Don Giovanni	Gary Halvorson	United States	Lorenzo da Ponte
2010	Don Giovanni	Frank Zomacona	United States	Lorenzo da Ponte
2013	Don Jon	Joseph Gordon- Levitt	United States	Unlisted

*Note.* Film adaptations of the Don Juan legend or any recognized literary adaptation that have been imported or released in the United States.

There are, overall, a total of 18 films based on the Don Juan legend that have been made or released in the United States throughout history, according to my research. This is, of course, a loose approximation bearing in mind the fact that the previous list in this case study likely not exclusive. Thus, no definitive conclusions can be made regarding the overall percentage of film adaptations of the Don Quixote legend that are imported into the United States. This list does, however, allow for some interesting observations

regarding the literary works on which the U.S. film version of the legend were made. It also allows for the observation of the focus of this particular combination: the case of film adaptations based on literary adaptations.

Based on this list, a total of five patterns in the films based on the Don Juan legend in the United States can be observed. First, we have the case of a single film based on a Spanish work of literature – in this case, José Zorrilla’s play. Thus, Mexican director René Cardon’s 1937 film *Don Juan Tenorio* can be found on the final corpus of this thesis. It forms part of Combination 1. Second, we have an abundant case of films for which no source text is credited. These are adaptations based on the Don Juan legend itself, for while no source text has been credited, the title and essential elements of the legend form part of these films. Half of the films on this list demonstrate this pattern. Third, we find another rather abundant case, and that is films based on Lorenzo da Ponte’s libretto (Mozart’s opera). There is a total of five of these films. While several do possess a certain degree of cinematic independence and were released in select cinemas – namely, Joseph Losey’s lush 1979 adaptation and Walter Kolm-Veltée’s 1955 musical adventure – the majority are simply recordings of a performance of the opera that were often limited to television releases. Next, in the fourth instance, we find films based on the Don Juan legend told through the French literary perspective: those based on Henry Bataille’s play (Alexander Korda’s 1934 *The Private Life of Don Juan*) or Jules-Amédée Barbey d’Aurevilly’s short story (Ingmar Bergman’s 1960

film *The Devil's Eye*). It is interesting to note that while the literary works on which both of these films were based originated in the French literary system, neither of these films were made within the French film system. In fact, to the best of my knowledge, none of the films based on the Don Juan legend made within the French literary system were imported into the United States.<sup>193</sup> Instead, in this case, we find two quite central players within both the British and Swedish film systems, respectively.

Finally, in the fifth pattern, we find the case of films based on an English language adaptation of the Don Juan legend – namely, Lord Byron's epic poem. Bearing in mind that the previous list only included a total of three films based on this literary work, it is interesting to note that two of them can be found on this list because they were, in fact, made in the U.S. film system itself. In both Alan Crosland's 1926 *Don Juan* and Jeremy Leven's 1995 *Don Juan DeMarco*, we find traces of Molina's, Zorrilla's, or even Mozart's protagonist. Instead, Byron's dashing, swashbuckling hero dominates Hollywood. In action-packed *Don Juan*, Don Juan can have nearly any woman except the one he truly loves, while he goes up against a powerful ruling family. Meanwhile, in *Don Juan DeMarco*, we find the case of a delusional man who believes he is Don Juan and manages to bring romance into the lives of everyone he meets, including his therapist. Both films allowed for the ticket-selling screen time of "heartthrob" male stars (John Barrymore and

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<sup>193</sup> This is, of course, bearing in mind the parameters established for the determination of the reception of films, which can be found in Section 2.3.

Don Juan DeMarco). And while neither was particularly celebrated within its film system of origin, they both were more commercially successful than the majority of the other films on this list.

It is, of course, important to highlight that the second to fifth previously mentioned cases do not feature any films that can be found on the final corpus or within any of the other combinations. This is because they were not recognized as being a direct adaptation from a Spanish literary work – one of the basic parameters for the compilation of the thesis, as previously mentioned. However, that does not mean that they do not possess an interesting link to a Spanish literary work. Bearing in mind that the purpose of this dissertation is to explore the presence and reception of Spanish literature in the United States through film, it is now time to recognize the fascinating nature of the Don Juan legend: it provides the possibility for a very unique phenomenon, and that is the case of a film adaptation made from a literary adaptation. As mentioned at the beginning of this case study, this combination involves a literary work that is translated into another language. A literary adaptation of the work is created within this new literary system. A film adaptation is then made from this literary adaptation. Now, bearing in mind that the object of this study is to examine the reception of *Spanish* literature in the United States through film, this combination can be demonstrated in the case of film adaptations made from literary adaptations of either Tirso de Molina or José de Zorrilla's plays. As previously demonstrated in Figure 13, clear links between the majority of early

literary adaptations of the Don Juan legend and Tirso de Molina's play can be found. Thus, it may be said that any film based on a literary work with a direct link to one of these plays is, in fact, a film adaptation of a literary adaptation of a Spanish literary work. While this assumption may appear to be a bit of a stretch on the surface, it is theoretically important to explore this possibility in that it does indeed represent a traceable means through which Spanish literature has been imported into the United States through film – and is, to the best of my knowledge, a previously unexplored hypothetical combination.

As we saw in Figure 13, there are, to the best of my knowledge, four non-Spanish Western literary adaptations that can be directly traced to Tirso de Molina's source text: Onofrio Giliberto's 1652 play, Molière's 1665 play, and Goldoni's 1736 opera (on which Mozart's opera is based). Bearing this in mind, it is now time to shift attention to the previously explored literary works that can be found represented on this list and their connection to Tirso de Molina and Zorrilla's plays. To do this, the case of films based on the Don Juan legend itself (for which no source literary texts are credited) can, of course, be disregarded. So, too, can the case of the film directly based on Zorrilla's play, as it is already accounted for in Combination 1. That leaves the films based on Lord Byron's poem, the French literary adaptations, and those based on Mozart's opera. In the case of the former, Lord Byron's poem was likely in some way influenced by the French Don Juan tradition, for he was indeed aware of Molière's version, as the French playwright actually

happens to be mentioned by name in Stanza 94, Canto XIII, of his poem. However, Byron's somewhat satirical approach to the legend is more representative of the popular treatment of Don Juan in Victorian England during his lifetime, where "the Don had metamorphosed from an impious overreacher, thankfully consigned to Hell, into the pasteboard villain of musical comedy" (Franklin, 2006, p. 19). Meanwhile, there is scarce evidence to suggest that Byron's adaptation was made from either of the Spanish adaptations – or any other direct literary adaptation of them, for that matter. While all elements of the legend can clearly be found – and it could perhaps be argued that the poem does indeed bear traces of the immorality that so distinguished fellow Englishman Thomas Shadwell's 1667 literary adaptation – it is likely that Byron's poem did not model itself after any of these texts and instead represented a literary innovation. This is a relatively safe assumption bearing in mind the new characterization of the Don Juan hero that it offered.

Regarding the films based on French literary adaptations, it is probable that both of the French literary works on which these films are based can in some way be traced back to Moliere's play – which, of course, is in turn recognized to have been adapted from Molina's play. However, these direct links are difficult to find, and – even if they can be traced – these films would not represent the case of a film adaptation based on a literary adaptation, but instead a film adaptation based on a literary adaptation based on a literary adaptation (a connection that can, of course, continue nearly indefinitely). A very similar situation occurs in the case of the films

based on Lorenzo da Ponte's libretto (Mozart's opera). As previously mentioned, it is known that Da Ponte's libretto was modeled after that of Goldoni – which, in turn, had been modeled after Tirso de Molina's play. In addition, as the librettist later admitted in his memoir, the libretto was also based on Giovanni Bertati's libretto for the opera *Don Giovanni Tenorio* (composed by Giuseppe Gazzaniga), which had premiered in Venice earlier that same year. The links tracing Mozart's opera back to Tirso de Molina's work are therefore twofold. And while this may be considered a rather weak and spurious connection, I believe it provides an interesting case of study of the phenomenon of a film adaptation based on a series of literary adaptations that can be traced back to a Spanish literary work.

Before taking a brief look at the film that I believe best demonstrates this combination, I believe it is important to mention that when I began researching this combination, I anticipated the existence of a literary work more clearly based on a literary adaptation of Tirso de Molina's play – in other words, a more direct connection. However, after analyzing the list of works based on the Don Juan legend that had actually been made or imported in the United States, it became clear that no such obvious link could be made. Bearing in mind the descriptive – and not theoretical – objective of this analysis, I had to readjust this combination to describe what could be observed from the phenomenon of Don Juan: the case of several films that are arguably – and perhaps hypothetically – based on literary adaptations of a literary adaptation of Molina's play. While each of



these films could provide an interesting case study, it is Alexander Korda's *The Private Life of Don Juan* that will be briefly explored in further detail to illustrate the nature of this combination and finish off this analysis.

a) Case Study 6: *The Private Life of Don Juan* (Alexander Korda, 1934)

Alexander Korda was a Hungarian-born British producer, director, and screenwriter who began his career in Hungary. He later went on to work briefly in the Austrian and German film industries during the silent film era, but relocated to Hollywood during two periods, the first of which took place from 1926 to 1930, and the second of which occurred during World War II. In 1930, Korda became active in the British film industry. He was one of the founders of London Films, a film and television company that existed well into the 1990s under various leaders, as well as the owner of the distribution company, British Lion Films. While his work in Hungary, Vienna, Berlin, and Hollywood is not without its recognition, Alexander Korda is most widely known for being responsible for the production of many outstanding classics from the British film industry, including *The Private Life of Henry VIII* (1933), *Rembrandt* (1936), *Things To Come* (1936), *The Thief of Baghdad* (1940), which had to be completed in Hollywood after the outbreak of World War II, and *The Third Man* (1949). It is interesting to note that Korda was also most active during the period in which British films managed to enjoy a particularly favorable reception in the

United States.<sup>194</sup> In the British film industry, meanwhile, Korda was one of the leading figures during his lifetime. In fact, his central location within the film system can be most clearly evidenced by one particular biographical detail: in 1942, Alexander Korda became the first filmmaker to receive a knighthood. (It was, it might be added, awarded for his contribution to the war effort through the making of propaganda films such as *Q Planes* [1939] and *The Lion Has Wings* [1939]) (Tabori, 1959; Kulik, 1990) (Tabari, 1959).

*The Private Life of Don Juan* was released a year after the major international success of *The Private Life of Henry VIII*, the box-office success that established Korda as a leading filmmaker. It was the first-ever non-Hollywood film to win an Academy Award – lead actor Charles Laughton won the 1933 Academy Award for Best Actor – and the first-ever British production to be nominated for the Academy Award for Best Picture. Bearing this in mind, it is interesting to note that the title of Korda’s *Don Juan* adaptation calls to mind that of his recent success at the time, *The Private Life of Henry VIII* – an attempt, it might be assumed, to draw attention to the film and attract further success.

The film was made by Korda’s London Film Production at British & Dominion Studios in Elstree/Borehamwood and distributed by United Artists. It premiered on August 20<sup>th</sup>, 1934, at the Venice Film Festival, where it was nominated for the Mussolini Cup for Best Foreign Film and it went on to win Best World Premiere. It was off to a strong start. The film was released in London a month

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<sup>194</sup> For more on this, please see Section 3.2a.

later, where it enjoyed strong and steady ticket sales. This was likely in a large part thanks to the casting of Douglas Fairbanks as lead, who – although being very near the end of his acting career – was best known and loved for his swashbuckling roles in silent films, several of which had also been directed by Alexander Korda. Thus, we find the film’s attention-grabbing, Hollywood-worthy advertisements: “SWIFT ACTION...DARING DEEDS! Back with all the zip and zest of ‘Zorro’, ‘Thief of Bagdad’. ‘Robin Hood’! Doug back at his best! (Spartanburg Herald, 1935).

*The Private Life of Don Juan* is a comedy-drama. The plot revolves around an aged Don Juan who returned to Seville in secret after years of exile. His wife has threatened to have him thrown in prison, and he is surprised to discover that the whole town soon knows of his return (although it might be said that the epic sword fight upon his arrival likely tipped them off). An admirer of his, Rodrigo, follows him everywhere in an attempt to – often quite comedically – be just like him. While Don Juan prepares to flee again – this time to France – Rodrigo is killed by a jealous husband who believes he is Don Juan and all of Seville now believes him dead. He attends his own grandiose funeral but must face many uncomfortable truths while pretending that Don Juan is dead.

The film is widely known to be an adaptation of the play *L'homme a la rose* by French dramaturge and poet Henry Bataille. Many of Bataille’s works explore the effects of passion on human motivation and the stifling nature of social conventions at the time of his life

(1872-1922), so it comes as little surprise that the French playwright turned to the Don Juan legend for inspiration. While the original idea for the play dated back to 1895, it was not finished until decades later. The playwright knew full well what the undertaking of Don Juan signified. In fact, according to Bataille in his preface, the play inevitably became a sort of “sketch in the manner of Goya” (1). He went on to explain:

If it appears gloomy, sarcastic, or blasphemous, a thousand pardons! ... I cast a few shadows on the board and a few lights around a pretext; that of a famous figure who once posed with the masters. It is, in a way, ‘on the fringes’ of a great legend. I would have titled it Parable or Morality if I had not feared to appear too pretentiously applied to specifying my intention.... So the play, despite the sets and the costumes, is not at all a historical play, but a long, deliberate, purely fanciful anachronism, and the legendary hero, in the guise of a great actor, will speak an entirely contemporary language. (Bataille, 1922, p. 2)

Set in Bataille’s time, the play traces the increasingly sobering existence of a modern Don Juan who must come to terms with both his mortality and immortal soul. *L’homme a la rose* opened at the

Théâtre de Paris on December 5, 1920, where it was luxuriously and very artistically staged. It was met with great success and attracted crowds during nearly all of its 100 performances. It was, according to a review at the time, “the talk of Paris for a fortnight . . . and the Parisian public flocked in greater numbers than ever to see how one of its great men took his recreation” (Tibbett & Welsh, 2014, p. 319). An English adaptation, *Don Juan*, by Lawrence Langner, opened on Broadway in New York City on September 5, 1921. While few records have been kept regarding the reception of the play in the United States, the fact that it closed the same month after only 14 performances indicates an indifferent welcome (Lamasque, 1921). It is, in fact, one of Langner’s lesser-known works for which scarce information is available, and its reception in the United States was nowhere near as successful as that in its country of origin.

What sets Bataille’s adaptation of the Don Juan legend apart is its humbling representation of its protagonist. Unlike the preceding French versions of the legend, here we have a rather different, more grounded take: a Don Juan who faces the truth about the “fool’s game” of his conquests and eventually surrenders to a quiet, modest life. This take is perhaps reminiscent of earlier French versions, most notably Prosper Merimee’s 1834 *Ames du Purgatoire*, with its representation of saintly youth who is corrupted by a schoolmate, lives a life of sin and debauchery, and eventually renounces his criminal ways and becomes a priest (an adaptation that was, as previously mentioned, a “storehouse for future adaptations,” according to Samuel Waxman [1908, p. 1970]). Meanwhile, the

work plays with the legendary nature of its protagonist to enter “the realm of fanciful interpretation” and demonstrate “the impossibility of ever possessing the truth” (in Bataille, author’s own translation). It is a double-edged tale that simultaneously presents both effigy and reality: the Man with the Rose, the eternal Don Juan, as well as his humble, naked humanity. This is not, as Bataille clarifies the preface to the play, intended to present a nihilistic view of the legend. Instead, what Bataille sought to reveal in his play is that while the pride of man may “perpetually erect its own statue...indifferent nature nonetheless pursues its great egalitarian rhythm” (Bataille, 1922, p. 3). Thus, Bataille’s Don Juan embodies something that many versions of the legend do not: Don Juan’s humble humanity.

This is an interesting vision to take to the screen, as it both suggests the ability to display the Hollywood-worthy aspects of Don Juan and to reveal the “wizard behind the curtain,” the man himself. It is this revelation, this “private life,” that was particularly suited to a director whose greatest success came from looking behind the curtain of one of history’s larger-than-life kings, Henry VIII. It is, therefore, interesting to note a deeper parallel between Korda’s two “The Private Life...” films than their titles themselves, and that is the exploration of the lives of two of history’s most infamous womanizers. And while *The Private Life of Henry VIII* is credited with creating the popular image of Henry VIII as a fat, lecherous glutton (an image that actually represents a distortion of the truth,

according to historians),<sup>195</sup> perhaps *The Private Life of Don Juan* may be credited for its attempt to portray the “man behind the mask” of Don Juan.

*The Private Life of Don Juan* was written for the screen by two writers who had already worked with director Alexander Korda for quite some time, Lajos Biro and Frederic Lonsdale. The film depicts a Don Juan who has grown bored with his latest conquest and hands it over to another man. When the other man is killed and everyone believes him to be Don Juan, Don Juan decides he should not correct the error. He then attends his own funeral, where he is amused by the sorrow and tears of the women. He decides it is time to retire, but after five years of exile, he returns to his conquests. However, this time he is met with a very different reaction: women now dismiss him as an aging seducer. Rejected and humiliated, Don Juan has nothing left to do but to live out his remaining years in modest humility. It is a sad portrayal of a man “whose joys are brief...always restless and [who] never achieves happiness” (Tibbetts & Welsh, 2014, p. 319).

The first two acts of Bataille’s play are kept quite nearly intact in the first part of this faithful film adaptation. However, the film radically departs from the play near the end, when a more theatrical conclusion is inserted: after his death and exile, the only Don Juan anyone recognizes is yet another fictional Don, this time a hero in a new stage play. In a key scene, the protagonist interrupts an evening

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<sup>195</sup> See, for instance, Weir (2011).

performance of the play and leaps onto the stage, exclaiming “You’re under the delusion Don Juan is dead. I’m the *real* Don Juan!” (Bataille, 1922). However, he’s booed off the stage and arrested. After being released from jail, reprimanded, and summoned before his wife, Dolores, he admits that he finally realizes that all he wants is to be her husband. This is an important shift to note, because not only does it depart from Bataille’s darker ending, but it also suggests a very interesting tie to some of the earlier Spanish versions, most notably Jose Zorrilla’s play. Here, too, Don Juan’s salvation can be found in the love and acceptance of a single woman. While direct links to Zorrilla’s play – or even Molina’s play – cannot be unquestionably proven, traces such as these do hint towards a pattern of a film adaptation based on a series of literary adaptations that lead us back to the Don Juan legend in a Spanish literary work.

There are, however, also countless other works echoed within the film. The 1934 release of *The Private Life of Don Juan* fell just between yet two other retellings of the legend, George Bernard Shaw’s *Man and Superman* (1905) and Max Frisch’s *Don Juan and the Love of Geometry* (1953).<sup>196</sup> According to Tibbett & Welsh (2014), it features modernistic elements that are in many ways more reminiscent of Shaw and Frisch than Bataille. Don Juan is faced to confront something less poetically romantic and more domestically conventional. The world and its gender roles are changing and,

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<sup>196</sup> For a more detailed analysis of these works within the context of Alexander Korda’s film, see Tibbet & Welsh (2014).



much like the aging lead actor himself, the old Don Juan is becoming out-of-date. Meanwhile, Shaw's and Frisch's retellings attempt to answer a question that is echoed in Korda's film: has Don Juan become unacceptable to modern times? *The Private Life of Don Juan* goes a long way towards answering this question. It is not in any way a portrait of the mythic Don Juan, nor was it intended to be. "When I sit down to a quiet game with a lady, I'm no longer sure who's holding the cards," Don Juan admits in the film. His doctor warns him to stop climbing balconies or his health will suffer. Don Juan is dead, and the legend only lives on in the theater. *The Private Life of Don Juan* demonstrates this new take on the old legend, offering "a poignant confrontation between the reality of an aging Don Juan and his legend, forever young" (Tibbetts & Welsh, 2014, pp. 3-4).

It is important to note that the film was not very well-received in either its system of origin in Britain or the United States. Andre Sennwald's 1934 review in *The New York Times* offers an illustrative glimpse at the overall reception of the film:

[There is] a lamentable air of anachronism . . . He whom we loved for his reckless swagger and airy movement now finds himself trapped and forced to play the actor. It is a poor fate for one who was once so free, and it is not always pleasant to watch.

Here, it is important to note that the majority of the critical focus has been placed on the lead actor, Douglas Fairbanks, "as the

Ubiquitous Iberian Lover” (Sennwald, 1934). However, it might be said that the actor manages to serve as a metaphor for both the plot and reception of the film itself. *The Private Life of Don Juan* was Douglas Fairbanks’ last film as an actor. The former Hollywood star – known best for his leading roles in swashbuckling adventures such as *Zorro* – was prized for “his handsome face and athletic ability [that] made women want to be with him and men be like him” (Clark, 2020). Could there be a better casting for Don Juan? Apparently, there could have, for while “Douglas Fairbanks, Sr. had triumphed in many swashbuckling action-packed pictures...His rasping voice with the strong American accent was incongruous and unsuitable for the suave Spanish lover” (Tabori, 1966, p. 152). While the film was not without its praise<sup>197</sup> – as its Venice Film Festival award can testify – it was, overall, an overall critical flop. However, it is important to note that *The Private Life of Don Juan* is not without its unique legacy. The film was included in the first syndicated television presentation of a package of major studio feature films on U.S. television. It premiered in Baltimore, Maryland on Friday, July 23, 1948, as well as nearly a dozen other U.S. cities that same summer. The package consisted of twenty-four Alexander Korda productions originally released in cinemas between 1933 and 1942. It also forms part of the Criterion Collection, a film collection dedicated to the compilation and preservation of the greatest films from around the world. Overall,

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<sup>197</sup> One critic, Otis Ferguson, praised the film’s pictorial values, for instance, while others praised the quality of the cinematography (Tibbets & Welsh, 2014).

*The Private Life of Don Juan* represented “another sumptuous-looking historical film from Alexander Korda and London Films,” Lesley Boon writes on the platform *Letterboxd*, where the film has received an average of a three-star rating (out of five). On IMDb, similar reviews and ratings can be found – the film has been awarded a 6.3/100, with a little over 550 reviews. Thus, it is not in any way the most critically or commercially successful film on this corpus – nor, it might be added, the most critically or commercially successful film adaptation of the Don Juan legend in either its system of origin or the U.S. film system. However, it does present an interesting case of the fascinating phenomena that the Don Juan legend represents.

Alexander Korda’s film is an adaptation of Henry Bataille’s play *L’Homme de la Rose*, a French play that was, in turn, adapted from earlier French versions of the Don Juan legend. Among these, we find Moliere’s celebrated French play – a work whose roots can be directly traced to Tirso de Molina’s *El burlador de Sevilla y convidado de Piedra*, the very first written representation of the Don Juan legend. While it is true that this is an arguably indirect connection, it is also true that countless other elements from previous versions of the Don Juan legend have been introduced into both Korda’s film and the literary works on which it was based. Thus, it may be argued that all of the film adaptation and literary works of the Don Juan legend represent indirect adaptations from a work of Spanish literature, and that all of them in some way possess a hidden debt to Tirso de Molina.

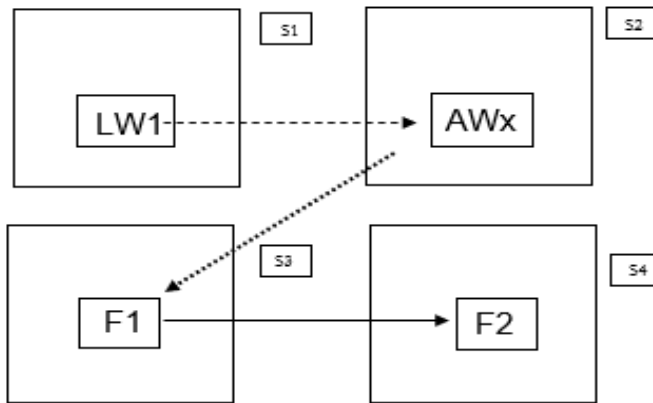
Overall, this case study sought to provide a basic outline of the Don Juan legend in literature and film. It is by no means an exhaustive study. The works listed here do not represent the immense body of the literary and film adaptations of the Don Juan legend in its entirety, nor does this analysis cover the enormous amount of research that has been collected on the works that have received the most attention throughout history. While this may perhaps be the longest case study in this analysis, I must admit it comes nowhere near to doing its object of study justice. To try and trace Don Juan is as elusive and shifting a task as the figure himself – a figure whose nature lends to an endless array of academic, literary, and film interpretations. From Tirso de Molina’s *Burlador* to Alexander Korda’s aging star, the innumerable representations of the Don Juan legend throughout history offer the possibility of observing the endlessly shifting image of imbalanced masculinity, an image which we are still attempting to understand and reconcile to this date. As Marcelle Lamasque very accurately writes in his 1921 review in *La France*, “[Don Juan] is a perpetually interesting fellow. He fascinates or disgusts you, but he never leaves you indifferent.”

## 4.7 Combination 7

The last combination to be explored in this dissertation examines a rather unique phenomenon, and that is the case of a film adaptation that is made from an intersemiotic translation of a literary text. For this combination, the first phase of transfer occurs between the source text (LW1) and another non-literary artistic work (song, painting, sculpture, dance, etc.) (AWx). Bearing in mind the primarily non-linguistic nature of this artistic work, the work may originate from the culture of origin of the source text, as is the case of the film to be examined in this case study, or – hypothetically – from an intermediate culture of origin or the target culture itself. After this intersemiotic artistic transfer takes place, an additional intersemiotic transfer occurs in the form of a film adaptation (F1), and this film is later imported into the United States (F2). F2 may or may not undergo a form of translation (subtitles, dubbing). This process is illustrated in Figure 14:

## Figure 14

*Combination 7: Film adaptation from an intersemiotic translation*



*Note.* Combination 7, an intermediate artistic adaptation of a literary work prior to film adaptation.

There is one work on the final corpus that demonstrates this combination, and that is Carlos Saura's 1981 film adaptation of Antonio Gades' ballet *Bodas de Sangre*, originally titled *Crónica del suceso de bodas de sangre*, which is, in turn, based on Federico Garcia Lorca's drama of the same name. Nevertheless, it is important to mention the existence of two films that were also adapted from ballets by the same director that form part of what is commonly referred to as the director's "flamenco trilogy": *Carmen* (1983), based on French composer Georges Bizet's popular opera, which in turn is based on French dramaturge Prosper Mérimée's novel; and *El amor brujo* (1986), based on Manuel de Falla's ballet adaptation of Gregorio Martinez Sierra's libretto of the same name.

Nevertheless, neither of these works can be found on the final corpus of this dissertation for two respective reasons. First, in the case of *Carmen*, while the film adaptation of the opera was indeed received in the United States (to some critical acclaim, it might be added), the adaptation is based on a French - not Spanish - literary work and is therefore not included in the scope of this thesis. Regarding *El amor brujo*, a much more nuanced technicality is present: while Manuel de Falla's works have indeed been performed for a wide variety of international audiences under different English titles,<sup>198</sup> to the best of my knowledge and extensive research, Martinez Sierra's original libretto has not yet been translated into English. The work is therefore present on Corpus 1 but is not included in the final corpus under examination. Thus, even though the phenomenon under study may indeed be more common, only Saura's 1981 adaptation forms part of this study and serves to illustrate this unique combination. This film, the ballet from which it is adapted, and the source literary text on which the ballet is based will be explored in detail in this case study. To do so, a brief bibliographical account of the poet and playwright will first be provided to better understand his reception within his country of origin and the United States and provide a valuable context for the understanding of this unique intersemiotic transformation. Then, the focus will shift to the play and film and their reception both in their country of origin and the United States.

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<sup>198</sup> See, for instance, pianist, conductor, and composer Yvan Nommick's 2001 edition of the score entitled "Love, the Magician."

### a) Case Study 7: *Bodas de sangre* (Carlos Saura, 1981)

Federico García Lorca was a poet, playwright, and theater director who reached international recognition as a member of the Generation of '27 and most notably for his widely-adapted trilogy of plays written between 1932-1936, *Bodas de sangre* (1932), *Yerma* (1934), and *La casa de Bernarda Alba* (1936).<sup>199</sup> Born in a small town west of Granada to a prosperous landowning family, references to Lorca's affinity with rural life and praise of the natural world can be found throughout his literary works. His youth was marked by a deep love of music, which inspired a friendship with composer Manuel de Falla and led to his growing fascination for Spanish folklore. His first prose works, written at the age of eighteen, - "Nocturne", "Ballade", and "Sonata" – drew heavily upon musical forms, and it is important to bear this continuous affinity with music in mind when considering both his career and the subsequent adaptations of his work. Lorca went on to study at the University of Granada, where his studies included law, literature, and composition. He later traveled through Castile, León, and Galicia with a professor from his university who encouraged him to write his first book, *Impresiones y paisajes*, which was printed at his father's expense in 1918. Fernando de los Rios, chair of Political Law at the time at the University of Granada and one of Lorca's professors, later convinced Lorca's parents to allow him to

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<sup>199</sup> While theorists have often grouped the three works together as a "rural trilogy," Lorca did not include *La casa de Bernarda Alba* in his plans for a "trilogy of the Spanish land" (which remained unfinished at the time of his assassination). See Maurer (1992).



move to the progressive, Oxbridge-inspired Residencia de Estudiantes in Madrid in 1919 while attending classes at the University of Madrid.

While at the Residencia, poet Juan Ramón Jiménez became his mentor and Lorca befriended many creative artists who were or would later become highly influential across Spain (and, in many cases, internationally), including filmmaker Luis Buñuel, artist Salvador Dalí, playwright Eduardo Marquina, and playwright and director of the Madrid's Teatro Eslava at the time Gregorio Martínez Sierra. In fact, Lorca's first play, *El maleficio de la mariposa*, was written and performed at the Teatro Eslava thanks to an invitation by Sierra.<sup>200</sup> His first book of poems, *Libro de poemas*, was published in 1921. Meanwhile, his collaboration with composer Manuel de Falla in the promotion of flamenco led to an essay and the production of a musical play for children shortly afterward. In the following years, García Lorca became increasingly involved in Spain's avant-garde artistic community. He published another poetry collection, *Canciones* (1927), and exhibited a series of drawings in Barcelona. Shortly afterward, *Romancero Gitano* (1928) was published. The collection, a "carved altarpiece" of Andalusia that centered on universal themes explored through gypsy life, brought him fame throughout Spain and the Hispanic world (Maurer, 2001).

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<sup>200</sup> The play was, however, laughed off the stage by audiences after four performances. The playwright would later go on to claim that *Mariana Pineda*, written and performed seven years later, was in fact his first play.

His notability as a playwright lagged slightly behind that of his poetry. His second play, the well-received *Marina Pineda*, featured stage settings by Salvador Dalí and opened in Barcelona in 1927 to excellent critical acclaim. Nevertheless, in the public eye, Lorca was still very much a poet. It is around this time, however, that the conflict stemming from Lorca's personal life began to make itself evident. His romantic involvement with Salvador Dalí between 1925 and 1928, coupled with the termination of an affair with sculptor Emilio Aladrén Perojo, led Lorca to begin to painfully acknowledge his homosexuality. In fact, references to his preoccupation with sexual identity can also be found in his earlier collection, *Canciones*, alongside the perhaps more recognizable Andalusian motifs and cubist syntax. Despite the growing success of *Romancero Gitano* in the Spanish-speaking world, Lorca became increasingly anguished by the gap between his public persona as a successful author and his private, authentic self, which was exacerbated by a sense that he was being pigeon-holed as a "gypsy poet."<sup>201</sup> This anguish increased with growing estrangement between Lorca and his closest friends and reached its climax when Dalí and Buñuel collaborated on the 1929 film *Un Chien Andalou*, which García Lorca interpreted as a personal attack, according to Buñuel (Buñuel, 2003). Lorca's family were aware of these

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<sup>201</sup> "The gypsies are a theme. And nothing more," the author was reported saying. "I could just as well be a poet of sewing needles or hydraulic landscapes. Besides, this gypsyism gives me the appearance of an uncultured, ignorant, and primitive poet that you know very well I'm not. I don't want to be typecast." <sup>201</sup> See Maurer (2001).

problems (although not quite so of their causes) and arranged for him to visit and study in the United States between 1929 and 1930, where he enrolled at Columbia University to learn English and wrote *Poeta en Nueva York* (published posthumously in 1942). While a relatively unknown writer abroad at the time, it is during this stay when the author made several connections to publishers and fellow artists who would go on to play a pivotal role in his introduction in the United States literary system, as will be later explained in further detail.

Lorca's return to Spain in 1930 saw the fall of Primo de Rivera's dictatorship and the rise of the Second Spanish Republic. A year later, he was appointed director of Teatro Universitario La Barraca, a student theater company funded by the Second Republic's Ministry of Education and dedicated to traveling to rural and impoverished areas and presenting plays free of charge, a practice which Lorca highly praised and advocated. It is during this time, and thanks to his practice as a director while touring with La Barraca, that García Lorca wrote what would later become his best-known plays, *Blood Wedding* (1932), *Yerma* (1934), and *The House of Bernarda Alba* (1936), all of which challenged the accepted role of women and rebelled against the social norms of bourgeois Spanish society. These plays, alongside the poetry collection *Sonetos de amor oscuro* (1936) and *Diván del Tamarit* (1936), were his last works before his imprisonment and subsequent

assassination (or, according to other accounts, murder) by fascist nationalist militia during the rise of the Franco regime.<sup>202</sup>

According to Robert Lima in *The Theatre of Garcia Lorca* (1963), Garcia Lorca never created a play within a concrete period; the idea often originated years before its writing and was developed on and off over some time. Thus, unlike author authors with more marked stylistic periods, Lorca's plays are all intricately overlapping and tend to defy chronological stylistic categorization or periodization. *Bodas de sangre* is a prime example of this, as the inspiration for this particular play came years earlier from an event published in one of the local Granada newspapers, *El Defensor de Granda*, which featured an account of a bride from Níjar who ran off with her former lover on her wedding day. According to the report, which greatly attracted Lorca's attention, the bridegroom followed them, and the two men killed each other. The event, later known as the "crimen de Níjar" ("Níjar crime") went forgotten for some time (Arce, 1998),<sup>203</sup> but years later, his brother recalls him mentioning the idea for a tragedy, which he began working on in spurts until the play was completed in 1932 (Garcia Lorca, 1949). It premiered at the Teatro Beatriz in Madrid on March 8, 1933 and was featured well-known actor Josefina Diaz de Artigas and her company as well

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<sup>202</sup> Here, it is important to note that much controversy surrounds the details and motives of Lorca's death. For a detailed examination, see Gibson (1983) or Stainton (2000), among others.

<sup>203</sup> It is important to mention the existence of a novel inspired by the same event, Carmen de Burgos' *Puñal de claveles* (1928), as well as various works dedicated to its analysis, including *El crimen de Níjar. El origen de Bodas de sangre* (Arce, 1998) and Lola Guerrero's 2005 documentary *El crimen de una novia*.

as a set directed by Santiago Ontañón (who anecdotally later made his way to the silver screen under Argentinian director Edmundo Guibourg, the director of the Argentinian adaptation of *Bodas de sangre*).

The play centers on a folk tragedy that takes place in a small rural village in Spain and is centered upon the missed love between its two protagonists, Leonardo and the Bride. The unnamed Bride runs away from her wedding with her former suitor, Leonardo, who is married. Death, in the form of a beggar, leads the angered bridegroom to the guilty couple. The men kill each other, leaving the women – the Bride, Leonardo’s wife, and the bridegroom’s mother – to mourn their losses. Much as the case with the subsequent works *Yerma* (1934) and *The House of Bernarda Alba* (1936), *Bodas de sangre* explores the conflict between individual desires and societal expectations, as well as the interplay between life, passion, loss, and death. As opposed to plays in which the action and set seek to closely mirror those of everyday life, however, Lorca’s play incorporated antinaturalistic techniques such as poetry, chant, song, and rhythm paired with a highly symbolic and stylized set, thus emphasizing drama as a live event and exploiting the stage for its sensational and dramatic potential. This was very characteristic of Lorca, who in a 1936 interview claimed: “Theater is poetry that has been lifted from the page and made human. And in doing so, it speaks and shouts, mourns and despairs. Theater requires the characters who appear in the scene to be clothed in poetry and at the same time allow their bones, their blood,

to be visible” (Edwards, G., 1997; author’s own translation). The dramatic, passionate nature of his work stood in stark contrast with the majority of commercial plays at the time that featured bourgeois characters who concealed their feelings beneath cloaks of irony. In addition, here it is also important to highlight the poet and playwright’s appreciation of movement and the human body. In an interview given in Buenos Aires, he stated: “The human body – often forgotten in theater – is valued on [the stage]. The festival of the flesh must be presented from the bottom of the feet, in dance, to the tip of the hair...The body, its harmony, its rhythm, have been forgotten by the gentlemen who plant frowning characters on the scene sitting with their beards in hand and inspiring fear from the moment you set eyes on them. The body must be revalued in performance. I tend to do this” (García Lorca, 1971). Movement, music, and rhythm thus all form central aspects of Garcia Lorca’s stylistic direction in *Bodas de sangre*.

This style did not go unappreciated. Upon its premiere in Madrid, directed by Lorca himself, the public and critics alike greeted the play with enthusiasm and considered it Lorca’s most mature and theatrical work to date. “The success, clamorous; the audience did not stop applauding, interrupting the performance,” wrote Jorge de la Cueva in a review written two days after the play’s premiere. According to writer Luis Araujo-Costa, who was present at the premiere, the audience clamored for Garcia Lorca’s presence in nearly every scene. Meanwhile, the casting and acting were equally praised (Araujo-Costa, 1933). Overall, *Bodas de sangre* was such a

success in Spain that its reception marked the moment when Lorca was able to support himself independently financially from the proceeds stemming from his writing for the first time. It was also the only play by Federico García Lorca published in book format during the author's lifetime (García-Posada, 1997).

It did not take long for the success of the play to cross borders. Just four months after its Madrid premiere, the play premiered in Buenos Aires on July 29, 1933. It received so much attention in Buenos Aires that attendance records were set in any theater that displayed Garcia Lorca's name on the marquee. Following the introduction of his work, the author made a brief tour in South America – principally Argentina – between 1933-1934, which featured the delivery of a series of lectures and his participation in a collaboration with Lola Membrives' sold-out outdoor production of the play. Such was his popularity that his adaptations of Lope de Vega's *La dama boba* were held in a stadium. Overall, the visit was met with tremendous enthusiasm and Federico Garcia Lorca was proclaimed “ambassador of Spanish culture to Latin America” in 1934.

In the meantime, word of the success of the play crossed over to the United States, where Neighborhood Playhouse director Irene Lewisohn sought the English translation rights. It would not be the first of Garcia Lorca's works translated in the United States. Shortly after his arrival in New York, a connection through a mutual friend led to his first poems being anonymously translated into English,

"Ballad of Preciosa and the Wind" and "Ballad of the Black Sorrow" (both from his collection *Romancero gitano*), which appeared in the August 1929 issue of the recently launched monthly literary magazine *Alhambra*. The journal had been started by the American millionaire and founder of the Hispano and American Alliance Charles Jean Drossner to publish modernist and avant-garde Hispanic and American authors together. Unlike other similar, more scholarly journals of the time, however, Drossner's intentions for the *Alhambra* were far more commercial. "The United States of America today more clearly than ever before recognizes the rich and varied possibilities which are to be achieved through the development of a closer commercial intercourse between Spain and Latin America," the journal explained (Scaramella, 2017, p. 425). It did so through the translation of Hispanic authors into English alongside publications of American "unfamiliar names" for the Spanish-speaking public, and even created a library and book fair to promote the dissemination of its works. This is, of course, important for understanding Lorca's subsequent reception in the United States, for his first English-language appearance and its preceding whimsical introduction "played into the romanticized idea of Andalusia as unique and different" and sought to highlight the naïve, childlike playfulness of the poet (Scaramella, 2017, p. 427). If anything, it served as introducing Garcia Lorca to the American readership as an exotic and infantile caricature:

Because, of course, the poet of the "Romancero Gitano" neither writes nor speaks any other language but Andalusian Spanish,



as he possesses at present no other instrument of expressing himself to his astonished and eager American friends than the music of his songs, his laughs and his ridiculous speech of a precocious child, spoiled by mad fairies... (Anderson & Maurer, 2004, p. 24)

The work – and fabricated image – of the poet and playwright was not unfamiliar, then, when José Weissberger's<sup>204</sup> 1935 translation of *Bodas de Sangre* appeared. As previously mentioned, the translation was commissioned for the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Neighborhood Playhouse. The play premiered at New York's Lyceum Theatre on February 11, 1935, under the rather curious title *Bitter Oleander* (Atkinson, 1935). It is interesting to note that Weissberger had consulted Lorca on his translation, a decision that led to the decision to end the play with a choral chant, something Lorca had originally intended for his Madrid production (Edwards, 1997). The play received disappointing reviews and was widely considered a critical failure. This was, in part, cited to be due to the difficulty of conveying Lorca's "untranslatable" lyrical Spanish into English, a concept that stemmed from the perceived difficulty of translating his poetry at the time (Walsh, 2020). However, it is also believed that the play also failed to resonate with the American public because of its emphasis on uniquely Spanish customs. As

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<sup>204</sup> For more information about Weissberger's work and reception, see Pérez González (2020), Walsh (2020), and Collins (2021).

biographer Paul Julian Smith explains, critics acknowledged that Weissberger's awkward translation did not facilitate the American public's understanding of Lorca's work (1998). Thus, *Bitter Oleander's* lack of appeal was largely blamed on the cultural distinctiveness of Spanish culture. As Stark Young explained in his review in *The New Republic*:

Racially the play is hopelessly far from us...The whole of it at best is an importation that is against the beat of this country...Mr. Lorca's bold and poetic mind expects a flowering toward the splendor and rigor and gravity of the heart. heart. Fundamentally the difficulty of this play for our theatre is that we cannot sufficiently take it for granted, with all its full choric passion, its glowing simplicity and its basis in a Latin tongue, whose deceiving simplicity mocks translation. (Young, 1999, p. 78)

While it is important to note that the author himself is still portrayed quite favorably in this review, the play (or, better said, its translation), was a flop. Despite the Playhouses' attempts to console him, Weissberger regretted his responsibility for the play's failure to impress general audiences. However, Paul Julian Smith later postulated that the critical reaction to *Bitter Oleander* exposed "full-fledged stereotypes of Garcia Lorca and of his theater (of precious

lyricism on the one hand and of telluric elementalism on the other) [that persisted] into our own time” (1998, p. 7). According to Scaramella in her recent review, Federico Garcia Lorca’s early reception in the United States was marked by cultural misunderstanding and an “unconsciously fraught process of domestication and foreignization of the translated author's identity” (2017, p. 440). In fact, recent studies of the poet and playwright’s reception after his death corroborate the fact that misunderstanding of Lorca’s work and life were and often continue to be marked by romanticism and stereotypes of Andalusian culture stemming from European constructions of romantic Spain and filtered through the popular writings of Ernest Hemingway. According to Jonathan Mayhew in his detailed study revealing the complexities of the author’s shifting reception in the United States:

The caricature of an Andalusian Lorca, a poet both defined and limited by his regional identity, has a long history both in Spain and in the United States. Even some Hispanists continue to perpetuate this caricature whether by commission or omission... Lorca has traditionally been seen as the poet of the gypsies, the childlike embodiment of Andalusian *gracia*, or else as a poet of the romantic sublime. (Mayhew, 2009, pp. 2-3)

In fact, it is perhaps this very history and tendency to characterize Lorca in its reflection that has led to the poet and playwright's ever-shifting, symbolic, and iconic image. In the recent book, *Lorca in English: A History of Manipulation through Translation* (2020), Andrew Samuel Walsh explores the evolution of the English translations of Federico García Lorca as a case of rewriting and manipulation through political and ideologically motivated translation to explore why Lorca's work has also resonated so deeply with the English-speaking world. Since Lorca's assassination, the English literary system has been marked by a constant desire to re-translate (rewrite) Lorca. While his early reception was characterized by the previously mentioned exoticism and foreignization, translators and critics following his death sought to instead emphasize the cultural exceptionalism and ethnocentrism of the poet and playwright's work and draw readers' attention to the more universal themes of his writing.<sup>205</sup> "He is the crystallization of all the cross-currents which went into the molding of Spain," Robert H. Glauber writes, "Lorca's literary output is a microcosm of Spanish history, thought and behavior" (1951). In the aftermath of the Civil War, for instance, Lorca's ideological status shifted to that of an antifascist martyr. It is quite interesting, then, to observe how despite the poet and playwright's perceived "otherness" and even early-believed "untranslatability," translations of his work continue

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<sup>205</sup> See, for instance, Robert H. Glauber's introduction to Langston Hughes' 1951 translation of *Romancero Gitano (Gypsy Ballads)*, as well as Spanish Republican exile Arturo Barea's book *Lorca. The Poet and His People*, one of the first studies on Lorca in English, which contained three thematic chapters: "The Poet and Sex," "The Poet and Death," and "The Poet and His People."

to be produced in the English-speaking world “to the degree that in Spanish literature only admits comparison with Cervantes.”<sup>206</sup> A tremendous amount of literature surrounding the canonical author’s work, lifetime, and reception has been and continues to be published. Meanwhile, Lorca’s image has continued to transform throughout history following changing ideological tendencies from his representation as the archetypal political martyr to his popular surrealist poetic adoption and translation by the Beat Generation following the Second World War, to his iconic status within the Queer Studies movement, his strong association with New York City, and modern feminist readings, all of which interact and overlap to this day. “Nobody will ever be able to separate the myths and the texts,” Walsh concludes, “and the very history of Lorca’s reception in the English-speaking world has taught us that there can never be a single, hegemonic ‘take’ on Lorca” (2).

It is unsurprising, then, that the play’s fame both abroad and in Spain led to its subsequent adaptation. However, unlike other literary works on this corpus, this particular work possesses a rather unique history marked by its non-linguistic adaptation: Antonio Gades’ 1974 ballet *Bodas de sangre*. Antonio Gades was a dancer and choreographer who became a central figure in Spanish dance and reached international acclaim thanks to his work in the popularization of flamenco. Gades began taking dance classes as a

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<sup>206</sup> See Walsh (2020, p.1). It is also interesting to note that, according to Walsh’s research on the UNESCO Index Translatorium, approximately 454 foreign translations exist of Lorca’s work as of the year 2020, with 67 of those in English (a number with likely is missing between 4-8 others).

child and was later recruited by choreographer and dancer Pilar López, in whose company he performed from 1952 to 1961. In the early 1960s, Gades moved to Rome to study ballet, where he also helped stage ballet and opera productions. In 1963, he was given a supporting role in Francisco Rovira Beleta's film *Los Tarantos*, based on Alfredo Mañas' *La historia de los Tarantos*,<sup>207</sup> which went on to be nominated for an Academy Award in the Best Foreign Film Category and introduced Gades – albeit indirectly – to U.S. audiences. In fact, while scarce information is available regarding performances of Gades' adaptation of *Bodas de sangre* in the United States, it is important to mention the performance of Gades' company at the 1964 World's Fair in New York, to which he was invited following his performance in the 1963 film. According to a 2004 New York Times article on the life of the dancer and choreographer, Gades “shot to fame in 1964 when he created a sensation with his company at the Spanish Pavilion of the New York World's Fair” (Kisselgoff, 2004). A later appearance in *El amor brujo* (1967),<sup>208</sup> also directed by Beleta and nominated for an Academy Award, only helped to bring Gades more into the spotlight. In 1972, he brought another company to perform in New York.

*Bodas de sangre* was born in the early 1970s as an attempt for Gades to “try his hand at narrative (Rolph, 1986, p. 194). His company at the time had approximately twenty members, so the ballet was

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<sup>207</sup> This work can be found on Corpus 1 of this analysis.

<sup>208</sup> *El Amor Brujo* (1967) can also be found on Corpus 1 of this analysis.

designed to be suitable for a theatrical performance for a small troupe. The adaptation was realized alongside writer and playwright Alfredo Mañas, with whom Gades had already collaborated ten years earlier on an adaptation of *Don Juan* (he had also been featured in the 1963 film adaptation of one of Mañas' works). The ballet premiered on April 2, 1974, at the Teatro Olimpico in Rome. According to Gades, the decision to premiere the quintessentially Spanish play in Italy was an intentional one: "With *Bodas de sangre* I wanted to pay homage to the poet by having to go to Rome to premiere it," the artist stated in a later interview, "I am the son of a Mediterranean culture, which is a culture of jealousy, love, death, which exists not only in dance, but in literature and painting and other arts" (Rolph, 1986, p. 196).

The flamenco ballet is comprised of a series of five scenes – later transformed into six following the film – commonly classified as *Suite Flamenca*, a technique developed by Gades that traditionally consists of seven pieces of traditional flamenco dance. Solos, duets, and group dances are all featured in a "magisterial and at the same time austere choreography marked by an essentiality" that, according to company pianist Rosalía Gómez from the Fundación Antonio Gades, could only be achieved through the necessary renunciation undergone by the source text in its adaptation to dance. It was met to great critical following its premiere, so much so that it went on to be staged by a wide variety of international companies, including the Cuban National Ballet, the Soviet National Ballet, and – of course – the Spanish National Ballet, which Gades directed

between 1978-1981 before the foundation of his own company, and where the adaptation soon became one of the landmarks of Spanish dance.

In 1981, six years after the ballet's circulation, Carlos Saura attended one of the company's dress rehearsals following a recommendation by film distributor and producer Emiliano Piedra. The director was in awe of the performance:

In the great hall of the old building, set up for ballet – an entire wall covered in mirrors, elongated windows, and high ceilings –, the rehearsal of *Bodas de sangre* became an unforgettable spectacle. It was a revelation for me. Gades had achieved what to me seemed impossible in Lorca's theater: everything seemed easy; the popular was maintained in its deepest sense, there was a very difficult prodigious integration between the story, the austere choreography, very effective, the music and popular resonances (Sánchez Vidal, 1986, p. 154)

Upon seeing the director's enthusiasm, Emiliano Piedra suggested that Saura adapt *Bodas de sangre* to film. The proposal was met with immediate acceptance.



Before delving into more details regarding this particular adaptation, it is important to note that several film versions of *Bodas de Sangre* have existed throughout history and have been imported into the United States. We find a total of four on this corpus, in fact, two of which belong to Combination 1, one of which belongs to Combination 4, and one which belongs to Combination 7, thus highlighting the many diverse ways in which the play has reached the United States through film. Bearing in mind that Combination 1 is marked by Spanish-language film adaptations of Spanish literary works that have already been translated into English, Combination 4 is comprised of foreign film adaptations of Spanish literary works, and Combination 7 features an intersemiotic transformation that occurred within the Spanish artistic system, it is important to note that all of these adaptations of *Bodas de sangre* thus reached the United States through a foreign film lens. One of these films originated in the Argentinian film system – a fact which is perhaps unsurprising considering Lorca’s reception in the South American country. Another is internationally renowned Moroccan director Seuheil Ben-Barka’s 1977 adaptation (Combination 4). The remaining two Spanish adaptations include a fairly recent and celebrated 2015 adaptation by Paula Ortiz<sup>209</sup> and what has perhaps become the best-known retelling of Lorca’s play and the subject of this case study, Carlos Saura’s 1981 film.

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<sup>209</sup> The film was, at the time, named as one of the three possible films that may be selected for the Spanish submission for Best Foreign Language Film at the Academy Awards. However, it eventually was not selected.

Next to Luis Buñuel and Pedro Almodóvar, Carlos Saura is frequently considered to be one of Spain's three most renowned filmmakers. Since the release of his first feature-length film at the 1960 Cannes Film Festival, his career has been marked by success in both his film system of origin and abroad.<sup>210</sup> In fact, his initiation into commercial filmmaking went hand-in-hand with the idea of the film director as cinematic *auteur* in film circles in France, England, and the United States. The handful of liberal film journals in Spain in the fifties and sixties nurtured the "mystique" of auteurism by labeling certain up-in-coming filmmakers as *auteurs*. Carlos Saura was one of them. According to D'Lugo in his in-depth study of the films of the director, the "aura of auteurship...was mythologized as the heroic opponent of the regime, his very individuality having been shaped by his resistance to the implacable forces of censorship" (1991, p. 9). This aura would go on to mark Saura's entire career. While he began filmmaking as a neorealist, for instance, he quickly switched to more symbolic and metaphoric filmmaking to get around Spanish censorship at the time. This only served to add to his aura of auteur both in Spain and abroad. By the 1970s, Carlos Saura was the best-known filmmaker working in Spain and had reached the American spotlight through the 1979 Academy Award for Best Foreign Language Film nomination for *Mama Cumple 100 Años*. Throughout his career, he was known internationally for his cinematic representation of emotional and

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<sup>210</sup> His 1966 film *La Caza* won the Silver Bear at the Berlin International Film Festival. *La Prima Angélica* (1973) and *Cría Cuervos* (1975) won Special Jury awards at Cannes.

spiritual responses to repressive political conditions. In his films made between 1959 and 1975, Saura's films exposed the underlying causes of the psychological and social pressure that had originated and continued to fester after the Spanish Civil War. His centrality to the Spanish film system at the time as well as his growing reputation abroad as an auteur is important to bear in mind when considering the creation of *Bodas de Sangre*, a film that was, in many ways, marked by its exoticism and filmic innovation over which Saura exercised complete control.

*Bodas de sangre* (1981) was the first of what has commonly been considered a trilogy of films known to be "the musical of Spanish roots," along with *Carmen* (1983) and *El Amor brujo* (1986) (Sánchez Vidal, 1986, p. 158). This trilogy formed part of what Saura admitted to being his "ongoing commitment to an exploration of forms of creativity in the arts" (Rolph, 1986, p. 196). The fact that the play is not a direct adaptation of Lorca's text but instead of Gades' ballet is important to bear in mind when considering the changes that occurred with respect to the source text during its creation and the unique mixture of genres at play. Three scenes are omitted from Gades' – and, by extension, Saura's – adaptation of Lorca's play: the third scene from Act I (the formal meeting between La Madre, El Novio, El Padre, and La Novia to arrange the wedding dates), and both scenes from Act III (the famous scene involving La Luna, the Moon, and La Muerte, Death). Thus, with regards to the first scene, there is an omission of certain social connotations surrounding the act of marriage in the ballet, as well

as of the character of El Padre, The Father. This omission allowed for the development of the highly charged nature of the personal relationships between the protagonists (which, in the case of the small dance troupe, essentially involved four protagonist dancers). In the case of the omission of the scenes from Act III, leaving out the scenes that represented a symbolic intervention of superhuman forces – namely, fate – into human lives suggests Gades’ emphasis on the intense human drama of the play, thus allowing the off-stage fight between El Novio (The Groom) and Leonardo to become the climax of the ballet.

It is, of course, also important to note that the transformation from play to ballet necessarily involved the transformation of verbal elements – most notably, extended passages of both poetry and often repetitive, close-knit prose – into steps, movement, gestures, music, and song. However, since Gades’ adaptation was stylistically flamenco, this style of music allowed for the preservation of the play’s wedding songs and haunting lullaby. Without the ability to turn to narrative to explain and connect, however, only what is essential to the story is maintained, and in transforming narrative to movement, the sheer intensity of the work is heavily emphasized. Bearing in mind Lorca’s previously mentioned advocacy for the use of the body on the stage, this transformation not only retains elements of the original play, but perhaps emphasizes other, more artistic elements in a style not unfavorable to that of the author.

Interestingly, the only transformations that occurred when it came time to transform the ballet into film were technical. Originally, Saura anticipated that *Bodas de sangre* would be a *mediomentraje*, a mid-length film approximately half an hour long that would simply begin and end with the performance of the dance (filmed, of course, in the mirror-lined rehearsal studio that had so enchanted him). However, the director eventually decided upon the addition of a prologue featuring a series of 25-minute sequences showing the dancers arriving at the studio – chatting, warming up, and changing into their costumes for rehearsal. There were several reasons for this addition. First, and perhaps most obviously, it allowed for the film to be presented as a *largomentraje* (full-length/feature film) and therefore it could be shown in commercial theaters. Second, according to Wendy Rolph in her 1986 analysis, it provided the filmmaker with a creative opportunity to situate the film within the context of the *nachleben* of Lorca's work. It did this in three ways: (1) by framing the dance performance as one of many repetitions; (2) by highlighting Gades' self-perceived affinity with the playwright through implied parallelism between his dance troupe and the traveling players of La Baraca; (3) by characterizing Gades' adaptation as an interpretation by one of many readers. Thus, Part One goes beyond a simple documentary description of the dancers' preparations by prescriptively alerting the viewer to her or his interpretive responsibilities.<sup>211</sup>

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<sup>211</sup> For a much more detailed analysis of the film's self-conscious awareness, see Soufas (1983).

Before discussing the film's premiere, it is interesting to note the rather unique characteristics of its publicity. The posters, press books, media advertisement, program notes, and even the opening credits of the film preface the title *Bodas de sangre* with all three authors' names: Lorca/Gades/Saura. They are thus simultaneously cast as equal creators of the film, while the uniqueness of the film is also highlighted. With this simple selection, viewers can observe that it's a highly artistically stylized cinematic version by one of Spain's most renowned film directors (Saura) of a successful flamenco ballet by one of Spain's most famous choreographers and dancers (Gades) adapted from a well-known classic tragic drama by one of the country's most celebrated and studied writers (Lorca). This is not only a fantastic advertising gimmick meant to draw in possible audiences who recognize or appreciate any one of these famous names, but also serves to draw in anyone who may be simply interested in its inherently unique nature. Meanwhile, it also suggests a more closely collaborative relationship between this film and its prior texts and performances. Here, we find clear evidence of the centrality of each of these authors in their respective systems of origin, a centrality that – in this particularly unique adaptation – has also suddenly come to overlap.

The film premiered on March 9, 1981. At the time of its premiere, it had already been selected to be presented at Cannes Film Festival. “*Bodas de sangre* will represent a milestone in the already long filmographic career of Carlos Saura,” the review in Spanish newspaper *El País* praised, “Lorca would have liked it, because the

spectator's cinematic gaze in Saura's version is not reduced to song or dance... *Bodas de sangre* is an emotion that captivates the spectator and makes them enter the tale's dramatic tension. Tension provoked...by the excellent interpretation of Gades and his *Grupo Independiente de Artistas de la Danza*" (El País, 1981). Saura's filmic language for shooting *Bodas de sangre* was cited as the factor that most contributed to drawing the spectator immediately into the drama. Overall, the film was a great artistic success in Spain, although this is perhaps unsurprising bearing in mind the previously mentioned advertising and canonized centrality of the artists directly or indirectly involved in its creation.

Meanwhile, *Bodas de sangre* began making its way through the international film festival circuit. It premiered at Cannes just two months later (and was later commercially released in France, as well), followed by the Montreal World Film Festival (where Saura would eventually go on to win the Prix Special du Festival in 1986 for his flamenco trilogy), the Venice Film Festival, and the Toronto Film Festival. On October 25<sup>th</sup>, 1981, it was released at Cinema 3 – a theater dedicated to first-run indie and foreign films – in New York City, just before its premiere at the Chicago Film Festival, where it was nominated for Best Feature. While *Bodas de sangre* did not go on to win the award at the Chicago Film Festival, it was later nominated Best Film at the 1982 Premios ACE (the Association of Latin Entertainment Critics of New York) in the United States – and, of course, the Best Film award at the 1982 Círculo de Escritores Cinematográficos (Cinema Writers Circle) in

Spain. Thus, we find an emphasis on the film's presence in artistic circles that are central in its system of origin but peripheral in its target system.

Bearing in mind the film's "indie" status and the reputation of Saura as an auteur in foreign film circles, it perhaps comes as no surprise that the scarce reviews available on the film in the United States display praise. In her 1981 review, *New York Times* reviewer Janet Maslin applauded the adaptation, most notably on behalf of the filmmaker:

Of the three Spanish artists whose work is fused in 'Blood wedding,' Carlos Saura predominates. Mr. Saura, in filming Antonio Gades's dance interpretation of Federico Garcia Lorca's play, demonstrates an agility on a par with the dancers'. As his camera moves actively but unobtrusively, Mr. Saura captures both a sense of the dance as a performance and a feeling for its abstract properties. His film is beautifully made, and it carries the added excitement of Lorca's drama and Mr. Gades's magnetism. (n.p.)

Here, again, we find the fascinating nature of this film emphasized. It is an adaptation of an adaptation. Yes, the film is masterful – but it carries with it the artistically and emotionally charged layers of



Gades' dance and Lorca's drama. And while scarce additional information is available regarding the film's further reception in the United States apart from this review, its presence as both a (limited) commercial release and as part of the artistic circuit of film festivals points to the director's status as an exotic peripheral auteur – an image and aura that is, in a way, rather similar to that of Lorca in his early reception. That is, perhaps, what makes this case so interesting: it provides a fascinating glimpse into the blurring of three genres, each of which had been touched by their own unique artistic genius. And while Lorca's work has and continues to experience countless afterlives both on the stage and screen, Carlos Saura's 1981 adaptation of Antonio Gades' ballet is a one-of-a-kind example of intermediate artistic adaptations.



## 5. CONCLUSIONS

The objective of this dissertation was to explore how literary works cross borders as film adaptations by examining the reception of film adaptations of Spanish literary works in the United States. To do so, it drew upon the parallels between literary and film adaptation translation in the international circulation of cultural products and the growing body of research at the crossroads between Translation Studies and Film Adaptation Studies. Using tools developed from both Polysystem Theory and sociological approach applied to the study of film adaptation as a form of intersemiotic translation, an analytic model was developed to provide a comprehensive framework for the detailed analysis of the presence of Spanish literary works in the United States through film adaptations. This model included four phases of analysis, ranging from a macro-level quantitative analysis of the state of Spanish literature in film adaptation to a micro-level qualitative analysis of case studies that are representative of the combined norms governing the reception of Spanish literature in the United States through film.

The first phase of the preliminary analysis sought to determine all film adaptations that have been made of Spanish literary works between the years 1895 and 2018. This was done using three main databases to compile Corpus 1. Overall, a total of 1,331 films can be found on Corpus 1. These films were released between the years 1898 (when the first film adaptation of a Spanish literary work was released) and 2018. A total of 565 authors can be found on this list.

The Spanish author with the most film adaptations of his work is Miguel de Cervantes (49 films), followed by Carlos Arniches (40 films), Alfonso Paso (29 films), Benito Pérez Galdós (26 films), Luisa María Linares Martín (23 films), and Enrique Jardiel Poncela (20 films). Here, it is interesting to note the prevalence of Spanish playwrights, and the fact that only two of these authors are also in the top five most adapted authors with translated work in the United States (Corpus 3). These are Miguel de Cervantes and Benito Pérez Galdós. The selection of their work for so many adaptations illustrates the canonicity of their work and its central presence within the world literary system. Finally, the scarce presence of the work of women authors was briefly analyzed (only 53 women who inspired 101 films), with the exception of one prolific and popular novelist: Luisa María Linares Martín. Nevertheless, despite being one of the topmost adapted Spanish authors in history, few of the film adaptations of her novels left the Spanish film system.

Overall, a total of 1,031 literary works can be found on Corpus 1, of which *Don Quijote* is by far the most adapted literary work (47 films). The next most-adapted work – Jose de Zorilla’s play *Don Juan Tenorio* – was the source of approximately third as many film adaptations (16). The rest of the literary works found on Corpus 1 have only been adapted a maximum of seven times, highlighting the notable presence of *Don Quixote* and *Don Juan Tenorio* in adaptation. It is also interesting to note that only one of the topmost-adapted authors is also responsible for one of the most-adapted works (Miguel de Cervantes), further highlighting the remarkable

presence of this novel in film and indicating its overall centrality in the world literary system.

Finally, a total of 587 directors are responsible for the film adaptations on Corpus 1. The most prolific of these when it comes to film adaptations of Spanish literary works is by far Rafael Gil, who directed 43 film adaptations throughout his career. Rafael Gil is followed by José Buchs (25 adaptations), Juan de Orduña (25 adaptations), Luis Lucia (21 adaptations), and Benito Perojo. All of the most prevalent directors are agents within the Spanish system. This indicates that it is far more likely for a Spanish director to select a Spanish literary work for adaptation than a director from another film system. While this observation may seem unsurprising, it is interesting to note several of the most prevalent directors whose work has reached the United States are actually from the target film system. Thus, while it is more likely for Spanish directors to select Spanish literary works for adaptation, American audiences are more likely to be familiar with Spanish literature through the adaptations made by Hollywood directors. Finally, the scarce presence of female directors on this corpus was noted, as there are only 27 female directors responsible for 37 film adaptations of Spanish literary works throughout history. Here, Pilar Miró tops the list with five adaptations. She represents the first female director to win Best Director at the Spanish Goya awards.

The second phase of the preliminary analysis sought to narrow the scope of analysis further by determining whether or not the film

adaptations from Corpus 1 were ever released in the United States. First, however, a brief analysis of the presence of foreign film in the United States and Spanish film, in particular, was presented to provide a better context for the understanding of the object of study. Then, the films on Corpus 1 were analyzed individually to determine whether they had even been released in the United States. This was determined with the use of the Internet Movie Database (IMDb). Here, four types of release were determined: standard cinema release, film festival release, video/DVD release, and television release. Overall, a total of 137 were verified to have been released in the United States. Seventy-five (75) of these films were released in cinemas, 33 were released in film festivals, 27 were directly released to VHS/DVD, and two were released on U.S. television stations. Several observations were made about how films that were later categorized into certain combinations tended to have the same release. Films released in U.S. cinemas, for example, were far more likely to be found on Combination 2 and enjoy more commercial success, while films exhibited at film festivals were more typically found on Combination 1 or Combination 3 and known for their more limited, critical appeal. Several observations were also made about the practice of audiovisual translation in the importation of foreign films to the United States (subtitles, dubbing), as well as the curious practice of multiple language films. Seven patterns of audiovisual translation in the films found on Corpus 2 were provided, including examples of films that demonstrate each pattern.

The third and final phase of the preliminary analysis took Corpus 2 as a point of departure to determine which of the film adaptations of Spanish literary works that have reached the United States were also based on a translated literary work published in the U.S. The Bowker Books in Print database was used for this phase. Overall, there are a total of 111 film adaptations of Spanish literary works that have also been translated and published in the United States. This represents 81% of the film adaptations on Corpus 2, indicating that it is highly likely that a literary adaptation of a Spanish literary work that inspired a film adaptation that has reached the United States is also translated. This is particularly the case for classic works of literature. Here, one work shines above all the rest: Miguel de Cervantes' *Don Quijote*. The work of Cervantes inspired a total of 22 films on this final corpus (20%), with *Don Quijote* alone being the source of 20 film adaptations here. This again serves to highlight the remarkable centrality of this literary work in both the world literary system and Spanish film adaptation system. However, it is particularly interesting to note the presence of the work Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, whose translated novels were the source of nine film adaptations, eight of which were made in Hollywood. One of these film adaptations – Rex Ingram's 1916 film *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* – is the most commercially successful film adaptation of a Spanish literary work in history, according to my calculations. Apart from the work of Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, it is also interesting to note the presence of seven film adaptations of the translated works of Benito Pérez Galdós in the United States, as well as five adaptations of the work of Pedro Antonio de Alarcón

and Federico García Lorca. However, with the exception of *Don Quijote*, no Spanish literary works can be found more than three times on this final corpus. This indicates the more peripheral nature of these works in both the source and target literary systems. Finally, there are a total of 96 directors responsible for the 111 films on Corpus 3. None of these directors is responsible for more than three total adaptations. The three directors who are indeed responsible for three films on this final corpus are Carlos Saura, Pedro Olea, and Luis Buñuel. These three are all agents within the Spanish film system who have enjoyed varying degrees of international recognition.

Since fewer films can be found on Corpus 3 than the previous corpora, the literary works that inspired these films adaptations were also categorized by genre. Overall, the majority (70%) of film adaptations of Spanish literary works translated and published in the U.S. are based on novels. This is due to the popularity of novels and the increased marketability of adaptations based on recognizable novels. Seventeen (17%) of the film adaptations are also based on plays, a genre that is very easily adapted to the silver screen. Meanwhile, a few (5) films have been based on Spanish epic poems (a subgenre that easily lends to exciting screen narratives), three on hybrid works (multiple novels, a novel and short story, a collection of short stories), one on a memoir, and one on the libretto of an opera. Certain combinations were determined to feature more diversity concerning genre, most notably combinations comprised of films originating within the Spanish film system.



The next phase of analysis sought to organize the films into categories using the notion of combined norms. To do this, data was collected on the country of origin of the films found on Corpus 3 as well as on the literary works on which they were based, including the year of publication of the first English translation in the U.S. A descriptive analysis was realized of the final corpus using this data to categorize the films into combinations. This analysis revealed a total of seven combinations governing the reception of Spanish literature in the United States through film adaptation. Each of these combinations was examined in detail in the final phase of analysis, the case studies.

Combination 1 includes cases in which the literary translation of a work occurs before its film adaptation. Therefore, the first phase of transfer occurs between the Spanish source text and its target English translation. Later, an intersemiotic transfer takes place in the form of a film adaptation. However, this transfer occurs from the source (Spanish) literary text, therefore producing a Spanish language film adaptation. In most instances, this film must then undergo a third transfer process to be imported in the United States, audiovisual translation. This occurs either in the form of subtitling or dubbing, although the scarce information available revealed that subtitling was revealed to be far more prevalent in the films present in this combination.

A good example of this is the case of Spanish director Rafael Gil's 1947 adaptation of Cervantes' *Don Quijote*, entitled *Don Quijote de*

*la Mancha*. The novel, which was published in two parts in 1605 and 1615, was also translated into English in two parts by Thomas Shelton. The first part of the translation – the first translation of the novel into any language – was published in 1612. The second part was published eight years later. Naturally, all film adaptations of this novel came after this interlinguistic transfer, and Rafael Gil's adaptation – the first sound adaptation of the classic made in the Spanish film system – was not realized until four centuries later in celebration of the anniversary of Cervantes' birth. Several shifts occurred in *Don Quijote de la Mancha* due to the sociopolitical climate of Spain at the time, where it was highly praised. It was then subtitled and released in the United States in select cinemas in 1949, where it was not met with any particular success.

While many film adaptations of *Don Quijote* have been made throughout history, this adaptation is perhaps the most representative of the films found on this combination. These films are typically characterized by the canonicity of their source text within its literary system of origin, their centrality within the Spanish language film system, the necessity of audiovisual translation for their importation in the United States, and their relatively peripheral location within the U.S. film system. Meanwhile, the literary works on which they are based are often highly well-known, canonized texts that may be considered to form a central part of world literature. Overall, 36 films demonstrate this combination, representing just about one-third of the works on the final corpus. Therefore, this combination represents the most

common means by which Spanish literature is imported into the United States through film overall.

In this second combination, we again find a case in which the literary translation occurs before a film adaptation. However, in this instance, an intersemiotic transfer occurs between the translated literary work and the first film adaptation. Therefore, the language of the film adaptation is the same as the literary translation. Film adaptations of Spanish literary works that were made in English can be found in this category, although it is important to note that English language films are not limited to this combination. In most cases, the directors of these films formed part of the U.S. film system.

A fantastic example of this combination is the case of Rex Ingram's 1921 blockbuster film *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*, adapted from Vicente Blasco Ibáñez's novel *Los cuatro jinetes del apocalipsis*. The novel was first published in 1916 and met with a lukewarm reception in Spain. Nevertheless, it attracted some attention abroad and the translation rights were sold to Charlotte Brewster in 1917. The English version of the novel, *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*, was published a year later in the United States. The novel was met with such success in the U.S. that Blasco Ibáñez has since been credited for being one of the inventors of the novelistic form known as the "bestseller." It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that this novel caught the attention of early Hollywood director Rex Ingram. The film was released just three

years after the publication of the translation. However, the screenplay was not written from the source text; it was written from Brewster's English translation. This is what makes this particular combination curious, as it represents cases of intersemiotic transfer that occur between the translated literary work and the film adaptation, i.e., English-language film adaptations of Spanish literary works. Thus, it is marked by the predominance of the U.S. film system – more specifically, a young U.S. film system seeking innovation from foreign literary and film systems – and the remarkably central position of the film adaptations of these Spanish literary works within the target U.S. film system. Overall, a total of 29 films that demonstrate this combination can be found, representing approximately one-fourth of the works on the final corpus and making this the third most common means by which Spanish literature is imported into the United States through film. In the third combination, the film adaptation precedes the literary translation. Therefore, the first transfer process is the intersemiotic transfer from page to screen. This process may occur directly – in this case, between Spanish and English – or in combination with another linguistic transfer, as is the case of several films that were made in another of Spain's official languages (here, Basque or Catalan). This film then undergoes a form of audiovisual translation to be received in the United States. Afterward – and perhaps even years so – the literary text on which the film is based is translated into English and distributed in the United States.

An example of this phenomenon is the case of Spanish director Luis Buñuel's *Nazarín*, based on Benito Pérez Galdós' novel of the same name. Buñuel's film was released at the Cannes Film Festival in 1959 and began its life at a varied international circuit of festivals with subtitles, where it was met with tremendous critical acclaim. It was released at select cinemas in the United States nine years later in 1968, where reviewers praised it as a foreign film for its artistic merit. Nevertheless, Benito Pérez Galdós' novel on which it was based was not translated until 1991 by Peter Bly. Thus, in this category, we find many similar cases of literary works whose name to fame is, in fact, their film adaptations. The literary works themselves often remain relatively unknown. In many cases, they are not even listed in the film's credits. In some cases – such as the films of Buñuel – these film adaptations even reach a central, canonical placement in their film system of origin and great acclaim in the periphery of foreign film systems. The agents responsible for their creation may also represent important agents of world film, as seen in the particular case of Luis Buñuel. Overall, there are a total of 31 films in this category, all of which are marked by film adaptations preceding literary translations in the United States. This means that this is the most common means by which Spanish literary works are imported into the United States through film (by a very small margin).

In the fourth combination, we find the case of a film adaptation that is made alongside a literary translation, or vice versa. Therefore, both the intersemiotic and linguistic transfers processes occur more

or less simultaneously. Images and marketing materials from one work – typically, the film – thus may be used in a reprinting of the literary work. The film’s status as an adaptation may also be listed in its credits. This combination can be observed in the case of four more recent film adaptations. These include Sergi Lara and Carles Porta’s 2015 adaptation of Manuel de Pedrolo’s well-known Catalan language novel *Mecanoscrit del segon origen*, Xavier Gens’ 2017 adaptation of Albert Sánchez Piñol’s thriller *La pell Freda*, *Cold Skin*, and two adaptations from the novels of Arturo Pérez-Reverte: Jim Macbride’s 1994 film *Uncovered*, an adaptation of *La tabla de Flandes*, and Roman Polanski’s 1999 film *The Ninth Gate*, adapted from *El Club Dumas*. In the case of these films, the films were released approximately the same year as the literary translation. Thus, the intersemiotic and interlinguistic transfer processes overlapped. Meanwhile – and most notably in the case of *The Ninth Gate* – the fact that the films were made as international co-productions with collaboration from well-known agents within the U.S. film system helped foster commercial success of both the film adaptation and literary translation. Overall, this combination demonstrates the symbiotic potential of literary translation and film adaptation in the reception of Spanish literature in the United States. In the fifth combination, an intermediate film system enters into the equation. Here, a Spanish literary work is translated into another language and a film adaptation is made based on this literary translation. This film is then subtitled or dubbed and imported into the United States. An English translation of this text may or may not exist prior to this translation (in many cases, it does); the key is

that the film adaptation of this literary work is imported from another film system. This phenomenon can be observed in cases of films based on Spanish literary works that come from non-Spanish language systems – most notably the French language and Italian national film systems. There are ten instances of this combination on the corpus, including two art films made by Chilean French director Raúl Ruiz, whose work is best known in France. This includes the case of his 1986 film *Mémoire des apparences*, an experimental neo-Baroque metafictional film dually inspired by Pedro Calderón de la Barca's *La vida es sueño* and English historian Frances Yates' book *The Art of Memory*. In this case, we find a film that was based in part on a Spanish literary work that had already been translated into English and distributed in the United States in several editions (the first as early as 1830). However, the film itself was made within the French film system, and later introduced into the U.S. film system with the use of subtitles. Thus, this combination demonstrates the important role of other film – and, in some instances, literary – systems acting as intermediaries in the importation of film adaptations of Spanish literature into the United States.

Combination 6 involves the fascinating case of an intermediate literary adaptation. In this combination, a literary work is translated into another language. Afterward, a literary adaptation of the work is created within this target literary system. A film adaptation is then made from this literary adaptation. Interestingly, however, this film is not based on the source literary work or its translation; it is based

on the literary adaptation. We can see this in the case of *Don Juan*, as it was, in fact, the many film adaptations of *Don Juan* that drew my attention to this phenomenon, to begin with. The very first written version of the Don Juan legend can be traced back to Tirso de Molina's 1630 play *El burlador de Sevilla y convidado de Piedra*. Nevertheless, this playwright is often not credited as the source of any of the remarkably numerous film adaptations of Don Juan throughout history. Instead, we find five basic phenomena: (1) A film adapted from a later Spanish adaptation of Don Juan (most notably, José Zorilla's 1844 adaptation, *Don Juan Tenorio*, such as Mexican director René Cardona's 1927 adaptation of the same name); (2) A film adapted from an English language adaptation of the Don Juan legend (such as Alan Crosland's 1926 adaptation of Lord Byron's epic poem); (3) A film adapted from another intermediate literary and film system (such as Walter Kolm-Veltée's 1955 adaptation *Don Juan*, made from Lorenzo da Ponte's libretto, which was used for Mozart's opera); (4) An adaptation from the Don Juan legend itself, for which no source literary work is credited (such as Joseph Gordon-Levitt's 2013 modern retelling); and (5) An adaptation of one or several literary translations that can be traced back to Tirso de Molina's play. Here, the case of Alexander Korda's 1934 film *The Private Life of Don Juan* was presented as a case study. What makes this particular case study so unique is the fact that the Don Juan legend has been so prevalent in adaptation throughout history that while the Spanishness of the protagonist remains, the Spanish source texts through which the legend arose are often not directly cited. Nevertheless, the literary



origins of elements of films such as *The Private Life of Don Juan* can be traced back to Molina's play.

In the seventh and final combination, we find the case of a film adaptation that is made from an intersemiotic translation of a literary text. For this combination, the first phase of transfer occurs between the source text and another non-literary artistic work (song, painting, sculpture, dance, etc.) Bearing in mind the primarily non-linguistic nature of this artistic work, it may originate from the system of origin of the source text, or – hypothetically – from an intermediate system of origin or the target system itself. After this intersemiotic artistic transfer takes place, an additional intersemiotic transfer occurs in the form of a film adaptation, and this film is later received in the United States. The film may or may not undergo a form of translation (subtitles, dubbing).

There is one work on the final corpus that demonstrates this combination, and that is Carlos Saura's 1981 film adaptation of Antonio Gades' ballet *Bodas de Sangre*, originally titled *Crónica del suceso de bodas de sangre*, which is, in turn, based on Federico Garcia Lorca's drama of the same name. Lorca's drama premiered at Teatro Beatriz in Madrid on March 8, 1933, to wonderful critical acclaim. A year later, New York's Neighborhood Playhouse commissioned its translation. The translation was made by José Weissberger and the English version of the play was performed on February 11, 1935, under the title *Bitter Oleander*, but the play was met with very disappointing reviews. Meanwhile, as the Spanish

play's popularity grew, so, too, did the number of its performances and adaptations. The work attracted the attention of dancer and choreographer Antonio Gades in the early 1970s. Then, its intersemiotic transfer to dance took place. The ballet premiered on April 2, 1974, in Rome. Its later performances in Spain garnered the attention of avant-garde director Carlos Saura, who attended one of the dance troupe's practices, was mesmerized by the ballet, and decided to adapt it to the silver screen. The film featuring the ballet was released commercially in 1981 in Spain and select locations seven months later in the United States. While it did not enjoy significant commercial success, *Bodas de Sangre* did receive some critical attention thanks to the Saura's central placement within the Spanish film system. Much like the previous combination, this combination is marked by its complexity. Here, we find the case of a highly consecrated source text that continues to be performed in theaters across the world thanks to Federico Garcia Lorca's lasting presence and mystique. This is added to the status of Antonio Gades as one of Spain's most celebrated dancers and choreographers, together with Carlos Saura's reputation as cinematic auteur, which served to consecrate the film as a work of cinematic art both in Spain – where it formed a central part of the film system - and the United States, where it formed part of the artistic periphery.

In summary, the aforementioned seven combinations illustrate the seven primary means by which Spanish literature is received in the United States through film adaptations. These combinations were determined from the previously summarized analysis of the final

corpus of Spanish film adaptations that have reached the United States as both film adaptations and literary translations. Meanwhile, the films selected for further analysis were selected because of their overall adherence to the nature of the combinations in which they could be found as well as the quality of the information available for the detailed qualitative analysis of the agents involved in their creation, exportation, importation, and reception.

These combinations and the process involved in their identification represent a descriptive, trans-individual, target-based approach to the object of analysis. The merits of this approach were made particularly evident through the application of the model used for this analysis of the reception of Spanish literary works in the United States through film adaptations. Here, the most comprehensive corpus of film adaptations of Spanish literary works to this date was created, as well as the most comprehensive corpora to analyze the presence of these film adaptations and the literary works on which they were based in the United States.

Nevertheless, it is important to highlight that this methodology was not without its limitations. While adopting a functional definition of the object of study allowed for a descriptive, target-based approach, it also inherently limited the scope of analysis to those works that are overtly recognized to be film adaptations of Spanish literary works, thus overlooking the analysis of adaptation phenomena such as pseudo-originals and secret or hidden adaptations that “greatly outnumber overt adaptations” (Cattrysse, 2014: 123). Therefore, it

is very likely that for every one of the recognized adaptations on this extensive corpus, there exist a handful of unrecognized films based on works of Spanish literature. While case studies such as that of Don Juan do provide a glimpse of some of the many covert adaptations that may be directly or indirectly traced back to a work of Spanish literature (Section 4.6), more research is clearly needed in this regard. In fact, in future work, (a) case study(ies) dedicated to the analyses of pseudo-originals and hidden or secret adaptations within this context would both a very interesting and necessary area of research in order to allow for a more comprehensive understanding of the object of analysis.

That said, it is also important to highlight the limitations of the case studies themselves. While the purpose of these case studies was to allow for a more in-depth analysis of works that illustrate the combined norms revealed to govern the object of analysis bearing in mind the limitations involved in the compilation of the corpus (**Section X**), they gravitated towards an arguably outdated and inherently limited methodology – namely, the analysis of “great works” with an auteurist bias. In doing so, the majority overlooked other important agents of creation (screenwriters, film crews, production companies, etc.). While a lack of information available on these agents and the plethora of information available on the authors and directors of the works analyzed amplified this, there is no denying that this is a limitation that should be addressed in future revisions of these case studies. Similarly, further development is needed to better highlight how these particular case studies are

representative of wider phenomena governing the adaptation and reception of Spanish literary works in the United States. Here, further analysis of the foreignization and acculturation of film adaptations of Spanish literature works will be useful, as well as additional research on the cross-national perceptions constructed in this exchange using tools provided by complimentary fields of research such as Imagology.<sup>212</sup>

Despite these limitations, the scarce presence of foreign literature and foreign films in the United States as well as the increasingly explored parallels between film adaptation and literary translation permitted this model to be applied in a very interesting and illustrative context. Thus, while this particular study concentrated on the presence of Spanish literature in the United States through film, it may very easily be replicated in the case of other national or linguistic literary systems as was previously done in the work of Susana Cañuelo (2008), for instance. The quantitative analysis formed part of the preliminary analysis provided a fascinating glimpse at the prevalence of Spanish literature in film adaptation, the presence of Spanish literature in the United States through film adaptations, and the combinations that govern the relationship between film adaptation and literary translation in the reception of Spanish literature in the U.S. Finally, the case studies allowed for a more qualitative, sociologically focused analysis of these combinations. Overall, understanding film adaptation as a form of intersemiotic translation and building upon models from theoretical

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<sup>212</sup> See Leerssen (2007).

frameworks developed within the context of multiple fields of study represents a fascinating and fruitful area for future research.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1: Corpus 1

#	Year	Film Title	Director	Liteary Work	Author
1	1898	<i>Don Juan Tenorio</i>	Salvador Toscano	<i>Don Juan Tenorio</i>	José Zorrilla
2	1903	<i>Adventures of the Ingenious Hidalgo Don Quixote</i>	Ferdinand Zecca and Lucien Nonguet	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
3	1905	<i>Bohemios</i>	Ricardo de Baños	<i>Bohemios</i>	Miguel de Palacios Brugueras
4	1905	<i>El dúo de la africana</i>	Ricardo de Baños	<i>El dúo de la africana</i>	Miguel Echegaray
5	1907	<i>Tierra baja</i>	Narciso Cuyás	<i>Terra baixa</i>	Àngel Guimerà
6	1908	<i>Don Álvaro o la fuerza del sino</i>	Narciso Cuyás	<i>Don Álvaro o la fuerza del sino</i>	Ángel de Saavedra (Duque de Rivas)
7	1908	<i>Don Juan</i>	Albert Capellani	<i>Don Juan Tenorio</i>	José Zorrilla
8	1908	<i>Don Juan Tenorio</i>	Alberto Marro	<i>Don Juan Tenorio</i>	José Zorrilla
9	1908	<i>Don Quijote</i>	Narciso Cuyás	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
10	1908	<i>El curioso impertinente</i>	Narciso Cuyás	<i>El curioso impertinente</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
11	1908	<i>La dolores</i>	Enrique Jiménez	<i>La dolores</i>	José Feliu y Codina
12	1908	<i>La toile d'araignée merveilleuse</i>	Georges Méliès	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
13	1908	<i>María Rosa</i>	Fructuoso Gelabert	<i>María Rosa</i>	Àngel Guimerà
14	1909	<i>Aventuras de Pepín</i>	Francisco Oliver	<i>Las de Caín</i>	Joaquín Álvarez Quintero
15	1909	<i>Guzmán el Bueno</i>	Fructuoso Gelabert	<i>Guzmán el Bueno</i>	Antonio Gil y Zárate
16	1909	<i>Locura de amor</i>	Ricardo de Baños	<i>Locura de amor</i>	Manuel Tamayo y Baus
17	1910	<i>Baixant de la Font del Gat</i>	Ricardo de Baños	<i>Baixant de la Font del Gat</i>	José Amich Bert (Amichatis)
18	1910	<i>Carceleras</i>	Segundo de Chomón	<i>Carceleras</i>	Ricardo Rodríguez Flores
19	1910	<i>El dinero o los pobres de levita</i>	Segundo de Chomón	<i>El dinero o los pobres de levita</i>	Luis de Val
20	1910	<i>El pobre Valbuena</i>	Segundo de Chomón	<i>El pobre Valbuena</i>	Carlos Arniches

21	1910	<i>El puñao de rosas</i>	Segundo de Chomón	<i>El puñao de rosas</i>	Carlos Arniches
22	1910	<i>La fatalidad</i>	Segundo de Chomón	<i>Don Álvaro o la fuerza del sino</i>	Ángel de Saavedra (Duque de Rivas)
23	1910	<i>La manta del caballo</i>	Segundo de Chomón	<i>La manta del caballo</i>	Pedro Novo
24	1910	<i>La tempranica</i>	Segundo de Chomón	<i>La tempranica</i>	Julián Romea
25	1910	<i>Los guapos</i>	Segundo de Chomón	<i>Los guapos</i>	Carlos Arniches
26	1910	<i>Mar y cielo</i>	Narciso Cuyás	<i>Mar i cel</i>	Àngel Guimerà
27	1911	<i>Don Juan de Serrallonga</i>	Ricardo de Baños	<i>Don Juan de Serrallonga</i>	Víctor Balaguer
28	1912	<i>Los amantes de Teruel</i>	Alberto Marro	<i>Los amantes de Teruel</i>	Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch
29	1913	<i>El tonto de la huerta</i>	José María Codina	<i>La barraca</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez
30	1913	<i>Lucha por la herencia</i>	Fructuoso Gelabert	<i>La lluita per l'herencia</i>	Àngel Guimerà
31	1913	<i>Mala raza</i>	Fructuoso Gelabert	<i>Mala raza</i>	José Echegaray
32	1913	<i>Trampa y cartón</i>	Juan Solá Mestres	<i>Trampa y cartón</i>	Pedro Muñoz Seca
33	1914	<i>Amor andaluz</i>	Alberto Marro	<i>Carceleras</i>	Ricardo Rodríguez Flores
34	1914	<i>El alcalde de Zalamea</i>	Enrique Gutiérrez	<i>El alcalde de Zalamea (1640)</i>	Pedro Calderón de la Barca
35	1914	<i>El calvario de un héroe</i>	Adrià Gual	<i>El calvario de un héroe</i>	Valentín Gómez
36	1914	<i>El cuervo del campamento</i>	Fructuoso Gelabert	<i>El soldado de San Marcial</i>	Valentín Gómez
37	1914	<i>El modelo de virtudes</i>	Enrique Blanco	<i>El modelo de virtudes</i>	Pedro Muñoz Seca
38	1914	<i>La chavala</i>	Alberto Marro	<i>La chavala</i>	Carlos Fernández Shaw
39	1914	<i>La gitanilla</i>	Adrià Gual	<i>La gitanilla</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
40	1914	<i>La malquerida</i>	Ricardo de Baños	<i>La malquerida</i>	Jacinto Benavente
41	1914	<i>La tierra de los naranjos</i>	Alberto Marro	<i>Entre naranjos</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez
42	1914	<i>Misterio de dolor</i>	Adrià Gual	<i>Misterio de dolor</i>	Adrià Gual
43	1915	<i>Don Quixote</i>	Edward Dillon	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
44	1915	<i>El león de la sierra</i>	Alberto Marro	<i>Narración de la vida e historia de Roberto Montalvo, el león de la sierra</i>	Fray José M. de Guevara
45	1915	<i>El pollo Tejada</i>	José de Togores	<i>El pollo Tejada</i>	Carlos Arniches

46	1915	<i>El soldado de San Marcial</i>	Magín Muriá	<i>El soldado de San Marcial</i>	Valentín Gómez
47	1916	<i>Barcelona y sus misterios</i>	Alberto Marro	<i>Barcelona y sus misterios</i>	Antonio Altadil
48	1916	<i>La duda</i>	Domènec Ceret	<i>El abuelo</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós
49	1916	<i>La razón social Castro y Ferrant</i>	Domènec Ceret	<i>La modestia</i>	José Selgas
50	1916	<i>La reina joven</i>	Magín Muriá	<i>La reina joven</i>	Àngel Guimerà
51	1916	<i>Los apuros de un paleta</i>	Francisco Camacho	<i>Los apuros de un paleta</i>	Pedro Pérez Fernández
52	1916	<i>Maria Rosa</i>	Cecil B. DeMille	<i>María Rosa</i>	Àngel Guimerà
53	1917	<i>Juan José</i>	Ricardo de Baños	<i>Juan José</i>	Joaquín Dicenta Benedicto
54	1917	<i>La España trágica</i>	Rafael Salvador	<i>La España trágica</i>	Pedro de Répide
55	1917	<i>Sangre y arena</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	<i>Sangre y arena</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez
56	1918	<i>Beauty in Chains</i>	Elsie Jane Wilson	<i>Doña Perfecta</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós
57	1918	<i>De cuarenta para arriba</i>	Julio Roesset	<i>La verbena de la Paloma</i>	Ricardo de la Vega
58	1918	<i>El manuscrito de una madre</i>	Alberto Marro	<i>El manuscrito de una madre</i>	Enrique Pérez Escrich
59	1918	<i>La dicha ajena</i>	Julio Roesset	<i>La dicha ajena</i>	Joaquín Álvarez Quintero
60	1918	<i>Los intereses creados</i>	Jacinto Benavente	<i>Los intereses creados</i>	Jacinto Benavente
61	1919	<i>El otro</i>	José María Codina, Eduardo Zamacois	<i>El otro</i>	Eduardo Zamacois
62	1919	<i>El regalo de Reyes</i>	Julio Roesset	<i>La noche de Reyes</i>	Carlos Arniches
63	1919	<i>La mesonera del Tormes</i>	Julio Roesset	<i>La dolores</i>	José Feliu y Codina
64	1920	<i>Der Richter von Zalamea</i>	Ludwig Berger	<i>El alcalde de Zalamea</i>	Pedro Calderón de la Barca
65	1921	<i>La mártir</i>	Francesc Xandri	<i>La mártir</i>	Leonel Yáñez
66	1921	<i>La verbena de la Paloma</i>	José Buchs	<i>La verbena de la Paloma</i>	Ricardo de la Vega
67	1921	<i>The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse</i>	Rex Ingram	<i>Los Cuatro Jinetes Del Apocalipsis</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez
68	1921	<i>The Passion Flower</i>	Herbert Brenon	<i>La malquerida</i>	Jacinto Benavente
69	1922	<i>Blood and Sand</i>	Fred Niblo	<i>Sangre y arena</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez
70	1922	<i>Carceleras</i>	José Buchs	<i>Carceleras</i>	Ricardo Rodríguez Flores

71	1922	<i>Don Juan Tenorio</i>	Ricardo de Baños	<i>Don Juan Tenorio</i>	José Zorrilla
72	1922	<i>La reina mora</i>	José Buchs	<i>La reina mora</i>	Joaquín Álvarez Quintero
73	1922	<i>The Bohemian Girl</i>	Haryley Knoles	<i>La Gitanilla</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
74	1923	<i>Alma de Dios</i>	Manuel Noriega	<i>Alma de Dios</i>	Carlos Arniches
75	1923	<i>Curro Vargas</i>	Jose Buchs	<i>Curro Vargas</i>	Joaquín Dicenta
76	1923	<i>Doloretas</i>	José Buchs	<i>Doloretas</i>	Carlos Arniches
77	1923	<i>Don Quixote</i>	Maurice Elvey	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
78	1923	<i>El padre Juanico</i>	Ricardo de Baños	<i>Mossèn Janot</i>	Àngel Guimerà
79	1923	<i>El pobre Valbuena</i>	José Buchs	<i>El pobre Valbuena</i>	Carlos Arniches
80	1923	<i>Enemies of Women</i>	Alan Crosland	<i>Los enemigos de la mujer</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez
81	1923	<i>La bruja</i>	Maximiliano Thous	<i>La bruja</i>	Miguel Ramos Carrión
82	1923	<i>La dolores</i>	Maximiliano Thous	<i>La dolores</i>	José Feliu y Codina
83	1923	<i>Maruxa</i>	Henry Vorins	<i>Maruxa</i>	Luis Pascual Frutos
84	1923	<i>Rosario, la cortijera</i>	José Buchs	<i>Rosario, la cortijera</i>	Joaquín Dicenta Benedicto,
85	1923	<i>Santa Isabel de Ceres</i>	Juan Sobrado de Onega	<i>Santa Isabel de Ceres</i>	Alfonso Vidal
86	1924	<i>A fuerza de arrastrarse</i>	José Buchs	<i>A fuerza de arrastrarse</i>	José Echegaray
87	1924	<i>Argentine Love</i>	Allan Dwan	<i>Unlisted</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibanez
88	1924	<i>El puñao de rosas</i>	Rafael Salvador	<i>El puñao de rosas</i>	Carlos Arniches
89	1924	<i>La alegría del batallón</i>	Maximiliano Thous	<i>La alegría del batallón</i>	Carlos Arniches
90	1924	<i>La barraqueta del Nano</i>	Juan Andreu Moragas	<i>La barraqueta del Nano</i>	Francisco Barchino
91	1924	<i>La chavala</i>	Florián Rey	<i>La chavala</i>	Carlos Fernández Shaw
92	1924	<i>La gitanilla</i>	André Hugon	<i>La Gitanilla</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
93	1924	<i>La mala ley</i>	Manuel Noriega	<i>La mala ley</i>	Manuel Linares Rivas
94	1924	<i>La sin ventura</i>	Benito Perojo	<i>La sin ventura</i>	José María Carretero Novillo (El Caballero Audaz)
95	1924	<i>Mancha que limpia</i>	José Buchs	<i>Mancha que limpia</i>	José Echegaray

96	1924	<i>Más allá de la muerte</i>	Benito Perojo	<i>Más allá de la muerte</i>	Jacinto Benavente
97	1924	<i>Venganza isleña</i>	Manuel Noriega	<i>Venganza isleña</i>	Andrés Pérez de la Mota
98	1925	<i>Don Quintín el amargao</i>	Manuel Noriega	<i>Don Quintín el amargao</i>	Carlos Arniches
99	1925	<i>El abuelo</i>	José Buchs	<i>El abuelo</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós
100	1925	<i>El lazarrillo de Tormes</i>	Florián Rey	<i>Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas y adversidades</i>	Anónimo
101	1925	<i>El niño de oro</i>	José María Granada	<i>El niño de oro</i>	José María Granada (José María Martín López)
102	1925	<i>La casa de la Troya</i>	Manuel Noriega	<i>La casa de la Troya</i>	Alejandro Pérez Lugín
103	1925	<i>La revoltosa</i>	Florián Rey	<i>La revoltosa</i>	Carlos Fernández Shaw
104	1925	<i>La trapera</i>	Juan Andreu Moragas	<i>La trapera</i>	Luis Mariano de Larra
105	1925	<i>Las barracas</i>	Mario Roncoroni	<i>Les barraques o una tragedia de la huerta</i>	Eduardo Escalante
106	1925	<i>Los chicos de la escuela</i>	Florián Rey	<i>Los chicos de la escuela</i>	Carlos Arniches
107	1925	<i>Los granujas</i>	Fernando Delgado	<i>Los granujas</i>	Carlos Arniches
108	1925	<i>Los guapos o gente brava</i>	Manuel Noriega	<i>Los guapos</i>	Carlos Arniches
109	1925	<i>Los mártires del arroyo</i>	Enrico Santos	<i>Los mártires del arroyo</i>	Luis de Val
110	1925	<i>Nobleza baturra</i>	Juan Vilá Vilamala	<i>Nobleza baturra</i>	Joaquín Dicenta Badillo
111	1925	<i>Noche de Alboradas</i>	Maximiliano Thous	<i>Nit d'albaes</i>	José Guzmán Guallar
112	1926	<i>A buen juez, mejor testigo</i>	Federico Deán Sánchez	<i>El milagro del Cristo de la Vega</i>	José Zorrilla
113	1926	<i>Cabrita que tira al monte</i>	Fernando Delgado	<i>Cabrita que tira al monte</i>	Joaquín Álvarez Quintero
114	1926	<i>Currito de la Cruz</i>	Alejandro Pérez Lugín	<i>Currito de la Cruz</i>	Alejandro Pérez Lugín
115	1926	<i>El camí de la felicitat (El camino de la felicidad)</i>	José G. Barranco	<i>El camí de la felicitat / Camino de la felicidad</i>	Josep Maria Folch i Torres
116	1926	<i>El Marino Español (Boy)</i>	Benito Perojo	<i>Boy</i>	Padre Luis Coloma
117	1926	<i>El místico</i>	Juan Andreu Moragas	<i>El místic</i>	Santiago Rusiñol
118	1926	<i>El niño de las monjas</i>	Antonio Calvache("Walken")	<i>El niño de las monjas</i>	Juan López Núñez

119	1926	<i>El patio de los naranjos</i>	Guillermo Hernández Mir	<i>El patio de los naranjos</i>	Guillermo Hernández Mir
120	1926	<i>El señor feudal</i>	Agustín García Carrasco	<i>El señor feudal</i>	Joaquín Dicenta Benedicto
121	1926	<i>Ethel fue una mujer ingenua</i>	Alfonso de Benavides	<i>Ethel fue una mujer ingenua</i>	Alfonso de Benavides
122	1926	<i>Gigantes y cabezudos</i>	Florián Rey	<i>Gigantes y cabezudos</i>	Miguel Echegaray
123	1926	<i>José</i>	Manuel Noriega	<i>José</i>	Armando Palacio Valdés
124	1926	<i>La bejarana</i>	Eusebio Fernández Ardavín	<i>La bejarana</i>	Luis Fernández Ardavín
125	1926	<i>La garra del mono</i>	Juan Andreu Moragas	<i>La garra del mono</i>	Salvador Vilaregut
126	1926	<i>La sobrina del cura</i>	Luis R. Alonso	<i>La sobrina del cura</i>	Carlos Arniches
127	1926	<i>La virgen de Cristal</i>	José Buchs	<i>A Virxen do Cristal</i>	Manuel Curros
128	1926	<i>Las entrañas de Madrid</i>	Rafael Salvador	<i>El Madrid de los abuelos</i>	Pedro de Répide
129	1926	<i>L'Home del sac</i>	Anonymous	<i>L'Home del sac</i>	Lluís Almerich (Clovis Eimerich)
130	1926	<i>Los cuatro Robinsones</i>	Reinhardt Blothner	<i>Los cuatro Robinsones</i>	Enrique García Álvarez
131	1926	<i>Mare Nostrum</i>	Rex Ingram	<i>Mare Nostrum</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez
132	1926	<i>Moros y cristianos</i>	Maximiliano Thous	<i>Moros y cristianos</i>	Elías Cerdá
133	1926	<i>Pilar Guerra</i>	José Buchs	<i>Pilar Guerra</i>	Guillermo Díaz Caneja
134	1926	<i>Por un milagro de amor</i>	Luis R. Alonso	<i>Por un milagro de amor</i>	Leopoldo López de Súa
135	1926	<i>Rosa de Levante</i>	Mario Roncoroni	<i>La barca vella. Dolora del mar azul</i>	Federico Miñana
136	1926	<i>The Temptress</i>	Fred Niblo	<i>La Tierra de Todos</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez
137	1926	<i>Torrent</i>	Monta Bell	<i>Entre naranjos</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez
138	1927	<i>Águilas de acero (Los misterios de Tánger)</i>	Florián Rey	<i>Águilas de acero</i>	Rafael López Rienda
139	1927	<i>Baixant de la Font del Gat</i>	José Amich Bert ("Amichatis")	<i>Baixant de la Font del Gat</i>	José Amich Bert (Amichatis)
140	1927	<i>Bajo las nieblas de Asturias</i>	Manuel Noriega	<i>Bajo las nieblas de Asturias</i>	Julio Peinado
141	1927	<i>El bandido de la sierra</i>	Eusebio Fernández Ardavín	<i>El bandido de la sierra</i>	Luis Fernández Ardavín
142	1927	<i>El capote de paseo</i>	Carlos de Arpe	<i>El capote de paseo</i>	Celedonio José de Arpe



143	1927	<i>El cura de aldea</i>	Florián Rey	<i>El cura de aldea</i>	Enrique Pérez Escrich
144	1927	<i>El idiota</i>	Juan Andreu Moragas	<i>El idiota</i>	Emilio Gómez de Miguel
145	1927	<i>El negro que tenía el alma blanca</i>	Benito Perojo	<i>El negro que tenía el alma blanca</i>	Alberto Insúa (Alberto Galt Escobar)
146	1927	<i>El señor Don Juan Tenorio</i>	Juan Andreu Moragas	<i>Don Juan Tenorio</i>	José Zorrilla
147	1927	<i>Es mi hombre</i>	Carlos Fernández Cuenca	<i>Es mi hombre</i>	Carlos Arniches
148	1927	<i>Estudiantes y modistillas</i>	Juan Antonio Cabero	<i>Estudiantes y modistillas</i>	Antonio Casero
149	1927	<i>La chica del gato</i>	Antonio Calvache("Walken")	<i>La chica del gato</i>	Carlos Arniches
150	1927	<i>La hermana San Sulpicio</i>	Florián Rey	<i>La hermana de San Sulpicio</i>	Armando Palacio Valdés
151	1927	<i>La malcasada</i>	Francisco Gómez Hidalgo	<i>La malcasada</i>	Francisco Gómez Hidalgo
152	1927	<i>Los aparecidos</i>	José Buchs	<i>Los aparecidos</i>	Carlos Arniches
153	1927	<i>Los vencedores de la muerte</i>	Antonio Calvache("Walken")	<i>Los vencedores de la muerte</i>	Alberto Insúa (Alberto Galt Escobar)
154	1927	<i>Malvaloca</i>	Benito Perojo	<i>Malvaloca</i>	Joaquín Álvarez Quintero
155	1927	<i>Malvaloca</i>	Benito Perojo	<i>Malvaloca</i>	Joaquín Álvarez Quintero
156	1927	<i>Pepita Jiménez</i>	Agustín García Carrasco	<i>Pepita Jiménez</i>	Juan Valera
157	1927	<i>Rosa de Madrid</i>	Eusebio Fernández Ardavín	<i>Rosa de Madrid</i>	Luis Fernández Ardavín
158	1927	<i>The Night of Love</i>	George Fitzmaurice	<i>No hay burlas con el amor*</i>	Pedro Calderón de la Barca
159	1928	<i>Corazones sin rumbo</i>	Benito Perojo, Gustav Ucicky	<i>Corazones sin rumbo</i>	Pedro Mata
160	1928	<i>Doña Juana</i>	Paul Czinner	<i>El burlador de Sevilla y convidado de piedra</i>	Tirso de Molina
161	1928	<i>El manuscrito de una madre</i>	Reinhardt Blothner	<i>El manuscrito de una madre</i>	Enrique Pérez Escrich
162	1928	<i>El orgullo de Albacete</i>	Luis R. Alonso	<i>El orgullo de Albacete</i>	Antonio Paso
163	1928	<i>La condesa María</i>	Benito Perojo	<i>La condesa María</i>	Juan Ignacio Luca de Tena
164	1928	<i>La encajera</i>	José Claramunt	<i>La puntaire</i>	Manuel Ribot i Serra
165	1928	<i>La hija del Mestre</i>	Carlos Luis Monzón	<i>La hija del Mestre</i>	Santiago Tejera Ossavarry
166	1928	<i>La ilustre fregona</i>	Armando Pou	<i>La ilustre fregona</i>	Miguel de Cervantes

167	1928	<i>La loca de la casa</i>	Luis R. Alonso	<i>La loca de la casa</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós
168	1928	<i>La pata del muñeco</i>	Javier Cabello Lapiedra	<i>La pata del muñeco</i>	Pedro Muñoz Seca
169	1928	<i>La última cita</i>	Francisco Gargallo	<i>La última cita</i>	Francisco Gargallo
170	1928	<i>Los héroes de la legión</i>	Rafael López Rienda	<i>Juan León legionario</i>	Rafael López Rienda
171	1928	<i>Los lagarteranos</i>	Armando Pou	<i>Los lagarteranos</i>	Luis de Vargas
172	1928	<i>Pepe-Hillo</i>	José Buchs	<i>Pepe-Hillo</i>	Guillermo García Cereceda
173	1928	<i>Rejas y votos</i>	Rafael Salvador	<i>Rejas y votos</i>	Ricardo Rodríguez Flores
174	1928	<i>Voluntad</i>	Mario Roncoroni	<i>A orillas del Júcar</i>	Agustín Caballero
175	1929	<i>El lobo</i>	Joaquín Dicenta Badillo	<i>El lobo</i>	Joaquín Dicenta Benedicto
176	1929	<i>El rey que rabió</i>	José Buchs	<i>El rey que rabió</i>	Vital Aza
177	1929	<i>Goya que vuelve</i>	Modesto Alonso	<i>Goya que vuelve</i>	Antonio García Guzmán
178	1929	<i>La copla andaluza</i>	Ernesto González	<i>La copla andaluza</i>	Pascual Guillén
179	1929	<i>La del Soto del parral</i>	León Artola	<i>La del Soto del parral</i>	Anselmo Cuadrado Carreño
180	1929	<i>L'auca del senyor Esteve</i>	Lucas Argilés	<i>L'auca del senyor Esteve</i>	Santiago Rusiñol
181	1929	<i>Zalacaín, el aventurero</i>	Francisco Camacho	<i>Zalacaín, el aventurero</i>	Pío Baroja
182	1930	<i>In Gay Madrid</i>	Robert Z. Leonard	<i>La casa de la Troya</i>	Alejandro Pérez Lugín
183	1930	<i>La alegría que pasa</i>	Sabino Antonio Micón	<i>L'Alegría que passa</i>	Santiago Rusiñol
184	1930	<i>La bodega</i>	Benito Perojo	<i>La bodega</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez
185	1930	<i>Las estrellas</i>	Luis R. Alonso	<i>Las estrellas</i>	Carlos Arniches
186	1931	<i>Isabel de Solis, reina de Granada</i>	José Buchs	<i>Isabel de Solis, reina de Granada</i>	Francisco Martínez de la Rosa
187	1931	<i>Mamá</i>	Benito Perojo	<i>Mamá</i>	Gregorio Martínez Sierra
188	1932	<i>Carceleras</i>	José Buchs	<i>Carceleras</i>	Ricardo Rodríguez Flores
189	1933	<i>Alalá</i>	Adolfo Trotz	<i>Los nietos de los celtas</i>	Rafael López de Haro
190	1933	<i>Boliche</i>	Francisco Elías	<i>Boliche</i>	Francisco Elías
192	1933	<i>Cradle Song</i>	Mitchell Liesen	<i>Canción de cuna</i>	Gregorio Martínez Sierra

193	1933	<i>Don Quixote</i>	Georg Wilhelm Pabst	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
194	1933	<i>El agua en el suelo</i>	Eusebio Fernández Ardavín	<i>El agua en el suelo</i>	Joaquín Álvarez Quintero
195	1933	<i>Primavera en otoño</i>	Eugene Forde	<i>Primavera en otoño</i>	Gregorio Martínez Sierra
197	1933	<i>Una morena y una rubia</i>	José Buchs	<i>Una morena y una rubia</i>	Francisco Camba
198	1934	<i>¡Qué tío más grande!</i>	José Gaspar	<i>El último bravo</i>	Enrique García Álvarez
199	1934	<i>¡Viva la vida!</i>	José María Castellví	<i>¡Viva la vida!</i>	José Amich Bert
200	1934	<i>Diez días millonaria</i>	José Buchs	<i>Diez días millonaria</i>	Concha Linares Becerra
201	1934	<i>Don Quixote</i>	Ub Iwerks	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
202	1934	<i>Doña Francisquita</i>	Hans Behrendt	<i>Doña Francisquita</i>	Guillermo Fernández Shaw
203	1934	<i>El café de la Marina</i>	Domingo Pruna	<i>El café de la Marina</i>	Josep Maria de Sagarra
204	1934	<i>El Escándalo</i>	Chano Urueta	<i>El Escándalo</i>	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón
205	1934	<i>El negro que tenía el alma blanca</i>	Benito Perojo	<i>El negro que tenía el alma blanca</i>	Alberto Insúa (Alberto Galt Escobar)
206	1934	<i>El niño de las coles</i>	José Gaspar	<i>El niño de las coles</i>	Jacinto Capella
207	1934	<i>La dolorosa</i>	Jean Grémillon	<i>La dolorosa</i>	Juan José Lorente
208	1934	<i>La hermana San Sulpicio</i>	Florián Rey	<i>La hermana de San Sulpicio</i>	Armando Palacio Valdés
209	1934	<i>La traviesa molinera</i>	Harry d'Abbadie d'Arrast	<i>El sombrero de tres picos</i>	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón
210	1934	<i>Madrid se divorcia</i>	Alfonso Benavides	<i>Madrid se divorcia</i>	Enrique López Alarcón
211	1934	<i>Sor Angélica</i>	Francisco Gargallo	<i>Sor Angélica</i>	Francisco Gargallo
212	1934	<i>Una semana de felicidad</i>	Max Nosseck	<i>Una semana de felicidad</i>	Concha Linares-Becerra
213	1934	<i>Viva la vida</i>	José María Castellví	<i>¡Viva la vida!</i>	Josep Amich i Bert
214	1934	<i>Yo canto para ti</i>	Fernando Roldán	<i>El niño se las trae</i>	Francisco Ramos de Castro
215	1935	<i>Angelina o el honor de un brigadier</i>	Louis King	<i>Angelina o el honor de un brigadier</i>	Enrique Jardiel Poncela
216	1935	<i>Don Quintín el amargao</i>	Luis Marquina	<i>Don Quintín el amargao</i>	Carlos Arniches

217	1935	<i>El ciento trece</i>	Raphael J. Sevilla	<i>El soldado de San Marcial</i>	Valentín Gómez
218	1935	<i>El gato montés</i>	Rosario Pi	<i>El gato montés</i>	Manuel Penella
219	1935	<i>El hombre que se reía del amor</i>	Benito Perojo	<i>El hombre que se reía del amor</i>	Pedro Mata
220	1935	<i>El malvado Carabel</i>	Edgar Neville	<i>El malvado Carabel</i>	Wenceslao Fernández Flórez
221	1935	<i>El niño de las monjas</i>	José Buchs	<i>El niño de las monjas</i>	Juan López Núñez
222	1935	<i>El secreto de Ana María</i>	Salvador de Alberich	<i>El secreto de Ana María</i>	Rafael López de Haro
223	1935	<i>Es mi hombre</i>	Benito Perojo	<i>Es mi hombre</i>	Carlos Arniches
224	1935	<i>Il cappello a tre punte</i>	Mario Camerini	<i>el sombrero de tres picos</i>	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón
225	1935	<i>Julieta compra un hijo</i>	Louis King	<i>Julieta compra un hijo</i>	Gregorio Martínez Sierra
226	1935	<i>La bien pagada</i>	Eusebio Fernández Ardavín	<i>La bien pagada</i>	José María Carretero Novillo (El Caballero Audaz)
227	1935	<i>La hija de Juan Simón</i>	José Luis Sáenz de Heredia	<i>La hija de Juan Simón</i>	Nemesio M. Sobrevila
228	1935	<i>La verbena de la paloma</i>	Benito Perojo	<i>La verbena de la Paloma</i>	Ricardo de la Vega
229	1935	<i>Madre Alegría</i>	José Buchs	<i>Madre Alegría</i>	Luis Fernández García
230	1935	<i>Nobleza Baturra</i>	Florián Rey	<i>Nobleza Baturra</i>	Joaquín Dicenta Badillo
231	1935	<i>Rosa de Francia</i>	Gordon Wiles	<i>Rosa de Francia</i>	Eduardo Marquina
232	1935	<i>Rosario, la cortijera</i>	León Artola	<i>Rosario, la cortijera</i>	Joaquín Dicenta Benedicto
233	1935	<i>Susana Tiene un Secreto</i>	Benito Perojo	<i>Susana tiene un secreto</i>	Honorio Maura
234	1935	<i>Una viuda romántica</i>	Louis King	<i>El sueño de una noche de agosto</i>	Gregorio Martínez Sierra
235	1935	<i>Vidas rotas</i>	Eusebio Fernández Ardavín	<i>El jayón</i>	Concha Espina
236	1936	<i>Alhambra</i>	Antonio Graciani	<i>La Alhambra o El suspiro del moro</i>	Luis Fernández de Sevilla (Luis Fernández García)
237	1936	<i>Currito de la Cruz</i>	Fernando Delgado	<i>Currito de la Cruz</i>	Alejandro Pérez Lugín
238	1936	<i>El bailarín y el trabajador</i>	Luis Marquina	<i>El bailarín y el trabajador, o nadie sabe lo que quiere</i>	Jacinto Benavente
239	1936	<i>El castigador castigado</i>	Ricardo de Baños	<i>Don Juan Tenorio</i>	José Zorrilla
240	1936	<i>El cura de aldea</i>	Francisco Camacho	<i>El cura de aldea</i>	Enrique Pérez Escrich

241	1936	<i>La casa de la Troya</i>	Juan Vilá Vilamala	<i>La casa de la Troya</i>	Alejandro Pérez Lugín
242	1936	<i>La reina mora</i>	Eusebio Fernández Ardavín	<i>La reina mora</i>	Joaquín Álvarez Quintero
243	1936	<i>La señorita de Trevélez</i>	Edgar Neville	<i>La señorita de Trevélez</i>	Carlos Arniches
244	1936	<i>Los claveles</i>	Santiago Ontañón	<i>Los claveles</i>	Anselmo Cuadrado Carreño
245	1936	<i>Morena Clara</i>	Florián Rey	<i>Morena Clara</i>	Antonio Quintero
246	1936	<i>Nuestra Natacha</i>	Benito Perojo	<i>Nuestra Natacha</i>	Alejandro Casona (Alejandro Rodríguez Álvarez)
247	1936	<i>The Bohemian Girl</i>	James W. Horne	<i>La Gitanilla</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
248	1936	<i>Veinte mil duros</i>	Willy Rozier	<i>Veinte mil duros</i>	Leandro Navarro Benet
249	1937	<i>¡Centinela, alerta!</i>	Jean Grémillon	<i>La alegría del batallón</i>	Carlos Arniches
250	1937	<i>Barrios bajos</i>	Pedro Puche	<i>Barrios bajos</i>	Lluís Elías
251	1937	<i>Bohemios</i>	Francisco Elías	<i>Bohemios</i>	Miguel de Palacios Bruguera
252	1937	<i>Don Juan Tenorio</i>	René Cardona	<i>Don Juan Tenorio</i>	José Zorrilla
253	1937	<i>La millona</i>	Antonio Momplet	<i>La millona</i>	Enrique Suárez de Deza
254	1937	<i>Las cinco advertencias de Satanás</i>	Isidro Socías	<i>Las cinco advertencias de Satanás</i>	Enrique Jardiel Poncela
255	1938	<i>Bodas de sangre</i>	Edmundo Guibourg	<i>Bodas de sangre</i>	Federico García Lorca
256	1938	<i>Celuloides cómicos</i>	Enrique Jardiel Poncela	<i>Celuloides cómicos</i>	Enrique Jardiel Poncela
257	1938	<i>Master Peter's Puppet Show</i>	Dallas Bower	<i>El retablo de maese Pedro</i>	Manuel de Falla
258	1939	<i>Amores de juventud</i>	Julián Torremocha	<i>Amores de juventud</i>	Carmen Pando
259	1939	<i>Cancionera</i>	Julián Torremocha	<i>Cancionera</i>	Joaquín Álvarez Quintero
260	1939	<i>Don Floripondio</i>	Eusebio Fernández Ardavín	<i>Don Floripondio</i>	Luis de Vargas
261	1939	<i>Don Juan y Doña Inés</i>	José Martínez Romano	<i>Don Juan Tenorio</i>	José Zorrilla
262	1939	<i>El genio alegre</i>	Fernando Delgado	<i>El genio alegre</i>	Joaquín Álvarez Quintero
263	1939	<i>El rayo</i>	José Buchs	<i>El rayo</i>	Juan López Núñez
264	1939	<i>Frente de Madrid</i>	Edgar Neville	<i>Frente a Madrid</i>	Conchita Montes
265	1939	<i>Gloria del Moncayo</i>	Juan Perellada	<i>Los de Aragón</i>	Juan José Lorente

266	1939	<i>La canción de Aixa</i>	Florián Rey	<i>La canción de Aixa</i>	Manuel de Góngora
267	1939	<i>La marquesona</i>	Eusebio Fernández Ardavín	<i>Guillén, Pascual</i>	Antonio Quintero
268	1939	<i>La tonta del bote</i>	Gonzalo Pardo Delgrás	<i>La tonta del bote</i>	Pilar Millán Astray
269	1939	<i>Los cuatro Robinsones</i>	Eduardo García Maroto	<i>Los cuatro Robinsones</i>	Enrique García Álvarez
270	1939	<i>Manolenka</i>	Pedro Puche	<i>Manolenka</i>	Horacio Sánchez Valdés
271	1939	<i>María de la O</i>	Francisco Elías	<i>María de la O.</i>	Rafael de León
272	1939	<i>Mariquilla terremoto</i>	Benito Perojo	<i>Mariquilla terremoto</i>	Joaquín Álvarez Quintero
273	1939	<i>Molinos de viento</i>	Rosario Pi	<i>Molinos de viento</i>	Luis Pascual Frutos
274	1939	<i>Santa Rogelia</i>	Edgar Neville	<i>Santa Rogelia</i>	Armando Palacio Valdés
275	1939	<i>Usted tiene ojos de mujer fatal</i>	Juan Perellada	<i>Usted tiene ojos de mujer fatal</i>	Enrique Jardiel Poncela
276	1940	<i>Boy</i>	Antonio Calvache("Walken")	<i>Boy</i>	Padre Luis Coloma
277	1940	<i>El famoso Carballeira</i>	Fernando Mignoni	<i>El famoso Carballeira</i>	Adolfo Torrado
278	1940	<i>El huésped del sevillano</i>	Enrique del Campo	<i>El huésped del sevillano</i>	Juan Ignacio Luca de Tena
279	1940	<i>El rey que rabió</i>	José Buchs	<i>El rey que rabió</i>	Vital Aza
280	1940	<i>En poder de Barba Azul</i>	José Buchs	<i>En poder de Barba Azul</i>	Luisa María Linares Martín
281	1940	<i>Flora y Mariana</i>	José Buchs	<i>El orgullo de Albacete</i>	Joaquín Abati
282	1940	<i>Gracia y justicia</i>	Julián Torremocha	<i>Gracia y justicia</i>	Pascual Guillén
283	1940	<i>Julieta y Romeo</i>	José María Castelví	<i>Julieta y Romeo</i>	José María Pemán
284	1940	<i>La alegría de la huerta</i>	Ramón Quadreny	<i>La alegría de la huerta</i>	Enrique García Álvarez
285	1940	<i>La dolores</i>	Florián Rey	<i>La dolores</i>	Josep Feliú i Codina
286	1940	<i>La gitanilla</i>	Fernando Delgado	<i>La gitanilla</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
287	1940	<i>La malquerida</i>	José López Rubio	<i>La malquerida</i>	Jacinto Benavente
288	1940	<i>Los hijos de la noche</i>	Benito Perojo	<i>Los hijos de la noche</i>	Leandro Navarro Benet
289	1940	<i>Marianela</i>	Benito Perojo	<i>Marianela</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós
290	1940	<i>Martingala</i>	Fernando Mignoni	<i>Martingala</i>	Antonio Quintero
291	1940	<i>No quiero, no quiero</i>	Francisco Elías	<i>No quiero... no quiero</i>	Jacinto Benavente

292	1941	<i>Alma de Dios</i>	Ignacio F. Iquino	<i>Alma de Dios</i>	Carlos Arniches
293	1941	<i>Barbablù</i>	Carlo Ludovico Bragaglia	<i>En poder de Barba Azul</i>	Luisa María Linares Martín
294	1941	<i>Canción de cuna</i>	Gregorio Martínez Sierra	<i>Canción de cuna</i>	Gregorio Martínez Sierra
295	1941	<i>El difunto es un vivo</i>	Ignacio F. Iquino	<i>El difunto es un vivo</i>	Ignacio F. Iquino
296	1941	<i>El milagro del Cristo de la Vega</i>	Adolfo Aznar	<i>El milagro del Cristo de la Vega</i>	José Zorrilla
297	1941	<i>Las cinco advertencias de Satanás</i>	Julián Soler	<i>Las cinco advertencias de Satanás</i>	Enrique Jardiel Poncela
298	1941	<i>Muñequita</i>	Ramón Quadreny	<i>Muñequita</i>	Rafael Pérez y Pérez
299	1941	<i>Para ti es el mundo</i>	José Buchs	<i>Para ti es el mundo</i>	Carlos Arniches
300	1941	<i>Pepe Conde</i>	José López Rubio	<i>Pepe Conde o el mentir de las estrellas</i>	Pedro Muñoz Seca
301	1941	<i>Pilar Guerra</i>	Félix de Pomés	<i>Pilar Guerra</i>	Guillermo Díaz Caneja
302	1941	<i>Porque te vi llorar</i>	Juan de Orduña	<i>Porque te vi llorar</i>	Jaime de Salas
303	1941	<i>Sangre y arena</i>	Rouben Mamoulian	<i>Sangre y arena</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez
304	1941	<i>Su hermano y él</i>	José de Togores	<i>Su hermano y él</i>	Eduardo Marquina
305	1941	<i>Un alto en el camino</i>	Julián Torremocha	<i>Un alto en el camino</i>	Julián Sánchez-Prieto (El pastor poeta)
306	1941	<i>Un marido barato</i>	Armando Vidal	<i>Mi marido</i>	José María Carretero Novillo
307	1941	<i>Una conquista difícil</i>	Pedro Puche	<i>Una conquista difícil</i>	Rafael López de Haro
308	1942	<i>Boda en el infierno</i>	Antonio Román	<i>En un puerto ruso</i>	Rosa María Aranda
309	1942	<i>Correo de Indias</i>	Edgar Neville	<i>Correo de Indias</i>	Edgar Neville
310	1942	<i>El hombre que se quiso matar</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>El hombre que se quiso matar</i>	Wenceslao Fernández Flórez
311	1942	<i>Goyescas</i>	Benito Perojo	<i>Goyescas</i>	Fernando Periquet
312	1942	<i>Historia de un gran amor</i>	Julio Bracho	<i>El niño de la bola</i>	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón
313	1942	<i>La blanca Paloma</i>	Claudio de la Torre	<i>La Virgen de Triana ya entró en Sevilla</i>	Alejandro Pérez Lugín
314	1942	<i>La condesa María</i>	Gonzalo Pardo Delgrás	<i>La condesa María</i>	Juan Ignacio Luca de Tena
315	1942	<i>Los ladrones somos gente honrada</i>	Ignacio F. Iquino	<i>Los ladrones somos gente honrada</i>	Enrique Jardiel Poncela

316	1942	<i>Malvaloca</i>	Luis Marquina	<i>Malvaloca</i>	Joaquín Álvarez Quintero
317	1942	<i>Raza</i>	José Luis Sáenz de Heredia	<i>Raza</i>	Francisco Franco
318	1942	<i>Un marido a precio fijo</i>	Gonzalo Pardo Delgrás	<i>Un marido a precio fijo</i>	Luisa María Linares Martín
319	1942	<i>Unos pasos de mujer</i>	Eusebio Fernández Ardavín	<i>Unos pasos de mujer</i>	Wenceslao Fernández Flórez
320	1942	<i>Vidas cruzadas</i>	Luis Marquina	<i>Vidas cruzadas</i>	Jacinto Benavente
321	1943	<i>Altar mayor</i>	Gonzalo Pardo Delgrás	<i>Altar mayor</i>	Concha Espina
322	1943	<i>Canelita en rama</i>	Eduardo García Maroto	<i>Canelita en rama</i>	Antonio Guzmán Merino
323	1943	<i>Capitán Veneno</i>	Henri Martinent	<i>El capitán veneno</i>	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón
324	1943	<i>Cristina Guzmán</i>	Gonzalo Delgrás	<i>Cristina Guzmán</i>	Carmen de Icaza
325	1943	<i>Cuando pasa el amor</i>	Juan López de Válcárcel	<i>Cuando pasa el amor</i>	Rafael Pérez y Pérez
326	1943	<i>Cuarenta y ocho horas</i>	José María Castelví	<i>Cuarenta y ocho horas</i>	Cecilio Benítez de Castro
327	1943	<i>El escándalo</i>	José Luis Sáenz de Heredia	<i>El escándalo</i>	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón
328	1943	<i>El hombre de los muñecos</i>	Ignacio F. Iquino	<i>Un caradura</i>	Adolfo Torrado
329	1943	<i>Eloísa está debajo de un almendro</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>Eloísa está debajo de un almendro</i>	Enrique Jardiel Poncela
330	1943	<i>Huella de luz</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>Huella de luz</i>	Wenceslao Fernández Flórez
331	1943	<i>Intriga</i>	Antonio Román	<i>Un cadáver en el comedor</i>	Wenceslao Fernández Flórez
332	1943	<i>La boda de Quinita Flores</i>	Gonzalo Pardo Delgrás	<i>La boda de Quinita Flores</i>	Joaquín Álvarez Quintero
333	1943	<i>La casa de la lluvia</i>	Antonio Román	<i>La casa de la lluvia</i>	Wenceslao Fernández Flórez
334	1943	<i>La chica del gato</i>	Ramón Quadreny	<i>La chica del gato</i>	Carlos Arniches
335	1943	<i>La patria chica</i>	Fernando Delgado	<i>La patria chica</i>	Joaquín Álvarez Quintero
336	1943	<i>Mosquita en Palacio</i>	Juan Perellada	<i>Mosquita en Palacio</i>	Adolfo Torrado,
337	1943	<i>Rosas de otoño</i>	Juan de Orduña	<i>Rosas de otoño</i>	Jacinto Benavente
338	1943	<i>Sucedió en Damasco</i>	José López Rubio	<i>El asombro de Damasco</i>	Joaquín Abati
339	1944	<i>Adversidad</i>	Miguel Iglesias	<i>Solitud</i>	Víctor Catalá (Caterina Albert)
340	1944	<i>Ana María</i>	Florián Rey	<i>Ana María</i>	Antonio Quintero



341	1944	<i>Ángela es así</i>	Ramón Quadreny	<i>Ángela María</i>	Joaquín Abati
342	1944	<i>Cabeza de hierro</i>	Ignacio F. Iquino	<i>Cabeza de hierro</i>	Cecilio Benítez de Castro
343	1944	<i>Doze Luas-de-Mel</i>	Ladislao Vajda	<i>Doce lunas de miel</i>	Luisa María Linares Martín
344	1944	<i>El clavo</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>El clavo</i>	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón
345	1944	<i>El fantasma y doña Juanita</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>Romance del fantasma y doña Juanita</i>	José María Pemán
346	1944	<i>El hombre que las enamora</i>	José María Castelví	<i>El hombre que las enamora</i>	Leandro Navarro Benet
347	1944	<i>El ilustre Perea</i>	José Buchs	<i>¡Mi padre!</i>	Pedro Muñoz Seca
348	1944	<i>El sombrero de tres picos</i>	Juan Bustillo Oro	<i>el sombrero de tres picos</i>	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón
349	1944	<i>Ella, él y sus millones</i>	Juan de Orduña	<i>Un cuento de hadas</i>	Honorio Maura
350	1944	<i>La monja alférez</i>	Emilio Gómez Muriel	<i>Historia de la monja alférez</i>	Catalina de Erauso
351	1944	<i>La torre de los siete jorobados</i>	Edgar Neville	<i>La torre de los siete jorobados</i>	Emilio Carrere
352	1944	<i>La vida empieza a medianoche</i>	Juan de Orduña	<i>La vida empieza a medianoche</i>	Luisa María Linares Martín
353	1944	<i>Lecciones de buen amor</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>Lecciones de buen amor</i>	Jacinto Benavente
354	1944	<i>Mi enemigo y yo</i>	Ramón Quadreny	<i>Mi enemigo y yo</i>	Luisa María Linares Martín
355	1944	<i>Mi enemigo y yo</i>	Ramón Quadreny	<i>Mi enemigo y yo</i>	Luisa María Linares Martín
356	1944	<i>Orosia</i>	Florián Rey	<i>La última ronda</i>	Mariano Bolaños
357	1944	<i>Te quiero para mí</i>	Ladislao Vajda	<i>Mi novio el Emperador</i>	Luisa María Linares Martín
358	1944	<i>Turbante blanco</i>	Ignacio F. Iquino	<i>Turbante blanco</i>	Cecilio Benítez de Castro
359	1944	<i>Tuvo la culpa Adán</i>	Juan de Orduña	<i>Tuvo la culpa Adán</i>	Luisa María Linares Martín
360	1944	<i>Una chica de opereta</i>	Ramón Quadreny	<i>Opereta</i>	Concha Linares Becerra
361	1944	<i>Una herencia en París</i>	Miguel Pereyra	<i>Tú eres él</i>	Laura de Cominges (Josefina de la Torre)
362	1945	<i>Adulterio</i>	José Díaz Morales	<i>El abuelo</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós
363	1945	<i>Afan-Evu (El bosque maldito)</i>	José Neches	<i>Afan-Evu (El bosque maldito)</i>	Wenceslao Fernández Flórez
364	1945	<i>Cinco lobitos</i>	Ladislao Vajda	<i>Cinco lobitos</i>	Joaquín Álvarez Quintero
365	1945	<i>El Capitán Malacara</i>	Carlos Orellana	<i>El Capitán Veneno</i>	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón

366	1945	<i>El destino se disculpa</i>	José Luis Sáenz de Heredia	<i>El fantasma / Mi amigo el difunto</i>	Wenceslao Fernández Flórez
367	1945	<i>El pozo de los enamorados</i>	José Hernández Gan	<i>El pozo de los enamorados</i>	Jaime de Salas
368	1945	<i>Eres un caso</i>	Ramón Quadreny	<i>Eres un caso</i>	Enrique Sierra
369	1945	<i>Estaba escrito</i>	Alejandro Ulloa	<i>Laila</i>	Rafael Duyos
370	1945	<i>La barraca</i>	Roberto Gavaldón	<i>La barraca</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez
371	1945	<i>La dama duende</i>	Luis Saslavsky	<i>La dama duende</i>	Pedro Calderón de la Barca
372	1945	<i>La pródiga</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>La pródiga</i>	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón
373	1945	<i>La tempestad</i>	Javier de Rivera	<i>La tempestad</i>	Miguel Ramos Carrión
374	1945	<i>La vida en un hilo</i>	Edgar Neville	<i>La vida en un hilo</i>	Edgar Neville
375	1945	<i>Ni pobre ni rico, sino todo lo contrario</i>	Ignacio F. Iquino	<i>Ni pobre ni rico, sino todo lo contrario</i>	Antonio de Lara (Tono)
376	1945	<i>Ni tuyo, ni mío</i>	Gonzalo Pardo Delgrás	<i>Ni tuyo, ni mío</i>	Luisa María Linares Martín
377	1945	<i>Pepita Jiménez</i>	Emilio Fernández	<i>Pepita Jiménez</i>	Juan Valera
378	1945	<i>Tambor y cascabel</i>	Alejandro Ulloa	<i>Tambor y cascabel</i>	Joaquín Álvarez Quintero
379	1945	<i>Tierra sedienta</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>Tierra sedienta</i>	José Fernández Gómez
380	1945	<i>Un hombre de negocios</i>	Luis Lucia	<i>Un hombre de negocios</i>	Luis García de Sicilia,
381	1945	<i>Una sombra en la ventana</i>	Ignacio F. Iquino	<i>Una sombra en la ventana</i>	Cecilio Benítez de Castro
382	1946	<i>Abel Sánchez (Historia de una pasión)</i>	Carlos Serrano de Osma	<i>Abel Sánchez (Una historia de pasión)</i>	Miguel de Unamuno
383	1946	<i>Audiencia pública</i>	Florián Rey	<i>Audiencia pública</i>	Rogelio Perioult
384	1946	<i>Borrasca de celos</i>	Ignacio F. Iquino	<i>Lo que la arena grabó</i>	Antonio Reyes Huertas
385	1946	<i>Cuando llegue la noche</i>	Jerónimo Mihura	<i>Cuando llegue la noche</i>	Joaquín Calvo Sotelo
386	1946	<i>El emigrado</i>	Ramón Torrado	<i>Los hermanos Ibarrola</i>	Adolfo Torrado
387	1946	<i>Es peligroso asomarse al exterior</i>	Alejandro Ulloa	<i>Es peligroso asomarse al exterior</i>	Enrique Jardiel Poncela
388	1946	<i>La maja de los cantares</i>	Benito Perojo	<i>Los majos de Cádiz</i>	Armando Palacio Valdés
389	1946	<i>Las inquietudes de Shanti Andia</i>	Arturo Ruiz Castillo	<i>Las inquietudes de Shanti Andia</i>	Pío Baroja
390	1946	<i>Leyenda de feria</i>	Juan de Orduña	<i>La paz de Dios</i>	Francisco Serrano Anguita

391	1946	<i>Los habitantes de la casa deshabitada</i>	Gonzalo Pardo Delgrás	<i>Los habitantes de la casa deshabitada</i>	Enrique Jardiel Poncela
392	1946	<i>Un Drama Nuevo</i>	Juan de Orduña	<i>Un drama nuevo</i>	Manuel Tamayo y Baus
393	1947	<i>Consultaré a Mister Brown</i>	Pío Ballesteros	<i>El socio</i>	Jenaro Prieto
394	1947	<i>Cuando los ángeles duermen</i>	Ricardo Gascón	<i>Cuando los ángeles duermen</i>	Cecilio Benítez de Castro
395	1947	<i>Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
396	1947	<i>Dos cuentos para dos</i>	Luis Lucia	<i>El despertar de Cenicienta</i>	José Mallorquí Figuerola
397	1947	<i>Dos mujeres en la niebla</i>	Domingo Viladomat	<i>El faro de Festelnat</i>	Alicia Martínez Valderrama
398	1947	<i>Dulcinea</i>	Luis Arroyo	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miquel de Cervantes y Saavedra
399	1947	<i>El ángel gris</i>	Ignacio F. Iquino	<i>El ángel gris</i>	Julio Coll Claramunt
400	1947	<i>El traje de luces</i>	Edgar Neville	<i>El traje de luces</i>	José María Carretero Novillo
401	1947	<i>Fuenteovejuna</i>	Antonio Román	<i>Fuenteovejuna</i>	Félix Lope de Vega
402	1947	<i>La dama del armiño</i>	Eusebio Fernández Ardavín	<i>La dama del armiño</i>	Luis Fernández Ardavín
403	1947	<i>La fe</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>La fe</i>	Armando Palacio Valdés
404	1947	<i>La Lola se va a los puertos</i>	Juan de Orduña	<i>La Lola se va a los puertos</i>	Antonio Machado
405	1947	<i>La nao Capitana</i>	Florián Rey	<i>La nao Capitana</i>	Ricardo Baroja
406	1947	<i>La princesa de los ursinos</i>	Luis Lucia	<i>La princesa de los Ursinos</i>	Alfonso Danvila
407	1947	<i>La sirena negra</i>	Carlos Serrano de Osma	<i>La sirena negra</i>	Emilia Pardo Bazán
408	1947	<i>Las inquietudes de Shanti Andía</i>	Arturo Ruiz Castillo	<i>Las inquietudes de Shanti Andía</i>	Pío Baroja
409	1947	<i>Lluvia de hijos</i>	Fernando Delgado	<i>Lluvia de hijos</i>	Joaquín Abati
410	1947	<i>Mariana Rebull</i>	José Luis Sáenz de Heredia	<i>Mariana Rebull</i>	Ignasi Agustí
411	1947	<i>Mariona Rebull</i>	José Luis Sáenz de Heredia	<i>Mariona Rebull</i>	Ignasi Agustí
412	1947	<i>Nada</i>	Edgar Neville	<i>Nada</i>	Carmen Laforet
413	1947	<i>Oro y marfil</i>	Gonzalo Pardo Delgrás	<i>Oro y marfil</i>	Pascual Guillén
414	1947	<i>Sinfonía del hogar</i>	Ignacio F. Iquino	<i>Sinfonía del hogar</i>	Cecilia A. Mantúa (Cecilia Alonso)

415	1947	<i>Trece onzas de oro</i>	Gonzalo Pardo Delgrás	<i>Trece onzas de oro</i>	Margarit Robles
416	1948	<i>Botón de ancla</i>	Ramón Torrado	<i>Botón de ancla</i>	José Luis de Azcárraga
417	1948	<i>Conflicto inesperado</i>	Ricardo Gascón	<i>La casa de salud</i>	Joaquín Dicenta Badillo
418	1948	<i>Doña María la Brava</i>	Luis Marquina	<i>Doña María la Brava</i>	Eduardo Marquina
419	1948	<i>El señor Esteve</i>	Edgar Neville	<i>L'Auca del senyor Esteve</i>	Santiago Rusiñol
420	1948	<i>La bien pagada</i>	Alberto Gout	<i>La bien pagada</i>	José María Carretero Novillo (El Caballero Audaz)
421	1948	<i>La casa de la Troya</i>	Carlos Orellana	<i>La casa de la Troya</i>	Alejandro Pérez Lugín
422	1948	<i>La sin ventura</i>	Tito Davison	<i>La sin ventura</i>	José María Carretero
423	1948	<i>La vida encadenada</i>	Antonio Román	<i>La vida encadenada</i>	Bartolomé Soler
424	1948	<i>Las aguas bajan negras</i>	José Luis Sáenz de Heredia	<i>La aldea perdida</i>	Armando Palacio Valdés
425	1948	<i>Locura de amor</i>	Juan de Orduña	<i>Locura de amor</i>	Manuel Tamayo y Baus
426	1948	<i>Mare Nostrum</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>Mare Nostrum</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez
427	1948	<i>Três Espelhos</i>	Ladislao Vajda	<i>Hombre en tres espejos</i>	Natividad Zaro
428	1948	<i>Un viaje de novios</i>	Gonzalo Pardo Delgrás	<i>Un viaje de novios</i>	Emilia Pardo Bazán
429	1949	<i>Alhambra</i>	Juan Vilá Vilamala	<i>La Alhambra o El suspiro del moro</i>	Luis Fernández de Sevilla (Luis Fernández García)
430	1949	<i>Aventuras de Juan Lucas</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>Aventuras de Juan Lucas</i>	Manuel Halcón
431	1949	<i>Currito de la Cruz</i>	Luis Lucia	<i>Currito de la Cruz</i>	Alejandro Pérez Lugín
432	1949	<i>Don Juan de Serrallonga</i>	Ricardo Gascón	<i>Don Juan de Serrallonga</i>	Víctor Balaguer
433	1949	<i>Don Juan Tenorio</i>	Luis César Amadori	<i>Don Juan Tenorio</i>	José Zorrilla
434	1949	<i>El amor brujo</i>	Antonio Román	<i>El amor brujo</i>	Gregorio Martínez Sierra
435	1949	<i>El capitán de Loyola</i>	José Díaz Morales	<i>El divino impaciente</i>	José María Pemán
436	1949	<i>El hombre de mundo</i>	Manuel Tamayo	<i>El hombre de mundo</i>	Ventura de la Vega
437	1949	<i>El viajero del Clipper</i>	Gonzalo Pardo Delgrás	<i>Napoleón llegó en el Clipper</i>	Luisa María Linares Martín
438	1949	<i>Filigrana</i>	Luis Marquina	<i>Filigrana</i>	Antonio Quintero

439	1949	<i>Ha entrado un ladrón</i>	Ricardo Gascón	<i>Ha entrado un ladrón</i>	Wenceslao Fernández Flórez
440	1949	<i>La calumniada</i>	Fernando Delgado	<i>La calumniada</i>	Joaquín Álvarez Quintero
441	1949	<i>La duquesa de Benamejí</i>	Luis Lucia	<i>La duquesa de Benamejí</i>	Antonio Machado
442	1949	<i>La esfinge maragata</i>	Antonio de Obregón	<i>La esfinge maragata</i>	Concha Espina
443	1949	<i>La niña de Luzmela</i>	Ricardo Gascón	<i>La niña de Luzmela</i>	Concha Espina
444	1949	<i>La otra sombra</i>	Eduardo García Maroto	<i>Don Genio y la sombra</i>	Santos Macrino
445	1949	<i>Noche de reyes</i>	Luis Lucia	<i>La noche de Reyes</i>	Carlos Arniches
446	1949	<i>Rumbo</i>	Ramón Torrado	<i>Rumbo</i>	Rafael de León
447	1949	<i>Sabela de Cambados</i>	Ramón Torrado	<i>Sabela de Cambados</i>	Adolfo Torrado
448	1949	<i>Sin uniforme</i>	Ladislao Vajda	<i>También la guerra es dulce</i>	Natividad Zaro
449	1950	<i>De mujer a mujer</i>	Luis Lucia	<i>Alma triunfante</i>	Jacinto Benavente
450	1950	<i>Don Juan</i>	José Luis Sáenz de Heredia	<i>El burlador de Sevilla y convidado de piedra</i>	Tirso de Molina
451	1950	<i>El hijo de la noche</i>	Ricardo Gascón	<i>El hijo de la noche</i>	José Francés
452	1950	<i>El señorito Octavio</i>	Jerónimo Mihura	<i>El señorito Octavio</i>	Armando Palacio Valdés
453	1950	<i>Historia de una escalera</i>	Ignacio F. Iquino	<i>Historia de una escalera</i>	Antonio Buero Vallejo
454	1950	<i>La barca sin pescador</i>	Mario Soffici	<i>La barca sin pescador</i>	Alejandro Casona
455	1950	<i>La honradez de la cerradura</i>	Luis Escobar	<i>La honradez de la cerradura</i>	Jacinto Benavente
456	1950	<i>La mujer de nadie</i>	Gonzalo Delgrás	<i>La mujer de nadie</i>	José Francés
457	1950	<i>La mujer, el torero y el toro</i>	Fernando Butragueño	<i>La mujer, el torero y el toro</i>	Alberto Insúa (Alberto Galt Escobar)
458	1950	<i>La noche del sábado</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>La noche del sábado</i>	Jacinto Benavente
459	1950	<i>Pequeñeces...</i>	Juan de Orduña	<i>Pequeñeces</i>	Luis Coloma
460	1950	<i>Tiempos felices</i>	Enrique Gómez	<i>Tiempos felices</i>	Armando Palacio Valdés
461	1950	<i>Tres ladrones en la casa</i>	Raúl Cancio	<i>Antoñita la Fantástica</i>	Borita Casas (Liberia Casas)
462	1950	<i>Un soltero difícil</i>	Manuel Tamayo	<i>Un soltero difícil</i>	Juan Aguilar Catena
463	1951	<i>Bajo el cielo de Asturias</i>	Gonzalo Delgrás	<i>Sinfonía Pastoral</i>	Armando Palacio Valdés

464	1951	<i>Capitán Veneno</i>	Luis Marquina	<i>El capitán veneno</i>	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón
465	1951	<i>Cielo negro</i>	Manuel Mur Oti	<i>Miopita</i>	Antonio Zozoya
466	1951	<i>Doña Perfecta</i>	Alejandro Galindo	<i>Doña Perfecta</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós
467	1951	<i>Duda</i>	Julio Salvador	<i>Duda</i>	Emilio Hernández Pino
468	1951	<i>El capitán veneno</i>	Luis Marquina	<i>El capitán veneno</i>	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón
469	1951	<i>El gran galeoto</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>El gran galeoto</i>	José Echegaray
470	1951	<i>El hombre que veía la muerte</i>	Gonzalo Pardo Delgrás	<i>El hombre que veía la muerte</i>	José Francés
471	1951	<i>El negro que tenía el alma blanca</i>	Hugo del Carril	<i>El negro que tenía el alma blanca</i>	Alberto Insúa
472	1951	<i>La hija del engaño</i>	Luis Buñuel	<i>Don Quintín el amargao</i>	Carlos Arniches
473	1951	<i>La leona de Castilla</i>	Juan de Orduña	<i>La leona de Castilla</i>	Francisco Villaespesa
474	1951	<i>La mariposa que voló sobre el mar</i>	Antonio de Obregón	<i>La mariposa que voló sobre el mar</i>	Jacinto Benavente
475	1951	<i>Los árboles mueren de pie</i>	Carlos Schlieper	<i>Los árboles mueren de pie</i>	Alejandro Casona
476	1951	<i>Mammy</i>	Jean Stelli	<i>Los árboles mueren de pie</i>	Alejandro Casona
477	1951	<i>Niebla y sol</i>	José María Forqué	<i>El infierno frío</i>	Horacio Ruiz de La Fuente
478	1951	<i>Noche de celos</i>	Fernando Mignoni	<i>Noche de celos</i>	José Castedo
479	1951	<i>Ronda española</i>	Ladislao Vajda	<i>Bailando hasta La Cruz del Sur</i>	Rafael García Serrano
480	1951	<i>Tercio de quites</i>	Emilio Gómez Muriel	<i>Tercio de quites</i>	Pascual Guillén
481	1952	<i>Amaya</i>	Luis Marquina	<i>Amaya o los vascos del siglo VIII</i>	Francisco Navarro Villoslada
482	1952	<i>Don Juan Tenorio</i>	Alejandro Perla	<i>Don Juan Tenorio</i>	José Zorrilla
483	1952	<i>Doña Francisquita</i>	Ladislao Vajda	<i>La discreta enamorada</i>	Félix Lope de Vega
484	1952	<i>Dulce nombre</i>	Enrique Gómez	<i>Dulce nombre</i>	Concha Espina
485	1952	<i>El andén</i>	Eduardo Manzanos	<i>El andén</i>	Manuel Pílares (Manuel Joaquín Fernández Martínez)
486	1952	<i>El sistema Pelegrín</i>	Antonio Román	<i>El sistema Pelegrín</i>	Wenceslao Fernández Flórez
487	1952	<i>El sistema Peligrín</i>	Ignacio F. Iquino	<i>El sistema Peligrín</i>	Wenceslao Fernández Flórez
488	1952	<i>Gloria Mairena</i>	Luis Lucia	<i>Creo en ti</i>	Jorge de la Cueva

489	1952	<i>Habitación para tres</i>	Antonio de Lara("Tono")	<i>Guillermo hotel</i>	Antonio de Lara (Tono)
490	1952	<i>Hace cien años</i>	Antonio de Obregón	<i>De lo pintado a lo vivo</i>	Juan Ignacio Luca de Tena
491	1952	<i>La danza del corazón</i>	Raúl Alfonso	<i>La danza</i>	José Francés
492	1952	<i>La hermana San Sulpicio</i>	Luis Lucia	<i>La hermana de San Sulpicio</i>	Armando Palacio Valdés
493	1952	<i>La laguna negra</i>	Arturo Ruiz Castillo	<i>La tierra de Alvargonzález</i>	Antonio Machado
494	1952	<i>La madre guapa</i>	Félix de Pomés	<i>La madre guapa</i>	Adolfo Torrado
495	1952	<i>Lola, la piconera</i>	Luis Lucia	<i>Cuando las Cortes de Cádiz</i>	José María Pemán
496	1952	<i>Luna de sangre</i>	Francisco Rovira Baleta	<i>La familia de Alvareda</i>	Cecilia Böhl de Faber (Fernán Caballero)
497	1952	<i>Perseguidos</i>	José Luis Gamboa	<i>La cárcel infinita</i>	Joaquín Calvo Sotelo
498	1952	<i>Puebla de las mujeres</i>	Antonio del Amo	<i>Puebla de las mujeres</i>	Joaquín Álvarez Quintero
499	1952	<i>Quema el suelo</i>	Luis Marquina	<i>Quema el suelo</i>	Juan Luis Calleja (Cromwell)
500	1953	<i>Así es Madrid</i>	Luis Marquina	<i>La hora mala</i>	Carlos Arniches
501	1953	<i>Canción de cuna</i>	Fernando de Fuentes	<i>Canción de cuna</i>	Gregorio Martínez Sierra
502	1953	<i>Condenados</i>	Manuel Mur Oti	<i>Condenados</i>	José Suárez Carreño
503	1953	<i>Él</i>	Luis Buñuel	<i>Él</i>	Mercedes Pinto
504	1953	<i>El curioso impertinente</i>	Flavio Calzavara	<i>El curioso impertinente</i>	Miquel de Cervantes y Saavedra
505	1953	<i>El diablo toca la flauta</i>	José María Forqué	<i>El asesino de la luna</i>	Noel Clarasó
506	1953	<i>Jeromín</i>	Luis Lucia	<i>Jeromín</i>	Padre Luis Coloma
507	1953	<i>La hija del mar</i>	Antonio Momplet	<i>La filla del mar</i>	Àngel Guimerà
508	1953	<i>Las tres perfectas casadas</i>	Roberto Gavaldón	<i>Las tres perfectas casadas</i>	Alejandro Casona
509	1953	<i>Maldición gitana</i>	Jerónimo Mihura	<i>Más acá del más allá</i>	Carlos Llopis
510	1953	<i>Manicomio</i>	Fernando Fernán-Gómez	<i>La mona de imitación</i>	Ramón Gómez de la Serna
511	1953	<i>Misericordia</i>	Zacarías Gómez Urquiza	<i>Misericordia</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós
512	1953	<i>Puebla de las mujeres</i>	Antonio del Amo	<i>Puebla de las mujeres</i>	Joaquín Álvarez Quintero
513	1953	<i>Rebeldía</i>	José Antonio Nieves Conde	<i>La luz de la víspera</i>	José María Pemán

514	1953	<i>Segundo López, aventurero urbano</i>	Ana Mariscal	<i>Segundo López, aventurero urbano</i>	Leocadio Mejías
515	1954	<i>Alta costura</i>	Luis Marquina	<i>Alta costura</i>	Darío Fernández Flórez
516	1954	<i>Cañas y barro</i>	Juan de Orduña	<i>Cañas y barro</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez
517	1954	<i>El alcalde de Zalamea</i>	José Gutiérrez Maesso	<i>El alcalde de Zalamea</i>	Pedro Calderón de la Barca
518	1954	<i>Entre barracas</i>	Luis Ligero	<i>Entre barracas</i>	Ramón Asensio Más
519	1954	<i>La moza del cántaro</i>	Florián Rey	<i>La moza del cántaro</i>	Félix Lope de Vega
520	1954	<i>La mujer ajena</i>	Juan Bustillo Oro	<i>Realidad</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós
521	1954	<i>La principessa delle Canarie</i>	Paolo Moffa, Carlos Serrano de Osma	<i>Tirma</i>	Juan del Río Ayala
522	1954	<i>Malvaloca</i>	Ramón Torrado	<i>Malvaloca</i>	Joaquín Álvarez Quintero
523	1954	<i>Morena clara</i>	Luis Lucía	<i>Morena clara</i>	Antonio Quintero
524	1954	<i>Murió hace quince años</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>Murió hace quince años</i>	José Antonio Giménez-Arnau
525	1954	<i>Sor Angélica</i>	Joaquín Luis Romero Marchent	<i>Sor Angélica</i>	Francisco Gargallo
526	1954	<i>Tormenta de odios</i>	Román Viñoly Barreto	<i>El abuelo</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós
527	1954	<i>Viento del norte</i>	Antonio Momplet	<i>Viento del norte</i>	Elena Quiroga
528	1954	<i>Zalacaín el aventurero</i>	Juan de Orduña	<i>Zalacaín el aventurero</i>	Pío Baroja
529	1955	<i>El canto del gallo</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>El canto del gallo</i>	José Antonio Giménez-Arnau
530	1955	<i>El coyote</i>	Joaquín Luis Romero Marchent	<i>Las aventuras de don César Echagüe "El Coyote"</i>	José Mallorquí
531	1955	<i>El guardián del paraíso</i>	Arturo Ruiz Castillo	<i>El guardián del paraíso</i>	Manuel Pombo Angulo
532	1955	<i>El padre Pitillo</i>	Juan de Orduña	<i>El padre Pitillo</i>	Carlos Arniches
533	1955	<i>El tren expreso</i>	León Klimovsky	<i>El tren expreso</i>	Ramón de Campoamor
534	1955	<i>Il falco d'oro</i>	Carlo Ludovico Bragaglia		Tirso de Molina
535	1955	<i>Juicio final</i>	José Ochoa	<i>Las últimas horas</i>	José Suárez Carreño
536	1955	<i>La hermana Alegría</i>	Luis Lucía	<i>La casa del olvido</i>	Luis Fernández de Sevilla (Luis Fernández García)
537	1955	<i>La otra vida del capitán Contreras</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>La otra vida del capitán Contreras</i>	Torcuato Luca de Tena



538	1955	<i>La pícaro molinera</i>	León Klimovsky	<i>El sombrero de tres picos</i>	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón
539	1955	<i>La reina mora</i>	Raúl Alfonso	<i>La reina mora</i>	Joaquín Álvarez Quintero
540	1955	<i>Lo que nunca muere</i>	Julio Salvador	<i>Lo que nunca muere</i>	Luisa Alberca
541	1955	<i>Marcelino pan y vino</i>	Ladislao Vajda	<i>Marcelino pan y vino. Cuento de padres a hijos</i>	José María Sánchez Silva
542	1955	<i>Marianela</i>	Julio Porter	<i>Marianela</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós
543	1955	<i>Necesito un marido</i>	José Díaz Morales	<i>Un marido a precio fijo</i>	Luisa María Linares Martín
544	1955	<i>Rapto en la ciudad</i>	Rafael J. Salvia	<i>Un hada en la ciudad</i>	Wenceslao Fernández Flórez
545	1955	<i>Señora ama</i>	Julio Bracho	<i>Señora ama</i>	Jacinto Benavente
546	1955	<i>Sin la sonrisa de Dios</i>	Julio Salvador	<i>Sin la sonrisa de Dios</i>	José Antonio de la Loma
547	1955	<i>Sucedió en Sevilla</i>	José Gutiérrez Maesso	<i>La virgen del Rocío ya entró en Triana</i>	Alejandro Pérez Lugín
548	1955	<i>Terroristi a Madrid</i>	Margarita Alexandre	<i>La ciudad perdida</i>	Mercedes Fórmica
549	1955	<i>Zalacaín, el aventurero</i>	Juan de Orduña	<i>Zalacaín, el aventurero</i>	Pío Baroja
550	1956	<i>Calle Mayor</i>	Juan Antonio Bardem	<i>La señorita de Trevélez</i>	Carlos Arniches
551	1956	<i>Der Richter von Zalamea</i>	Martin Hellberg	<i>El alcalde de Zalamea</i>	Pedro Calderón de la Barca
552	1956	<i>El difunto es un vivo</i>	Juan Lladó	<i>El difunto es un vivo</i>	Ignacio F. Iquino
553	1956	<i>El malvado Carabel</i>	Fernando Fernán Gómez	<i>El malvado carabel</i>	Wenceslao Fernández Flórez
554	1956	<i>Embajadores en el infierno</i>	José María Forqué	<i>Embajador en el infierno. Memorias del capitán Palacios (Once años de cautiverio en Rusia)</i>	Torcuato Luca de Tena
555	1956	<i>La bandera negra</i>	Amando de Ossorio	<i>La bandera negra</i>	Horacio Ruiz de La Fuente
556	1956	<i>La chica del barrio</i>	Ricardo Nuñez	<i>La tonta del bote</i>	Pilar Millán Astray
557	1956	<i>La ciudad no es para mí</i>	Pedro Lazaga	<i>La ciudad no es para mí</i>	Fernando Lázaro Carreter
558	1956	<i>La herida luminosa</i>	Tulio Demicheli	<i>La ferida lluminosa</i>	Josep Maria de Sagarra
559	1956	<i>La justicia del Coyote</i>	Joaquín Luis Romero Marchent	<i>Las aventuras de don César Echagüe "El Coyote"</i>	José Mallorquí
560	1956	<i>La vida en un bloc</i>	Luis Lucia	<i>La vida en un bloc</i>	Carlos Llopis

561	1956	<i>Los ladrones somos gente honrada</i>	Pedro Luis Ramírez	<i>Los ladrones somos gente honrada</i>	Enrique Jardiel Poncela
562	1956	<i>Polvorilla</i>	Florián Rey	<i>Los caballeros</i>	Pascual Guillén
563	1956	<i>Puente del diablo</i>	Javier Setó	<i>Menta</i>	Faustino González Aller
564	1956	<i>Tremolina</i>	Ricardo Nuñez	<i>Los pápiros</i>	Joaquín Álvarez Quintero
565	1957	<i>Don Kikhot</i>	Grigori Kozintsev	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
566	1957	<i>El genio alegre</i>	Gonzalo Pardo Delgrás	<i>El genio alegre</i>	Joaquín Álvarez Quintero
567	1957	<i>El Maestro</i>	Aldo Fabrizi	<i>Dabar</i>	Luis Lucas
568	1957	<i>Faustina</i>	José Luis Sáenz de Heredia	<i>Si fausto fuera Faustina</i>	José Luis Sáenz de Heredia
569	1957	<i>La guerra empieza en cuba</i>	Manuel Mur Oti	<i>La guerra empieza en Cuba</i>	Víctor Ruiz Iriarte
570	1957	<i>La hija de Juan Simón</i>	Gonzalo Delgrás	<i>La hija de Juan Simón</i>	José María Granada
571	1957	<i>Los maridos no cenan en casa</i>	Jerónimo Mihura	<i>Las desencantadas</i>	Honorio Maura
572	1957	<i>Madrugada</i>	Antonio Román	<i>Madrugada</i>	Antonio Buero Vallejo
573	1957	<i>Maravilla</i>	Javier Setó	<i>Maravilla</i>	Jesús María de Arozamena
574	1957	<i>Un marido de ida y vuelta</i>	Luis Lucia	<i>Un marido de ida y vuelta</i>	Enrique Jardiel Poncela
575	1958	<i>¡Viva lo imposible!</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>¡Viva lo imposible!</i>	Joaquín Calvo Sotelo
576	1958	<i>Carlota</i>	Enrique Cahen Salaberry	<i>Carlota</i>	Miguel Mihura
577	1958	<i>C'est la faute d'Adam</i>	Jacqueline Audry	<i>Tuvo la culpa Adán</i>	Luisa María Linares Martín
578	1958	<i>Chaque jour a son secret</i>	Claude Boissol	<i>Cada día tiene su secreto</i>	Luisa María Linares Martín
579	1958	<i>Distrito Quinto</i>	Julio Coll	<i>Es perillós fer-se esperar</i>	Josep Maria Espinàs
580	1958	<i>El amor empieza en sábado</i>	Victorio Aguado	<i>El amor empieza en sábado</i>	María Luz Morales
581	1958	<i>El hereje</i>	Francisco de Borja Moro	<i>El hereje</i>	José María Sánchez Silva
582	1958	<i>El niño de las monjas</i>	Ignacio F. Iquino	<i>El niño de las monjas</i>	Juan López Núñez
583	1958	<i>El pisito</i>	Marco Ferreri	<i>El pisito</i>	Rafael Azcona
584	1958	<i>Hospital general</i>	Carlos Arévalo	<i>Hospital general</i>	Manuel Pombo Angulo
585	1958	<i>La muralla</i>	Luis Lucia	<i>La muralla</i>	Joaquín Calvo Sotelo

586	1958	<i>Los clarines del miedo</i>	Antonio Román	<i>Los clarines del miedo</i>	Ángel María de Lera
587	1958	<i>Mi desconocida esposa</i>	Alberto Gout	<i>La vida empieza a medianoche</i>	Luisa María Linares Martín
588	1958	<i>Nada menos que un Arkángel</i>	Antonio del Amo	<i>Nada menos que un Arkángel</i>	Juan Luis Calleja (Cromwell)
589	1958	<i>Socios para la aventura</i>	Miguel Morayta	<i>Socios para la aventura</i>	Luisa María Linares Martín
590	1958	<i>Una chica de Chicago</i>	Manuel Mur Oti	<i>Una chica de Chicago</i>	Noel Clarasó
591	1958	<i>Una cita de amor</i>	Emilio Fernández	<i>El niño de la bola</i>	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón
592	1958	<i>Una muchachita de Valladolid</i>	Luis César Amadori	<i>Una muchachita de Valladolid</i>	Joaquín Calvo Sotelo
593	1959	<i>¡Buen viaje, Pablo...!</i>	Ignacio F. Iquino	<i>¡Buen viaje, Pablo...!</i>	Gaspar Cataldo
594	1959	<i>¿Dónde vas, Alfonso XII?</i>	Luis César Amadori	<i>¿Dónde vas, Alfonso XII?</i>	Juan Ignacio Luca de Tena
595	1959	<i>Camarote de lujo</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>Luz de luna</i>	Wenceslao Fernández Flórez
596	1959	<i>Charlestón</i>	Tulio Demicheli	<i>No te ofendas, Beatriz</i>	Carlos Arniches
597	1959	<i>Con la vida hicieron fuego</i>	Ana Mariscal	<i>Con la vida hicieron fuego</i>	Jesús Evaristo Casariego
598	1959	<i>El baile</i>	Edgar Neville	<i>El baile</i>	Edgar Neville
599	1959	<i>El Lazarillo de Tormes</i>	César Fernández Ardavín	<i>Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas y adversidades</i>	Anonymous
600	1959	<i>Juego de niños</i>	Enrique Cahen Salaberry	<i>Juego de niños</i>	Víctor Ruiz Iriarte
601	1959	<i>La casa de la Troya</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>La casa de la Troya</i>	Alejandro Pérez Lugín
602	1959	<i>La copla andaluza</i>	Jerónimo Mihura	<i>La copla andaluza</i>	Pascual Guillén
603	1959	<i>Las de Caín</i>	Antonio Momplet	<i>Las de Caín</i>	Joaquín Álvarez Quintero
604	1959	<i>Luna de miel</i>	Michael Powell	<i>El Amor Brujo</i>	Gregorio Martínez Sierra
605	1959	<i>María de la O</i>	Ramón Torrado	<i>María de la O.</i>	Rafael de León
606	1959	<i>Nazarín</i>	Luis Buñuel	<i>Nazarín</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós
607	1959	<i>Salto a la gloria</i>	León Klimovsky	<i>Recuerdos de mi vida. Mi infancia y mi juventud</i>	Santiago Ramón y Cajal
608	1959	<i>Sonatas: Aventuras del marqués de Bradomín</i>	Juan Antonio Bardem	<i>Sonata de otoño y Sonata de estío</i>	Ramón del Valle-Inclán
609	1959	<i>Una gran señora</i>	Luis César Amadori	<i>Una gran señora</i>	Enrique Suárez de Deza

610	1959	<i>Venta de Vargas</i>	Enrique Cahen Salaberry	<i>Venta de Vargas</i>	José Gallardo Luis Lucas
611	1959	<i>Vida sin risas</i>	Rafael J. Salvia	<i>El último concierto</i>	Francisco Abad Ojuel
612	1960	<i>¿Dónde vas triste de ti?</i>	Alfonso Balcázar	<i>¿Dónde vas triste de ti?</i>	Juan Ignacio Luca de Tena
613	1960	<i>A las cinco de la tarde</i>	Juan Antonio Bardem	<i>La cornada</i>	Alfonso Sastre
614	1960	<i>Alma aragonesa</i>	José Ochoa	<i>La dolores</i>	José Feliu y Codina
615	1960	<i>Ama Rosa</i>	León Klimovsky	<i>Ama Rosa</i>	Rafael Barón
616	1960	<i>Aventuras de Don Quijote</i>	Eduardo García Maroto	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
617	1960	<i>Cradle Song</i>	George Schaefer	<i>Canción de cuna</i>	Gregorio Martínez Sierra
618	1960	<i>Culpables</i>	Arturo Ruiz Castillo	<i>Culpables</i>	Manuel Ruiz Castillo
619	1960	<i>El casco blanco</i>	Pedro Balañá	<i>El casco blanco</i>	Xavier Adro (Alejandro Rey)
620	1960	<i>El cochecito</i>	Marco Ferreri	<i>El paralítico</i>	Rafael Azcona
621	1960	<i>El indulto</i>	José Luis Sáenz de Heredia	<i>El indulto</i>	Emilia Pardo Bazán
622	1960	<i>El príncipe encadenado</i>	Luis Lucia	<i>La vida es sueño</i>	Pedro Calderón de la Barca
623	1960	<i>La fiel infantería</i>	Pedro Lazaga	<i>La fiel infantería y la paz dura quince años</i>	Rafael García Serrano
624	1960	<i>La hermana San Sulpicio</i>	Julio Saraceni	<i>La hermana San Sulpicio</i>	Armando Palacio Valdés
625	1960	<i>La paz empieza nunca</i>	León Klimovsky	<i>La paz empieza nunca</i>	Emilio Romero
626	1960	<i>Le tre eccetera del colonnello</i>	Claude Boissol	<i>Los tres etcéteras de don Simón</i>	José María Pemán
627	1960	<i>Los claveles</i>	Miguel Lluch	<i>Los claveles</i>	Anselmo Cuadrado Carreño
628	1960	<i>Los Golfos</i>	Carlos Saura	<i>Los golfos</i>	Daniel Sueiro
629	1960	<i>Los tres etcéteras del coronel</i>	Claude Boissol	<i>Los tres etcéteras de don Simón</i>	José María Pemán
630	1960	<i>María, matrícula de Bilbao</i>	Ladislao Vajda	<i>Luiso</i>	Luis de Diego
631	1960	<i>Maribel y la extraña familia</i>	José María Forqué	<i>Maribel y la extraña familia</i>	Miguel Mihura
632	1960	<i>Melocotón en almíbar</i>	Antonio del Amo	<i>Melocotón en almíbar</i>	Miguel Mihura
633	1960	<i>Muerte al amanecer</i>	José María Forn	<i>El inocente</i>	Mario Lacruz
634	1960	<i>Navidades en junio</i>	Tulio Demicheli	<i>El cielo dentro de casa</i>	Alfonso Paso

635	1960	<i>Sentencia contra una mujer</i>	Antonio Isasi	<i>Testamento en la montaña</i>	Manuel Arce
636	1960	<i>Sólo para hombres</i>	Fernando Fernán Gómez	<i>Sublime decisión</i>	Miguel Mihura
637	1960	<i>Tu marido nos engaña</i>	Miguel Iglesias	<i>Díuo a tres</i>	Jaime Salón
638	1960	<i>Un ángel tuvo la culpa</i>	Luis Lucia	<i>Milagro en la Plaza del Progreso</i>	Joaquín Calvo Sotelo
639	1960	<i>Un trono para Cristy</i>	Luis César Amadori	<i>Un trono para Cristy</i>	José López Rubio
640	1961	<i>Adiós, Mimí Pompón</i>	Luis Marquina	<i>Adiós, Mimí Pompón</i>	Alfonso Paso
641	1961	<i>Botón de ancla</i>	Miguel Lluch	<i>Botón de ancla</i>	José Luis de Azcárraga
642	1961	<i>Canción de cuna</i>	José María Elorrieta	<i>Canción de cuna</i>	Gregorio Martínez Sierra
643	1961	<i>Cuidado con las personas formales</i>	Agustín Navarro	<i>Cuidado con las personas formales</i>	Alfonso Paso
644	1961	<i>Don José, Pepe y Pepito</i>	Clemente Pamplona	<i>Don José, Pepe y Pepito</i>	Juan Ignacio Luca de Tena
645	1961	<i>El Cid</i>	Anthony Mann	<i>Poema del Mío Cid</i>	Anonymous
646	1961	<i>Fantasmas en la casa</i>	Pedro Luis Ramírez	<i>Los habitantes de la casa deshabitada</i>	Enrique Jardiel Poncela
647	1961	<i>La moglie di mio marito</i>	Antonio Román	<i>Mi mujer me gusta más</i>	José Alfayate
648	1961	<i>La viudita naviera</i>	Luis Marquina	<i>La viudita naviera</i>	José María Pemán
649	1961	<i>Las estrellas</i>	Miguel Lluch	<i>Las estrellas</i>	Carlos Arniches
650	1961	<i>Prohibido enamorarse</i>	José Antonio Nieves Conde	<i>Cosas de papá y mamá</i>	Alfonso Paso
651	1961	<i>Siega verde</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>Verd madur</i>	José Viros
652	1961	<i>Usted puede ser un asesino</i>	José María Forqué	<i>Usted puede ser un asesino</i>	Alfonso Paso
653	1961	<i>Viridiana</i>	Luis Buñuel	<i>Halma</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós
654	1962	<i>Cena de matrimonios</i>	Alfonso Balcázar	<i>Cena de matrimonios</i>	Alfonso Paso
655	1962	<i>Cuerda de presos</i>	Pedro Lazaga	<i>Cuerda de presos</i>	Tomás Salvador
656	1962	<i>Detective con faldas</i>	Ricardo Nuñez	<i>Napoleón llegó en el Clipper</i>	Luisa María Linares Martín
657	1962	<i>Dulcinea</i>	Vicente Escrivá	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miquel de Cervantes y Saavedra
658	1962	<i>El Amor de los amores</i>	Juan de Orduña	<i>El Amor de los amores</i>	Ricardo León
659	1962	<i>La spada del Cid</i>	Miguel Iglesias	<i>Poema del Mío Cid</i>	Anonymous

660	1962	<i>La venganza de Don Mendo</i>	Fernando Fernán Gómez	<i>La venganza de don Mendo</i>	Pedro Muñoz Seca
661	1962	<i>Los atracadores</i>	Francisco Rovira Beleta	<i>Los atracadores</i>	Tomás Salvador
662	1962	<i>Los culpables</i>	José María Forn	<i>Los culpables</i>	Jaime Salón
663	1962	<i>Los que no fuimos a la guerra</i>	Julio Diamante	<i>Los que no fuimos a la guerra</i>	Wenceslao Fernández Flórez
664	1962	<i>Milagro a los cobardes</i>	Manuel Mur Oti	<i>La puerta giratoria</i>	Manuel Pilares (Manuel Joaquín Fernández Martínez)
665	1962	<i>Plaza de Oriente</i>	Mateo Cano	<i>Plaza de Oriente</i>	Joaquín Calvo Sotel
666	1962	<i>Rogelia</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>Santa Rogelia</i>	Armando Palacio Valdés
667	1962	<i>Romance en Puerto Rico</i>	Ramón Pereda	<i>En poder de Barba Azul</i>	Luisa María Linares Martín
668	1962	<i>Suspendido en sinvergüenza</i>	Mariano Ozores	<i>Juicio contra un sinvergüenza</i>	Alfonso Paso
669	1962	<i>The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse</i>	Vincente Minnelli	<i>Los Cuatro Jinetes Del Apocalipsis</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez
670	1962	<i>Tú y yo somos tres</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>Tú y yo somos tres</i>	Enrique Jardiel Poncela
671	1962	<i>Usted tiene ojos de mujer fatal</i>	José María Elorrieta	<i>Usted tiene ojos de mujer fatal</i>	Enrique Jardiel Poncela
672	1962	<i>Vamos a contar mentiras</i>	Antonio Isasi	<i>Vamos a contar mentiras</i>	Alfonso Paso
673	1962	<i>Ventolera</i>	Luis Marquina	<i>Ventolera</i>	Joaquín Álvarez Quintero
674	1963	<i>A este lado del muro</i>	Angelino Fons	<i>Las afueras</i>	Luis Goytisolo
675	1963	<i>Benigno, hermano mío</i>	Arturo González	<i>El baile del pan</i>	Santiago Lorén
676	1963	<i>Bochorno</i>	Juan de Orduña	<i>Bochorno</i>	Ángel María de Lera
677	1963	<i>Carta a una mujer</i>	Miguel Iglesias	<i>El mensaje</i>	Jaime Salón
678	1963	<i>Cerca de las estrellas</i>	César Fernández Ardavín	<i>Cerca de las estrellas</i>	Ricardo López Aranda
679	1963	<i>Cristina Guzmán</i>	Luis César Amadori	<i>Cristina Guzmán, profesora de idiomas</i>	Carmen de Icaza
680	1963	<i>Dulcinea</i>	Vicente Escrivá	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miquel de Cervantes y Saavedra
681	1963	<i>El diablo en vacaciones</i>	José María Elorrieta	<i>Veinte años</i>	Edgar Neville
682	1963	<i>El secreto de Tommy</i>	Antonio del Amo	<i>El secreto de Tommy</i>	José Mallorquí Figuerola

683	1963	<i>El sol en el espejo</i>	Antonio Román	<i>Los pobrecitos</i>	Alfonso Paso
684	1963	<i>El valle de las espadas</i>	Javier Setó	<i>Poema de Fernán González</i>	Anonymous
685	1963	<i>Il segno del coyote</i>	Mario Caiano	<i>Las aventuras de don César Echagüe "El Coyote"</i>	José Mallorquí
686	1963	<i>La boda</i>	Lucas Demare	<i>La boda</i>	Ángel María de Lera
687	1963	<i>La malquerida</i>	Pedro Amalio López	<i>La malquerida</i>	Jacinto Benavente
688	1963	<i>La revoltosa</i>	José Díaz Morales	<i>La revoltosa</i>	Carlos Fernández Shaw
689	1963	<i>La verbena de la Paloma</i>	José Luis Sáenz de Heredia	<i>La verbena de la Paloma</i>	Ricardo de la Vega
690	1963	<i>Las hijas del Cid</i>	Miguel Iglesias	<i>Poema del Mío Cid</i>	Anónimo
691	1963	<i>Llegar a más</i>	Jesús Fernández Santos	<i>Llegar a más</i>	Jesús Fernández Santos
692	1963	<i>Los derechos de la mujer</i>	José Luis Sáenz de Heredia	<i>Los derechos de la mujer</i>	Alfonso Paso
693	1963	<i>Los farsantes</i>	Mario Camus	<i>Fin de fiesta</i>	Daniel Sueiro
694	1963	<i>Los Tarantos</i>	Francisco Rovira Beleta	<i>La historia de los Tarantos</i>	Alfredo Mañas
695	1963	<i>Nuevas Amistades</i>	Ramón Comas	<i>Nuevas Amistades</i>	Juan García Hortelano
696	1963	<i>Operación embajada</i>	Fernando Palacios	<i>Cartas credenciales y Cuerpo diplomático</i>	Joaquín Calvo Sotelo
697	1963	<i>Piso de soltero</i>	Alfonso Balcázar	<i>Pisito de solteras</i>	Jaime de Armiñán
698	1963	<i>Tres hombres buenos</i>	Joaquín Luis Romero Marchent	<i>Tres hombres buenos</i>	José Mallorquí
699	1963	<i>Una tal Dulcinea</i>	Rafael J. Salvia	<i>Una tal Dulcinea</i>	Alfonso Paso
700	1963	<i>Young Sánchez</i>	Mario Camus	<i>Young Sánchez</i>	Ignacio Aldecoa
701	1964	<i>Brandy (El sheriff de Losatumba)</i>	José Luis Borau, Mario Caiano	<i>El sheriff de Losatumba</i>	José Mallorquí Figuerola
702	1964	<i>Casi un caballero</i>	José María Forqué	<i>¿De acuerdo, Susana?</i>	Carlos Llopis (Carlos F. Fernández Montero)
703	1964	<i>Comment épouser un premier ministre</i>	Michel Boisrond	<i>Como casarse con un primer ministro</i>	Luisa María Linares Martín
704	1964	<i>El camino</i>	Ana Mariscal	<i>El camino</i>	Miguel Delibes
705	1964	<i>El escándalo</i>	Javier Setó	<i>El escándalo</i>	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón
706	1964	<i>El pecador y la bruja</i>	Julio Buchs	<i>Un roto para un descosido</i>	Alfonso Paso

707	1964	<i>La barca sin pescador</i>	Josep Maria Forn	<i>La barca sin pescador</i>	Alejandro Casona
708	1964	<i>La chica del gato</i>	Clemente Pamplona	<i>La chica del gato</i>	Carlos Arniches
709	1964	<i>La historia de Bienvenido</i>	Augusto Fenollar	<i>La historia de Bienvenido</i>	José María Sánchez Silva
710	1964	<i>La otra orilla</i>	José Luis Madrid	<i>La otra orilla</i>	José López Rubio
711	1964	<i>La tía Tula</i>	Miguel Picazo	<i>La tía Tula</i>	Miguel de Unamuno
712	1964	<i>L'autre femme</i>	François Villiers	<i>La otra mujer</i>	Luisa-María Linares
713	1964	<i>Los palomos</i>	Fernando Fernán Gómez	<i>Los palomos</i>	Alfonso Paso
714	1964	<i>Una madeja de lana azul celeste</i>	José Luis Madrid	<i>Una madeja de lana azul celeste</i>	López Rubio, José
715	1965	<i>Currito de la Cruz</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>Currito de la Cruz</i>	Alejandro Pérez Lugín
716	1965	<i>Don Quijote ja Sancho Panza Jätkäsaarella</i>	Mikko Niskanen	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
717	1965	<i>Doña Rosita la soltera</i>	Antonio Artero	<i>Doña Rosita la soltera</i>	Federico García Lorca
718	1965	<i>El mundo sigue</i>	Fernando Fernán Gómez	<i>El mundo sigue</i>	Juan Antonio Zunzunegui
719	1965	<i>La dama del alba</i>	Gustavo Pérez Puig	<i>La dama del alba</i>	Alejandro Casona
720	1965	<i>La frontera de Dios</i>	César Fernández Ardavín	<i>La frontera de Dios</i>	José Luis Martín Descalzo
721	1965	<i>La vida nueva de Pedrito de Andía</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>La vida nueva de Pedrito de Andía</i>	Rafael Sánchez Mazas
722	1965	<i>La visita que no tocó el timbre</i>	Mario Camus	<i>La visita que no tocó el timbre</i>	Joaquín Calvo Sotelo
723	1965	<i>Las mujeres los prefieren tontos</i>	Luis Saslavsky	<i>El amor tiene su aquél</i>	Carlos Llopis (Carlos F. Fernández Montero)
724	1965	<i>María Rosa</i>	Armando Moreno	<i>María Rosa</i>	Àngel Guimerà
725	1965	<i>Miguelín</i>	Horacio Valcárcel	<i>Miguelín</i>	Joaquín Aguirre Bellver
726	1965	<i>Nobleza Baturra</i>	Juan de Orduña	<i>Nobleza Baturra</i>	Joaquín Dicenta Badillo
727	1966	<i>¡Adiós, Cordera!</i>	Pedro Mario Herrero	<i>¡Adiós, Cordera!</i>	Leopoldo Alas (Clarín)
728	1966	<i>¡Es mi hombre!</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>Es mi hombre</i>	Carlos Arniches
729	1966	<i>Amador</i>	Francisco Regueiro	<i>Amador</i>	Francisco Regueiro
730	1966	<i>Aquí mando yo</i>	Rafael Romero Marchent	<i>Yo quiero. Andanzas de un pobre chico</i>	Carlos Arniches
731	1966	<i>Camino del Rocío</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>La Virgen del Rocío ya entró en Triana</i>	Alejandro Pérez Lugín



732	1966	<i>Comment ne pas épouser un milliardaire</i>	Lazare Iglesias	<i>En poder de Barba Azul</i>	Luisa María Linares Martín
733	1966	<i>Con el viento solano</i>	Mario Camus	<i>Con el viento solano</i>	Ignacio Aldecoa
734	1966	<i>De barro y oro</i>	Joaquín Bello	<i>De barro y oro</i>	Juan García Hortelano
735	1966	<i>Ditirambo vela por nosotros</i>	Gonzalo Suárez	<i>Rocabruno bate a Ditirambo</i>	Gonzalo Suárez
736	1966	<i>Don Quijote von der Mancha</i>	Carlo Rim	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
737	1966	<i>El bordón y la estrella</i>	León Klimovsky	<i>El bordón y la estrella</i>	Joaquín Aguirre Bellver
738	1966	<i>El horrible ser nunca visto</i>	Gonzalo Suárez	<i>Trece veces trece</i>	Gonzalo Suárez
739	1966	<i>Fata/Morgana</i>	Vicente Aranda	<i>Fata Morgana</i>	Gonzalo Suárez
740	1966	<i>La busca</i>	Angelino Fons	<i>La busca</i>	Pío Baroja
741	1966	<i>La ciudad no es para mí</i>	Pedro Lazaga	<i>La ciudad no es para mí</i>	Fernando Lázaro Carreter
742	1966	<i>La dama del alba</i>	Francisco Rovira Beleta	<i>La dama del alba</i>	Alejandro Casona
743	1966	<i>La mujer de tu prójimo</i>	Enrique Carreras	<i>El noveno mandamiento</i>	Miguel Ramos Carrión
744	1966	<i>Lola, espejo oscuro</i>	Fernando Merino	<i>Lola, espejo oscuro</i>	Darío Fernández Flórez
745	1966	<i>Ninette y un señor de Murcia</i>	Fernando Fernán Gómez	<i>Ninette y un señor de Murcia</i>	Miguel Mihura
746	1966	<i>Platero y yo</i>	Alfredo Castellón	<i>Platero y yo</i>	Juan Ramón Jiménez
747	1966	<i>Tres sombreros de copa</i>	Gustavo Pérez Puig	<i>Tres sombreros de copa</i>	Miguel Mihura
748	1967	<i>¿Qué hacemos con los hijos?</i>	Pedro Lazaga	<i>¿Qué hacemos con los hijos?</i>	Carlos Llopis
749	1967	<i>Camerino sin biombo</i>	José María Zabalza	<i>Camerino sin biombo</i>	José María Zabalza
750	1967	<i>De cuerpo presente</i>	Antxon Eceiza	<i>De cuerpo presente</i>	Gonzalo Suárez
751	1967	<i>Dulcinea del Toboso</i>	Carlo Rim	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
752	1967	<i>El amor brujo</i>	Francisco Rovira Beleta	<i>El amor brujo</i>	Gregorio Martínez Sierra
753	1967	<i>El huésped del Sevillano</i>	Juan de Orduña	<i>El huésped del sevillano</i>	Juan Ignacio Luca de Tena
754	1967	<i>El tesoro del capitán Tornado</i>	Antonio Artero	<i>El tesoro del capitán Tornado</i>	Joaquín Aguirre Bellver
755	1967	<i>Grandes amigos</i>	Luis Lucia	<i>La colina del árbol</i>	Carlos María Ydígoras

756	1967	<i>La mujer de otro</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>La mujer de otro</i>	Torcuato Luca de Tena
757	1967	<i>La vida es sueño</i>	Pedro Amalio López	<i>La vida es sueño</i>	Pedro Calderón de la Barca
758	1967	<i>La vie commence à minuit</i>	Yvan Jouannet	<i>La vida empieza a medianoche</i>	Luisa María Linares Martín
759	1967	<i>Las que tienen que servir</i>	José María Forqué	<i>Las que tienen que servir</i>	Alfonso Paso
760	1967	<i>Las salvajes en Puente San Gil</i>	Antonio Ribas	<i>Las salvajes en Puente San Gil</i>	José Martín Recuerda
761	1967	<i>Lo que cuesta vivir</i>	Ricardo Nuñez	<i>Es mi hombre</i>	Carlos Arniches
762	1967	<i>Los ojos perdidos</i>	Rafael García Serrano	<i>Los ojos perdidos</i>	Rafael García Serrano
763	1967	<i>Los verdes campos del Edén</i>	Juan Guerrero Zamora	<i>Los verdes campos del Edén</i>	Antonio Gala
764	1967	<i>Mayores con reparos</i>	Fernando Fernán Gómez	<i>Mayores con reparos</i>	Juan José Alonso Millán
765	1967	<i>Peribáñez o el comendador de Ocaña</i>	Ricardo Lucía	<i>Peribáñez o el comendador de Ocaña</i>	Félix Lope de Vega
766	1967	<i>Una señora estupenda</i>	Eugenio Martín	<i>Una señora estupenda</i>	Alfonso Paso
767	1968	<i>¿Cómo está el servicio!</i>	Mariano Ozores	<i>¿Cómo está el servicio!</i>	Alfonso Paso
768	1968	<i>Cristina Guzmán</i>	Luis César Amadori	<i>Cristina Guzmán</i>	Carmen de Icaza
769	1968	<i>Don Chisciotte e Sancio Panza</i>	Giovanni Grimaldi	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
770	1968	<i>Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Rafael Ballarín	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
771	1968	<i>El baldiri de la costa</i>	José María Forn	<i>El baldiri de la costa</i>	Joaquim Muntañola
772	1968	<i>Elisabeth</i>	Alejandro Martí	<i>Elisabeth</i>	Josep Maria Folch i Torres
773	1968	<i>La banda del pecas</i>	Jesús Pascual	<i>La banda del pecas</i>	Marina Fernández
774	1968	<i>La vil seducción</i>	José María Forqué	<i>La vil seducción</i>	Juan José Alonso Millán
775	1968	<i>Si volvemos a vernos</i>	Francisco Regueiro	<i>Smashing Up</i>	Juan Cesarabea
776	1968	<i>Un diablo bajo la almohada</i>	José María Forqué	<i>El curioso impertinente</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
777	1968	<i>Verde doncella</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>Verde doncella</i>	Emilio Romero
778	1969	<i>¿Por qué te engaña tu marido?</i>	Manuel Summers	<i>¿Por qué te engaña tu marido?</i>	Wenceslao Fernández Flórez

779	1969	<i>Bohemios</i>	Juan de Orduña	<i>Bohemios</i>	Miguel de Palacios
780	1969	<i>Ditirambo</i>	Gonzalo Suárez	<i>Rocabruno bate a Ditirambo</i>	Gonzalo Suárez
781	1969	<i>Educando a un idiota</i>	Ramón Torrado	<i>Educando a un idiota</i>	Alfonso Paso
782	1969	<i>El alma se serena</i>	José Luis Sáenz de Heredia	<i>El alma se serena</i>	Juan José Alonso Millán
783	1969	<i>El otro árbol de Guernica</i>	Pedro Lazaga	<i>El otro árbol de Guernica</i>	Luis de Castresana
784	1969	<i>Este cura</i>	Enrique Carreras	<i>Este cura</i>	Alfonso Paso
785	1969	<i>La canción del olvido</i>	Juan de Orduña	<i>La canción del olvido</i>	Federico Romero
786	1969	<i>La celestina</i>	César Fernández Ardavín	<i>La celestina</i>	Fernando de Rojas
787	1969	<i>La respuesta</i>	José María Forn	<i>M'enterro en els fonaments</i>	Manuel de Pedrolo
788	1969	<i>La Revoltosa</i>	Juan de Orduña	<i>La Revoltosa</i>	Carlos Fernández Shaw
789	1969	<i>La señorita de Trevélez</i>	Federico Ruiz	<i>La señorita de Trevélez</i>	Carlos Arniches
790	1969	<i>Las crueles</i>	Vicente Aranda	<i>Bailando para Parker</i>	Gonzalo Suárez
791	1969	<i>Las leandras</i>	Eugenio Martín	<i>Las leandras</i>	Emilio González del Castillo
792	1969	<i>Las panteras se comen a los ricos</i>	Ramón Fernández	<i>Las entretenidas</i>	Miguel Mihura
793	1969	<i>Maruxa</i>	Juan de Orduña	<i>Maruxa</i>	Luis Pascual Frutos
794	1969	<i>No importa morir</i>	León Klimovsky	<i>No importa morir</i>	Antonio Vera Ramírez (Lou Carrigan)
795	1969	<i>No somos ni Romeo ni Julieta</i>	Alfonso Paso	<i>No somos ni Romeo ni Julieta</i>	Alfonso Paso
796	1969	<i>Palabras de amor</i>	Antoni Ribas	<i>Tren de matinada</i>	Jaume Picas
797	1969	<i>Pecados conyugales</i>	José María Forqué	<i>Pecados conyugales</i>	Juan José Alonso Millán
798	1969	<i>Pepa Doncel</i>	Luis Lucia	<i>Pepa Doncel</i>	Jacinto Benavente
799	1969	<i>Querido profesor</i>	Javier Setó	<i>Querido profesor</i>	Alfonso Paso
800	1969	<i>Tengo que abandonarte</i>	Antonio del Amo	<i>Tengo que abandonarte</i>	Corín Tellado (María del Socorro Tellado López)
801	1969	<i>Un adulterio decente</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>Un adulterio decente</i>	Enrique Jardiel Poncela
802	1969	<i>Vamos por la parejita</i>	Alfonso Paso	<i>Vamos por la parejita</i>	Alfonso Paso
803	1970	<i>¿Quién soy yo?</i>	Ramón Fernández	<i>¿Quién soy yo?</i>	Juan Ignacio Luca de Tena

804	1970	<i>Don Quijote es armado caballero</i>	Amaro Carretero	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miquel de Cervantes y Saavedra
805	1970	<i>Doña Rosita, la soltera</i>	Anonymous	<i>Doña Rosita la soltera</i>	Federico García Lorca
806	1970	<i>El bosque del lobo</i>	Pedro Olea	<i>El bosque de Ancines</i>	Carlos Martínez-Barbeito
807	1970	<i>El hombre que se quiso matar</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>El hombre que se quiso matar</i>	Wenceslao Fernández Flórez
808	1970	<i>El huésped del sevillano</i>	Juan de Orduña	<i>El huésped del sevillano</i>	Juan Ignacio Luca de Tena
809	1970	<i>El meson del Gitano</i>	Antonio Román	<i>Maravilla</i>	Jesús María de Arozamena
810	1970	<i>Enseñar a un sinvergüenza</i>	Agustín Navarro	<i>Enseñar a un sinvergüenza</i>	Alfonso Paso
811	1970	<i>Fortunata y Jacinta</i>	Angelino Fons	<i>Fortunata y Jacinta</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós
812	1970	<i>La banda de los tres crisantemos</i>	Luis F. Iquino	<i>Pandemonium City</i>	Antonio Vera Ramírez (Lou Carrigan)
813	1970	<i>La bandera de los tres crisantemos</i>	Ignacio F. Iquino	<i>La bandera de los tres crisantemos</i>	Antonio Vera Ramírez (Lou Carrigan)
814	1970	<i>La diligencia de los condenados</i>	Juan Bosch	<i>La diligencia de los condenados</i>	Antonio Vera Ramírez (Lou Carrigan)
815	1970	<i>La larga agonía de los peces fuera del agua</i>	Francisco Rovira Baleta	<i>Vent de grop</i>	Aurora Bertrana
816	1970	<i>La otra residencia</i>	Alfonso Paso	<i>Los tontos más tontos de todos los tontos</i>	Alfonso Paso
817	1970	<i>La residencia</i>	Narciso Ibáñez Serrador	<i>La residencia</i>	Juan Tebar
818	1970	<i>La tonta del bote</i>	Juan de Orduña	<i>La tonta del bote</i>	Pilar Millán Astray
819	1970	<i>Laia</i>	Vicente Lluch	<i>Laia</i>	Salvador Espriu
820	1970	<i>Las siete vidas del gato</i>	Pedro Lazaga	<i>Las siete vidas del gato</i>	Enrique Jardiel Poncela
821	1970	<i>Lola la piconera</i>	Fernando García de la Vega	<i>Cuando las Cortes de Cádiz</i>	José María Pemán
822	1970	<i>Los extremeños se tocan</i>	Alfonso Paso	<i>Los extremeños se tocan</i>	Pedro Muñoz Seca
823	1970	<i>Os cinco Avisos de Satanás</i>	José Luis Merino	<i>Las cinco advertencias de Satanás</i>	Enrique Jardiel Poncela
824	1970	<i>Tristana</i>	Luis Buñuel	<i>Tristana</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós
825	1970	<i>Veinte pasos para la muerte</i>	Ignacio F. Iquino	<i>Veinte pasos para la muerte</i>	Antonio Vera Ramírez (Lou Carrigan)

826	1971	<i>¿Es usted mi padre?</i>	Antonio Giménez Rico	<i>¿Es usted mi padre?</i>	Alberto Vázquez Figueroa
827	1971	<i>Blanca por fuera y Rosa por dentro</i>	Pedro Lazaga	<i>Blanca por fuera y Rosa por dentro</i>	Enrique Jardiel Poncela
828	1971	<i>Cómo casarse en siete días</i>	Fernando Fernán-Gómez	<i>Cómo casarse en siete días</i>	Alfonso Paso
829	1971	<i>El diablo cojuelo</i>	Ramón Fernández	<i>El diablo cojuelo</i>	Luis Vélez de Guevara
830	1971	<i>Hay que educar a papá</i>	Pedro Lazaga	<i>La educación de los padres</i>	José Fernández del Villar
831	1971	<i>La araucana</i>	Julio Coll	<i>La araucana</i>	Alonso Ercilla
832	1971	<i>La decente</i>	José Luis Sáenz de Heredia	<i>La decente</i>	Miguel Mihura
833	1971	<i>La novicia rebelde</i>	Luis Lucia	<i>La hermana de San Sulpicio</i>	Armando Palacio Valdés
834	1971	<i>Las tres perfectas casadas</i>	Benito Alazraki	<i>Las tres perfectas casadas</i>	Alejandro Casona
835	1971	<i>Le calde notti di Don Giovanni</i>	Alfonso Brescia	<i>Don Juan Tenorio</i>	José Zorrilla
836	1971	<i>Marta</i>	José Antonio Nieves Conde	<i>Estado civil: Marta</i>	Juan José Alonso Millán
837	1971	<i>No desearás a la mujer del vecino</i>	Fernando Merino	<i>La idea fija</i>	Juan José Alonso Millán
838	1971	<i>Scandalous John</i>	Robert Butler	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
839	1971	<i>Un colt por cuatro cirios</i>	Ignacio F. Iquino	<i>Four Candles for Garringo</i>	Antonio Vera Ramírez (Lou Carrigan)
840	1972	<i>Don Quijote</i>	Rudolph Nureyev	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes y Saavedra
841	1972	<i>El padre de la criatura</i>	Pedro Lazaga	<i>La cigüeña dijo sí</i>	Carlos Llopis
842	1972	<i>Fuenteovejuna</i>	Juan Guerrero Zamora	<i>Fuenteovejuna</i>	Félix Lope de Vega
843	1972	<i>La casa de las Chivas</i>	León Klimovsky	<i>La casa de las Chivas</i>	Jaime Salón
844	1972	<i>La duda</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>El abuelo</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós
845	1972	<i>La leyenda del Alcalde de Zalamea</i>	Mario Camus	<i>El alcalde de Zalamea</i>	Pedro Calderón de la Barca
846	1972	<i>La montaña rebelde</i>	Ramón Torrado	<i>La montaña rebelde</i>	Juan Antonio Cabezas
847	1972	<i>Man of La Mancha</i>	Arthur Hiller	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
848	1972	<i>Marianela</i>	Angelino Fons	<i>Marianela</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós

849	1972	<i>Morbo</i>	Gonzalo Suárez	<i>Morbo</i>	Juan Cueto
850	1972	<i>Nada menos que todo un hombre</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>Nada menos que todo un hombre</i>	Miguel de Unamuno
851	1973	<i>Don Quijote cabalga de nuevo</i>	Roberto Gavaldón	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
852	1973	<i>El abuelo tiene un plan</i>	Pedro Lazaga	<i>Cosas de papá y mamá</i>	Alfonso Paso
853	1973	<i>Flor de santidad</i>	Adolfo Marsillach	<i>Flor de santidad</i>	Ramón del Valle-Inclán
854	1973	<i>La guerrilla</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>La guerrilla</i>	José Martínez Ruiz 'Azorín'
855	1973	<i>No encontré rosas para mi madre</i>	Francisco Rovira Beleta	<i>No encontré rosas para mi madre</i>	José Antonio García Blázquez
856	1974	<i>Cuando los niños vienen de Marsella</i>	José Luis Sáenz de Heredia	<i>Cuando los niños vienen de Marsella</i>	Alfonso Paso
857	1974	<i>Don Juan</i>	Antonio Mercero	<i>Don Juan Tenorio</i>	José Zorrilla
858	1974	<i>El amor empieza a medianoche</i>	Pedro Lazaga	<i>Juegos de medianoche</i>	Santiago Moncada
859	1974	<i>El calzonazos</i>	Mariano Ozores	<i>La locura de don Juan</i>	Carlos Arniches
860	1974	<i>El libro de buen amor</i>	Tomás Aznar	<i>Libro del buen amor</i>	Arcipreste de Hita
861	1974	<i>El mejor alcalde, el rey</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>El mejor alcalde, el rey</i>	Félix Lope de Vega
862	1974	<i>Juegos de sociedad</i>	José Luis Merino	<i>Juegos de sociedad</i>	Juan José Alonso Millán
863	1974	<i>La casa de Bernarda Alba</i>	Julio Castillo	<i>La casa de Bernarda Alba</i>	Federico García Lorca
864	1974	<i>La muerte llama a las 10</i>	Juan Bosch	<i>La muerte llama a las diez</i>	Luisa María Linares Martín
865	1974	<i>La revolución matrimonial</i>	José Antonio Nieves Conde	<i>La revolución matrimonial</i>	Antonio Martínez Ballesteros
866	1974	<i>Los caballeros del Botón de Ancla</i>	Ramón Torrado	<i>Botón de ancla</i>	José Luis de Azcárraga
867	1974	<i>Matrimonio al desnudo</i>	Ramón Fernández	<i>El escándalo del ama desnuda</i>	Álvaro de Laiglesia
868	1974	<i>Ópera en Marinada</i>	Pilar Miró	<i>Por el arte</i>	Emilia Pardo Bazán
869	1974	<i>Pisito de solteras</i>	Fernando Merino	<i>Pisito de solteras</i>	Jaime de Armiñán
870	1974	<i>Tormento</i>	Pedro Olea	<i>Tormento</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós
871	1975	<i>Beatriz</i>	Gonzalo Suárez	<i>Féminas y Mi hermana Antonia</i>	Ramón del Valle-Inclán
872	1975	<i>El poder del deseo</i>	Juan Antonio Bardem	<i>Joc brut</i>	Manuel de Pedrolo

873	1975	<i>Fendetestas</i>	Antonio Fernández Simón	<i>El bosque animado</i>	Wenceslao Fernández Flórez
874	1975	<i>La cruz del diablo</i>	John Gilling	<i>Leyendas La cruz del diablo, El monte de las ánimas y El Miserere</i>	Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer
875	1975	<i>La regenta</i>	Gonzalo Suárez	<i>La regenta</i>	Leopoldo Alas (Clarín)
876	1975	<i>Largo retorno</i>	Pedro Lazaga	<i>Largo retorno</i>	Germán Ubillos
877	1975	<i>Los buenos días perdidos</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>Los buenos días perdidos</i>	Antonio Gala
878	1975	<i>Los pájaros de Baden Baden</i>	Mario Camus	<i>Los pájaros de Baden-Baden</i>	Ignacio Aldecoa
879	1975	<i>Los pecados de una chica casi decente</i>	Mariano Ozores	<i>Balada de los tres inocentes</i>	Pedro Mario Herrero
880	1975	<i>Madrid, Costa Fleming</i>	José María Forqué	<i>Madrid, Costa Fleming</i>	Ángel Palomino
881	1975	<i>Olvida los tambores</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>Olvida los tambores</i>	Ana Diosdado
882	1975	<i>Pepita Jiménez</i>	Rafael Moreno Alba	<i>Pepita Jiménez</i>	Juan Valera
883	1975	<i>Yo soy fulana de tal</i>	Pedro Lazaga	<i>Yo soy fulana de tal</i>	Álvaro de Laiglesia
884	1976	<i>¿Quién puede matar a un niño?</i>	Narciso Ibáñez Serrador	<i>El juego de los niños</i>	Juan José Plans
885	1976	<i>El alegre divorciado</i>	Pedro Lazaga	<i>Anacleto se divorcia</i>	Pedro Pérez Fernández
886	1976	<i>El alijo</i>	Ángel del Pozo	<i>El alijo</i>	Ramón Solís
887	1976	<i>El anacoreta</i>	Juan Estelrich	<i>El anacoreta</i>	Rafael Azcona
888	1976	<i>El libro de buen amor II</i>	Jaime Bayarri	<i>Libro del buen amor</i>	Arcipreste de Hita (Juan Ruiz)
889	1976	<i>El retablo de Maese Pelos</i>	Luis Enrique Torán	<i>El retablo de maese Pedro</i>	Manuel de Falla
890	1976	<i>El segundo poder</i>	José María Forqué	<i>Hombre de la Cruz Verde</i>	Segundo Serrano Poncela
891	1976	<i>Emilia, parada y fonda</i>	Angelino Fons	<i>Un alto en el camino. Las ataduras</i>	Carmen Martín Gaité
892	1976	<i>Imposible para una solterona</i>	Rafael Romero Marchent	<i>Imposible para una solterona</i>	Luisa María Linares Martín
893	1976	<i>La lozana andaluza</i>	Vicente Escrivá	<i>La lozana andaluza</i>	Francisco Delicado
894	1976	<i>La noche de los cien pájaros</i>	Rafael Romero Marchent	<i>La noche de los cien pájaros</i>	Jaime Salón
895	1976	<i>Las delicias de los verdes años</i>	Antonio Mercero	<i>Las delicias de los verdes años</i>	Juan José Alonso Millán
896	1976	<i>Manuela</i>	Gonzalo García Pelayo	<i>Manuela</i>	Manuel Halcón
897	1976	<i>Más allá del deseo</i>	José Antonio Nieves Conde	<i>Mónica, corazón dormido</i>	Ramón Solís

898	1976	<i>Morir, dormir... tal vez soñar</i>	Manuel Mur Oti	<i>Morir, dormir... tal vez soñar</i>	José Mallorquí Figuerola
899	1976	<i>Niebla</i>	Fernando Méndez-Leite	<i>Niebla</i>	Miguel de Unamuno
900	1976	<i>Pascual Duarte</i>	Ricardo Franco	<i>La familia de Pascual Duarte</i>	Camilo José Cela
901	1976	<i>Retrato de familia</i>	Antonio Giménez Rico	<i>Mi idolatrado hijo Sisí</i>	Miguel Delibes
902	1976	<i>The Amorous Adventures of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza</i>	Raphael Nussbaum	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
903	1976	<i>Un silencio de tumba</i>	Jesús Franco	<i>Un silencio de tumba</i>	Enrique Jarnes
904	1976	<i>Volvoreta</i>	José Antonio Nieves Conde	<i>Volvoreta</i>	Wenceslao Fernández Flórez
905	1977	<i>¿Y ahora qué, señor fiscal?</i>	León Klimovsky	<i>¿Y ahora qué, señor fiscal?</i>	José Luis Martín Vigil
906	1977	<i>Acto de posesión</i>	Javier Aguirre	<i>Dos madres</i>	Miguel de Unamuno
907	1977	<i>Casa Manchada</i>	José Antonio Nieves Conde	<i>Todos morían en Casa Manchada</i>	Emilio Romero
908	1977	<i>Cuatro corazones con freno y marcha atrás</i>	Gustavo Pérez Puig	<i>Cuatro corazones con freno y marcha atrás</i>	Enrique Jardiel Poncela
909	1977	<i>Cuentos de las sábanas blancas</i>	Mariano Ozores	<i>Libro del buen amor</i>	Arcipreste de Hita (Juan Ruiz)
910	1977	<i>Doña Perfecta</i>	César Fernández Ardavín	<i>Doña Perfecta</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós
911	1977	<i>Dos hombres... y, en medio, dos mujeres</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>Dos hombres y dos mujeres en medio</i>	Juan Antonio Zunzunegui
912	1977	<i>El hombre que supo amar</i>	Miguel Picazo	<i>San Juan de Dios. Una aventura iluminada</i>	José Cruset
913	1977	<i>El ladrido</i>	Pedro Lazaga	<i>El ladrido</i>	Oscar Muñiz
914	1977	<i>El perro</i>	Antonio Isasi-Isasmendi	<i>Como un perro rabioso</i>	Alberto Vázquez Figueroa
915	1977	<i>El puente</i>	Juan Antonio Bardem	<i>Solo de moto</i>	Daniel Sueiro
916	1977	<i>Estoy hecho un chaval</i>	Pedro Lazaga	<i>Juan jubilado</i>	Alfonso Paso
917	1977	<i>La coquito</i>	Pedro Masó	<i>La coquito</i>	Joaquín Belda
918	1977	<i>La espuela</i>	Roberto Fandiño	<i>La espuela</i>	Manuel Barrios
919	1977	<i>La guerra de papá</i>	Antonio Mercero	<i>El príncipe destronado</i>	Miguel Delibes
920	1977	<i>La playa vacía</i>	Roberto Gavaldón	<i>La playa vacía</i>	Jaime Salón
921	1977	<i>La viuda andaluza</i>	Francesc Betriu	<i>La lozana andaluza</i>	Francisco Delicado



922	1977	<i>Las cuatro novias de Augusto Pérez</i>	José Jara	<i>Niebla</i>	Miguel de Unamuno
923	1977	<i>María, la santa</i>	Roberto Fandiño	<i>Campanadas sin eco</i>	Fernando Macías
924	1977	<i>Mi hija Hildegart</i>	Fernando Fernán Gómez	<i>Mi hija Hildegart</i>	Eduardo de Guzmán Espinosa
925	1977	<i>Misericordia</i>	José Luis Alonso	<i>Misericordia</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós
926	1977	<i>Niñas... ¡al salón!</i>	Vicente Escrivá	<i>Niñas... ¡al salón!</i>	Fernando Vizcaíno Casas
927	1977	<i>Noces de sang</i>	Souheil Ben-Barka	<i>Bodas de sangre</i>	Federico García Lorca
928	1977	<i>Parranda</i>	Gonzalo Suárez	<i>A esmorga</i>	Eduardo Blanco Amor
929	1977	<i>Queridísimos verdugos</i>	Basilio Martín Patino	<i>Los verdugos españoles</i>	Daniel Sueiro
930	1977	<i>Viva (muera Don Juan)</i>	Tomás Aznar	<i>Don Juan Tenorio</i>	José Zorrilla
931	1978	<i>¡Arriba Hazaña!</i>	José María Gutiérrez Santos	<i>El infierno y la brisa</i>	José María Vaz de Soto
932	1978	<i>¡Vaya par de gemelos!</i>	Pedro Lazaga	<i>Guardame el secreto, Lucas</i>	Dionisio Ramos
933	1978	<i>Argelés</i>	José Antonio Zorilla	<i>Argelés</i>	Luis Cernuda
934	1978	<i>Balantzatxoa</i>	Juan Miguel Gutiérrez	<i>Balantzatxoa</i>	Francisco Sagarzazu
935	1978	<i>Cabo de Vara</i>	Raúl Artigot	<i>Cabo de Vara</i>	Tomás Salvador
936	1978	<i>Carne apaleada</i>	Javier Aguirre	<i>Carne apaleada</i>	Inés Palou
937	1978	<i>El hijo es mío</i>	Ángel del Pozo	<i>El hijo es mío</i>	Fernando Vizcaíno Casas
938	1978	<i>El socarrón</i>	Jaime Puig	<i>Yo soy así</i>	Alexis Barclay (Antonio Viader)
939	1978	<i>Estimado Sr. juez</i>	Pedro Lazaga	<i>El puente de los suicidas</i>	Víctor Ruiz Iriarte
940	1978	<i>Frente al mar</i>	Gonzalo García Pelayo	<i>Diálogos del anochecer</i>	José María Vaz de Soto
941	1978	<i>La doble historia del doctor Valmy</i>	León Klimovsky	<i>La doble historia del doctor Valmy</i>	Antonio Buero Vallejo
942	1978	<i>La oscura historia de mi prima Montse</i>	Jordi Cadena	<i>La oscura historia de mi prima Montse</i>	Juan Marsé
943	1978	<i>Oro Rojo</i>	Alberto Vázquez Figueroa	<i>Oro Rojo</i>	Alberto Vázquez Figueroa
944	1978	<i>Óscar, Kina y el láser</i>	José María Blanco	<i>Oscar y Corazón de púrpura</i>	Carmen Kurtz
945	1978	<i>Quería dormir en paz</i>	Emma Cohen	<i>Quería dormir en paz</i>	Ignacio Aldecoa
946	1978	<i>Sobaka na sene</i>	Yan Frid	<i>El perro del hortelano</i>	Félix Lope de Vega
947	1978	<i>Soldados</i>	Alfonso Ungría	<i>Las buenas intenciones</i>	Max Aub

948	1978	<i>Tatuaje</i>	Bigas Luna	<i>Tatuaje</i>	Manuel Vázquez Montalbán
949	1978	<i>Un hombre llamado Flor de Otoño</i>	Pedro Olea	<i>Flor de Otoño</i>	José María Rodríguez Méndez
950	1979	<i>Ashanti (Ébano)</i>	Richard Fleischer	<i>Ashanti (Ébano)</i>	Alberto Vázquez-Figueroa
951	1979	<i>Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Antonio Zurera	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
952	1979	<i>El buscón</i>	Luciano Berriatúa	<i>Historia de la vida del Buscón llamado don Pablos, ejemplo de vagamundos y espejo de tacaños</i>	Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas
953	1979	<i>El virgo de Visanteta</i>	Vicente Escrivá	<i>El virgo de la Visanteta</i>	Josep Maria Benet i Jornet
954	1979	<i>La boda del señor cura</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>La boda del señor cura</i>	Fernando Vizcaíno Casas
955	1979	<i>La insólita y gloriosa hazaña del cipote de Archidona</i>	Ramón Fernández	<i>La insólita y gloriosa hazaña del cipote de Archidona</i>	Camilo José Cela
956	1979	<i>La venganza de Don Mendo</i>	Gustavo Pérez Puig	<i>La venganza de Don Mendo</i>	Pedro Muñoz Seca
957	1979	<i>Operación Ogro</i>	Gillo Pontecorvo	<i>Operación Ogro</i>	Julen Aguirre
958	1979	<i>Un hombre, una ciudad</i>	Joaquín Hidalgo	<i>El último adiós</i>	Joaquín Hidalgo
959	1979	<i>Visanteta esta-te queta</i>	Vicente Escrivá	<i>El virgo de la Visanteta</i>	Josep Bernat i Baldoví
960	1980	<i>...Y al tercer año, resucitó</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>...Y al tercer año resucitó</i>	Fernando Vizcaíno Casas
961	1980	<i>¡Tú estás loco, Briones!</i>	Javier Maqua	<i>¡Tú estás loco, Briones!</i>	Fermín Cabal
962	1980	<i>Chocolate</i>	Gil Carretero	<i>La droga es joven</i>	José Luis Martín Vigil
963	1980	<i>Dos</i>	Álvaro del Amo	<i>Dos</i>	Álvaro del Amo
964	1980	<i>El canto de la cigarra</i>	José María Forqué	<i>El canto de la cigarra</i>	Alfonso Paso
965	1980	<i>El crimen de Cuenca</i>	Pilar Miró	<i>El Crimen de Cuenca</i>	Lola Salvador Maldonado
966	1980	<i>El último harén</i>	Sergio Garrone	<i>El último harén</i>	Alberto Vázquez Figuera
967	1980	<i>Fortunata y Jacinta</i>	Mario Camus	<i>Fortunata y Jacinta</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós
968	1980	<i>Hijos de papá</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>Hijos de papá</i>	Fernando Vizcaíno Casas
969	1980	<i>La muchacha de las bragas de oro</i>	Vicente Aranda	<i>La muchacha de las bragas de oro</i>	Juan Marsé

970	1980	<i>La paloma azul</i>	Luis Manuel del Valle	<i>La paloma azul</i>	José Luis Olaizola
971	1980	<i>La tía de Carlos</i>	Luis María Delgado	<i>La tía de Carlos</i>	Dionisio Ramos
972	1980	<i>La verdad sobre el caso Savolta</i>	Antonio Drove	<i>La verdad sobre el caso Savolta</i>	Eduardo Mendoza
973	1980	<i>Las siete Cucas</i>	Felipe Cazals	<i>Las siete Cucas</i>	Eugenio Noel
974	1980	<i>Manaos</i>	Alberto Vázquez Figueroa	<i>Manaos</i>	Alberto Vázquez Figueroa
975	1980	<i>Memorias de Leticia Valle</i>	Miguel Ángel Rivas	<i>Memorias de Leticia Valle</i>	Rosa Chacel
976	1980	<i>Tierra de rastros</i>	Antonio Gonzalo	<i>Tierra de rastros</i>	Antonio García Cano
977	1980	<i>Un cero a la izquierda</i>	Gabriel Iglesias	<i>Un cero a la izquierda</i>	Eloy Herrera
978	1980	<i>Zukkoke Knight: Donderamanca</i>	Mami Koyama, Ichirô Nagai, Ken'ichi Ogata	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
979	1981	<i>Amor es...veneno</i>	Stafano Rolla	<i>Carlota</i>	Miguel Mihura
980	1981	<i>Bodas de sangre</i>	Carlos Saura	<i>Bodas de sangre</i>	Federico García Lorca
981	1981	<i>Debi tskviadshi</i>	Bidzina Chkheidze	<i>La casa de Bernarda Alba</i>	Federico García Lorca
982	1981	<i>Demasiado para Gálvez</i>	Antonio Gonzalo	<i>Demasiado para Gálvez</i>	Jorge Martínez Reverte
983	1981	<i>Es peligroso casarse a los 60</i>	Mariano Ozores	<i>Te casas a los 60... y qué</i>	Dionisio Ramos
984	1981	<i>Función de noche</i>	Josefina Molina	<i>Cinco horas con Mario</i>	Miguel Delibes
985	1981	<i>La cripta</i>	Cayetano Del Real	<i>El misterio de la cripta embrujada</i>	Eduardo Mendoza
986	1981	<i>La fuga de Segovia</i>	Imanol Uribe	<i>Operación Poncho</i>	Ángel Amigo
987	1981	<i>Vida/perra</i>	Javier Aguirre	<i>La vida perra de Juanita Narboni</i>	Ángel Vázquez (Antonio Vázquez Molina)
988	1982	<i>Asesinato en el Comité Central</i>	Vicente Aranda	<i>Asesinato en el Comité Central</i>	Manuel Vázquez Moltalbán
989	1982	<i>Corre, gitano</i>	Toni Gatlif	<i>¡Ay, jondo... y lo que queda por cantar!</i>	Juan de Loxa
990	1982	<i>De camisa vieja a chaqueta nueva</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>De camisa vieja a chaqueta nueva</i>	Fernando Vizcaíno Casas
991	1982	<i>El adefesio</i>	Sergi Schaaff	<i>El adefesio</i>	Rafael Alberti
992	1982	<i>El gran mogollón</i>	Ramón Fernández	<i>Ayer España enrojeció</i>	Andrés Madrid
993	1982	<i>El tragaluz</i>	Mercè Vilaret	<i>El tragaluz</i>	Antonio Buero Vallejo
994	1982	<i>La casa de Bernarda Alba</i>	Gustavo Alatríste	<i>La casa de Bernarda Alba</i>	Federico García Lorca

995	1982	<i>La colmena</i>	Mario Camus	<i>La colmena</i>	Camilo José Cela
996	1982	<i>La plaça del Diamant</i>	Francesc Betriu	<i>La plaça del Diamant</i>	Mercè Rodoreda
997	1982	<i>Todo un hombre</i>	Rafael Villaseñor	<i>Nada menos que todo un hombre</i>	Miguel de Unamuno
998	1982	<i>Valentina</i>	Antonio José Betancor	<i>Crónica del alba</i>	Ramón J. Sender
999	1983	<i>1919, crónica del alba</i>	Antonio José Betancor	<i>Crónica del alba</i>	Ramón J. Sender
1000	1983	<i>Bajo en nicotina</i>	Raúl Artigot	<i>El ángel triste</i>	Carlos Pérez Merinero
1001	1983	<i>Bearn o la sala de las muñecas</i>	Jaime Chávarri	<i>Bearn o la sala de las muñecas</i>	Llorenç Vilallonga
1002	1983	<i>El cid cabreador</i>	Angelino Fons	<i>Poema del Mío Cid</i>	Anónimo
1003	1983	<i>El perro</i>	Antonio Isasi-Isasmendi	<i>Como un perro rabioso</i>	Alberto Vázquez Figueroa
1004	1983	<i>El sur</i>	Víctor Erice	<i>El sur</i>	Adelaida García Morales
1005	1983	<i>La zorra y el escorpión</i>	Manuel Iglesias	<i>La zorra y el escorpión</i>	Alfonso Paso
1006	1983	<i>Las autonomías</i>	Rafael Gil	<i>Las autonomías</i>	Fernando Vizcaíno Casas
1007	1983	<i>Soldados de plomo</i>	José Sacristán	<i>Soldados de plomo</i>	Eduardo Mendoza
1008	1984	<i>De mica en mica s'omple la pica</i>	Carlos Benpar	<i>De mica en mica s'omple la pica</i>	Jaume Fuster
1009	1984	<i>Don Chisciotte</i>	Maurizio Scaparro	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
1010	1984	<i>Dos mejor que uno</i>	Ángel Llorente	<i>El señor del huerto</i>	José Luis Olaizola,
1011	1984	<i>El balcón abierto</i>	Jaime Camino	<i>La casa de Bernarda Alba</i>	Federico García Lorca
1012	1984	<i>Epílogo</i>	Gonzalo Suárez	<i>"Gorila en Hollywood" and "Rocabrúno bate a Ditirambo"</i>	Gonzalo Suárez
1013	1984	<i>Fanny Pelopaja</i>	Vicente Aranda	<i>Prótesis</i>	Andreu Martín
1014	1984	<i>La conquista de Albania</i>	Alfonso Ungría	<i>La conquista de Albania</i>	Arantxa Urretavizcaya
1015	1984	<i>La pródiga</i>	Mario Soffici	<i>La pródiga</i>	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón
1016	1984	<i>La señorita de Trevélez</i>	Eduardo Deglane	<i>La señorita de Trevélez</i>	Carlos Arniches
1017	1984	<i>Las bicicletas son para el verano</i>	Jaime Chávarri	<i>Las bicicletas son para el verano</i>	Fernando Fernán Gómez
1018	1984	<i>Los santos inocentes</i>	Mario Camus	<i>Los santos inocentes</i>	Miguel Delibes
1019	1984	<i>Marianela</i>	Angelino Fons	<i>Marianela</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós

1020	1984	<i>Memorias del general Escobar</i>	José Luis Madrid	<i>La guerra del General Escobar</i>	José Luis Olaizola
1021	1984	<i>Nanas de espinas</i>	Pilar Távara	<i>Bodas de sangre</i>	Federico García Lorca
1022	1984	<i>Tuareg - Il guerriero del desierto</i>	Enzo G. Castellari	<i>Tuareg</i>	Alberto Vázquez Figueroa
1023	1984	<i>Últimas tardes con Teresa</i>	Gonzalo Herralde	<i>Últimas tardes con Teresa</i>	Juan Marsé
1024	1984	<i>Violines y trompetas</i>	Rafael Romero Marchent	<i>Violines y trompetas</i>	Santiago Moncada
1025	1985	<i>El Filandón</i>	José María Martín Sarmiento	<i>Los grajos del Sochantre</i>	Luis Mateo Díez
1026	1985	<i>Extramuros</i>	Miguel Picazo	<i>Extramuros</i>	Jesús Fernández Santos
1027	1985	<i>Kareletik (Ehun metros)</i>	Alfonso Ungría	<i>Ehun metro</i>	Ramón Saizarbitoria
1028	1985	<i>La corte de Faraón</i>	José Luis García Sánchez	<i>La corte del Faraón</i>	Guillermo Perrín
1029	1985	<i>La noche más hermosa</i>	Manuel Gutiérrez Aragón	<i>El curioso impertinente</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
1030	1985	<i>Luces de bohemia</i>	Miguel Ángel Díez	<i>Luces de bohemia</i>	Ramón María del Valle-Inclán
1031	1985	<i>Por qué Panpox</i>	Xabier Elorriaga	<i>Zergatik Panpox</i>	Arantxa Urretavizcaya
1032	1985	<i>Requiem por un campesino español</i>	Francesc Betriu	<i>Requiem por un campesino español</i>	Ramón J. Sender
1033	1985	<i>Sangre en el Caribe</i>	Rafael Villaseñor	<i>Sangre en el Caribe</i>	Alberto Vázquez Figueroa
1034	1985	<i>Yo, el Vaquilla</i>	José Antonio de la Loma	<i>Yo, el Vaquilla</i>	Juan José Moreno Cuenca
1035	1986	<i>Adiós pequeña</i>	Imanol Uribe	<i>El mono y el caballo</i>	Andreu Martín
1036	1986	<i>Bodas de sangre</i>	Francisco Montolío	<i>Bodas de sangre</i>	Federico García Lorca
1037	1986	<i>Corazón de cristal</i>	Gil Bettman	<i>Corazón de cristal</i>	Alberto Vázquez Figueroa
1038	1986	<i>Crónica sentimental en rojo</i>	Francisco Rovira Beleta	<i>Crónica sentimental en rojo</i>	Francisco González Ledesma
1039	1986	<i>El amor brujo</i>	Carlos Suara	<i>El amor brujo</i>	Gregorio Martínez Sierra
1040	1986	<i>El disputado voto del señor Cayo</i>	Antonio Giménez Rico	<i>El disputado voto del señor Cayo</i>	Miguel Delibes
1041	1986	<i>El hermano bastardo de Dios</i>	Benito Rabal	<i>El hermano bastardo de Dios</i>	José Luis Coll
1042	1986	<i>El rey y la reina</i>	José Antonio Páramo	<i>El rey y la reina</i>	Ramón J. Sender
1043	1986	<i>El viaje a ninguna parte</i>	Fernando Fernán Gómez	<i>El viaje a ninguna parte</i>	Fernando Fernán Gómez

1044	1986	<i>Hay que deshacer la casa</i>	José Luis García Sánchez	<i>Hay que deshacer la casa</i>	Sebastián Junyent
1045	1986	<i>La rossa del bar</i>	Ventura Pons	<i>La rubia del bar</i>	Raúl Núñez
1046	1986	<i>Mémoire des apparences</i>	Raúl Ruiz	<i>La vida es sueño</i>	Pedro Calderón de la Barca
1047	1986	<i>Tiempo de silencio</i>	Vicente Aranda	<i>Tiempo de silencio</i>	Luis Martín Santos
1048	1987	<i>A los cuatro vientos</i>	José A. Zorrilla	<i>A los cuatro vientos (Lauaxeta)</i>	Ángel Amigo Quincoces
1049	1987	<i>Al acecho</i>	Gerardo Herrero	<i>Nada que hacer</i>	Juan Madrid
1050	1987	<i>Capullito de Alhelí</i>	Mariano Ozores	<i>Capullito de Alhelí</i>	Juan José Alonso Millán
1051	1987	<i>Divinas palabras</i>	José Luis García Sánchez	<i>Divinas palabras</i>	Ramón del Valle-Inclán
1052	1987	<i>El bosque animado</i>	José Luis Cuerda	<i>El bosque de Ancines</i>	Wenceslao Fernández Flórez
1053	1987	<i>El lute</i>	Vicente Aranda	<i>Camina o revienta</i>	Eleuterio Sánchez
1054	1987	<i>El pecador impecable</i>	Augusto Martínez Torres	<i>El pecador impecable</i>	Manuel Hidalgo
1055	1987	<i>El polizón de Ulises</i>	Javier Aguirre	<i>El polizón de Ulises</i>	Ana María Matute
1056	1987	<i>La casa de Bernarda Alba</i>	Mario Camus	<i>La casa de Bernarda Alba</i>	Federico García Lorca
1057	1987	<i>La chica de la piscina</i>	Ramón Fernández	<i>La muchacha sin retorno</i>	Santiago Moncada
1058	1987	<i>La estanquera de Vallecas</i>	Eloy de la Iglesia	<i>La estanquera de Vallecas</i>	José Luis Alonso de Santos
1059	1987	<i>La monja alférez</i>	Javier Aguirre	<i>Memorial de los méritos y servicios del alférez Erauso</i>	Catalina de Erauso
1060	1987	<i>La rusa</i>	Mario Camus	<i>La rusa</i>	Juan Luis Cebrián
1061	1987	<i>La señora</i>	Jordi Cadena	<i>La senyora</i>	Antoni Mus
1062	1987	<i>La verdad oculta</i>	Carlos Benpar	<i>Cròniques de la veritat oculta</i>	Pere Calders
1063	1987	<i>Laura, del cielo llega la noche</i>	Gonzalo Herralde	<i>Laura, a la ciutat dels Sants</i>	Miguel Llor
1064	1987	<i>L'Escot</i>	Antoni Verdaguer	<i>Amorrada al piló</i>	María Jaén
1065	1987	<i>Los invitados</i>	Víctor Barrera	<i>Los invitados</i>	Alfonso Grosso
1066	1987	<i>Luna de lobos</i>	Julio Sánchez Valdés	<i>Luna de lobos</i>	Julio Llamazares
1067	1987	<i>Moros y cristianos</i>	Luis García Berlanga	<i>Moros y cristianos</i>	Elías Cerdá
1068	1987	<i>Oficio de muchachos</i>	Carlos Romero Marchent	<i>Oficio de muchachos</i>	Manuel Arce
1069	1987	<i>Pasaje a Ibiza (Bar-cel-ona)</i>	Ferrán Llagostera	<i>El barcelonauta</i>	Josep Albanell,

1070	1987	<i>Solicito marido para engañar</i>	Ismael Rodríguez	<i>Lo Prohibido</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós
1071	1987	<i>Terroristas</i>	Antonio Gonzalo	<i>El mensajero</i>	Jorge Martínez Reverte
1072	1987	<i>The Blind Owl</i>	Raoul Ruiz	<i>The Blind Owl</i>	Sadegh Hedayat
1073	1987	<i>Yo me bajo en la próxima, ¿y usted?</i>	Gustavo Pérez Puig, Adolfo Marsillach	<i>Yo me bajo en la próxima, ¿y usted?</i>	Adolfo Marsillach
1074	1988	<i>Bajarse al moro</i>	Fernando Colomo	<i>Bajarse al moro</i>	José Luis Alonso de Santos
1075	1988	<i>Brumal</i>	Cristina Andreu	<i>Los altillos de Brumal</i>	Cristina Fernández Cubas
1076	1988	<i>El aire de un crimen</i>	Antonio Isasi-Isasmendi	<i>El aire de un crimen</i>	Juan Benet
1077	1988	<i>El Lute II: Tomorrow I'll Be Free</i>	Vicente Aranda	<i>Mañana seré libre</i>	Eleuterio Sánchez
1078	1988	<i>El placer de matar</i>	Félix Rotaeta	<i>Las pistolas</i>	Félix Rotaeta
1079	1988	<i>El tesoro</i>	Antonio Mercero	<i>El tesoro</i>	Miguel Delibes
1080	1988	<i>I picari</i>	Mario Monicelli	<i>Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas y adversidades</i>	Anónimo
1081	1988	<i>Iguana</i>	Monte Hellman	<i>La iguana</i>	Alberto Vázquez Figueroa
1082	1988	<i>Jarrapellejos</i>	Antonio Giménez Rico	<i>Jarrapellejos</i>	Felipe Trigo
1083	1988	<i>La diputada</i>	Javier Aguirre	<i>La diputada</i>	Germán Álvarez Blanco
1084	1988	<i>Qui t'estima, Babel?</i>	Ignasi P. Ferré	<i>La imbécil</i>	Mercé Company
1085	1988	<i>Remando con el viento</i>	Gonzalo Suárez	<i>Remando con el viento</i>	Gonzalo Suárez
1086	1988	<i>Sinatra</i>	Francesc Betriu	<i>Sinatra</i>	Raúl Núñez
1087	1989	<i>¡Putxa misèria!</i>	Ventura Pons	<i>Putxa miseria</i>	Rafael Arnal
1088	1989	<i>Aventis</i>	Vicente Aranda	<i>Si te dicen que caí</i>	Juan Marsé
1089	1989	<i>Bueno y tierno como un ángel</i>	José María Blanco	<i>El ángel triste</i>	Carlos Pérez Merinero
1090	1989	<i>El mar y el tiempo</i>	Fernando Fernán-Gómez	<i>El mar y el tiempo</i>	Fernando Fernán-Gómez
1091	1989	<i>El río que nos lleva</i>	Antonio del Real	<i>Río que nos lleva</i>	José Luis Sampedro
1092	1989	<i>Entreacto</i>	Manuel Cussó-Ferrer	<i>Entreacte</i>	Joan Brossa
1093	1989	<i>Es quan dormo que hi veig clar (Al dormir lo veo claro)</i>	Jordi Cadena	<i>Es quan dormo que hi veig clar / Al dormir lo veo claro</i>	Josep Vicenç Foix

1094	1989	<i>Esquilache</i>	Josefina Molina	<i>Un soñador para un pueblo</i>	Antonio Buero Vallejo
1095	1989	<i>Garum</i>	Tomás Muñoz	<i>Procès de contradicció suficient</i>	Manuel de Pedrolo
1096	1989	<i>Gran Sol</i>	Ferrán Llagostera	<i>Gran Sol</i>	Ignacio Aldecoa
1097	1989	<i>La noche oscura</i>	Carlos Saura	<i>Noche oscura del alma</i>	Juan de la Cruz
1098	1989	<i>Lluvia de otoño</i>	José Ángel Rebolledo	<i>Sombras de sueño</i>	Miguel de Unamuno
1099	1989	<i>Montoyas y tarantos</i>	Vicente Escrivá	<i>La historia de los Tarantos</i>	Alfredo Conde
1100	1989	<i>Pájaro en una tormenta</i>	Antonio Giménez-Rico	<i>Pájaro en una tormenta.</i>	Isaac Montero
1101	1989	<i>Pasión de hombre</i>	José Antonio de la Loma	<i>Pasión de hombre</i>	José Antonio de la Loma
1102	1989	<i>Sangre y arena</i>	Javier Elorrieta	<i>Sangre y arena</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez
1103	1989	<i>Un negro con un saxo</i>	Francesc Bellmunt	<i>Un negre amb un saxo</i>	Ferran Torrent
1104	1990	<i>Ay, Carmela!</i>	Carlos Saura	<i>¡Ay, Carmela!</i>	José Sanchis Sinisterra
1105	1990	<i>Cabeza de Vaca</i>	Nicolás Echevarría	<i>Los naufragios</i>	Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca
1106	1990	<i>La punyalada</i>	Jorge Grau	<i>La punyalada</i>	Marià Vayreda
1107	1990	<i>La sombra del ciprés es alargada</i>	Luis Alcoriza	<i>La sombra del ciprés es alargada</i>	Miguel Delibes
1108	1990	<i>La teranyina</i>	Antoni Verdaguer	<i>La teranyina</i>	Jaume Cabré
1109	1990	<i>Las edades de Lulú</i>	Bigas Luna	<i>Las edades de Lulú</i>	Imudena Grandes
1110	1990	<i>Los días del cometa</i>	Luis Ariño	<i>La nardo</i>	Ramón Gómez de la Serna
1111	1990	<i>Los jinetes del alba</i>	Vicente Aranda	<i>Los jinetes del alba</i>	Jesús Fernández Santos
1112	1990	<i>Sauna</i>	Andreu Martín	<i>Sauna</i>	María Jaén
1113	1991	<i>Beltenebros</i>	Pilar Miró	<i>Beltenebros</i>	Antonio Muñoz Molina
1114	1991	<i>Cómo levantar mil kilos</i>	Antonio Hernández	<i>Cómo levantar mil kilos</i>	Jorge Martínez Reverte
1115	1991	<i>Cómo ser mujer y no morir en el intento</i>	Ana Belén	<i>Cómo ser mujer y no morir en el intento</i>	Carmen Rico-Godoy
1116	1991	<i>El cielo sube</i>	Marc Recha	<i>Oceanografía del tedio</i>	Eugenio d'Ors
1117	1991	<i>El invierno en Lisboa</i>	José A. Zorrilla	<i>El invierno en Lisboa</i>	Antonio Muñoz Molina
1118	1991	<i>El Quijote de Miguel de Cervantes</i>	Manuel Gutiérrez Aragón	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes



1119	1991	<i>El rey pasmado</i>	Imanol Uribe	<i>Crónica del rey pasmado</i>	Gonzalo Torrente Ballester
1120	1991	<i>La banyera</i>	Jesús Garay	<i>La banyera</i>	Jesús Garay
1121	1991	<i>La noche más larga</i>	José Luis García Sánchez	<i>El año que murió Franco</i>	Pedro J. Ramírez
1122	1991	<i>La taberna fantástica</i>	Julián Marcos	<i>La taberna fantástica</i>	Alfonso Sastre
1123	1991	<i>La viuda del capitán Estrada</i>	José Luis Cuerda	<i>Una historia madrileña</i>	Pedro García Montalvo
1124	1991	<i>Los mares del Sur</i>	Manuel Esteban	<i>Los mares del sur</i>	Manuel Vázquez Montalbán
1125	1991	<i>Mala yerba</i>	José Luis P. Tristán	<i>Mala yerba</i>	Rafael Mendizábal
1126	1991	<i>Marcelino pan y vino</i>	Luigi Comencini	<i>Marcelino pan y vino. Cuento de padres a hijos</i>	José María Sánchez Silva
1127	1991	<i>Solitud</i>	Romà Guardiet	<i>Solitud</i>	Victor Catalá
1128	1991	<i>The House of Bernarda Alba</i>	Stuart Burge	<i>La casa de Bernarda Alba</i>	Federico García Lorca
1129	1991	<i>Un submarí a les estovalles</i>	Ignasi P. Ferré	<i>Un submarí a les tovalles</i>	Joan Barril
1130	1992	<i>Chechu y familia</i>	Álvaro Sáenz de Heredia	<i>Casete</i>	Rafael Azcona
1131	1992	<i>Cómo levantar 1000 kilos</i>	Antonio Hernández	<i>Gálvez en Euskadi</i>	Jorge Martínez Reverte
1132	1992	<i>Don Quijote de Orson Welles</i>	Orson Welles	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
1133	1992	<i>El juego de los mensajes invisibles</i>	Juan Pinzás	<i>El hijo adoptivo</i>	Álvaro Pombo
1134	1992	<i>El Maestro de Esgrima</i>	Pedro Olea	<i>El maestro de esgrima</i>	Arturo Pérez-Reverte
1135	1992	<i>El retablo de Maese Pelos</i>	Larry Weinstein	<i>El retablo de maese Pedro</i>	Manuel de Falla
1136	1992	<i>La fuente de la edad</i>	Julio Sánchez Valdés	<i>La fuente de la edad</i>	Luis Mateo Díez
1137	1992	<i>Los mares del Sur</i>	Manuel Estebán	<i>Los mares del Sur</i>	Manuel Vázquez Montalbán
1138	1992	<i>Una mujer bajo la lluvia</i>	Gerardo Vera	<i>La vida en un hilo</i>	Edgar Neville
1139	1992	<i>Yo me bajo en la próxima, ¿y usted?</i>	José Sacristán	<i>Yo me bajo en la próxima, ¿y usted?</i>	Adolfo Marsillach
1140	1993	<i>El amante bilingüe</i>	Vicente Aranda	<i>Fernando de Rojas</i>	Juan Marsé
1141	1993	<i>El cianuro, ¿sólo o con leche?</i>	José Miguel Ganga	<i>El cianuro, ¿sólo o con leche?</i>	Juan José Alonso Millán
1142	1993	<i>El laberinto griego</i>	Rafael Alcázar	<i>El laberinto griego</i>	Manuel Vázquez Montalbán

1143	1993	<i>La Lola se va a los puertos</i>	Josefina Molina	<i>La Lola se va a los puertos</i>	Antonio Machado
1144	1993	<i>Tierno verano de lujurias y azoteas</i>	Jaime Chávarri	<i>La última palabra</i>	Pablo Sorozábal
1145	1993	<i>Tirano Banderas</i>	José Luis García Sánchez	<i>Tirano Banderas</i>	Ramón del Valle-Inclán
1146	1994	<i>Alsasua, 1936</i>	Helena Taberna Ayerra	<i>No me avergoncé del Evangelio</i>	Marino Ayerra
1147	1994	<i>Canción de cuna</i>	José Luis Garcí	<i>Canción de cuna</i>	Gregorio Martínez Sierra
1148	1994	<i>Cautivos de la sombra</i>	Javier Elorrieta	<i>La otra orilla de la droga</i>	José Luis de Tomás
1149	1994	<i>Cómo ser infeliz y disfrutarlo</i>	Enrique Urbizu	<i>Cómo ser infeliz y disfrutarlo</i>	Carmen Rico-Godoy
1150	1994	<i>Días contados</i>	Imanol Uribe	<i>Días contados</i>	Juan Madrid
1151	1994	<i>El cianuro, ¿sólo o con leche?</i>	José Miguel Ganga	<i>El cianuro, ¿sólo o con leche?</i>	Juan José Alonso Millán
1152	1994	<i>La mitad de la vida</i>	Raúl Veiga	<i>La mitad de la vida</i>	Xosé Luís Méndez Ferrín
1153	1994	<i>La pasión turca</i>	Vicente Aranda	<i>La pasión turca</i>	Antonio Gala
1154	1994	<i>La tabla de Flandes</i>	Jim Macbride	<i>La tabla de Flandes</i>	Arturo Pérez-Reverte
1155	1994	<i>Sombras paralelas</i>	Gerardo Gormezano	<i>Sombras paralelas</i>	Vicente Muñoz Puelles
1156	1995	<i>Cuernos de mujer</i>	Enrique Urbizu	<i>Cuernos de mujer</i>	Carmen Rico-Godoy
1157	1995	<i>Don Jaime el conquistador</i>	Antoni Verdaguer	<i>Don Jaume el conqueridor</i>	Serafí Pitarra (Frederic Soler Humbert)
1158	1995	<i>El palomo cojo</i>	Jaime de Armiñán	<i>El palomo cojo</i>	Eduardo Mendicutti
1159	1995	<i>El Perquè de tot plegat</i>	Ventura Pons	<i>La isla de Mayans y El perquè de tot plegat</i>	Quim Monzó
1160	1995	<i>El techo del mundo</i>	Felipe Vega	<i>El paisaje es memoria</i>	Julio Llamazares
1161	1995	<i>Historias del Kronen</i>	Montxo Armendáriz	<i>Historias de Kronen</i>	José Ángel Mañas
1162	1995	<i>La regenta</i>	Méndez Leite	<i>La regenta</i>	Leopoldo Alas (Clarín)
1163	1995	<i>Miau</i>	José Luis Borau	<i>Miau</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós
1164	1995	<i>Morirás en Chafarinas</i>	Pedro Olea	<i>Morirás en Chafarinas</i>	Fernando Lalana
1165	1996	<i>Adosados</i>	Mario Camus	<i>Adosados</i>	Félix Bayón
1166	1996	<i>Alma gitana</i>	Chus Gutiérrez	<i>El bailaor</i>	Timo Lozano
1167	1996	<i>Bwana</i>	Imanol Uribe	<i>La mirada del hombre oscuro</i>	Ignacio del Moral

1168	1996	<i>Cachito</i>	Enrique Urbizu	<i>Cachito. Un asunto de honor</i>	Arturo Pérez-Reverte
1169	1996	<i>El perro del hortelano</i>	Pilar Miró	<i>El perro del hortelano</i>	Félix Lope de Vega
1170	1996	<i>El último viaje de Robert Rylands</i>	Gracia Querejeta	<i>Todas las almas</i>	Javier Marías
1171	1996	<i>La celestina</i>	Gerardo Vera	<i>La celestina</i>	Fernando de Rojas
1172	1996	<i>Los porretas</i>	Carlos Suárez	<i>La saga de los Porretas</i>	Eduardo Vázquez Carrasco
1173	1996	<i>Malena es un nombre de tango</i>	Gerardo Herrero	<i>Malena es un nombre de tango</i>	Almudena Grandes
1174	1996	<i>Más allá del jardín</i>	Pedro Olea	<i>Más allá del jardín</i>	Antonio Gala
1175	1996	<i>Menos que cero</i>	Ernesto Tellería	<i>110, Streeteko Geltokia</i>	Iñaki Zabaleta
1176	1996	<i>Mi nombre es Sombra</i>	Gonzalo Suárez	<i>"La verdadera historia de H. y J."</i>	Gonzalo Suárez
1177	1996	<i>Nexo</i>	Jordi Cadena	<i>Cresta</i>	Jordi Arbonés
1178	1996	<i>O thriamvos tou hronou</i>	Vasilis Mazomenos	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
1179	1996	<i>Tranvía a la Malvarrosa</i>	José Luis García Sánchez	<i>Tranvía a la Malvarrosa</i>	Manuel Vicent
1180	1996	<i>Tu nombre envenena mis sueños</i>	Pilar Miró	<i>Tu nombre envenena mis sueños</i>	Joaquín Leguina
1181	1997	<i>Actrius</i>	Ventura Pons	<i>E.R.</i>	Josep Maria Benet i Jornet
1182	1997	<i>Best-Seller, el premio</i>	Carlos Pérez Ferré	<i>Un cadáver de regalo</i>	Carlos Pérez Merinero
1183	1997	<i>Carreteras secundarias</i>	Emilio Martínez Lázaro	<i>Carreteras secundarias</i>	Ignacio Martínez de Pisón
1184	1997	<i>Chevrolet</i>	Javier Maqua	<i>Coches abandonados</i>	Javier Maqua
1185	1997	<i>Don Quijote Returns</i>	Oleg Grigorovich & Vasilij Livanov	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
1186	1997	<i>El aroma del Copal</i>	Antonio Gonzalo	<i>El aroma del copal</i>	Javier Reverte
1187	1997	<i>El crimen del cine Oriente</i>	Pedro Costa	<i>El crimen del cine Oriente</i>	Javier Tomeo
1188	1997	<i>Gràcies per la propina</i>	Francesc Bellmunt	<i>Gràcies per la propina</i>	Ferran Torrent
1189	1997	<i>La herida luminosa</i>	José Luis Garcé	<i>La ferida lluminosa</i>	Josep Maria de Sagarra
1190	1997	<i>La pistola de mi hermano</i>	Ray Loriga	<i>Caídos del cielo</i>	Ray Loriga
1191	1997	<i>Las ratas</i>	Antonio Giménez Rico	<i>Las ratas</i>	Miguel Delibes
1192	1997	<i>Pajarico</i>	Carlos Saura	<i>Pajarico solitario</i>	Carlos Saura

1193	1997	<i>Primates</i>	Carles Jover	<i>La magnitud de la tragedia</i>	Quim Monzó
1194	1997	<i>Tabarka</i>	Domingo Rodes	<i>Tabarka</i>	Miguel Signes
1195	1997	<i>Territorio Comanche</i>	Gerardo Herrero	<i>Territorio Comanche</i>	Arturo Pérez-Reverte
1196	1998	<i>Caricias</i>	Ventura Pons	<i>Caricias</i>	Sergi Belbel
1197	1998	<i>El abuelo</i>	José Luis Garci	<i>El abuelo</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós
1198	1998	<i>El evangelio de las maravillas</i>	Arturo Ripstein	<i>Nazarín</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós
1199	1998	<i>El pianista</i>	Mario Gas	<i>El pianista</i>	Manuel Vázquez Montalbán
1200	1998	<i>La mirada del otro</i>	Vicente Aranda	<i>La mirada del otro</i>	Fernando G. Delgado
1201	1998	<i>La vuelta de El Coyote</i>	Mario Camus	<i>Las aventuras de don César Echagüe "El Coyote"</i>	José Mallorquí
1202	1998	<i>Los años bárbaros</i>	Fernando Colomo	<i>Otros hombres</i>	Manuel Lamana
1203	1998	<i>Mararía</i>	Antonio José Betancor	<i>Mararía</i>	Rafael Arozarena
1204	1998	<i>Mensaka</i>	Salvador García Ruíz	<i>Mensaka</i>	José Ángel Mañas
1205	1998	<i>Saïd</i>	Lorenzo Soler	<i>La aventura de Saïd</i>	Josep Lorman
1206	1998	<i>Una pareja perfecta</i>	Francesc Betriu	<i>Diario de un jubilado</i>	Miguel Delibes
1207	1998	<i>Viaje a la luna</i>	Frederic Amat	<i>Viaje a la luna</i>	Federico García Lorca
1208	1998	<i>Yerma</i>	Pilar Távora	<i>Yerma</i>	Federico García Lorca
1209	1999	<i>Amic/Amat</i>	Ventura Pons	<i>Testament</i>	Josep Maria Benet i Jornet
1210	1999	<i>Entre las piernas</i>	Manuel Gómez Pereira	<i>Entre las piernas</i>	Joaquín Oristrell
1211	1999	<i>Extraños</i>	Imanol Uribe	<i>Extraños</i>	Juan José Millás
1212	1999	<i>La casa de Bernarda Alba</i>	Belkis Vega	<i>La casa de Bernarda Alba</i>	Federico García Lorca
1213	1999	<i>La ciudad de los prodigios</i>	Mario Camus	<i>La ciudad de los prodigios</i>	Eduardo Mendoza
1214	1999	<i>La lengua de las mariposas</i>	José Luis Cuerda	<i>Que me quieres, amor?</i>	Manuel Rivas
1215	1999	<i>Manolito Gafotas</i>	Miguel Albaladejo	<i>Manolito Gafotas</i>	Elvira Lindo
1216	1999	<i>Nadie conoce a nadie</i>	Mateo Gil	<i>Nadie conoce a nadie</i>	Juan Bonilla
1217	1999	<i>Plenilunio</i>	Imanol Uribe	<i>Plenilunio</i>	Antonio Muñoz Molina

1218	1999	<i>The Ninth Gate</i>	Roman Polanski	<i>El club Dumas</i>	Arturo Pérez-Reverte
1219	2000	<i>Aunque tú no lo sepas</i>	Juan Vicente Córdoba	<i>El vocabulario de los balcones</i>	Almudena Grandes
1220	2000	<i>Báilame el agua</i>	Josetxo San Mateo	<i>Báilame el agua</i>	Daniel Valdés
1221	2000	<i>Don Quixote</i>	Peter Yates	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
1222	2000	<i>El Mar</i>	Agustí Villaronga	<i>El mar</i>	Blai Bonet
1223	2000	<i>El otro barrio</i>	Salvador García Ruiz	<i>El otro barrio</i>	Elvira Lindo
1224	2000	<i>El portero</i>	Gonzalo Suárez	<i>El portero</i>	Manuel Hidalgo
1225	2000	<i>Las razones de mis amigos</i>	Gerardo Herrero	<i>La conquista del aire</i>	Belén Gopegui
1226	2000	<i>Lázaro de Tormes</i>	Fernando Fernán-Gómez, José Luis García	<i>El lazarrillo de Tormes</i>	Anonymous
1227	2000	<i>Nostoras</i>	Judith Colell	<i>Mujeres</i>	Isabel-Clara Simó
1228	2001	<i>Amar y morir en Sevilla (Don Juan Tenorio)</i>	Víctor Barrera	<i>Don Juan Tenorio</i>	José Zorrilla
1229	2001	<i>Amor, curiosidad, prozak y dudas</i>	Miguel Santesmases	<i>Amor, curiosidad, Prozak y dudas</i>	Lucía Etxebarría
1230	2001	<i>Anita no pierde el tren</i>	Ventura Pons	<i>Bones obres</i>	Lluís-Anton Baulenas
1231	2001	<i>El bosque animado</i>	Ángel de la Cruz	<i>El bosque animado</i>	Wenceslao Fernández Flórez
1232	2001	<i>El paraíso ya no es lo que era</i>	Francesc Betriu	<i>El paraíso ya no es lo que era</i>	Carmen Rico-Godoy
1233	2001	<i>Juana la loca</i>	Vicente Aranda	<i>Locura de amor</i>	Manuel Tamayo y Baus
1234	2001	<i>La leyenda del Unicornio</i>	Maite Ruiz de Austri	<i>La leyenda del Unicornio</i>	Javier Muñoz
1235	2001	<i>La vida es sueño</i>	Roger Justafre	<i>La vida es sueño</i>	Pedro Calderón de la Barca
1236	2001	<i>Lázaro de Tormes</i>	Fernando Fernán Gómez	<i>Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas y adversidades</i>	Anonymous
1237	2001	<i>L'illa de l'holandès</i>	Sigfrid Monleón	<i>L'illa de l'holandès</i>	Ferran Torrent
1238	2001	<i>Manolito Gafotas en ¡Mola ser jefe!</i>	Juan Potau	<i>Manolito Gafotas</i>	Elvira Lindo
1239	2001	<i>Salvajes</i>	Carlos Molinero	<i>Salvajes</i>	José Luis Alonso de Santos
1240	2001	<i>Son de mar</i>	Bigas Luna	<i>Son de mar</i>	Manuel Vicent
1241	2001	<i>Y decirte alguna estupidez, por ejemplo, te quiero</i>	Antonio del Real	<i>Y decirte alguna estupidez, por ejemplo, te quiero</i>	Martín Casariego

1242	2002	<i>Asesino en serio</i>	Antonio Urrutia	<i>Asesino en serio</i>	Javier Valdés
1243	2002	<i>Cásate conmigo, Maribel</i>	Ángel Blasco	<i>Maribel y la extraña familia</i>	Miguel Mihura
1244	2002	<i>El alquimista impaciente</i>	Patricia Ferreira	<i>El alquimista impaciente</i>	Lorenzo Silva
1245	2002	<i>El caballero Don Quijote</i>	Manuel Gutiérrez Aragón	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
1246	2002	<i>El embrujo de Shanghai</i>	Fernando Trueba	<i>El embrujo de Shanghai</i>	Juan Marsé
1247	2002	<i>El florido pensil</i>	Juan José Porto	<i>El florido pensil</i>	Andrés Sopena Monsalve
1248	2002	<i>El viaje de Carol</i>	Imanol Uribe	<i>Boca de noche</i>	Ángel García Roldán
1249	2002	<i>La soledad era esto</i>	Sergio Renán	<i>La soledad era esto</i>	Juan José Millás
1250	2002	<i>La virgen de la lujuria</i>	Arturo Ripstein	<i>La verdadera historia de la muerte de Francisco Franco</i>	Max Aub
1251	2002	<i>Lost in La Mancha</i>	Keith Fulton	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
1252	2002	<i>Nos miran</i>	Norberto López Amado	<i>Los otros</i>	Javier García Sánchez
1253	2002	<i>Primer y último amor</i>	Antonio Giménez Rico	<i>Primer y último amor</i>	Torcuato Luca de Tena
1254	2002	<i>Trece campanadas</i>	Xavier Villaverde	<i>Trece campanadas</i>	Suso de Toro
1255	2002	<i>Valentín</i>	Juan Luis Iborra	<i>Valentín</i>	Juan Gil-Albert
1256	2002	<i>Volverás</i>	Antonio Chavarrías	<i>Un enano español se suicida en Las Vegas</i>	Francisco Casavella
1257	2003	<i>Besos de gato</i>	Rafael Alcázar	<i>Falso movimiento</i>	Alejandro Gándara
1258	2003	<i>El Cid: La leyenda</i>	Jose Pozo	<i>Poema del Mío Cid</i>	Anonymous
1259	2003	<i>El lápiz del carpintero</i>	Antón Reixa	<i>El lápiz del carpintero</i>	Manuel Rivas
1260	2003	<i>El misterio Galíndez</i>	Gerardo Herrero	<i>Galíndez</i>	Manuel Vázquez Montalbán
1261	2003	<i>La hija del caníbal</i>	Antonio Serrano	<i>La hija del caníbal</i>	Rosa Montero
1262	2003	<i>La luz prodigiosa</i>	Miguel Hermoso	<i>La luz prodigiosa</i>	Fernando Marías
1263	2003	<i>La tarara del chapao</i>	Enrique Navarro Monje	<i>Chapao</i>	Carles Pons
1264	2003	<i>Lo mejor que le puede pasar a un cruasán</i>	Paco Mir	<i>Lo mejor que le puede pasar a un cruasán</i>	Pablo Tusset
1265	2003	<i>Los novios búlgaros</i>	Eloy de la Iglesia	<i>Los novios búlgaros</i>	Eduardo Mendicutti

1266	2003	<i>Los soldados de Salamina</i>	David Trueba	<i>Soldados de Salamina</i>	Javier Cercas
1267	2003	<i>Lucía, Lucía</i>	Antonio Serrano	<i>Lucía, Lucía</i>	Rosa Montero
1268	2003	<i>Pacto de brujas</i>	Javier Elorrieta	<i>La camisa del revés</i>	Andreu Martín
1269	2003	<i>Palabras encadenadas</i>	Laura Mañá	<i>Palabras encadenadas</i>	Jordi Galceran
1270	2003	<i>Planta 4ª</i>	Antonio Mercero	<i>Los pelones</i>	Albert Espinosa
1271	2003	<i>Tánger</i>	Juan Madrid	<i>Tánger</i>	Juan Madrid
1272	2003	<i>The Weakness of the Bolshevik</i>	Manuel Martín Cuenca	<i>La flaqueza del bolchevique</i>	Lorenzo Silva
1273	2004	<i>Amor idiota</i>	Ventura Pons	<i>Amor idiota</i>	Lluís-Anton Baulenas
1274	2004	<i>El año del diluvio</i>	Jaime Chávarri	<i>El año del diluvio</i>	Eduardo Mendoza
1275	2004	<i>El Año Del Diluvio</i>	Jaime Chávarri	<i>El Año Del Diluvio</i>	Eduardo Mendoza
1276	2004	<i>El dúo de la africana</i>	Juanjo Granada	<i>El dúo de la africana</i>	Miguel Echegaray
1277	2004	<i>Rottweiler</i>	Brian Yuzna	<i>Rottweiler</i>	Alberto Vázquez Figueroa
1278	2005	<i>Don Juan en Alcalá 2005</i>	Jaime Azpilicueta	<i>Don Juan Tenorio</i>	José Zorrilla
1279	2005	<i>Don Quixote in Jerusalem</i>	Dani Rosenberg	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
1280	2005	<i>El método</i>	Marcelo Piñeyro	<i>El método Grönholm</i>	Jordi Galcerán Ferrer
1281	2005	<i>Hormigas en la boca</i>	Mariano Barroso	<i>Amanecer con hormigas en la boca</i>	Miguel Barroso
1282	2005	<i>La vida perra de Juanita Narboni</i>	Farida Benlyazid	<i>La vida perra de Juanita Narboni</i>	Ángel Vázquez
1283	2005	<i>Ninette</i>	José Luis Garci	<i>Ninette y un señor de Murcia</i>	Miguel Mihura
1284	2005	<i>Obaba</i>	Montxo Armendáriz	<i>Obabakoak</i>	Bernardo Atxaga
1285	2005	<i>Romasanta</i>	Paco Plaza	<i>Memorias inciertas de un hombre lobo</i>	Alfredo Conde
1286	2005	<i>Tirant lo Blanc</i>	Vicente Aranda	<i>Tirant lo Blanc</i>	Joanot Martorell
1287	2006	<i>Alatriste</i>	Agustín Díaz Yanes	<i>Las aventuras del Capitán Alatriste</i>	Arturo Pérez-Reverte
1288	2006	<i>Animales heridos</i>	Ventura Pons	<i>Animales tristes</i>	Jordi Puntí
1289	2006	<i>El camino de los ingleses</i>	Antonio Banderas	<i>El camino de los ingleses</i>	Antonio Soler
1290	2006	<i>El triunfo</i>	Mireia Ros	<i>El triunfo</i>	Francisco Casavella
1291	2006	<i>Honor de cavalleria</i>	Albert Serra	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes

1292	2006	<i>La caja</i>	Juan Carlos Falcón	<i>Nos dejaron el muerto</i>	Víctor Ramírez
1293	2006	<i>La dama boba</i>	Manuel Iborra	<i>La dama boba</i>	Félix Lope de Vega
1294	2006	<i>La Viuda de Blanco</i>	Luis Manzo	<i>Doña Perfecta</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós
1295	2006	<i>Los aires difíciles</i>	Gerardo Herrero	<i>Los aires difíciles</i>	Almudena Grandes
1296	2006	<i>Salvador</i>	Manuel Huerga	<i>Cuenta atrás: Historia de Salvador Puig Antich</i>	Francesc Escribano
1297	2007	<i>Atlas de geografía humana</i>	Azucena Rodríguez	<i>Atlas de geografía humana</i>	Almudena Grandes
1298	2007	<i>Bajo las estrellas</i>	Félix Viscarret	<i>El trompetista del Utopía</i>	Fernando Aramburu
1299	2007	<i>Chuecatown</i>	Juan Flahn	<i>Chuecatown</i>	Rafael Martínez Castellano
1300	2007	<i>Donkey Xote</i>	Jose Pozo	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
1301	2007	<i>El corazón de la tierra</i>	Antonio Cuadri	<i>El corazón de la tierra</i>	Juan Cobos Wilkins
1302	2007	<i>La carta esférica</i>	Imanol Uribe	<i>La carta esférica</i>	Arturo Pérez-Reverte
1303	2007	<i>La vida abismal</i>	Ventura Pons	<i>La vida en el abismo</i>	Ferran Torrent
1304	2008	<i>Don Juan Itinerante</i>	Laila Ripoll	<i>Don Juan Tenorio</i>	José Zorrilla
1305	2008	<i>Don Quixote: Gib niemals auf!</i>	Sibylle Tafel	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
1306	2008	<i>Los girasoles ciegos</i>	José Luis Cuerda	<i>Los girasoles ciegos</i>	Alberto Méndez
1307	2008	<i>Un poco de chocolate</i>	Aitzol Aramaio	<i>SPrako tranbia (Un tranvía en SP)</i>	Unai Elorriaga
1308	2008	<i>Una palabra tuya</i>	Ángeles González Sinde	<i>Una palabra tuya</i>	Elvira Lindo
1309	2009	<i>Don Quixote</i>	Brian Large	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
1310	2010	<i>Las aventuras de Don Quijote</i>	Antonio Zurera	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miquel de Cervantes y Saavedra
1311	2010	<i>Marcelino Pan y Vino</i>	José Luis Gutiérrez Arias	<i>Marcelino pan y vino. Cuento de padres a hijos</i>	José María Sanchez-Silva
1312	2010	<i>Móxiachuán zhī Tángjikédé</i>	Ah Gan	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miquel de Cervantes y Saavedra
1313	2011	<i>Celda 211</i>	Daniel Monzón	<i>Celda 211</i>	Francisco Pérez Gandul
1314	2011	<i>La voz dormida</i>	Benito Zambrano	<i>La voz dormida</i>	Dulce Chacón



1315	2011	<i>Pa negre</i>	Agustí Villaronga	<i>Pa Negre</i>	Emili Teixidor
1316	2012	<i>Come Out and Play</i>	Makinov	<i>El juego de los niños</i>	Juan José Plans
1317	2012	<i>Don Quijote - Ritter und Burgen - Geschichten aus Spanien</i>	Axel Loh	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
1318	2013	<i>Alacrán enamorado</i>	Santiago Zannou	<i>Alacrán enamorado</i>	Carlos Bardem
1319	2013	<i>El Lazarillo de Tormes</i>	Juan Bautista Berasategi	<i>La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes</i>	Anonymous
1320	2013	<i>Fill de Caín</i>	Jesús Monllaó	<i>Querido Caín</i>	Ignacio García-Valiño
1321	2013	<i>I, Don Quixote</i>	Shayne Hood	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
1322	2014	<i>My Don Quixote</i>	Thomas Kampioni	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
1323	2015	<i>Don Quixote</i>	David Beier	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
1324	2015	<i>Don Quixote</i>	Marius Petipa	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
1325	2015	<i>El Lazarillo de Tormes</i>	Pedro Alonso Pablos	<i>La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes</i>	Anonymous
1326	2015	<i>Palmeras en la nieve</i>	Fernando González Molina	<i>Palmeras en la nieve</i>	Luz Gabás
1327	2015	<i>Segon Origen</i>	Sergi Lara	<i>Mecanoscrit del segon origen</i>	Manuel de Pedrolo
1328	2017	<i>Cold Skin</i>	Xavier Gens	<i>Cold Skin</i>	Albert Sánchez Piñol
1329	2018	<i>Los habitantes de la casa deshabitada</i>	Marisa Paniagua	<i>Los habitantes de la casa deshabitada</i>	Enrique Jardiel Poncela
1330	2018	<i>Nela</i>	Bennett Rathnayke	<i>Marianela</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós
1331	2018	<i>The Man Who Killed Don Quixote</i>	Terry Gilliam	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes



## Appendix 2

<b>Spanish authors responsible for the most film adaptations</b>	
<b>Author</b>	<b># Adaptations</b>
Miguel de Cervantes	49
Carlos Arniches	40
Alfonso Paso	29
Benito Pérez Galdós	26
Luisa María Linares Martín	23
Enrique Jardiel Poncela	20
Wenceslao Fernández Flórez	19
Jacinto Benavente	17
Joaquín Álvarez Quintero	17
José Zorrilla	16
Pedro Antonio de Alarcón	16
Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	16
Gregorio Martínez Sierra	16
Federico García Lorca	14
Armando Palacio Valdés	12
Pedro Calderón de la Barca	11
Juan José Alonso Millán	11
Alejandro Pérez Lugín	11
Miguel Mihura	10
Miguel Delibes	10
Juan Ignacio Luca de Tena	9
José María Pemán	9
Félix Lope de Vega	9
Gonzalo Suárez	9
Alberto Vázquez Figueroa	9
Pedro Muñoz Seca	8
Miquel de Cervantes y Saavedra	8
Miguel de Unamuno	8
Alejandro Casona	8
Joaquín Calvo Sotelo	8
Arturo Pérez-Reverte	7

Fernando Vizcaíno Casas	7
Àngel Guimerà	7
Pío Baroja	6
Juan Marsé	6
Antonio Quintero	6
Antonio Vera Ramírez (Lou Carrigan)	6
Jaime Salón	6
Ramón del Valle-Inclán	5
Manuel Vázquez Montalbán	5
Ricardo Rodríguez Flores	5
Pascual Guillén	5
José Mallorquí	5
Cecilio Benítez de Castro	5
Antonio Buero Vallejo	5
Concha Espina	5
Edgar Neville	5
Joaquín Álvarez Quintero	5
Eduardo Mendoza	5
Ignacio Aldecoa	5
Adolfo Torrado	5
Juan López Núñez	4
Ramón J. Sender	4
José Mallorquí Figuerola	4
Santiago Rusiñol	4
Ricardo de la Vega	4
José María Sánchez Silva	4
José Feliu y Codina	4
Rafael Azcona	4
Manuel Tamayo y Baus	4
Manuel de Pedrolo	4
Ferran Torrent	4
Antonio Machado	4
Antonio Gala	4
Joaquín Abati	4
Daniel Sueiro	4
Enrique Pérez Escrich	4

Elvira Lindo	4
Almudena Grandes	4
Emilia Pardo Bazán	4
Joaquín Dicenta Badillo	4
Carmen Rico-Godoy	4
Carlos Llopis	4
Pilar Millán Astray	3
Miguel Ramos Carrión	3
Tirso de Molina	3
José Luis Alonso de Santos	3
Jorge Martínez Reverte	3
Juan Madrid	3
José Francés	3
José Luis de Azcárraga	3
Torcuato Luca de Tena	3
Juan Valera	3
Padre Luis Coloma	3
Leandro Navarro Benet	3
Josep Maria Benet i Jornet	3
Luis Fernández Ardavín	3
Rafael de León	3
Luis Fernández de Sevilla (Luis Fernández García)	3
Santiago Moncada	3
Luis Pascual Frutos	3
Tomás Salvador	3
Manuel de Falla	3
Valentín Gómez	3
Víctor Ruiz Iriarte	3
Miguel Echegaray	3
Ángel María de Lera	3
Antonio Muñoz Molina	3
Andreu Martín	3
Francisco Gargallo	3
Eduardo Marquina	3
Anselmo Cuadrado Carreño	3

Jesús Fernández Santos	3
Carlos Fernández Shaw	3
Alberto Insúa (Alberto Galt Escobar)	3
Honorio Maura	3
Camilo José Cela	3
Joaquín Dicenta Benedicto	3
Enrique García Álvarez	3
Dionisio Ramos	3
Rafael López de Haro	2
Manuel Halcón	2
Joaquín Álvarez Quintero	2
Manuel Pilares (Manuel Joaquín Fernández Martínez)	2
Quim Monzó	2
Manuel Rivas	2
Ramón Gómez de la Serna	2
José Luis Olaizola	2
Juan José Lorente	2
Manuel Vázquez Moltalbán	2
Luis Mateo Díez	2
José Ángel Mañas	2
Leopoldo Alas (Clarín)	2
Manuel Vicent	2
Rafael Pérez y Pérez	2
María Jaén	2
Ramón Solís	2
Max Aub	2
Rosa Montero	2
Miguel de Palacios Brugueras	2
Lluís-Anton Baulenas	2
José Antonio de la Loma	2
Manuel Hidalgo	2
José María Carretero Novillo	2
Josep Maria Folch i Torres	2
Víctor Balaguer	2
Josep Maria de Sagarra	2

Juan José Plans	2
Rafael García Serrano	2
Luis de Val	2
Rafael López Rienda	2
José Echegaray	2
Juan Antonio Zunzunegui	2
Natividad Zaro	2
Juan García Hortelano	2
Noel Clarasó	2
Raúl Núñez	2
Luis de Vargas	2
José López Rubio	2
José María Vaz de Soto	2
Wenceslao Fernández Flórez	2
José Suárez Carreño	2
Manuel Arce	2
Julio Llamazares	2
Lorenzo Silva	2
Pedro de Répide	2
Juan José Millás	2
Pedro Mata	2
Juan Luis Calleja (Cromwell)	2
José Antonio Giménez-Arnau	2
Vital Aza	2
Enrique Suárez de Deza	2
Guillermo Díaz Caneja	2
Alfonso Sastre	2
Antonio de Lara (Tono)	2
Jaime de Salas	2
Adolfo Marsillach	2
Fernando Fernán Gómez	2
Arantxa Urretavizcaya	2
Francisco Delicado	2
Arcipreste de Hita (Juan Ruiz)	2
Ignacio F. Iquino	2
Armando Palacio Valdés	2

Jesús María de Arozamena	2
Benito Pérez Galdós	2
Fernando de Rojas	2
Carlos Pérez Merinero	2
Fernando Lázaro Carreter	2
Carmen de Icaza	2
Francisco Casavella	2
Catalina de Erauso	2
Alfredo Conde	2
Concha Linares Becerra	2
Horacio Ruiz de La Fuente	2
Darío Fernández Flórez	2
Ignasi Agustí	2
Eduardo Mendicutti	2
Álvaro de Laiglesia	2
Eleuterio Sánchez	2
Joaquín Aguirre Bellver	2
José María Carretero Novillo (El Caballero Audaz)	2
Emilio Romero	2



## Appendix 3: Film adaptations of the work Spanish women authors

#	Year	Film Title	Director	Literary Work	Author
1	1934	Diez días millonaria	José Buchs	Diez días millonaria	Concha Linares Becerra
2	1934	Una semana de felicidad	Max Nosseck	Una semana de felicidad	Concha Linares-Becerra
3	1935	Vidas rotas	Eusebio Fernández Ardavín	El jayón	Concha Espina
4	1939	Amores de juventud	Julián Torremocha	Amores de juventud	Carmen Pando
5	1939	Frente de Madrid	Edgar Neville	Frente a Madrid	Conchita Montes
6	1939	La tonta del bote	Gonzalo Pardo Delgrás	La tonta del bote	Pilar Millán Astray
7	1940	En poder de Barba Azul	José Buchs	En poder de Barba Azul	Luisa María Linares Martín
8	1941	Barbablù	Carlo Ludovico Bragaglia	En poder de Barba Azul	Luisa María Linares Martín
9	1942	Boda en el infierno	Antonio Román	En un puerto ruso	Rosa María Aranda
10	1942	Un marido a precio fijo	Gonzalo Pardo Delgrás	Un marido a precio fijo	Luisa María Linares Martín
11	1943	Altar mayor	Gonzalo Pardo Delgrás	Altar mayor	Concha Espina
12	1943	Cristina Guzmán	Gonzalo Delgrás	Cristina Guzmán	Carmen de Icaza
13	1944	Doze Luas-de-Mel	Ladislao Vajda	Doce lunas de miel	Luisa María Linares Martín
14	1944	La monja alférez	Emilio Gómez Muriel	Historia de la monja alférez	Catalina de Erauso
15	1944	La vida empieza a medianoche	Juan de Orduña	La vida empieza a medianoche	Luisa María Linares Martín
16	1944	Mi enemigo y yo	Ramón Quadreny	Mi enemigo y yo	Luisa María Linares Martín
17	1944	Mi enemigo y yo	Ramón Quadreny	Mi enemigo y yo	Luisa María Linares Martín
18	1944	Te quiero para mí	Ladislao Vajda	Mi novio el Emperador	Luisa María Linares Martín
19	1944	Tuvo la culpa Adán	Juan de Orduña	Tuvo la culpa Adán	Luisa María Linares Martín
20	1944	Una chica de opereta	Ramón Quadreny	Opereta	Concha Linares Becerra
21	1944	Una herencia en París	Miguel Pereyra	Tú eres él	Laura de Cominges (Josefina de la Torre)
22	1945	Ni tuyo, ni mío	Gonzalo Pardo Delgrás	Ni tuyo, ni mío	Luisa María Linares Martín

23	1947	Dos mujeres en la niebla	Domingo Viladomat	El faro de Festelnat	Alicia Martínez Valderrama
24	1947	La sirena negra	Carlos Serrano de Osma	La sirena negra	Emilia Pardo Bazán
25	1947	Nada	Edgar Neville	Nada	Carmen Laforet
26	1947	Sinfonía del hogar	Ignacio F. Iquino	Sinfonía del hogar	Cecilia A. Mantúa (Cecilia Alonso)
27	1947	Trece onzas de oro	Gonzalo Pardo Delgrás	Trece onzas de oro	Margarit Robles
28	1948	Três Espelhos	Ladislao Vajda	Hombre en tres espejos	Natividad Zaro
29	1948	Un viaje de novios	Gonzalo Pardo Delgrás	Un viaje de novios	Emilia Pardo Bazán
30	1949	El viajero del Clipper	Gonzalo Pardo Delgrás	Napoleón llegó en el Clipper	Luisa María Linares Martín
31	1949	La esfinge maragata	Antonio de Obregón	La esfinge maragata	Concha Espina
32	1949	La niña de Luzmela	Ricardo Gascón	La niña de Luzmela	Concha Espina
33	1949	Sin uniforme	Ladislao Vajda	También la guerra es dulce	Natividad Zaro
34	1950	Tres ladrones en la casa	Raúl Cancio	Antoñita la Fantástica	Borita Casas (Liberia Casas)
35	1952	Dulce nombre	Enrique Gómez	Dulce nombre	Concha Espina
36	1952	Luna de sangre	Francisco Rovira Baleta	La familia de Alvareda	Cecilia Böhl de Faber (Fernán Caballero)
37	1953	El	Luis Buñuel	El	Mercedes Pinto
38	1954	Viento del norte	Antonio Momplet	Viento del norte	Elena Quiroga
39	1955	Lo que nunca muere	Julio Salvador	Lo que nunca muere	Luisa Alberca
40	1955	Necesito un marido	José Díaz Morales	Un marido a precio fijo	Luisa María Linares Martín
41	1955	Terroristi a Madrid	Margarita Alexandre	La ciudad perdida	Mercedes Fórmica
42	1956	La chica del barrio	Ricardo Nuñez	La tonta del bote	Pilar Millán Astray
43	1958	C'est la faute d'Adam	Jacqueline Audry	Tuvo la culpa Adán	Luisa María Linares Martín
44	1958	Chaque jour a son secret	Claude Boissol	Cada día tiene su secreto	Luisa María Linares Martín
45	1958	El amor empieza en sábado	Victorio Aguado	El amor empieza en sábado	María Luz Morales
46	1958	Mi desconocida esposa	Alberto Gout	La vida empieza a medianoche	Luisa María Linares Martín
47	1958	Socios para la aventura	Miguel Morayta	Socios para la aventura	Luisa María Linares Martín
48	1960	El indulto	José Luis Sáenz de Heredia	El indulto	Emilia Pardo Bazán

49	1962	Detective con faldas	Ricardo Nuñez	Napoleón llegó en el Clipper	Luisa María Linares Martín
50	1962	Romance en Puerto Rico	Ramón Pereda	En poder de Barba Azul	Luisa María Linares Martín
51	1963	Cristina Guzmán	Luis César Amadori	Cristina Guzmán, profesora de idiomas	Carmen de Icaza
52	1964	Comment épouser un premier ministre	Michel Boisrond	Como casarse con un primer ministro	Luisa María Linares Martín
53	1964	L'autre femme	François Villiers	La otra mujer	Luisa-María Linares
54	1966	Comment ne pas épouser un milliardaire	Lazare Iglesis	En poder de Barba Azul	Luisa María Linares Martín
55	1967	La vie commence à minuit	Yvan Jouannet	La vida empieza a medianoche	Luisa María Linares Martín
56	1968	Cristina Guzmán	Luis César Amadori	Cristina Guzmán	Carmen de Icaza
57	1968	Cristina Guzmán	Luis César Amadori	Cristina Guzmán	Carmen de Icaza
58	1968	La banda del pecas	Jesús Pascual	La banda del pecas	Marina Fernández
59	1969	Tengo que abandonararte	Antonio del Amo	Tengo que abandonararte	Corín Tellado (María del Socorro Tellado López)
60	1970	La larga agonía de los peces fuera del agua	Francisco Rovira Baleta	Vent de grop	Aurora Bertrana
61	1970	La tonta del bote	Juan de Orduña	La tonta del bote	Pilar Millán Astray
62	1974	La muerte llama a las 10	Juan Bosch	La muerte llama a las diez	Luisa María Linares Martín
63	1974	Ópera en Marineda	Pilar Miró	Por el arte	Emilia Pardo Bazán
64	1975	Olvida los tambores	Rafael Gil	Olvida los tambores	Ana Diosdado
65	1976	Emilia, parada y fonda	Angelino Fons	Un alto en el camino. Las ataduras	Carmen Martín Gaité
66	1976	Imposible para una solterona	Rafael Romero Marchent	Imposible para una solterona	Luisa María Linares Martín
67	1978	Carne apaleada	Javier Aguirre	Carne apaleada	Inés Palou
68	1978	Oscar, Kina y el láser	José María Blanco	Oscar y Corazón de púrpura	Carmen Kurtz
69	1980	El crimen de Cuenca	Pilar Miró	El Crimen de Cuenca	Lola Salvador Maldonado
70	1980	Memorias de Leticia Valle	Miguel Ángel Rivas	Memorias de Leticia Valle	Rosa Chacel
71	1982	La plaça del Diamant	Francesc Betriu	La plaça del Diamant	Mercè Rodoreda

72	1983	El sur	Víctor Erice	El sur	Adelaida García Morales
73	1984	La conquista de Albania	Alfonso Ungría	La conquista de Albania	Arantxa Urretavizcaya
74	1985	Por qué Panpox	Xabier Elorriaga	Zergatik Panpox	Arantxa Urretavizcaya
75	1987	El polizón de Ulises	Javier Aguirre	El polizón de Ulises	Ana María Matute
76	1987	La monja alférez	Javier Aguirre	Memorial de los méritos y servicios del alférez Erauso	Catalina de Erauso
77	1987	L'Escot	Antoni Verdaguer	Amorrada al piló	María Jaén
78	1988	Brumal	Cristina Andreu	Los altillos de Brumal	Cristina Fernández Cubas
79	1988	Qui t'estima Babel?	Ignasi P. Ferré	La imbécil	Mercé Company
80	1990	La punyalada	Jorge Grau	La punyalada	Marià Vayreda
81	1990	Las edades de Lulú	Bigas Luna	Las edades de Lulú	Imudena Grandes
82	1990	Sauna	Andreu Martín	Sauna	María Jaén
83	1991	Cómo ser mujer y no morir en el intento	Ana Belén	Cómo ser mujer y no morir en el intento	Carmen Rico-Godoy
84	1991	Solitud	Romà Guardiet	Solitud	Victor Català <sup>213</sup>
85	1994	Cómo ser infeliz y disfrutarlo	Enrique Urbizu	Cómo ser infeliz y disfrutarlo	Carmen Rico-Godoy
86	1995	Cuernos de mujer	Enrique Urbizu	Cuernos de mujer	Carmen Rico-Godoy
87	1996	Malena es un nombre de tango	Gerardo Herrero	Malena es un nombre de tango	Almudena Grandes
88	1999	Manolito Gafotas	Miguel Albaladejo	Manolito Gafotas	Elvira Lindo
89	2000	Aunque tú no lo sepas	Juan Vicente Córdoba	El vocabulario de los balcones	Almudena Grandes
90	2000	El otro barrio	Salvador García Ruiz	El otro barrio	Elvira Lindo
91	2000	Las razones de mis amigos	Gerardo Herrero	La conquista del aire	Belén Gopegui
92	2000	Nostoras	Judith Colell	Mujeres	Isabel-Clara Simó
93	2001	Amor, curiosidad, prozak y dudas	Miguel Santesmases	Amor, curiosidad, Prozak y dudas	Lucía Etxebarria
94	2001	El paraíso ya no es lo que era	Francesc Betriu	El paraíso ya no es lo que era	Carmen Rico-Godoy

<sup>213</sup> Víctor Català is the pen name for Modernist Catalan writer Caterina Albert.

95	2001	Manolito Gafotas en ¡Mola ser jefe!	Juan Potau	Manolito Gafotas	Elvira Lindo
96	2003	La hija del canibal	Antonio Serrano	La hija del canibal	Rosa Montero
97	2003	Lucía, Lucía	Antonio Serrano	Lucía, Lucía	Rosa Montero
98	2006	Los aires difíciles	Gerardo Herrero	Los aires difíciles	Almudena Grandes
99	2007	Atlas de geografía humana	Azucena Rodríguez	Atlas de geografía humana	Almudena Grandes
100	2008	Una palabra tuya	Ángeles González Sinde	Una palabra tuya	Elvira Lindo
101	2015	Palmeras en la nieve	Fernando González Molina	Palmeras en la nieve	Luz Gabás



## Appendix 4

Most adapted Spanish literary works		
Literary work	Author	# Adaptations
El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha	Miguel de Cervantes	47
Don Juan Tenorio	José Zorrilla	16
La casa de Bernarda Alba	Federico García Lorca	7
El abuelo	Benito Pérez Galdós	6
Canción de cuna	Canción de cuna	6
Poema del Mío Cid	Anonymous	5
Marianela	Marianela	5
La gitanilla	Miguel de Cervantes	5
La casa de la Troya	Alejandro Pérez Lugín	5
La dolores	José Feliu y Codina	5
Bodas de sangre	Federico García Lorca	5
Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas y adversidades	Anonymous	4
Sangre y arena	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	4
La vida es sueño	Pedro Calderón de la Barca	4
La verbena de la Paloma	Ricardo de la Vega	4
La malquerida	Jacinto Benavente	4
Malvaloca	Joaquín Álvarez Quintero	4
La señorita de Trevélez	Carlos Arniches	4
Las aventuras de don César Echagüe "El Coyote"	José Mallorquí	4
El sombrero de tres picos	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón	4
La hermana de San Sulpicio	Armando Palacio Valdés	4
Es mi hombre	Carlos Arniches	4
En poder de Barba Azul	Luisa María Linares Martín	4
Doña Perfecta	Benito Pérez Galdós	4
El amor brujo	Gregorio Martínez Sierra	4
El alcalde de Zalamea	Pedro Calderón de la Barca	4

Carceleras	Ricardo Rodríguez Flores	4
El capitán veneno	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón	4
El curioso impertinente	Miquel de Cervantes y Saavedra	4
Currito de la Cruz	Alejandro Pérez Lugín	4
Nobleza baturra	Joaquín Dicenta Badillo	3
Pepita Jiménez	Juan Valera	3
Los habitantes de la casa deshabitada	Enrique Jardiel Poncela	3
Libro del buen amor	Arcipreste de Hita	3
María Rosa	Àngel Guimerà	3
La reina mora	Joaquín Álvarez Quintero	3
Locura de amor	Manuel Tamayo y Baus	3
La revoltosa	Carlos Fernández Shaw	3
Marcelino pan y vino. Cuento de padres a hijos	José María Sánchez Silva	3
La tonta del bote	Pilar Millán Astray	3
La vida empieza a medianoche	Luisa María Linares Martín	3
Las cinco advertencias de Satanás	Enrique Jardiel Poncela	3
El soldado de San Marcial	Valentín Gómez	3
El negro que tenía el alma blanca	Alberto Insúa (Alberto Galt Escobar)	3
El huésped del sevillano	Juan Ignacio Luca de Tena	3
El niño de las monjas	Juan López Núñez	3
El retablo de maese Pedro	Manuel de Falla	3
La chica del gato	Carlos Arniches	3
Don Quintín el amargao	Carlos Arniches	3
Bohemios	Miguel de Palacios Brugueras	3
El Escándalo	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón	3
Botón de ancla	José Luis de Azcárraga	3
Tuvo la culpa Adán	Luisa María Linares Martín	2
Rosario, la cortijera	Joaquín Dicenta Benedicto	2



Puebla de las mujeres	Joaquín Álvarez Quintero	2
Nazarín	Benito Pérez Galdós	2
Santa Rogelia	Armando Palacio Valdés	2
Niebla	Miguel de Unamuno	2
Napoleón llegó en el Clipper	Luisa María Linares Martín	2
Ninette y un señor de Murcia	Miguel Mihura	2
Rocabruno bate a Ditirambo	Gonzalo Suárez	2
Misericordia	Benito Pérez Galdós	2
Nada menos que todo un hombre	Miguel de Unamuno	2
Usted tiene ojos de mujer fatal	Enrique Jardiel Poncela	2
Solitud	Victor Catalá	2
Morena Clara	Antonio Quintero	2
Un marido a precio fijo	Luisa María Linares Martín	2
Pisito de solteras	Rafael Azcona	2
Moros y cristianos	Elías Cerdá	2
Yo me bajo en la próxima, ¿y usted?	Adolfo Marsillach	2
Pilar Guerra	Guillermo Díaz Caneja	2
Zalacaín, el aventurero	Pfo Baroja	2
Los árboles mueren de pie	Alejandro Casona	2
Manolito Gafotas	Elvira Lindo	2
Los guapos	Carlos Arniches	2
La noche de Reyes	Carlos Arniches	2
La Lola se va a los puertos	Antonio Machado	2
La pródiga	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón	2
Los Cuatro Jinetes Del Apocalipsis	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	2
La regenta	Leopoldo Alas (Clarín)	2
Los mares del sur	Manuel Vázquez Montalbán	2
La historia de los Tarantos	Alfredo Mañas	2
Mare Nostrum	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	2
La sin ventura	José María Carretero	2
L'Auca del senyor Esteve	Santiago Rusiñol	2
La venganza de don Mendo	Pedro Muñoz Seca	2

Los claveles	Anselmo Cuadrado Carreño	2
La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes	Anonymous	2
Los cuatro Robinsones	Enrique García Álvarez	2
La vida en un hilo	Edgar Neville	2
Los ladrones somos gente honrada	Enrique Jardiel Poncela	2
La vida perra de Juanita Narboni	Ángel Vázquez (Antonio Vázquez Molina)	2
Los tres etcéteras de don Simón	José María Pemán	2
Maruxa	Luis Pascual Frutos	2
Maravilla	Jesús María de Arozamena	2
La lozana andaluza	Francisco Delicado	2
María de la O.	Rafael de León	2
Las estrellas	Carlos Arniches	2
Maribel y la extraña familia	Miguel Mihura	2
Las tres perfectas casadas	Alejandro Casona	2
Las de Caín	Joaquín Álvarez Quintero	2
El malvado Carabel	Wenceslao Fernández Flórez	2
La barca sin pescador	Alejandro Casona	2
El puñao de rosas	Carlos Arniches	2
El rey que rabió	Vital Aza	2
La bien pagada	José María Carretero Novillo (El Caballero Audaz)	2
El perro del hortelano	Félix Lope de Vega	2
El orgullo de Albacete	Antonio Paso	2
El pobre Valbuena	Carlos Arniches	2
La Alhambra o El suspiro del moro	Luis Fernández de Sevilla (Luis Fernández García)	2
El virgo de la Visanteta	Josep Maria Benet i Jornet	2
La barraca	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	2
La chavala	Carlos Fernández Shaw	2
El juego de los niños	Juan José Plans	2
La condesa María	Juan Ignacio Luca de Tena	2

La celestina	Fernando de Rojas	2
La dama del alba	Alejandro Casona	2
La ferida lluminosa	Josep Maria de Sagarra	2
La hija de Juan Simón	Nemesio M. Sobrevila	2
La copla andaluza	Pascual Guillén	2
Entre naranjos	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	2
El manuscrito de una madre	Enrique Pérez Escrich	2
El hombre que se quiso matar	Wenceslao Fernández Flórez	2
El milagro del Cristo de la Vega	José Zorrilla	2
Fortunata y Jacinta	Benito Pérez Galdós	2
El niño de la bola	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón	2
La alegría del batallón	Carlos Arniches	2
Fuenteovejuna	Félix Lope de Vega	2
El cianuro, ¿sólo o con leche?	Juan José Alonso Millán	2
El bosque animado	Wenceslao Fernández Flórez	2
Baixant de la Font del Gat	José Amich Bert (Amichatis)	2
El difunto es un vivo	Ignacio F. Iquino	2
El burlador de Sevilla y convidado de piedra	Tirso de Molina	2
Cosas de papá y mamá	Alfonso Paso	2
Alma de Dios	Carlos Arniches	2
Cristina Guzmán	Carmen de Icaza	2
El ángel triste	Carlos Pérez Merinero	2
Cuando las Cortes de Cádiz	José María Pemán	2
El bosque de Ancines	Carlos Martínez-Barbeito	2
El cura de aldea	Enrique Pérez Escrich	2
Carlota	Miguel Mihura	2
Como un perro rabioso	Alberto Vázquez Figueroa	2
¡Viva la vida!	José Amich Bert	2
Boy	Padre Luis Coloma	2
Doña Rosita la soltera	Federico García Lorca	2
El dúo de la africana	Miguel Echegaray	2

Don Álvaro o la fuerza del sino	Ángel de Saavedra (Duque de Rivas)	2
El genio alegre	Joaquín Álvarez Quintero	2
Don Juan de Serrallonga	Víctor Balaguer	2
Crónica del alba	Ramón J. Sender	2

## Appendix 5

<b>Directors with the most film adaptations of Spanish literary works</b>	
<b>Director</b>	<b># Film Adaptations</b>
Rafael Gil	43
José Buchs	25
Juan de Orduña	25
Luis Lucia	21
Benito Perojo	21
Florián Rey	18
Ignacio F. Iquino	18
Pedro Lazaga	17
Vicente Aranda	15
Luis Marquina	15
José Luis Sáenz de Heredia	14
Mario Camus	14
José María Forqué	13
Gonzalo Pardo Delgrás	13
Antonio Román	12
Gonzalo Suárez	11
Eusebio Fernández Ardavín	11
Edgar Neville	11
Ventura Pons	10
Fernando Fernán Gómez	10
Ramón Torrado	9
Ricardo de Baños	9
Ladislao Vajda	9
León Klimovsky	9
Imanol Uribe	9

Ramón Quadreny	8
Segundo de Chomón	8
Manuel Noriega	8
Alberto Marro	8
Fernando Delgado	8
Vicente Escrivá	7
Luis César Amadori	7
Ramón Fernández	7
José Antonio Nieves Conde	7
Mariano Ozores	7
Angelino Fons	7
Ricardo Gascón	6
Juan Andreu Moragas	6
Pedro Olea	6
José Luis García Sánchez	6
Manuel Mur Oti	6
Francisco Rovira Beleta	6
Antonio Giménez Rico	6
Gerardo Herrero	6
Javier Aguirre	6
Francesc Betriu	6
Antonio del Amo	6
Narciso Cuyás	5
Pilar Miró	5
Luis Buñuel	5
Maximiliano Thous	5
Juan Antonio Bardem	5
Miguel Iglesias	5
Luis R. Alonso	5
Jaime Chávarri	5
Fructuoso Gelabert	5

Jerónimo Mihura	5
Arturo Ruiz Castillo	5
Antonio Mercero	5
Carlos Saura	5
César Fernández Ardavín	5
Javier Setó	5
José María Forn	4
Roberto Gavaldón	4
José Luis Cuerda	4
Julián Torremocha	4
Rafael Romero Marchent	4
Julio Roesset	4
Ricardo Nuñez	4
Louis King	4
José María Castelví	4
José Díaz Morales	4
Jordi Cadena	4
Alfonso Paso	4
Gonzalo Delgrás	4
Antonio Gonzalo	4
Gustavo Pérez Puig	4
Antonio Calvache ("Walken")	4
Antonio Momplet	4
Joaquín Luis Romero Marchent	4
Francisco Elías	4
Miguel Picazo	3
Rafael J. Salvia	3
Pedro Puche	3
José Luis Madrid	3
José López Rubio	3
Manuel Gutiérrez Aragón	3

Juan Perellada	3
Tulio Demicheli	3
Juan Vilá Vilamala	3
Josefina Molina	3
Rafael Salvador	3
Mario Roncoroni	3
José María Elorrieta	3
Miguel Lluch	3
Julio Salvador	3
Enrique Urbizu	3
Antonio de Obregón	3
Fernando Merino	3
Francisco Camacho	3
Antoni Verdaguer	3
Enrique Cahen Salaberry	3
Alfonso Ungría	3
Antonio José Betancor	3
Ana Mariscal	3
Bigas Luna	3
Javier Elorrieta	3
Claude Boissol	3
Antonio Isasi-Isasmendi	3
Alejandro Ulloa	3
Fernando Mignoni	3
Adrià Gual	3
Alfonso Balcázar	3
Fernando Fernán-Gómez	3
Eduardo García Maroto	3
Salvador García Ruiz	2
Raúl Alfonso	2
José Luis Garcí	2



Mario Soffici	2
Julio Coll	2
José Luis Merino	2
José Gutiérrez Maesso	2
José María Blanco	2
Rafael Villaseñor	2
José de Togores	2
Rex Ingram	2
Jose Pozo	2
Marco Ferreri	2
Montxo Armendáriz	2
Rafael Alcázar	2
Juan Guerrero Zamora	2
José Sacristán	2
Tomás Aznar	2
José Antonio de la Loma	2
Pedro Amalio López	2
Julio Sánchez Valdés	2
José Gaspar	2
Raúl Artigot	2
Pedro Luis Ramírez	2
Julio Bracho	2
Luis Saslavsky	2
Roberto Fandiño	2
Magín Muriá	2
Rosario Pi	2
León Artola	2
José Miguel Ganga	2
Pilar Távora	2
Narciso Ibáñez Serrador	2
Víctor Barrera	2

Manuel Tamayo	2
José Luis Garcí	2
Alberto Vázquez Figueroa	2
Gonzalo Herralde	2
Félix de Pomés	2
Fernando Colomo	2
José A. Zorrilla	2
Antonio Serrano	2
Jean Grémillon	2
Antonio Zurera	2
Antonio Isasi	2
Armando Pou	2
Clemente Pamplona	2
Arturo Ripstein	2
Eloy de la Iglesia	2
Antonio del Real	2
Javier Maqua	2
Ferrán Llagostera	2
Eugenio Martín	2
Agustín Navarro	2
Gerardo Vera	2
Francesc Bellmunt	2
Gonzalo García Pelayo	2
Anonymous	2
Agustí Villaronga	2
Carlo Rim	2
Antonio Artero	2
Carlos Benpar	2
Ignasi P. Ferré	2
Francisco Gargallo	2
Emilio Gómez Muriel	2

Francisco Regueiro	2
Enrique Carreras	2
Francisco Rovira Baleta	2
Enrique Gómez	2
Carlos Orellana	2
Agustín García Carrasco	2
Fred Niblo	2
Ángel del Pozo	2
Antonio Hernández	2
Carlos Serrano de Osma	2
Domènec Ceret	2



## Appendix 6: Film adaptations by women directors

#	Year	Film Title	Director	Literary Work	Author
1	1918	Beauty in Chains	Elsie Jane Wilson	Doña Perfecta	Benito Pérez Galdós
2	1926	Torrent	Monta Bell	Entre naranjos	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez
3	1935	El gato montés	Rosario Pi	El gato montés	Manuel Penella
4	1939	Molinos de viento	Rosario Pi	Molinos de viento	Luis Pascual Frutos
5	1953	Segundo López, aventurero urbano	Ana Mariscal	Segundo López, aventurero urbano	Leocadio Mejías
6	1955	Terroristi a Madrid	Margarita Alexandre	La ciudad perdida	Mercedes Fórmica
7	1958	C'est la faute d'Adam	Jacqueline Audry	Tuvo la culpa Adán	Luisa María Linares Martín
8	1959	Con la vida hicieron fuego	Ana Mariscal	Con la vida hicieron fuego	Jesús Evaristo Casariego
9	1964	El camino	Ana Mariscal	El camino	Miguel Delibes
10	1974	Ópera en Marineda	Pilar Miró	Por el arte	Emilia Pardo Bazán
11	1978	Quería dormir en paz	Emma Cohen	Quería dormir en paz	Ignacio Aldecoa
12	1980	El crimen de Cuenca	Pilar Miró	El Crimen de Cuenca	Lola Salvador Maldonado
13	1980	Zukkoke Knight: Donderamanca	Mami Koyama, Ichirô Nagai, Ken'ichi Ogata	El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha	Miguel de Cervantes
14	1981	Función de noche	Josefina Molina	Cinco horas con Mario	Miguel Delibes
15	1982	El tragaluz	Mercè Vilaret	El tragaluz	Antonio Buero Vallejo
16	1984	Nanas de espinas	Pilar Távora	Bodas de sangre	Federico García Lorca
17	1988	Brumal	Cristina Andreu	Los atillos de Brumal	Cristina Fernández Cubas
18	1989	Esquilache	Josefina Molina	Un soñador para un pueblo	Antonio Buero Vallejo
19	1991	Beltenebros	Pilar Miró	Beltenebros	Antonio Muñoz Molina
20	1991	Cómo ser mujer y no morir en el intento	Ana Belén	Cómo ser mujer y no morir en el intento	Carmen Rico-Godoy
21	1993	La Lola se va a los puertos	Josefina Molina	La Lola se va a los puertos	Antonio Machado

22	1994	Alsasua, 1936	Helena Taberna Ayerra	No me avergoncé del Evangelio	Marino Ayerra
23	1996	El perro del hortelano	Pilar Miró	El perro del hortelano	Félix Lope de Vega
24	1996	El último viaje de Robert Rylands	Gracia Querejeta	Todas las almas	Javier Marías
25	1996	Tu nombre envenena mis sueños	Pilar Miró	Tu nombre envenena mis sueños	Joaquín Leguina
26	1998	Yerma	Pilar Távora	Yerma	Federico García Lorca
27	1999	La casa de Bernarda Alba	Belkis Vega	La casa de Bernarda Alba	Federico García Lorca
28	2000	Nostoras	Judith Colell	Mujeres	Isabel-Clara Simó
29	2001	La leyenda del Unicornio	Maite Ruiz de Austri	La leyenda del Unicornio	Javier Muñoz
30	2002	El alquimista impaciente	Patricia Ferreira	El alquimista impaciente	Lorenzo Silva
31	2003	Palabras encadenadas	Laura Mañá	Palabras encadenadas	Jordi Galceran
32	2005	La vida perra de Juanita Narboni	Farida Benlyazid	La vida perra de Juanita Narboni	Ángel Vázquez
33	2006	El triunfo	Mireia Ros	El triunfo	Francisco Casavella
34	2007	Atlas de geografía humana	Azucena Rodríguez	Atlas de geografía humana	Almudena Grandes
35	2008	Don Juan Itinerante	Laila Ripoll	Don Juan Tenorio	José Zorrilla
36	2008	<i>Don Quichote: Gib niemals auf!</i>	Sibylle Tafel	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes
37	2018	Los habitantes de la casa deshabitada	Marisa Paniagua	Los habitantes de la casa deshabitada	Enrique Jardiel Poncela

## Appendix 7: Corpus 2

#	Year	Film Title	Director	Country	Literary Work	Author	Genre	Release
1	1903	<i>Don Quichotte (Adventures of the Ingenious Hidalgo Don Quixote)</i>	Ferdinand Zecca and Lucien Nonguet	France	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	Standard Release
2	1908	<i>La Toile d'araignée merveilleuse (Incident from Don Quixote)</i>	Georges Méliès	France	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	Standard Release
3	1915	<i>Don Quixote</i>	Edward Dillon	United States	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	Standard Release
4	1918	<i>Beauty in Chains</i>	Elsie Jane Wilson	United States	<i>Doña Perfecta</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós	Novel	Standard Release
5	1921	<i>The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse</i>	Rex Ingram	United States	<i>Los cuatro jinetes del Apocalipsis</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	Novel	Standard Release
6	1921	<i>The Passion Flower</i>	Herbert Brenon	United States	<i>La malquerida</i>	Jacinto Benavente	Play	Standard Release
7	1922	<i>Blood and Sand</i>	Fred Niblo and Dorothy Arzner	United States	<i>Sangre y arena</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	Novel	Standard Release
8	1922	<i>The Bohemian Girl</i>	Harley Knoles	United Kingdom	<i>La gitaniilla</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	Standard Release
9	1923	<i>Enemies of Women</i>	Alan Crosland	United States	<i>Los enemigos de la mujer</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	Novel	Standard Release
10	1926	<i>Mare Nostrum</i>	Rex Ingram	United States	<i>Mare Nostrum</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	Novel	Standard Release
11	1926	<i>The Temptress</i>	Fred Niblo and Mauritz Stiller	United States	<i>La tierra de todos</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	Novel	Standard Release
12	1926	<i>Torrent</i>	Monta Bell	United States	<i>Entre naranjos</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	Novel	Standard Release

13	1927 silent  1934 sound	<i>La hermana San Sulpicio</i>	Florián Rey	Spain	<i>La hermana San Sulpicio</i>	Armando Palacio Valdés	Novel	Standard Release
14	1927	<i>The Night of Love</i>	George Fitzmaurice	United States	<i>No hay burlas con el amor*</i>	Pedro Calderón de la Barca	Play	Standard Release
15	1930	<i>In Gay Madrid</i>	Robert Z. Leonard	United States	<i>La casa de la Troya</i>	Alejandro Pérez Lugín	Novel	Standard Release
16	1931	<i>Mamá</i>	Benito Perojo	United States	<i>Mamá</i>	Gregorio Martínez Sierra	Play	Standard Release
17	1933	<i>Cradle Song</i>	Mitchell Leisen	United States	<i>Canción de cuna</i>	Gregorio Martínez Sierra	Play	Standard Release
18	1933	<i>Don Quixote</i>	Georg Wilhelm Pabst	Coproduction: France, United Kingdom	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	Standard Release
19	1933	<i>Primavera en otoño</i>	Eugene Forde	United States	<i>Primavera en otoño</i>	Gregorio Martínez Sierra	Play	Standard Release
20	1934	<i>Don Quixote</i>	Ub Iwerks	United States	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	Standard Release
21	1934	<i>El Escándalo</i>	Chano Urueta	Mexico	<i>El escándalo</i>	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón	Novel	Standard Release
22	1935	<i>Angelina o el honor de un brigadier</i>	Louis King	United States	<i>Angelina o el honor de un brigadier</i>	Enrique Jardiel Poncela	Play	Standard Release
23	1935	<i>Il cappello a tre punte</i>	Mario Camerini	Italy	<i>El sombrero de tres picos</i>	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón	Novella	Standard Release
24	1935	<i>Julieta compra un hijo</i>	Louis King	United States	<i>Julieta compra un hijo</i>	Gregorio Martínez Sierra	Play	Standard Release
25	1935	<i>Rosa de Francia</i>	Gordon Wiles	United States	<i>Rosa de Francia</i>	Eduardo Marquina	Play	Standard Release
26	1935	<i>Una viuda romántica</i>	Louis King	United States	<i>El sueño de una noche de agosto</i>	Gregorio Martínez Sierra	Novel	Standard Release
27	1936	<i>Morena Clara (Dark and Bright)</i>	Florián Rey	Spain	<i>Morena Clara</i>	Antonio Quintero y Pascual Guillén	Play	Standard Release
28	1936	<i>The Bohemian Girl</i>	James W. Horne and Charley Rogers	United States	<i>La gitánilla</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	Standard Release



29	1937	<i>Don Juan Tenorio</i>	René Cardona	Mexico	<i>Don Juan Tenorio</i>	José Zorrilla	Play	Standard Release
30	1938	<i>Bodas de sangre</i>	Edmundo Guibourg	Argentina	<i>Bodas de sangre</i>	Federico García Lorca	Play	Standard Release
31	1940	<i>Marianela</i>	Benito Perojo	Spain	<i>Marianela</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós	Novel	Standard Release
32	1941	<i>Blood and Sand</i>	Rouben Mamoulian	United States	<i>Sangre y arena</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	Novel	Standard Release
33	1941	<i>Canción de cuna</i>	Gregorio Martínez Sierra	Argentina	<i>Canción de cuna</i>	Gregorio Martínez Sierra	Play	Standard Release
34	1942	<i>Goyescas</i>	Benito Perojo	Spain	<i>Goyescas</i>	Enrique Granados and Fernando Periquet	Opera	Standard Release
35	1942	<i>Historia de un gran amor</i>	Julio Bracho	Mexico	<i>El niño de la bola</i>	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón	Novel	Standard Release
36	1944	<i>El clavo</i>	Rafael Gil	Spain	<i>El clavo</i>	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón	Novel	Standard Release
37	1944	<i>El sombrero de tres picos</i>	Juan Bustillo Oro	Mexico	<i>El sombrero de tres picos</i>	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón	Novel	Standard Release
38	1944	<i>La monja alférez</i>	Emilio Gómez Muriel	Mexico	<i>Historia de la monja alférez</i>	Catalina de Erauso	Memoir	Standard Release
39	1947	<i>Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Rafael Gil	Spain	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	Standard Release
40	1951	<i>Mammy</i>	Jean Stelli	France	<i>Los árboles mueren de pie</i>	Alejandro Casona	Play	Video Release
41	1953	<i>Canción de cuna</i>	Fernando de Fuentes	Mexico	<i>Canción de cuna</i>	Gregorio Martínez Sierra	Play	Standard Release
42	1953	<i>Él</i>	Luis Buñuel	Mexico	<i>Él</i>	Mercedes Pinto	Novel	Standard Release
43	1955	<i>Marcelino, pan y vino</i>	Ladislao Vajda	Spain	<i>Marcelino, pan y vino</i>	José María Sánchez-Silva	Short story	Standard Release
44	1957	<i>Don Kikhot</i>	Grigoriy Kozintsev	Russia	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	Standard Release
45	1958	<i>Los clarines del miedo</i>	Antonio Román	Spain	<i>Los clarines del miedo</i>	Ángel María de Lera	Novel	Standard Release
46	1959	<i>El Lazarillo de Tormes</i>	César Fernández Ardavín	Coproduction: Italy, Spain	<i>La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas</i>	Anonymous	Novel	Standard Release

					y adversidades			
47	1959	<i>Nazarín</i>	Luis Buñuel	Mexico	<i>Nazarín</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós	Novel	Standard Release
48	1959	<i>Sonatas (Las aventuras del Marqués de Bradomín)</i>	Juan Antonio Bardem	Coproduction: Mexico, Spain	<i>Sonatas</i>	Ramón del Valle-Inclán	Novel	Standard Release
49	1961	<i>El Cid</i>	Anthony Mann	Coproduction: Italy, United States	<i>Cantar de mio Cid</i>	Anonymous	Poem	Standard Release
50	1961	<i>Viridiana</i>	Luis Buñuel	Coproduction: Mexico, Spain	<i>Halma</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós	Novel	Standard Release
51	1962	<i>The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse</i>	Vincente Minnelli	United States	<i>Los cuatro jinetes del Apocalipsis</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	Novel	Standard Release
52	1963	<i>El valle de las espadas</i>	Javier Setó	Spain	<i>Poema de Fernán González</i>	Anonymous	Poem	Standard Release
53	1963	<i>Los Tarantos</i>	Francisco Rovira Beleta	Spain	<i>La historia de los Tarantos and Romeo and Juliet</i>	Alfredo Mañas and William Shakespeare	Play	Standard Release
54	1964	<i>La tía Tula</i>	Miguel Picazo	Spain	<i>La tía Tula</i>	Miguel de Unamuno	Novel	Standard Release
55	1970	<i>Tristana</i>	Luis Buñuel	Coproduction: France, Italy, Spain	<i>Tristana</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós	Novel	Film Festival
56	1971	<i>La araucana</i>	Julio Coll	Coproduction: Chile, Spain	<i>La Araucana</i>	Alonso de Ercilla	Poem	Video Release
57	1971	<i>Scandalous John</i>	Robert Butler	United States	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	Standard Release
58	1972	<i>Man of La Mancha</i>	Arthur Hiller	United States	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	Standard Release

59	1973	<i>Don Quijote cabalga de nuevo</i>	Roberto Gavaldón	Coproduction: Mexico, Spain	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	Video Release
60	1973	<i>Don Quixote</i>	Rudolph Nureyev and Robert Helpmann	Australia	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	Standard Release
61	1974	<i>Tormento</i>	Pedro Olea	Spain	<i>Tormento</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós	Novel	Video Release
62	1976	<i>El libro de buen amor II</i>	Jaime Bayarri	Spain	<i>Libro de buen amor</i>	Arcipreste de Hita (Juan Ruiz)	Poem	Video Release
63	1977	<i>Noces de sang</i>	Souheil Ben-Barka	Morocco	<i>Bodas de sangre</i>	Federico García Lorca	Play	Video Release
64	1978	<i>Un hombre llamado Flor de Otoño</i>	Pedro Olea	Spain	<i>Flor de Otoño</i>	José María Rodríguez Méndez	Play	Video Release
65	1979	<i>Ashanti (Ébano)</i>	Richard Fleischer	Coproduction: Switzerland, United States	<i>Ashanti (Ébano)</i>	Alberto Vázquez-Figueroa	Novel	Standard Release
66	1981	<i>Bodas de sangre</i>	Carlos Saura	Spain	<i>Bodas de sangre and Crónica del suceso de bodas de sangre</i>	Federico García Lorca and Antonio Gades	Hybrid	Film Festival
67	1981	<i>Función de noche</i>	Josefina Molina	Spain	<i>Cinco horas con Mario</i>	Miguel Delibes	Novel	Film Festival
68	1982	<i>La colmena</i>	Mario Camus	Spain	<i>La colmena</i>	Camilo José Cela	Novel	Film Festival
69	1982	<i>La plaça del Diamant (La plaza del Diamante)</i>	Francesc Betriu	Spain	<i>La plaça del Diamant (La plaza del Diamante)</i>	Mercè Rodoreda	Novel	Video Release
70	1982	<i>Valentina</i>	Antonio José Betancor	Spain	<i>Crónica del alba</i>	Ramón J. Sender	Novel	Standard Release
71	1983	<i>Bearn o La sala de las muñecas</i>	Jaime Chávarri	Spain	<i>Bearn o La sala de les nines (Bearn o La sala de las muñecas)</i>	Llorenç Villalonga	Novel	Film Festival
72	1983	<i>El sur</i>	Víctor Erice	Spain	<i>El Sur</i>	Adelaida García Morales	Novel	Film Festival

73	1984	<i>Los santos inocentes</i>	Mario Camus	Spain	<i>Los santos inocentes</i>	Miguel Delibes	Novel	Film Festival
74	1984	<i>Tuareg - Il guerriero del deserto</i>	Enzo G. Castellari	Coproduction: Italy, Spain	<i>Tuareg</i>	Alberto Vázquez-Figueroa	Novel	Standard Release
75	1985	<i>Extramuros</i>	Miguel Picazo	Spain	<i>Extramuros</i>	Jesús Fernández Santos	Novel	Standard Release
76	1986	<i>Mémoire des apparences (Life is a Dream)</i>	Raúl Ruiz	France	<i>La vida es sueño</i>	Pedro Calderón de la Barca	Play	Standard Release
77	1987	<i>La casa de Bernarda Alba</i>	Mario Camus	Spain	<i>La casa de Bernarda Alba</i>	Federico García Lorca	Play	Standard Release
78	1987	<i>La chouette aveugle</i>	Raúl Ruiz	Coproduction: France, Switzerland	<i>El condenado por desconfiado and The Blind Owl</i>	<i>Tirso de Molina and Sadeh Hedayat</i>	Hybrid	Film Festival
79	1988	<i>Bajarse al moro</i>	Fernando Colomo	Spain	<i>Bajarse al moro</i>	José Luis Alonso de Santos	Play	Video Release
80	1989	<i>La noche oscura</i>	Carlos Saura	Spain	<i>Noche oscura del alma</i>	San Juan de la Cruz	Poem	Video Release
81	1989	<i>Sangre y arena</i>	Javier Elorrieta	Coproduction: Spain, United States	<i>Sangre y arena</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	Novel	Video Release
82	1989	<i>Si te dicen que caí</i>	Vicente Aranda	Spain	<i>Si te dicen que caí</i>	Juan Marsé	Novel	Standard Release
83	1990	<i>¡Ay, Carmela!</i>	Carlos Saura	Coproduction: Italy, Spain	<i>¡Ay, Carmela!</i>	José Sanchis Sinisterra	Play	Film Festival
84	1990	<i>Las edades de Lulú</i>	Bigas Luna	Spain	<i>Las edades de Lulú</i>	Almudena Grandes	Novel	Standard Release
85	1991	<i>El Quijote de Miguel de Cervantes</i>	Manuel Gutiérrez Aragón	Spain	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	Standard Release
86	1991	<i>Marcellino pane e vino</i>	Luigi Comencini	Coproduction: France, Italy, Spain	<i>Marcelino, pan y vino</i>	José María Sánchez-Silva	Short story	Video Release
87	1991	<i>The House of Bernarda Alba</i>	Stuart Burge and Núria Espert	Coproduction: United Kingdom,	<i>La casa de Bernarda Alba</i>	Federico García Lorca	Play	Standard Release

				United States				
88	1992	<i>Don Quijote de Orson Welles</i>	Orson Welles and Jesús Franco	Coproduction: Italy, Spain, United States	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	Standard Release
89	1992	<i>El maestro de esgrima</i>	Pedro Olea	Spain	<i>El maestro de esgrima</i>	Arturo Pérez-Reverte	Novel	Video Release
90	1994	<i>Uncovered</i>	Jim McBride	United Kingdom	<i>La tabla de Flandes</i>	Arturo Pérez-Reverte	Novel	Standard Release
91	1995	<i>Historias del Kronen</i>	Montxo Armendáriz	Spain	<i>Historias del Kronen</i>	José Ángel Mañas	Novel	Film Festival
92	1996	<i>Bwana</i>	Imanol Uribe	Spain	<i>La mirada del hombre oscuro</i>	Ignacio del Moral	Play	Film Festival
93	1996	<i>El perro del hortelano</i>	Pilar Miró	Spain	<i>El perro del hortelano</i>	Lope de Vega	Play	Film Festival
94	1997	<i>El aroma del Copal</i>	Antonio Gonzalo	Coproduction: Spain, United States	<i>El aroma del copal</i>	Javier Reverte	Novel	TV Release
95	1998	<i>Carícies</i>	Ventura Pons	Spain	<i>Carícies (Caricias)</i>	Sergi Belbel	Play	Video Release
96	1998	<i>El abuelo</i>	José Luis Garci	Spain	<i>El abuelo</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós	Novel	Film Festival
97	1998	<i>Yerma</i>	Pilar Távora	Spain	<i>Yerma</i>	Federico García Lorca	Play	Film Festival
98	1999	<i>Amic/Amat</i>	Ventura Pons	Spain	<i>Testament</i>	Josep Maria Benet i Jornet	Play	Film Festival
99	1999	<i>La lengua de las mariposas</i>	José Luis Cuerda	Spain	<i>¿Qué me quieres, amor? (¿Qué me quieres, amor?)</i>	Manuel Rivas	Short story	Film Festival
100	1999	<i>Manolito Gafotas</i>	Miguel Albaladejo	Spain	<i>Manolito Gafotas</i>	Elvira Lindo	Novel	Standard Release
101	1999	<i>The Ninth Gate</i>	Roman Polanski	Coproduction: France, Spain	<i>El Club Dumas</i>	Arturo Pérez-Reverte	Novel	Standard Release
102	2000	<i>Don Quixote</i>	Peter Yates	United States	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	TV Release
103	2000	<i>El mar</i>	Agustí Villaronga	Spain	<i>El mar</i>	Blai Bonet	Novel	Film Festival

104	2001	<i>Anita no pierde el tren</i>	Ventura Pons	Spain	<i>Bones obres</i>	Lluís-Anton Baulenas	Short story	Film Festival
105	2001	<i>Manolito Gafotas en ¡Mola ser jefe!</i>	Joan Potau	Spain	<i>Manolito Gafotas</i>	Elvira Lindo	Novel	Video Release
106	2002	<i>El caballero Don Quijote</i>	Manuel Gutiérrez Aragón	Spain	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	Film Festival
107	2002	<i>Lost in La Mancha</i>	Keith Fulton & Louis Pepe	Coproduction: United Kingdom, United States	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	Film Festival
108	2002	<i>Nos miran</i>	Norberto López Amado	Spain	<i>Los otros</i>	Javier García Sánchez	Novel	Film Festival
109	2003	<i>El lápiz del carpintero</i>	Antón Reixa	Spain	<i>El lápiz del carpintero</i>	Manuel Rivas	Novel	Video Release
110	2003	<i>La flaqueza del bolchevique</i>	Manuel Martín Cuenca	Spain	<i>La flaqueza del bolchevique</i>	Lorenzo Silva	Novel	Film Festival
111	2003	<i>Soldados de Salamina</i>	David Trueba	Spain	<i>Soldados de Salamina</i>	Javier Cercas	Novel	Standard Release
112	2004	<i>Amor idiota</i>	Ventura Pons	Coproduction: Andorra, Spain	<i>Amor idiota</i>	Lluís-Anton Baulenas	Novel	Video Release
113	2004	<i>Rottweiler</i>	Brian Yuzna	Coproduction: Spain, United Kingdom	<i>El perro</i>	Alberto Vázquez Figueroa	Novel	Video Release
114	2005	<i>El método</i>	Marcelo Piñeyro	Coproduction: Argentina, Italy, Spain	<i>El método Grönholm</i>	Jordi Galcerán Ferrer	Play	Film Festival
115	2005	<i>La vida perra de Juanita Narboni</i>	Farida Benlyazid	Coproduction: Morocco, Spain	<i>La vida perra de Juanita Narboni</i>	Ángel Vázquez	Novel	Video Release
116	2005	<i>Obaba</i>	Montxo Armendáriz	Spain	<i>Obabakoak</i>	Bernardo Atxaga	Hybrid	Film Festival
117	2005	<i>Romasanta</i>	Paco Plaza	Coproduction: Spain, United	<i>Romasanta. Memorias inciertas del</i>	Alfredo Conde	Novel	Standard Release

				Kingdom, and Italy	<i>Hombre Lobo</i>			
118	2005	<i>Tirant lo Blanc</i>	Vicente Aranda	Coproduction: Italy, Spain, United Kingdom	<i>Tirant lo Blanc</i>	Joanot Martorell	Novel	Video Release
119	2006	<i>Animales heridos</i>	Ventura Pons	Spain	<i>Animales tristes</i>	Jordi Puní	Hybrid	Film Festival
120	2006	<i>Honor de cavalleria</i>	Albert Serra	Spain	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	Standard Release
121	2006	<i>La caja</i>	Juan Carlos Falcón	Coproduction: Spain, Portugal	<i>Nos dejaron el muerto</i>	Víctor Ramírez	Novel	Video Release
122	2006	<i>Los aires difíciles</i>	Gerardo Herrero	Spain	<i>Los aires difíciles</i>	Almudena Grandes	Novel	Film Festival
123	2006	<i>Salvador</i>	Manuel Hueriga	Coproduction: Spain, United Kingdom	<i>Cuenta atrás: Historia de Salvador Puig Antich</i>	Francesc Escribano	Biography	Video Release
124	2007	<i>Atlas de geografía humana</i>	Azucena Rodríguez	Spain	<i>Atlas de geografía humana</i>	Almudena Grandes	Novel	Video Release
125	2007	<i>Bajo las estrellas</i>	Félix Viscarret	Spain	<i>El trompetista del Utopía</i>	Fernando Aramburu	Novel	Video Release
126	2007	<i>Chuecatown</i>	Juan Flahn	Spain	<i>Chuecatown</i>	Rafael Martínez Castellano	Novel	Film Festival
127	2007	<i>Donkey Xote</i>	José Pozo	Coproduction: Italy, Spain	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	Standard Release
128	2007	<i>El corazón de la tierra</i>	Antonio Cuadri	Coproduction: Spain, United Kingdom	<i>El corazón de la tierra</i>	Juan Cobos Wilkins	Novel	Film Festival
129	2008	<i>Un poco de chocolate</i>	Aitzol Aramaio	Spain	<i>SPrako tranbia (Un tranvía en SP)</i>	Unai Elorriaga	Novel	Video Release
130	2010	<i>Marcelino, pan y vino</i>	José Luis Gutiérrez Arias	Mexico	<i>Marcelino, pan y vino</i>	José María Sánchez-Silva	Short story	Video Release
131	2010	<i>Pa negre</i>	Agustí Villaronga	Spain	<i>Pa negre (Pan negro)</i>	Emili Teixidor	Novel	Film Festival
132	2011	<i>La voz dormida</i>	Benito Zambrano	Spain	<i>La voz dormida</i>	Dulce Chacón	Novel	Film Festival
133	2015	<i>Don Quixote</i>	David Beier, Dave	United States	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	Film Festival

			Dorsey, and Mahin Ibrahim		<i>Quijote de la Mancha</i>			
134	2015	<i>Palmeras en la nieve</i>	Fernando González Molina	Spain	<i>Palmeras en la nieve</i>	Luz Gabás	Novel	Film Festival
135	2015	<i>Segon origen</i>	Sergi Lara and Carles Porta	Coproduction: Spain, United Kingdom	<i>Mecanoscrit del segon origen</i>	Manuel de Pedrolo	Novel	Video Release
136	2017	<i>Cold Skin</i>	Xavier Gens	Coproduction: France, Spain	<i>La pell freda (La piel fría)</i>	Albert Sánchez Piñol	Novel	Standard Release
137	2018	<i>The Man Who Killed Don Quixote</i>	Terry Gilliam	Coproduction: Belgium, France, Portugal, Spain, United Kingdom	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	Film Festival







## Appendix 8: Corpus 3

#	Year	Film Title	Director	Country	Literary Work	Author	Genre	Translation	Combination
1	1903	<i>Don Quichotte (Adventures of the Ingenious Hidalgo Don Quixote)</i>	Ferdinand Zecca and Lucien Nonguet	France	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	5
2	1908	<i>La Toile d'araignée merveilleuse (Incident from Don Quixote)</i>	Georges Méliès	France	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	5
3	1915	<i>Don Quixote</i>	Edward Dillon	United States	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	2
4	1918	<i>Beauty in Chains</i>	Elsie Jane Wilson	United States	<i>Doña Perfecta</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós	Novel	1894	2
5	1921	<i>The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse</i>	Rex Ingram	United States	<i>Los cuatro jinetes del Apocalipsis</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	Novel	1918	2
6	1921	<i>The Passion Flower</i>	Herbert Brenon	United States	<i>La malquerida</i>	Jacinto Benavente	Play	1917	2
7	1922	<i>Blood and Sand</i>	Fred Niblo	United States	<i>Sangre y arena</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	Novel	1913	2
8	1922	<i>The Bohemian Girl</i>	Harley Knoles	United Kingdom	<i>La gitanilla</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1843	2
9	1923	<i>Enemies of Women</i>	Alan Crosland	United States	<i>Los enemigos de la mujer</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	Novel	1920	2
10	1926	<i>Mare Nostrum</i>	Rex Ingram	United States	<i>Mare Nostrum</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	Novel	1919	2
11	1926	<i>The Temptress</i>	Fred Niblo	United States	<i>La tierra de todos</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	Novel	1923	2
12	1926	<i>Torrent</i>	Monta Bell	United States	<i>Entre naranjos</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	Novel	1923	2
13	192 silent 1934 sound	<i>La hermana San Sulpicio</i>	Florián Rey	Spain	<i>La hermana San Sulpicio</i>	Armando Palacio Valdés	Novel	1889	1

14	1927	<i>The Night of Love</i>	George Fitzmaurice	United States	<i>No hay burlas con el amor</i>	Pedro Calderón de la Barca	Play	1872	2
15	1930	<i>In Gay Madrid</i>	Robert Z. Leonard	United States	<i>La casa de la Troya</i>	Alejandro Pérez Lugín	Novel	1922	2
16	1933	<i>Cradle Song</i>	Mitchell Leisen	United States	<i>Canción de cuna</i>	Gregorio Martínez Sierra	Play	1923	2
17	1933	<i>Don Quixote</i>	Georg Wilhelm Pabst	Coproduction: France, United Kingdom	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	2
18	1934	<i>Don Quixote</i>	Ub Iwerks	United States	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	2
19	1934	<i>El Escándalo</i>	Chano Urueta	Mexico	<i>El escándalo</i>	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón	Novel	1945	3
20	1935	<i>Il cappello a tre punte</i>	Mario Camerini	Italy	<i>El sombrero de tres picos</i>	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón	Novel	1919	5
21	1935	<i>Una viuda romántica</i>	Louis King	United States	<i>El sueño de una noche de agosto</i>	Gregorio Martínez Sierra	Novel	1923	2
22	1936	<i>The Bohemian Girl</i>	James W. Horne and Charley Rogers	United States	<i>La gitanilla</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1843	2
23	1937	<i>Don Juan Tenorio</i>	René Cardona	Mexico	<i>Don Juan Tenorio</i>	José Zorrilla	Play	1844	1
24	1938	<i>Bodas de sangre</i>	Edmundo Guibourg	Argentina	<i>Bodas de sangre</i>	Federico García Lorca	Play	1935	1
25	1940	<i>Marianela</i>	Benito Perojo	Spain	<i>Marianela</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós	Novel	1883	1
26	1941	<i>Blood and Sand</i>	Rouben Mamoulian	United States	<i>Sangre y arena</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	Novel	1913	2
27	1941	<i>Canción de cuna</i>	Gregorio Martínez Sierra	Argentina	<i>Canción de cuna</i>	Gregorio Martínez Sierra	Play	1923	1

28	1942	<i>Goyescas</i>	Benito Perojo	Spain	<i>Goyescas</i>	Enrique Granados and Fernando Periquet	Opera (Libretto)	1915	1
29	1942	<i>Historia de un gran amor</i>	Julio Bracho	Mexico	<i>El niño de la bola</i>	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón	Novel	1892	1
30	1944	<i>El clavo</i>	Rafael Gil	Spain	<i>El clavo</i>	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón	Novel	1909	1
31	1944	<i>El sombrero de tres picos</i>	Juan Bustillo Oro	Mexico	<i>El sombrero de tres picos</i>	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón	Novel	1919	1
32	1944	<i>La monja alférez</i>	Emilio Gómez Muriel	Mexico	<i>Historia de la monja alférez</i>	Catalina de Erauso	Memoir	1884	1
33	1947	<i>Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Rafael Gil	Spain	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	1
34	1951	<i>Mammy</i>	Jean Stelli	France	<i>Los árboles mueren de pie</i>	Alejandro Casona	Play	1960	5
35	1953	<i>Canción de cuna</i>	Fernando de Fuentes	Mexico	<i>Canción de cuna</i>	Gregorio Martínez Sierra	Play	1923	1
36	1955	<i>Marcelino, pan y vino</i>	Ladislao Vajda	Spain	<i>Marcelino, pan y vino</i>	José María Sánchez-Silva	Short story	1955	3
37	1957	<i>Don Kikhot</i>	Grigoriy Kozintsev	Russia	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	5
38	1958	<i>Los clarines del miedo</i>	Antonio Román	Spain	<i>Los clarines del miedo</i>	Ángel María de Lera	Novel	1961	3
39	1959	<i>El Lazarillo de Tormes</i>	César Fernández Ardavín	Coproduction: Italy, Spain	<i>La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas y adversidades</i>	Anonymous	Novel	1576	1
40	1959	<i>Nazarín</i>	Luis Buñuel	Mexico	<i>Nazarín</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós	Novel	1993	3
41	1959	<i>Sonatas (Las aventuras del Marqués de Bradomín)</i>	Juan Antonio Bardem	Coproduction: Mexico, Spain	<i>Sonatas</i>	Ramón del Valle-Inclán	Novel	1924	1

42	1961	<i>El Cid</i>	Anthony Mann	Coproduction: Italy, United States	<i>Cantar de mio Cid</i>	Anonymous	Poem	1823	2
43	1961	<i>Viridiana</i>	Luis Buñuel	Coproduction: Mexico, Spain	<i>Halma</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós	Novel	2015	3
44	1962	<i>The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse</i>	Vincente Minnelli	United States	<i>Los cuatro jinetes del Apocalipsis</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	Novel	1918	2
45	1963	<i>El valle de las espadas</i>	Javier Setó	Spain	<i>Poema de Fernán González</i>	Anonymous	Poem	1934	1
46	1964	<i>La tía Tula</i>	Miguel Picazo	Spain	<i>La tía Tula</i>	Miguel de Unamuno	Novel	1976	3
47	1970	<i>Tristana</i>	Luis Buñuel	Coproduction: France, Italy, Spain	<i>Tristana</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós	Novel	2014	3
48	1971	<i>La araucana</i>	Julio Coll	Coproduction: Chile, Spain	<i>La Araucana</i>	Alonso de Ercilla	Poem	1945	1
49	1971	<i>Scandalous John</i>	Robert Butler	United States	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	2
50	1972	<i>Man of La Mancha</i>	Arthur Hiller	United States	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	2
51	1973	<i>Don Quijote cabalga de nuevo</i>	Roberto Gavaldón	Coproduction: Mexico, Spain	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	1

52	1973	<i>Don Quixote</i>	Rudolph Nureyev and Robert Helpmann	Australia	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	2
53	1974	<i>Tormento</i>	Pedro Olea	Spain	<i>Tormento</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós	Novel	1952	1
54	1976	<i>El libro de buen amor II</i>	Jaime Bayarri	Spain	<i>Libro de buen amor</i>	Arcipreste de Hita (Juan Ruiz)	Poem	1933	1
55	1977	<i>Noces de sangre</i>	Souheil Ben-Barka	Morocco	<i>Bodas de sangre</i>	Federico García Lorca	Play	1935	5
56	1978	<i>Un hombre llamado Flor de Otoño</i>	Pedro Olea	Spain	<i>Flor de Otoño</i>	José María Rodríguez Méndez	Play	2001	3
57	1979	<i>Ashanti (Ébano)</i>	Richard Fleischer	Coproduction: Switzerland, United States	<i>Ashanti (Ébano)</i>	Alberto Vázquez-Figueroa	Novel	1977	2
58	1981	<i>Bodas de sangre</i>	Carlos Saura	Spain	<i>Bodas de sangre and Crónica del suceso de bodas de sangre</i>	Federico García Lorca and Antonio Gades	Hybrid	1935	7
59	1981	<i>Función de noche</i>	Josefina Molina	Spain	<i>Cinco horas con Mario</i>	Miguel Delibes	Novel	1988	3
60	1982	<i>La colmena</i>	Mario Camus	Spain	<i>La colmena</i>	Camilo José Cela	Novel	2001	3
61	1982	<i>La plaça del Diamant</i>	Francesc Betriu	Spain	<i>La plaça del Diamant (La plaza del Diamante)</i>	Mercè Rodoreda	Novel	1986	3
62	1982	<i>Valentina</i>	Antonio José Betancor	Spain	<i>Crónica del alba</i>	Ramón J. Sender	Novel	2013	3
63	1983	<i>Bearn o La sala de las muñecas</i>	Jaime Chávarri	Spain	<i>Bearn o La sala de les nines (Bearn o La sala de las muñecas)</i>	Llorenç Villalonga	Novel	1986	3

64	1983	<i>El sur</i>	Víctor Erice	Spain	<i>El Sur</i>	Adelaida García Morales	Novel	1999	3
65	1984	<i>Tuareg - Il guerriero del deserto</i>	Enzo G. Castellari	Coproduction: Italy, Spain	<i>Tuareg</i>	Alberto Vázquez-Figueroa	Novel	2009	5
66	1985	<i>Extramuros</i>	Miguel Picazo	Spain	<i>Extramuros</i>	Jesús Fernández Santos	Novel	1984	1
67	1986	<i>Mémoire des apparences (Life is a Dream)</i>	Raúl Ruiz	France	<i>La vida es sueño</i>	Pedro Calderón de la Barca	Play	1830	5
68	1987	<i>La casa de Bernarda Alba</i>	Mario Camus	Spain	<i>La casa de Bernarda Alba</i>	Federico García Lorca	Play	1936	1
69	1987	<i>La chouette aveugle</i>	Raúl Ruiz	Coproduction: France, Switzerland	<i>El condenado por desconfiado and The Blind Owl</i>	Tirso de Molina and Sadegh Hedayat	Hybrid	1986; 1984	5
70	1988	<i>Bajarse al moro</i>	Fernando Colomo	Spain	<i>Bajarse al moro</i>	José Luis Alonso de Santos	Play	2013	3
71	1989	<i>La noche oscura</i>	Carlos Saura	Spain	<i>Noche oscura del alma</i>	San Juan de la Cruz	Poem	1891	1
72	1989	<i>Sangre y arena</i>	Javier Elorrieta	Coproduction: Spain, United States	<i>Sangre y arena</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	Novel	1913	1
73	1989	<i>Si te dicen que caí</i>	Vicente Aranda	Spain	<i>Si te dicen que caí</i>	Juan Marsé	Novel	1994	3
74	1990	<i>¡Ay, Carmela!</i>	Carlos Saura	Coproduction: Spain, Italy	<i>¡Ay, Carmela!</i>	José Sanchis Sinisterra	Play	2005	3



75	1990	<i>Las edades de Lulú</i>	Bigas Luna	Spain	<i>Las edades de Lulú</i>	Almudena Grandes	Novel	2005	3
76	1991	<i>El Quijote de Miguel de Cervantes</i>	Manuel Gutiérrez Aragón	Spain	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	1
77	1991	<i>Marcellino pane e vino</i>	Luigi Comencini	Coproduction: France, Italy, Spain	<i>Marcelino, pan y vino</i>	José María Sánchez-Silva	Short story	1955	5
78	1991	<i>The House of Bernarda Alba</i>	Stuart Burge and Núria Espert	Coproduction: United States, United Kingdom	<i>La casa de Bernarda Alba</i>	Federico García Lorca	Play	1936	2
79	1992	<i>Don Quijote de Orson Welles</i>	Orson Welles and Jesús Franco	Coproduction: Italy, Spain, United States	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	1
80	1992	<i>El maestro de esgrima</i>	Pedro Olea	Spain	<i>El maestro de esgrima</i>	Arturo Pérez-Reverte	Novel	1998	3
81	1994	<i>Uncovered</i>	Jim McBride	United Kingdom	<i>La tabla de Flandes</i>	Arturo Pérez-Reverte	Novel	1994	4
82	1996	<i>Bwana</i>	Imanol Uribe	Spain	<i>La mirada del hombre oscuro</i>	Ignacio del Moral	Play	1999	3
83	1996	<i>El perro del hortelano</i>	Pilar Miró	Spain	<i>El perro del hortelano</i>	Lope de Vega	Play	1903	1
84	1998	<i>El abuelo</i>	José Luis Garci	Spain	<i>El abuelo</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós	Novel	1923	1
85	1998	<i>Yerma</i>	Pilar Távora	Spain	<i>Yerma</i>	Federico García Lorca	Play	1941	1
86	1999	<i>Amic/Amat (Amigo/amado)</i>	Ventura Pons	Spain	<i>Testament</i>	Josep Maria Benet i Jornet	Play	2000	1

87	1999	<i>La lengua de las mariposas</i>	José Luis Cuerda	Spain	<i>¿Qué me quieres, amor? (¿Qué me quieres, amor?)</i>	Manuel Rivas	Short story	2011	3
88	1999	<i>Manolito Gafotas</i>	Miguel Albaladejo	Spain	<i>Manolito Gafotas</i>	Elvira Lindo	Novel	2008	3
89	1999	<i>The Ninth Gate</i>	Roman Polanski	Coproduction: France, Spain	<i>El Club Dumas</i>	Arturo Pérez-Reverte	Novel	1999	4
90	2000	<i>Don Quixote</i>	Peter Yates	United States	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	2
91	2000	<i>El mar</i>	Agustí Villaronga	Spain	<i>El mar</i>	Blai Bonet	Novel	2013	3
92	2001	<i>Manolito Gafotas en ¡Mola ser jefe!</i>	Joan Potau	Spain	<i>Manolito Gafotas</i>	Elvira Lindo	Novel	2008	3
93	2002	<i>El caballero Don Quijote</i>	Manuel Gutiérrez Aragón	Spain	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	1
94	2002	<i>Lost in La Mancha</i>	Keith Fulton & Louis Pepe	Coproduction: United Kingdom, United States	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	2
95	2002	<i>Nos miran</i>	Norberto López Amado	Spain	<i>Los otros</i>	Javier García Sánchez	Novel	2015	3
96	2003	<i>El lápiz del carpintero</i>	Antón Reixa	Spain	<i>El lápiz del carpintero</i>	Manuel Rivas	Novel	2001	1
97	2003	<i>La flaqueza del bolchevique</i>	Manuel Martín Cuenca	Spain	<i>La flaqueza del bolchevique</i>	Lorenzo Silva	Novel	2013	3
98	2003	<i>Soldados de Salamina</i>	David Trueba	Spain	<i>Soldados de Salamina</i>	Javier Cercas	Novel	2010	3
99	2005	<i>Obaba</i>	Montxo Armendáriz	Spain	<i>Obabakoak</i>	Bernardo Atxaga	Hybrid	2011	3

100	2005	<i>Tirant lo Blanc</i>	Vicente Aranda	Coproduction: Italy, Spain, United Kingdom	<i>Tirant lo Blanc</i>	Joanot Martorell	Novel	1993	1
101	2006	<i>Honor de cavalleria</i>	Albert Serra	Spain	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	1
102	2006	<i>Los aires difíciles</i>	Gerardo Herrero	Spain	<i>Los aires difíciles</i>	Almudena Grandes	Novel	2010	3
103	2007	<i>Donkey Xote</i>	José Pozo	Coproduction: Italy, Spain	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	1
104	2010	<i>Marcelino, pan y vino</i>	José Luis Gutiérrez Arias	Mexico	<i>Marcelino, pan y vino</i>	José María Sánchez-Silva	Short story	1955	1
105	2010	<i>Pa negre</i>	Agustí Villaronga	Spain	<i>Pa negre (Pan negro)</i>	Emili Teixidor	Novel	2016	3
106	2011	<i>La voz dormida</i>	Benito Zambrano	Spain	<i>La voz dormida</i>	Dulce Chacón	Novel	2006	1
107	2015	<i>Don Quixote</i>	David Beier, Dave Dorsey, and Mahin Ibrahim	United States	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	2
108	2015	<i>Palmeras en la nieve</i>	Fernando González Molina	Spain	<i>Palmeras en la nieve</i>	Luz Gabás	Novel	2017	3
109	2015	<i>Segon origen</i>	Sergi Lara and Carles Porta	Coproduction: Spain, United Kingdom	<i>Mecanoscrit del segon origen</i>	Manuel de Pedrolo	Novel	2016	4
110	2017	<i>Cold Skin</i>	Xavier Gens	Coproduction:	<i>La pell freda (La piel fría)</i>	Albert Sánchez Piñol	Novel	2018	4

				France, Spain					
111	2018	<i>The Man Who Killed Don Quixote</i>	Terry Gilliam	Coproduction: Belgium, France, Portugal, Spain United Kingdom	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	2





## Appendix 9: Combination 1

#	Year	Film Title	Director	Country	Literary Work	Author	Genre	Translation	Combination
1	1927 (silent); 1934 (sound)	<i>La hermana San Sulpicio</i>	Florián Rey	Spain	<i>La hermana San Sulpicio</i>	Armando Palacio Valdés	Novel	1889	1
2	1937	<i>Don Juan Tenorio</i>	René Cardona	Mexico	<i>Don Juan Tenorio</i>	José Zorrilla	Play	1844	1
3	1938	<i>Bodas de sangre</i>	Edmundo Guibourg	Argentina	<i>Bodas de sangre</i>	Federico García Lorca	Play	1935	1
4	1940	<i>Marianela</i>	Benito Perojo	Spain	<i>Marianela</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós	Novel	1883	1
5	1941	<i>Canción de cuna</i>	Gregorio Martínez Sierra	Argentina	<i>Canción de cuna</i>	Gregorio Martínez Sierra	Play	1923	1
6	1942	<i>Historia de un gran amor</i>	Julio Bracho	Mexico	<i>El niño de la bola</i>	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón	Novel	1892	1
8	1944	<i>El clavo</i>	Rafael Gil	Spain	<i>El clavo</i>	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón	Novel	1909	1
9	1944	<i>El sombrero de tres picos</i>	Juan Bustillo Oro	Mexico	<i>El sombrero de tres picos</i>	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón	Novel	1919	1
10	1944	<i>La monja alférez</i>	Emilio Gómez Muriel	Mexico	<i>Historia de la monja alférez</i>	Catalina de Erauso	Memoir	1884	1
11	1947	<i>Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Rafael Gil	Spain	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	1
12	1953	<i>Canción de cuna</i>	Fernando de Fuentes	Mexico	<i>Canción de cuna</i>	Gregorio Martínez Sierra	Play	1923	1
13	1959	<i>El Lazarillo de Tormes</i>	César Fernández Ardavín	Coproduction: Italy, Spain	<i>La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas y adversidades</i>	Anonymous	Novel	1576	1
14	1959	<i>Sonatas (Las aventuras del</i>	Juan Antonio Bardem	Coproduction: Italy, Spain	<i>Sonatas</i>	Ramón del Valle-Inclán	Novel	1924	1

		<i>Marqués de Bradomín</i> )							
15	1963	<i>El valle de las espadas</i>	Javier Setó	Spain	<i>Poema de Fernán González</i>	Anonymous	Poem	1934	1
16	1971	<i>La araucana</i>	Julio Coll	Coproduction: Chile, Spain	<i>La Araucana</i>	Alonso de Ercilla	Poem	1945	1
17	1973	<i>Don Quijote cabalga de nuevo</i>	Roberto Gavaldón	Coproduction: Mexico, Spain	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	1
18	1974	<i>Tormento</i>	Pedro Olea	Spain	<i>Tormento</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós	Novel	1952	1
19	1976	<i>El libro de buen amor II</i>	Jaime Bayarri	Spain	<i>Libro de buen amor</i>	Arcipreste de Hita (Juan Ruiz)	Poem	1933	1
20	1985	<i>Extramuros</i>	Miguel Picazo	Spain	<i>Extramuros</i>	Jesús Fernández Santos	Novel	1984	1
21	1987	<i>La casa de Bernarda Alba</i>	Mario Camus	Spain	<i>La casa de Bernarda Alba</i>	Federico García Lorca	Play	1936	1
22	1989	<i>La noche oscura</i>	Carlos Saura	Spain	<i>Noche oscura del alma</i>	San Juan de la Cruz	Poem	1891	1
23	1989	<i>Sangre y arena</i>	Javier Elorrieta	Coproduction: Spain, United States	<i>Sangre y arena</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	Novel	1913	1
24	1991	<i>El Quijote de Miguel de Cervantes</i>	Manuel Gutiérrez Aragón	Spain	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	1
25	1992	<i>Don Quijote de Orson Welles</i>	Orson Welles and Jesús Franco	Coproduction: Italy, Spain, United States	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	1
26	1996	<i>El perro del hortelano</i>	Pilar Miró	Spain	<i>El perro del hortelano</i>	Lope de Vega	Play	1903	1
27	1998	<i>El abuelo</i>	José Luis Garci	Spain	<i>El abuelo</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós	Novel	1923	1
28	1998	<i>Yerma</i>	Pilar Távora	Spain	<i>Yerma</i>	Federico García Lorca	Play	1941	1
29	1999	<i>Amic/Amat (Amigo/amado)</i>	Ventura Pons	Spain	<i>Testament</i>	Josep Maria Benet i Jornet	Play	2000	1



30	2002	<i>El caballero Don Quijote</i>	Manuel Gutiérrez Aragón	Spain	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	1
31	2003	<i>El lápiz del carpintero</i>	Antón Reixa	Spain	<i>El lápiz del carpintero</i>	Manuel Rivas	Novel	2001	1
32	2005	<i>Tirant lo Blanc</i>	Vicente Aranda	Coproduction: Italy, Spain, United Kingdom	<i>Tirant lo Blanc</i>	Joanot Martorell	Novel	1993	1
33	2006	<i>Honor de cavalleria</i>	Albert Serra	Spain	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	1
34	2007	<i>Donkey Xote</i>	José Pozo	Coproduction: Spain, Italy	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	1
35	2010	<i>Marcelino, pan y vino</i>	José Luis Gutiérrez Arias	Mexico	<i>Marcelino, pan y vino</i>	José María Sánchez-Silva	Short story	1955	1
36	2011	<i>La voz dormida</i>	Benito Zambrano	Spain	<i>La voz dormida</i>	Dulce Chacón	Novel	2006	1



## Appendix 10

<b>Adaptations of <i>Don Quijote</i></b>					
<b>#</b>	<b>Release</b>	<b>Film Title</b>	<b>Director (s)</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Combination</b>
1	1904	<i>Adventures of the Ingenious Hidalgo Don Quixote</i>	Ferdinand Zecca and Lucien Nonguet	France	Combination 4
2	1908	<i>Don Quijote</i>	Narciso Cuyás	Spain	Not imported
3	1908	<i>La Toile d'araignée merveilleuse</i>	Georges Méliès	France	Combination 4
4	1915	<i>Don Quixote</i>	Edward Dillon	USA	Combination 2
5	1923	<i>Don Quixote</i>	Maurice Elvey	UK	Not imported
6	1926	<i>Don Quixote</i>	Lau Lauritzen	Denmark	Not imported
7	1933	<i>Adventures of Don Quixote</i>	Georg Wilhelm Pabst	USA, Germany, France	Combination 2
8	1934	<i>Don Quixote</i>	Ub Iwerks	USA	Combination 2
9	1947	<i>Dulcinea</i>	Luis Arroyo	Spain	Not imported
10	1948	<i>Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Rafael Gil	Spain	Combination 1
11	1957	<i>Don Kikhot</i>	Grigori Kozintsev	Soviet Union	Combination 4
12	1960	<i>Aventuras de Don Quijote</i>	Eduardo García Maroto	Spain	Not imported
13	1962	<i>Dulcinea</i>	Vicente Escrivá	Spain	Not imported
14	1965	<i>Don Quijote ja Sancho Panza Jätkäsaarella</i>	Mikko Niskanen	Finland	Not imported
15	1966	<i>Don Quijote von der Mancha</i>	Carlo Rim	Spain, West Germany, France	Not imported

16	1967	<i>Dulcinea del Toboso</i>	Carlo Rim	Spain, West Germany, France	Not imported
17	1968	<i>Don Chisciotte e Sancio Panza</i>	Giovanni Grimaldi	Italy	Not imported
18	1968	<i>Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Rafael Ballarín	Spain	Not imported
19	1970	<i>Don Quijote es armado caballero</i>	Amaro Carretero & Vicente Rodríguez	Spain	Not imported
20	1971	<i>Scandalous John</i>	Robert Butler	USA	Combination 2
21	1972	<i>Man of La Mancha</i>	Arthur Hiller	USA	Combination 2
22	1973	<i>Don Quixote</i>	Rudolph Nureyev & Robert Helpmann	USA	Combination 2
23	1973	<i>Don Quijote cabalga de nuevo</i>	Roberto Gavaldón	Spain, Mexico	Combination 1
24	1976	<i>El retablo de Maese Pelos</i>	Luis Enrique Torán	Spain	Not imported
25	1976	<i>The Amorous Adventures of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza</i>	Raphael Nussbaum	USA	Combination 2
26	1979	<i>Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Antonio Zurera	Spain	Not imported
27	1980	<i>Zukkoke Knight: Donderamanca</i>	Mami Koyama, Ichirô Nagai & Ken'ichi Ogata	Japan	Not imported
28	1984	<i>Don Chisciotte</i>	Maurizio Scaparro	Italy	Combination 4
29	1987	<i>Don Quixote of La Mancha</i>	Joel Kane	Australia	Not imported
30	1991	<i>El Quijote de Miguel de Cervantes</i>	Manuel Gutiérrez Aragón	Spain	Combination 1
31	1992	<i>Don Quijote de Orson Welles</i>	Orson Welles (Adapted)	Spain, Italy, USA	Combination 1
32	1992	<i>El retablo de Maese Pelos</i>	Larry Weinstein	Spain	Not imported

33	1996	<i>O thriamvos tou hronou</i>	Vasilis Mazomenos	Greece	Not imported
34	1997	<i>Don Quixote Returns</i>	Oleg Grigorovich & Vasily Livanov	Russia	Not imported
35	2000	<i>Don Quixote</i>	Peter Yates	USA	Combination 2
36	2002	<i>Lost in La Mancha</i>	Keith Fulton & Louis Pepe	USA, UK	Combination 2
37	2002	<i>El caballero Don Quijote</i>	Manuel Gutiérrez Aragón	Spain	Combination 1
38	2005	<i>Don Quixote in Jerusalem</i>	Dani Rosenberg	Israel	Not imported
39	2006	<i>Honor de cavalleria</i>	Albert Serra	Spain	Combination 1
40	2007	<i>Donkey Xote</i>	Jose Pozo	Spain	Combination 1
41	2008	<i>Don Quichote: Gib niemals auf!</i>	Sibylle Tafel	Germany	Not imported
42	2009	<i>Don Quixote</i>	Brian Large	USA	Combination 2
43	2010	<i>Las aventuras de Don Quijote</i>	Antonio Zurera	Spain	Not imported
44	2010	<i>Móxiachuán zhī Tángjikědé</i>	Ah Gan	China, Hong Kong	Not imported
45	2012	<i>Don Quijote, Ritter und Burgen - Geschichten aus Spanien</i>	Axel Loh	Germany	Not imported
46	2013	<i>I, Don Quixote</i>	Shayne Hood	USA	Combination 2
47	2014	<i>My Don Quixote</i>	Thomas Kampioni	Canada	Not imported
48	2015	<i>Don Quixote</i>	David Beier & Dave Dorsey	USA	Combination 2
49	2015	<i>Don Quixote</i>	Marius Petipa	Poland	Not imported
50	2018	<i>The Man Who Killed Don Quixote</i>	Terry Gilliam	USA	Combination 2



## Appendix 11: Combination 2

#	Year	Film Title	Director	Country	Literary Work	Author	Genre	Transl.	Comb.
1	1915	<i>Don Quixote</i>	Edward Dillon	United States	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	2
2	1918	<i>Beauty in Chains</i>	Elsie Jane Wilson	United States	<i>Doña Perfecta</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós	Novel	1894	2
3	1921	<i>The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse</i>	Rex Ingram	United States	<i>Los cuatro jinetes del Apocalipsis</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	Novel	1918	2
4	1921	<i>The Passion Flower</i>	Herbert Brenon	United States	<i>La malquerida</i>	Jacinto Benavente	Play	1917	2
5	1922	<i>Blood and Sand</i>	Fred Niblo	United States	<i>Sangre y arena</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	Novel	1913	2
6	1922	<i>The Bohemian Girl</i>	Harley Knoles	United Kingdom	<i>La gitanilla</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1843	2
7	1923	<i>Enemies of Women</i>	Alan Crosland	United States	<i>Los enemigos de la mujer</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	Novel	1920	2
8	1926	<i>Mare Nostrum</i>	Rex Ingram	United States	<i>Mare Nostrum</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	Novel	1919	2
9	1926	<i>The Temptress</i>	Fred Niblo	United States	<i>La tierra de todos</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	Novel	1923	2
10	1926	<i>Torrent</i>	Monta Bell	United States	<i>Entre naranjos</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	Novel	1923	2
11	1927	<i>The Night of Love</i>	George Fitzmaurice	United States	<i>No hay burlas con el amor</i>	Pedro Calderón de la Barca	Play	1872	2
12	1930	<i>In Gay Madrid</i>	Robert Z. Leonard	United States	<i>La casa de la Troya</i>	Alejandro Pérez Lugín	Novel	1922	2

13	1933	<i>Don Quixote</i>	Georg Wilhelm Pabst	United Kingdom and France	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	2
14	1933	<i>Cradle Song</i>	Mitchell Leisen	United States	<i>Canción de cuna</i>	Gregorio Martínez Sierra	Play	1923	2
15	1934	<i>Don Quixote</i>	Ub Iwerks	United States	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	2
16	1935	<i>Una viuda romántica</i>	Louis King	United States	<i>El sueño de una noche de agosto</i>	Gregorio Martínez Sierra	Novel	1923	2
17	1936	<i>The Bohemian Girl</i>	James W. Horne and Charley Rogers	United States	<i>La gitaniilla</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1843	2
18	1941	<i>Blood and Sand</i>	Rouben Mamoulian	United States	<i>Sangre y arena</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	Novel	1913	2
19	1961	<i>El Cid</i>	Anthony Mann	United States and Italy	<i>Cantar de mio Cid</i>	Anonymous	Poem	1823	2
20	1962	<i>The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse</i>	Vincente Minnelli	United States	<i>Los cuatro jinetes del Apocalipsis</i>	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez	Novel	1918	2
21	1971	<i>Scandalous John</i>	Robert Butler	United States	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	2
22	1972	<i>Man of La Mancha</i>	Arthur Hiller	United States	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	2
23	1973	<i>Don Quixote</i>	Rudolph Nureyev and Robert Helpmann	Australia	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	2



24	1979	<i>Ashanti (Ébano)</i>	Richard Fleischer	Coproduction: Switzerland, United States	<i>Ashanti (Ébano)</i>	Alberto Vázquez-Figueroa	Novel	1977	2
25	1991	<i>The House of Bernarda Alba</i>	Stuart Burge and Núria Espert	United States and United Kingdom	<i>La casa de Bernarda Alba</i>	Federico García Lorca	Play	1936	2
26	2000	<i>Don Quixote</i>	Peter Yates	United States	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	2
27	2002	<i>Lost in La Mancha</i>	Keith Fulton & Louis Pepe	United Kingdom and United States	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	2
28	2015	<i>Don Quixote</i>	David Beier, Dave Dorsey, and Mahin Ibrahim	United States	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	2
29	2018	<i>The Man Who Killed Don Quixote</i>	Terry Gilliam	United Kingdom, Belgium, France, Portugal, and Spain	<i>El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha</i>	Miguel de Cervantes	Novel	1612, 1620	2



## Appendix 12: Combination 3

#	Year	Film Title	Director	Country	Literary Work	Author	Genre	Transl.	Comb.
1	1934	<i>El Escándalo</i>	Chano Urueta	Mexico	<i>El escándalo</i>	Pedro Antonio de Alarcón	Novel	1945	3
2	1955	<i>Marcelino, pan y vino</i>	Ladislao Vajda	Spain	<i>Marcelino, pan y vino</i>	José María Sánchez-Silva	Short story	1955	3
3	1958	<i>Los clarines del miedo</i>	Antonio Román	Spain	<i>Los clarines del miedo</i>	Ángel María de Lera	Novel	1961	3
4	1959	<i>Nazarín</i>	Luis Buñuel	Mexico	<i>Nazarín</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós	Novel	1993	3
5	1961	<i>Viridiana</i>	Luis Buñuel	Mexico and Spain	<i>Halma</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós	Novel	2015	3
6	1964	<i>La tía Tula</i>	Miguel Picazo	Spain	<i>La tía Tula</i>	Miguel de Unamuno	Novel	1976	3
7	1970	<i>Tristana</i>	Luis Buñuel	Spain, France, and Italy	<i>Tristana</i>	Benito Pérez Galdós	Novel	2014	3
8	1978	<i>Un hombre llamado Flor de Otoño</i>	Pedro Olea	Spain	<i>Flor de Otoño</i>	José María Rodríguez Méndez	Play	2001	3
9	1981	<i>Función de noche</i>	Josefina Molina	Spain	<i>Cinco horas con Mario</i>	Miguel Delibes	Novel	1988	3
10	1982	<i>La colmena</i>	Mario Camus	Spain	<i>La colmena</i>	Camilo José Cela	Novel	2001	3
11	1982	<i>La plaça del Diamant</i>	Francesc Betriu	Spain	<i>La plaça del Diamant (La plaza del Diamante)</i>	Mercè Rodoreda	Novel	1986	3
12	1982	<i>Valentina</i>	Antonio José Betancor	Spain	<i>Crónica del alba</i>	Ramón J. Sender	Novel	2013	3
13	1983	<i>Bearn o La sala de las muñecas</i>	Jaime Chávarri	Spain	<i>Bearn o La sala de les nines</i>	Llorenç Villalonga	Novel	1986	3

					<i>(Bearn o La sala de las muñecas)</i>				
14	1983	<i>El sur</i>	Víctor Erice	Spain	<i>El Sur</i>	Adelaida García Morales	Novel	1999	3
15	1988	<i>Bajarse al moro</i>	Fernando Colomo	Spain	<i>Bajarse al moro</i>	José Luis Alonso de Santos	Play	2013	3
16	1989	<i>Si te dicen que caí</i>	Vicente Aranda	Spain	<i>Si te dicen que caí</i>	Juan Marsé	Novel	1994	3
17	1990	<i>¡Ay, Carmela!</i>	Carlos Saura	Spain and Italy	<i>¡Ay, Carmela!</i>	José Sanchis Sinisterra	Play	2005	3
18	1990	<i>Las edades de Lulú</i>	Bigas Luna	Spain	<i>Las edades de Lulú</i>	Almudena Grandes	Novel	2005	3
19	1992	<i>El maestro de esgrima</i>	Pedro Olea	Spain	<i>El maestro de esgrima</i>	Arturo Pérez-Reverte	Novel	1998	3
20	1996	<i>Bwana</i>	Imanol Uribe	Spain	<i>La mirada del hombre oscuro</i>	Ignacio del Moral	Play	1999	3
21	1999	<i>La lengua de las mariposas</i>	José Luis Cuerda	Spain	<i>¿Qué me quieres, amor? (¿Qué me quieres, amor?)</i>	Manuel Rivas	Short story	2011	3
22	1999	<i>Manolito Gafotas</i>	Miguel Albaladejo	Spain	<i>Manolito Gafotas</i>	Elvira Lindo	Novel	2008	3
23	2000	<i>El mar</i>	Agustí Villaronga	Spain	<i>El mar</i>	Blai Bonet	Novel	2013	3
24	2001	<i>Manolito Gafotas en ¡Mola ser jefe!</i>	Joan Potau	Spain	<i>Manolito Gafotas</i>	Elvira Lindo	Novel	2008	3
25	2002	<i>Nos miran</i>	Norberto López Amado	Spain	<i>Los otros</i>	Javier García Sánchez	Novel	2015	3
26	2003	<i>Soldados de Salamina</i>	David Trueba	Spain	<i>Soldados de Salamina</i>	Javier Cercas	Novel	2010	3
27	2003	<i>La flaqueza del bolchevique</i>	Manuel Martín Cuenca	Spain	<i>La flaqueza del bolchevique</i>	Lorenzo Silva	Novel	2013	3

28	2005	<i>Obaba</i>	Montxo Armendáriz	Spain	<i>Obabakoak</i>	Bernardo Atxaga	Hybrid (Short story, novel)	2011	3
29	2006	<i>Los aires difíciles</i>	Gerardo Herrero	Spain	<i>Los aires difíciles</i>	Almudena Grandes	Novel	2010	3
30	2010	<i>Pa negre</i>	Agustí Villaronga	Spain	<i>Pa negre (Pan negro)</i>	Emili Teixidor	Novel	2016	3
31	2015	<i>Palmeras en la nieve</i>	Fernando González Molina	Spain	<i>Palmeras en la nieve</i>	Luz Gabás	Novel	2017	3



## Appendix 13

Translation of <i>La vida es sueño</i> (Pedro Calderón de la Barca, 1635)				
#	Year	Title	Translator	Additional Details (if available)
1	1830	<i>Life, a Dream</i>	Malcolm Cowan	
2	1842	<i>Life is a Dream</i>	John Oxenford	In <i>The Monthly Magazine</i> (Vol XCVI, p. RA1-PA255) [Blank verse]
3	1856	<i>Life's a Dream</i>	Richard Chevenix Trench	In <i>Calderón: His Life and Genius with Specimens of His Plays</i>
4	1865	<i>Such Stuff as Dreams are Made Of</i>	Edward Fitzgerald	In <i>The Mighty Magician; Such Stuff as Dreams are Made Of</i> [Blank verse, prose]
5	1873	<i>Life is a Dream</i>	Denis Florence McCarthy	In <i>Calderon's Dramas</i> , later revised and reprinted in 1961 by Henry W. Wells [Imitative verse]
6	1925	<i>Life's a Dream</i>	Frank Birch & J.B. Trend	[Stage version: prose and verse]
7	1928	<i>Life is a Dream</i>	H. Carter	
8	1958	<i>Life is a Dream</i>	William E. Colford	[Prose and verse]
9	1959	<i>Life is a Dream</i>	Roy Campbell	In <i>The Classic Theatre III: Six Spanish Plays</i> , ed. Eric Bentley and later reprinted in <i>Life is a Dream and Other Spanish Classics</i> , ed. Eric Bentley (1985) [Blank verse]
10	1962	<i>Life is a Dream</i>	Elizabeth & Edward Huberman	In <i>Spanish Drama</i> , ed. Angel Flores and later reprinted in <i>Great Spanish Plays in English Translation</i> (1991) [Prose]
11	1963	<i>Life is a Dream</i>	Hymen Alpern	In <i>Three Classic Spanish Plays</i>
12	1968	<i>Life is a Dream</i>	Kathleen Raine & R. M. Nadal	[Verse]
13	1970	<i>Life is a Dream</i>	Edwin Honig	Later reprinted in <i>Calderón de la Barca: Six Plays</i>

				(1993) [Loose syllabic verse]
14	1990	<i>Life's a Dream</i>	Adrian Mitchell & John Barton	In <i>Three Plays</i> , translated from literal translations by Gwenda Pandolfi [Verse]
15	1991	<i>Life is a Dream</i>	Gwynne Edwards	In <i>Calderón: Plays</i>
16	1998	<i>Life is a Dream</i>	John Clifford	[Stage version: prose and verse]
17	1999	<i>Sueño</i>	José Rivera	[A post-colonial-themed stage adaptation in prose]
18	2002	<i>Life is a Dream</i>	Stanley Applebaum	[Bilingual version, literal prose translation]
19	2004	<i>Life's a Dream</i>	Michael Kidd	[Prose]
20	2005	<i>Life is a Dream</i>	Harley Erdman	[Stage versión: prose]
21	2006	<i>Life is a Dream</i>	Gregory J. Racz	Later reprinted in <i>The Golden Age of Spanish Drama</i> (2008) [Imitative verse]
22	2008	<i>Life's a Dream</i>	Rick Davis	In <i>Calderón De La Barca, Four Great Plays of the Golden Age</i> [Stage version, prose, and verse]
23	2009	<i>Life is a Dream</i>	Nilo Cruz	[Acting edition]
24	2010	<i>Life is a Dream</i>	Helen Edmundson	[Prose]
25	2017	<i>Life is a Dream</i>	George Drance	



## Appendix 14

<b>Film adaptations of the Don Juan legend</b>				
<b>Year</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Director</b>	<b>Release Country</b>	<b>Source Text Author</b>
1898	Don Juan Tenorio	Salvador Toscano	Mexico	José Zorrilla
1908	Don Juan	Albert Capellani	Italy	Unknown
1908	Don Juan Tenorio	Alberto Marro & Ricardo de Baños	Spain	José Zorrilla
1913	Don Juan	Léon Boedels	Netherlands	Unknown
1916	Don Giovanni	Edoardo Bencivenga	Italy	Unknown
1922	Don Juan	Albert Heine & Robert Land	Germany	Unknown
1922	Don Juan Tenorio	Ricardo de Baños	Spain	José Zorrilla
1925	The Lucky Horseshoe	John G. Blystone	United States	Unknown
1926	Don Juan	Alan Crosland	United States	Lord Byron (uncredited)
1927	El señor Don Juan Tenorio	Juan Andreu Moragas	Spain	José Zorrilla
1928	Doña Juana	Paul Czinner	Germany	Tirso de Molina
1934	The Private Life of Don Juan	Alexander Korda	United Kingdom	Henry Bataille
1936	El castigador castigado	Ricardo de Baños	Spain	José Zorrilla
1937	Don Juan Tenorio	René Cardona	Mexico	José Zorrilla
1939	Don Juan y Doña Inés	José Martínez Romano	Spain	José Zorrilla
1942	Loves of Don Juan	Dino Falconi	Italy	Unknown
1948	Adventures of Don Juan	Vincent Sherman	United States	Unknown
1949	Don Juan Tenorio	Luis César Amadori		José Zorrilla
1950	Don Juan	José Luis Sáenz de Heredia	Spain	José Zorrilla & Tirso de Molina
1952	Don Juan Tenorio	Alejandro Perla	Spain	José Zorrilla
1955	Don Juan	Walter Kolm-Veltée	Austria	Lorenzo da Ponte
1955	Mozart's Don Giovanni	Paul Czinner	United Kingdom	Lorenzo da Ponte

1956	Don Juan	John Berry	France, Italy, Spain	Unknown
1957	Don Giovanni	Kurt Wilhem	West Germany	Lorenzo da Ponte
1958	Don Giovanni	Franco Zeffirelli	Italy	Lorenzo da Ponte
1960	Don Giovanni	Giacomo Vaccari	Italy	Lorenzo da Ponte
1960	The Devil's Eye	Ingmar Bergman	Sweden	Jules-Amédée Barbey d'Aurevilly
1961	Don Giovanni	Rolf Unkel	West Germany	Lorenzo da Ponte
1963	Don Juan kommt zurück	Kurt Wilhem	West Germany	Lorenzo da Ponte
1966	Don Giovanni	Georg Mielke	East Germany	Lorenzo da Ponte
1967	Don Juan in Sicily	Alberto Lattuada	Italy	Vitaliano Brancati
1967	Don Giovanni	Vittorio Cottafavi	Italy	Molière
1967	Don Giovannino	Bruno Corbucci	Italy	Unknown
1969	Don Juan	Jan Švankmajer	Czech Republic	Unknown
1970	Don Giovanni	Carmelo Bene	Italy	Unknown
1971	Don Juan in Tallinn	Arvo Kruusement	Estonia	Samuil Aljoschin
1971	Le calde notti di Don Giovanni	Alfonso Brescia	Italy	José Zorrilla
1973	Don Juan, or If Don Juan Were a Woman	Roger Vadim	France, Italy	Unknown
1974	Don Giovanni	Ralf Långbacka & Heimo Palander	Finland	Unknown
1974	Don Juan	Antonio Mercero	Spain	José Zorrilla
1977	Don Giovanni	Mario Missiroli	Italy	Molière
1977	Viva (muera Don Juan)	Tomás Aznar	Spain	José Zorrilla
1978	Don Giovanni	Dave Heather	United Kingdom	Lorenzo da Ponte
1979	Don Giovanni	Joseph Losey	France, Italy, West Germany	Lorenzo da Ponte
1987	Don Giovanni	Claus Viller	Germany, Austria	Lorenzo da Ponte
1987	Don Giovanni	Carlo Battistoni	Italy	Lorenzo da Ponte
1987	Don Giovanni	Thomas Olofsson	Sweden	Lorenzo da Ponte
1987	Don Juan itinerante	Antonio Guirau	Spain	José Zorrilla,
1988	Don Juan itinerante	Eugenio García Toledano	Spain	José Zorrilla,
1990	Don Giovanni	Peter Sellars	Austria	Lorenzo da Ponte
1990	Don Juan, mi querido fantasma	Antonio Mercero	Spain	Unknown

1991	Don Juan in Hell	Gonzalo Suárez	Spain	Molière
1991	Don Juan Itinerante	Francisco Ortuño	Spain	José Zorrilla,
1991	Don Giovanni	Peter Butler & Lindy Hume	Australia	Lorenzo da Ponte
1991	Don Giovanni	José Montes-Baquer	Germany	Lorenzo da Ponte
1995	Don Juan DeMarco	Jeremy Leven	United States	Lord Byron
1995	Don Giovanni	Derek Bailey	United Kingdom	Lorenzo da Ponte
1997	Don Giovanni	Manuela Crivelli	Italy	Lorenzo da Ponte
1998	Don Giovanni (Short)	Varo Venturi	Italy	Unknown
1998	Don Juan	Jacques Weber	France, Spain, Germany	Molière
2000	Don Giovanni	Gary Halvorson	United States	Lorenzo da Ponte
2000	Don Juan Itinerante	Maria Ruiz	Spain	José Zorrilla
2001	Amar y morir en Sevilla (Don Juan Tenorio)	Víctor Barrera	Spain	José Zorrilla
2002	Don Giovanni	Toni Bargalló	United Kingdom, Spain	Lorenzo da Ponte
2003	Don Giovanni	Vincent Batillion	France, Germany, Japan	Lorenzo da Ponte
2003	Don Juan Itinerante	Eduardo Vasco	Spain	José Zorrilla
2003	W cieniu Don Giovanniego	Rafael Lewandowski	Poland	Lorenzo da Ponte
2005	Don Giovanni	Ricard Carbonell	Spain	Lorenzo da Ponte
2005	Don Juan en Alcalá 2005	Jaime Azpilicueta	Spain	José Zorrilla
2006	Looking for Don Giovanni	Nayo Titzin	Bulgaria, Austria	Lorenzo da Ponte
2007	Don Giovanni	Felix Breisach	Austria	Lorenzo da Ponte
2007	Mozart: Don Giovanni	Misjel Vermeiren	Netherlands	Lorenzo da Ponte
2008	Don Giovanni	Robin Lough	United Kingdom	Lorenzo da Ponte
2008	Don Juan Itinerante	Laila Ripoll	Spain	José Zorrilla
2009	Don Giovanni	Yoshi Oida & Paul Oazan	France	Lorenzo da Ponte
2009	Don Giovanni	Brian Large	Switzerland	Lorenzo da Ponte
2009	Io, Don Giovanni	Carlos Saura	Spain, Italy, Austria	Unknown
2009	Don Juan	Remo Vizens	Austria	Lord Byron

2010	Don Giovanni	Peter Maniura	United Kingdom, France	Lorenzo da Ponte
2010	Don Giovanni	Frank Zomacona	United States	Lorenzo da Ponte
2011	Don Giovanni	Cameron Kirkpatrick	Australia	Lorenzo da Ponte
2011	Don Giovanni	Patrizia Carmine	Italy	Lorenzo da Ponte
2012	Donna Giovanna	Corina Van Eijk	Netherlands	Unknown
2013	Don Giovanni	Jérémie Cuvillier	France, Germany	Lorenzo da Ponte
2013	Don Jon	Joseph Gordon- Levitt	United States	Unknown
2017	Don Giovanni	Martín Santamaría	Argentina	Unknown

