

Conclusion: Passport Control— Departing on a Cinematic Journey

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Russian literature has inspired film directors at home and abroad for over a century, and continues to do so today. American, British, French, German, and Italian cinema all have important film classics that were drawn directly from Russian literature. Some, such as French filmmaker Robert Bresson or Japanese filmmaker Akira Kurosawa, turned to Russian writers more than once in creating their own distinctive cinematic style. Kurosawa reimagined Fedor Dostoevskii's *The Idiot* (*Hakuchi*, 1951); Maksim Gor'kii's *Lower Depths* (*Donzoko*, 1957); incorporated elements of Dostoevskii's *The Insulted and Injured* in his film *Akahige* (1965); and animated Vladimir Arsen'ev's autobiographical work *Dersu Uzala* (1972), which won the Academy Award for Best Foreign Language Film, for Mosfilm. Throughout the years, Russian directors have expressed their own admiration for the literary works of Dostoevskii, Anton Chekhov, Mikhail Bulgakov, Aleksandr Pushkin, Lev Tolstoi, Mikhail Sholokhov, and many, many others.

The topic of this collection of essays has been the cultural border crossings that occur when the text is transported to another country, another time, or both. Each one of these migrations involves a new semantic language. The metaphor of crossing from one temporal or spatial territory into another in which language, customs, cultural identity, social attitudes, and political systems are often different is applied in this case as Russian texts are transposed in order to suit new cinematic environments. Thomas Leitch borrows from Cristina Della Coletta in positing the idea of a cinematic border crossing as a process that enables viewers to gain a greater perspective on the world in which they live. This collection of essays confronts many of the matters involved in transporting a narrative into a narration, making the cinematic out of the theatrical, or expanding the short story into a full-length feature. *Border Crossing: Russian Literature into Film* explores the question of what makes Russian texts adaptable for such diverse audiences with dissimilar cultural sensibilities. This collection

only touches the surface of a much larger topic, providing points of scholarly reference for around twenty films. The number of cinematic hypertexts is much greater and in this concluding chapter, a broad survey of the many films is provided, positioning the essays found in this collection into the larger, potential discussion to be had in the future. This is not an exhaustive survey of the topic, but should provide some perspective on future areas of scholarly exploration.

As the Introduction states, adaptation studies is still finding its way and our intention is to show that transpositions of cultural meaning offer a new layer for scholarly consideration. We acknowledge that our present excursion has been a short one, but we suggest in the following pages many more potential journeys for interested scholars and students. After all, border crossings involving Russian hypotexts cannot be reduced easily to a few examples. Therefore, this final chapter attempts to demonstrate the breadth of the subject and to position the present essays within a very large (and ever-expanding) scholarly territory. The selection of specific national cinemas (namely, the ones the contributors to this volume analyze) for discussion below is also arbitrary, but boundaries must be created to organize our discussion, just as the establishing of national borders is sometimes arbitrary.¹

As a result, this concluding chapter provides several functions: (1) It offers a survey of the topic more broadly than might be possible in individual essays. (2) It situates the present essays within this larger context, recognizing that other films provide similar points of discussion. (3) It recognizes that border crossings are fraught with issues relating to language, national cultures, political histories, and much more that cannot be reduced to formulaic theories or *final* conclusions. Each new film based on a Russian hypotext opens new territories (new hypertexts) for consideration and provides a new set of temporal and spatial markers. (4) It posits that the adaptation of text into film must also consider many of the semantic issues of cultural meaning, how time and space influence that transposition, and how scholars can go beyond the fidelity issue in order to become more like tour guides, explaining the complexities of cultural meaning to those who employ a different cultural and semantic language. Just as a brief excursion to a foreign country often excites the tourist's senses and inspires future travel, this collection of essays is a brief introduction to all of the possible explorations, excursions, and trips that may be had in the future. Similar to a travel agent, this final chapter offers a guide for potential discoveries.

RUSSIAN CINEMA

Russian film production began with Aleksandr Drankov's *Picturesque Russia*—short documentary films about the lives of ethnic groups and their regional habits. This led to the first Russian feature in 1908 by Drankov's production

company—*Stenka Razin*—which marked the birth of Russian cinema. At the same time other Russian production companies, often with foreign partners, began to produce their own films. Many producers turned to classical Russian literature, especially the works of Pushkin, Nikolai Gogol, and Chekhov. Ghost stories and romantic tales were particularly popular with Russian audiences. This early adaptation of poems and literary works was often for practical reasons—audiences already knew these stories, so there was no need to gain consent from the author and none of these published works aroused the attention of the censor.² Paul Theimann's film company promoted a Golden Series of movies that were based on literary works, which included *Anna Karenina*, *War and Peace*, and the blockbuster *The Keys to Happiness*.

Iakov Protazanov became famous for his big-budget screen versions of literary works such as *The Keys to Happiness* (1913), *War and Peace* (1915), *The Queen of Spades* (1916), *Father Sergius* (1917), *Aelita* (1924), *The Forty-First* (1927), *The Man from the Restaurant* (1928), *The White Eagle* (1928), *Ranks and People* (1929), and *Without Dowry* (1937). For cinematic material, Protazanov had turned to authors as diverse as Anastasiia Verbitskaia, Tolstoi, Pushkin, Aleksei Tolstoi, Boris Lavrenev, Ivan Shmelev, Leonid Andreev, Chekhov, and Aleksandr Ostrovskii. These were not the montage films of the Soviet avant-garde, but the “reactionary” and “socially primitive” films of a director who adapted the bourgeois traditions of pre-revolutionary Russia for the cinema that Soviet audiences actually wanted to see.³

In the 1930s, even with the advent of Socialist Realism, the nineteenth-century classics remained popular sources for Soviet films. Once again, Chekhov, Gogol, and Pushkin were the most frequent source texts for filmmakers, but even Dostoevskii, Mikhail Lermontov, Mikhail Saltykov-Shchedrin, and Ostrovskii were used as source material. In fact, some of the best films of the decade were hypertexts. *Chapaev* (1934) was drawn from Dmitrii Furmanov's novel. Grigorii Aleksandrov's *Circus* (1936) was a transposition of Il'ia I'lf and Evgenii Petrov's play *Under the Big Top*. Mark Donskoi's films were based on Gor'kii's autobiographical trilogy: *The Childhood of Maksim Gor'kii* (1938), *My Apprenticeship* (1939), and *My Universities* (1940).

In the present collection of essays, Alastair Renfrew illuminates how Iurii Tynianov amended his own literary work (based on an anecdote by Vladimir Dal') for the silver screen. The fact that Tynianov was a literary and film theorist makes this adaptation all the more intriguing. Under the influence of Gogol's short stories and the 1926 film version of his *The Overcoat*, Tynianov's *Lieutenant Kizhe* (1934) can be understood as a direct response to the vogue of transposing literary classics.

In the following decade, the war placed new pressures on the film industry. After Stalin's death, however, filmmakers experienced a reprieve of sorts and began making films about the individual experience. Even with this relative

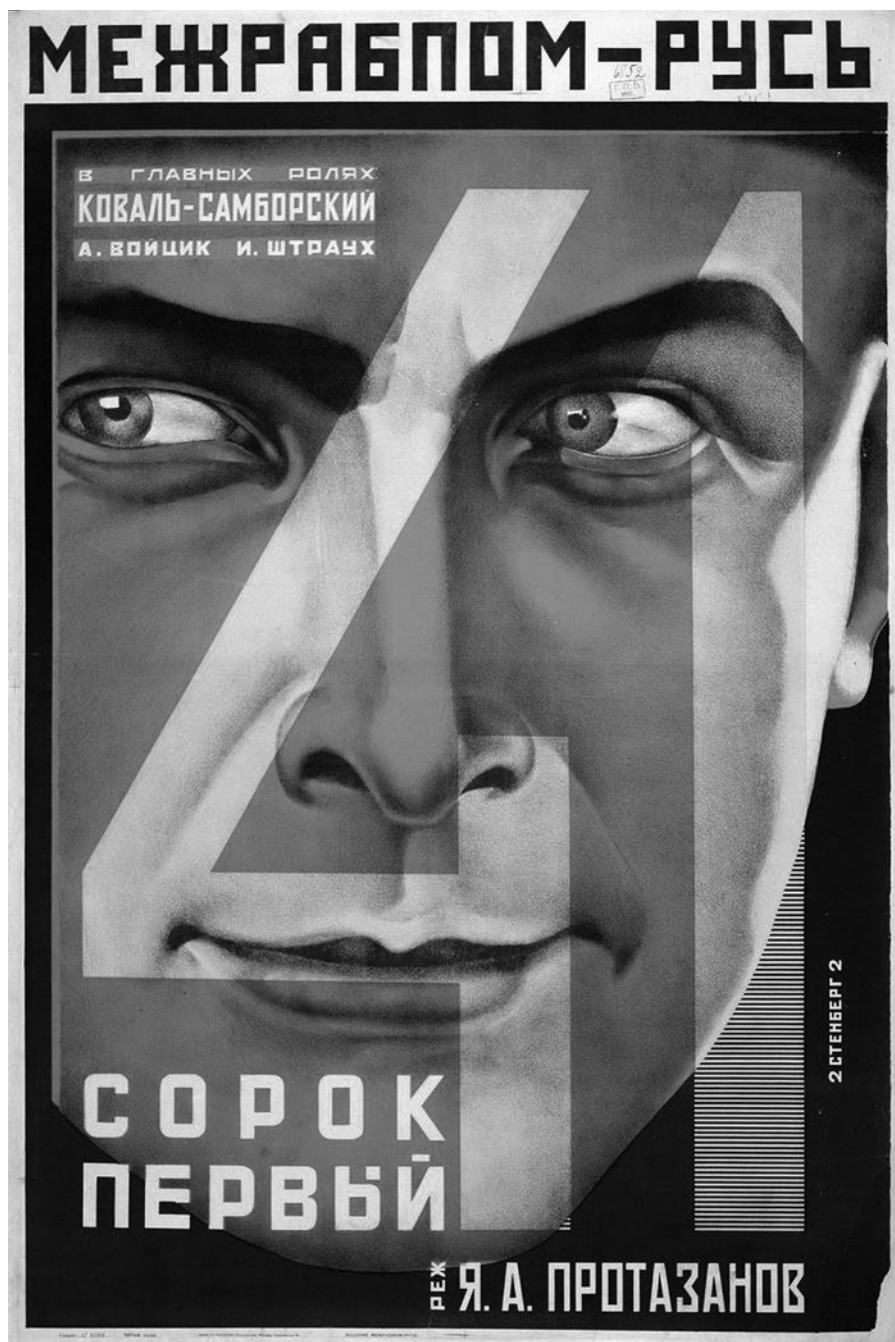


Figure C.1 Movie poster for Iakov Protazanov's *The Forty-First* (1927).

freedom, filmmakers continued to transport hypotexts to the silver screen. Of the four Civil War films created to commemorate the forty-fifth anniversary of the Revolution, only one was based on an original screenplay. *Pavel Korchagin* (1956) was a hypertext of Nikolai Ostrovskii's *How the Steel Was Tempered*. Grigorii Chukhrai remade Protazanov's silent film *The Forty-First*, which had been based on Lavrenev's novella. Sergei Gerasimov transported Sholokhov's epic novel *The Quiet Don* into a film of three parts, which were released in 1957 and 1958. Significantly, Gerasimov's film was also a cinematic hypertext of the 1931 silent film version directed by Olga Preobrazhenskaia and Ivan Pravov. Similarly, many of the Thaw films about World War II were also hypertexts. *The Cranes Are Flying* (1957) was transported from Viktor Rozov's play *Eternally Alive*. Sergei Bondarchuk's *The Fate of Man* (1959) was adapted from a Sholokhov short story which had been suppressed in 1946. Aleksandr Ivanov's *Soldiers* (1957) was based on the play *In the Trenches of Stalingrad* by Viktor Nekrasov. Andrei Tarkovskii's first feature film, *Ivan's Childhood* (1962), animated Vladimir Bogomolov's short story "Ivan." Denise Youngblood argues, "The ties between Soviet literature and Soviet cinema, always strong, became stronger yet during the Thaw."⁴

Although transpositions of Soviet literary works of the USSR's first half-century were highly popular, directors continued to turn to nineteenth-century classics in the post-Stalin era. Bondarchuk's *War and Peace* (1967) won the Oscar for Best Foreign Film in 1969. At this same time, there were also versions of Tolstoi's *Resurrection* (1960–1) and *Anna Karenina* (1967). Ivan Pyr'ev transported several of Dostoevskii's texts—*The Idiot* (1965), *White Nights* (1959), and *The Brothers Karamazov* (1968). Chekhov also received attention with both *The Cricket* (1955) and *The Lady with a Lapdog* (1960). These literary hypotexts, as in the early part of the century, were particularly attractive for filming since they had already been passed by the censorship board and it was, therefore, easier to gain approval for the film script.

This did not mean, however, that censors did not at times require extensive reworkings, even in the case of a recent hypotext. As Otto Boele argues, *My Younger Brother* (1962) was negatively impacted by the changing cultural demands of the Soviet government after one of the many political refreezes. Constant vacillation between liberal and conservative cultural agendas during the Thaw Period opened up the possibility of a reevaluation of Vasilii Aksenov's *A Starry Ticket*, the book upon which the film was based. The text and film are now considered historical artifacts of the 1960s, offering an invitation to journey through space and time to relive a period of youthful enthusiasm that did not last for long.

The Stagnation period of the late 1960s to 1970s reintroduced conservatism into the Soviet film industry. As before, the Russian literary classics provided a safe cover for filmmakers. Andrei Konchalovskii, whose *Asia's Happiness*

(made in 1965–6) had been banned, turned his attention then to transpositions of Ivan Turgenev's *A Nest of Gentlefolk* (1969) and Chekhov's *Uncle Vania* (1970). Nikita Mikhalkov also retreated into what has been called a "retro" style during this time with films such as *An Unfinished Piece for a Mechanical Piano* (1977) and *A Few Days from the Life of I. I. Oblomov* (1980).⁵ Other such classics were transported to Soviet cinemas including Bulgakov's *The Flight* (1970), Chekhov's *My Tender and Affectionate Beast* (1978), Gor'kii's *Queen of the Gypsies* (1976) and *Vassa Zheleznova* (1983), Tolstoi's *Father Sergius* (1978), Ostrovskii's *Without Dowry* (1984), and Pushkin's *The Station Master* (1972) and *Little Tragedies* (1979).⁶ Although some may associate Stagnation cinema mainly with Andrei Tarkovskii's *auteur* offerings, even his *Solaris* (1972) was based on the Polish science fiction novel by Stanislaw Lem and *Stalker* (1979) was a hypertext of a science fiction story by the Russian Strugatskii brothers.

Transportation of classical Russian literature into theaters almost disappeared during the glasnost era as directors finally had the creative license to discuss social problems, but returned in post-Soviet, Yeltsin-era filmmaking in order to engage with Russia's cultural heritage. Birgit Beumers argues that "they often took a parodic and critical approach to the originals, in line with the postmodernist deconstruction of realist narratives that affected much of the literature and visual arts of the 1990s." Vasilii Pichul tackled *The Golden Calf* in *Idiot's Dreams* (1993), while Roman Balaian reimaged both Nikolai Leskov and Turgenev in *Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk* (1989) and *First Love* (1995). Sergei Gazarov's *The Inspector General* (1996) and Roman Kachanov's *Down House* (2001) revised Gogol and Dostoevskii, respectively. Sergei Ursuliak deconstructed Gor'kii's *Summer Folks* (1995) and Valerii Todorovskii also drew from Leskov's tale in *Evenings in Moscow Suburbs* (1994).⁷ Sergei Bodrov Sr. successfully conveyed Tolstoi's *Prisoner of the Mountains* (1996) to the present day, resulting in a nomination for an Oscar for Best Foreign Language Film. Vladimir Sorokin parodied Chekhov's *Three Sisters* in the film script for Aleksandr Zeldovich's *Moscow* (2000). In many cases, these films transported the classical Russian novels into a more contemporary cinematic space and time.

In the Putin era, Russian filmmakers have continued to express their admiration for Russian literature. These films were guided by a distinctly political imperative to recall Russian classics in order to inspire patriotic feelings as part of Putin's effort to restore national pride. This, after the disastrous loss of national prestige stemming from the collapse of the Soviet Union, unsuccessful campaigns in Afghanistan and Chechnya, and many more perceived national defeats: Sergei Bondarchuk made a new version of Sholokhov's *Quiet Flows the Don* (2006); Aleksei Balabanov offered to movie audiences Mikhail Bulgakov's *Morphia* (2008); Karen Shakhnazarov directed *Ward no. 6* (2009)

based on Anton Chekhov's short story of the same name. In this collection, Alexander Burry notes that Shakhnazarov's indictment of national issues such as alcoholism and abuse of mental inmates are indicative of larger, systemic issues in Russia. With references to Dostoevskii and, specifically, Chekhov's short story, Shakhnazarov intimates that the problems of the 1870s and 1890s are still present in contemporary Russia, challenging cinema audiences to consider the trajectory of a nation in peril.

As the Russian economy stabilized, film production and distribution also began to flourish once again. Film adaptations of Russian classics helped to consolidate a sense of national pride within a flourishing domestic film market. At this time, television mini-series gained in popularity with many revising well-known literary texts. Films of Anatolii Rybakov's *Children of the Arbat* (2004) and Boris Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago* (2006) enjoyed success with viewers. Oleg Menshikov played Ostap Bender in the 2005 version of *The Golden Calf*. Bortko serialized both Dostoevskii's *The Idiot* (2003), with Evgenii Mironov playing Myshkin, and Bulgakov's *Master and Margarita* (2005). Established filmmakers like Pavel Lungin and Gleb Panfilov also made contributions with Gogol's *Dead Souls* (2005) and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's *In the First Circle* (2006), respectively.

Hypertexts of the popular novelist Boris Akunin, especially those of his detective Erast Fandorin, became regular occurrences including the television movie *Azazel'* with Sergei Bezrukov (Brilling) and Marina Neelova (Lady Esther); Dzhanik Faiziev's *Turkish Gambit* (2005) grossed over \$18 million and was nominated for several Russian MTV movie awards; *The State Counsellor* (2005) offered a star-studded cast with Menshikov as Fandorin, Mikhalkov as Count Pozharskii, and Vladimir Mashkov as Kozyr; the 2009 television mini-series *Pelagiia and the White Bulldog* was the first Akunin celluloid offering without Fandorin. Long rumored in pre-production is Fyodor Bondarchuk's version for Western markets of *Azazel'*, known as *The White Queen* in English translation, that has been said to star Milla Jovovich (Bezhetskaia) and Angelica Huston (Lady Astair). How will Western audiences respond to the multi-national production of this Russian Sherlock Holmes?

Russia recognizes and frequently references its literary and cultural traditions; therefore it is not surprising to find a rich tradition of cinematic hypertexts. As noted, these literary works often were selected for political reasons, as they provided a "safer" hypotext when beginning a film project than an original screenplay that might offend ever-changing political realities. Still, much more scholarly work should be done on the role of the cinematic migrations at different times in the evolution of Russian and Soviet cinema.

AMERICAN AND BRITISH CINEMA

In the United States and the United Kingdom, movies came mainly from vaudeville and burlesque routines until 1907, when Vitagraph in America began to release films that were based on historical, literary, and biblical sources. Among the Russian sources, Tolstoi was the most popular in what John Belton calls the “bourgeoisification of the movies.”⁸ D. W. Griffith filmed *Resurrection* (1909), Herbert Brenon made *The Kreutzer Sonata* (1915), J. Gordon Edwards tackled both *Anna Karenina* (1915) and *A Woman’s Resurrection* (1915), Barry O’Neil reimaged *The Weakness of Man* (1916), Edward Jose revised *Resurrection* (1918), and William Humphrey adapted *The Living Corpse* in making *Atonement* (1919). In the UK, the teens became known as the “stage and page” period in which filmmakers selected popular plays and novels to transport to the silver screen.⁹

Although Tolstoi was easily recognized by Western audiences, other Russian writers were also successfully transported to the US and UK during this period. It has been noted in this collection of essays that *He Who Gets Slapped* (1924) was MGM’s first prestige film and was a huge financial success, setting the records for best single day, best week, and best two-week box office return. A little-known fact is that this film was also the first to feature the MGM lion at the start of the film, which would become an enduring symbol of the studio. Could it be that Andreev’s play and Sjöström’s addition of the lion for the violent revenge scene of his cinematic hypertext left this indelible mark?

The following year, Rudolph Valentino starred in Clarence Brown’s *The Eagle* (1925) based on Pushkin’s novel *Dubrovskii*. In spite of his considerable popularity after the success of *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* (1921) and *The Sheik* (1921), Valentino was in need of a hit, especially after the failure of *Monsieur Beaucaire* (1924). Fortunately, critics and audiences applauded Valentino’s performance in *The Eagle* for his more active, masculine persona, representing a minor comeback in his cinematic career. Much of the success of the film, however, can be attributed to Brown, who was one of Hollywood’s most versatile filmmakers during the studio era and was successful with other adaptations such as *The Last of the Mohicans* (1920) and William Faulkner’s *Intruder in the Dust* (1949). Brown would also direct Greta Garbo in *Anna Karenina* in 1935.¹⁰

A few years earlier, Garbo had starred in Edmund Goulding’s *Love* (1927), based on *Anna Karenina*, with her real-life *paramour* John Gilbert as Vronskii. Significantly, Gilbert starred in George W. Hill’s *The Cossacks* (1928), also a Tolstoi hypertext, the following year. Although *Love* had been a solid success at the box office, Garbo had been dissatisfied with the happy ending of the film, in which Anna no longer commits suicide, but is reunited with Vronskii.



Figure C.2 Movie poster for *The Eagle* (1925), based on Aleksandr Pushkin's novel *Dubrovskii*.

Therefore, as lavish variations of classic novels came into vogue in the mid-1930s, Garbo approached MGM about making a more *faithful* version of Tolstoi's novel. Although producer David O. Selznick was originally against the idea, he reluctantly agreed rather than casting Garbo as Joan of Arc or trying to transform Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (both suggested by Garbo as alternatives). This time, the role of Vronskii was played by Fredric March, who had starred in another Tolstoi hypertext, *We Live Again*, the previous year. Although it was profitable at the box office, *Anna Karenina* received mixed reviews from the critics. Nevertheless, several important newspapers begrudgingly recommended the film due to the immense popularity of Garbo with movie-going audiences.¹¹

The eleventh silver screen version of *Anna Karenina* (1948) starred Vivien Leigh, who was still very popular after playing Scarlett O'Hara in *Gone with the Wind* (1939). Unexpectedly, the movie was a failure, possibly due to Garbo's successful reprisal of the role years earlier and the great expectations audiences had for Leigh in this particular role. The plan had been to pair Leigh with her husband, Laurence Olivier, as the couple's off-screen romance paralleled the story of Tolstoi's characters (they had both left spouses after meeting each other). Unfortunately, Olivier was filming *Hamlet* (1948) and was unavailable. The Irish actor Kieron Moore could not rise to the occasion in love scenes with Leigh and was generally disappointing as Vronskii. Further problems developed over how to adapt Tolstoi's novel. Director Julien Duvivier favored the French playwright Jean Anouilh's hypertext that placed the film in modern-day France and glorified Anna's suicide as her only option for living a free life. Producer Alexander Korda favored Guy Morgan's version that did not migrate far from the original novel. This UK production did not perform well at the box office, but it hardly affected the Tolstoi brand going forward.¹² Jacqueline Bisset would again play Anna Karenina in 1985 with Christopher Reeve as Vronskii. Sophie Marceau played the lead role in Bernard Rose's 1997 hypertext. Most recently, Tom Stoppard provided the screenplay for Joe Wright's *Anna Karenina* starring Keira Knightley and Jude Law as Karenin.

Yuri Leving examines in this collection the many versions of Anna Karenina's suicide and argues that major visual symbols have accumulated in the cinematic language around this one scene. One of these images is that of the eye, an exquisite homage to the Russian cinematic tradition rooted in Dziga Vertov's Cine-Eyes (Kinoki) movement. In particular, Vertov's *Man with a Movie Camera* (1929), establishes various relations between female sexuality and urban-based machines, especially the train and the camera that are repeated in various versions. Yet, it is violence that dominates the cinematic versions of *Anna Karenina*, especially in Sergei Solov'ev's gruesome 2009 vivisection. Leving concludes that a new visual language has emerged that has successfully transported Anna beyond the pages of Tolstoi's novel to

a different cinematic terrain in which meaning is ascribed to what is seen (and no longer to what was written).

Although *Anna Karenina* received the majority of Western filmmakers' attention, in 1956 an Italian-US Dino De Laurentiis co-production of *War and Peace* starred Audrey Hepburn, Henry Fonda, and Mel Ferrer. The movie was epic in scope, although Tolstoi's numerous plotlines had been significantly scaled down. Hepburn's Natasha and Ferrer's Prince Bolkonskii were able to overcome a somewhat stilted performance by Fonda as Pierre. Director King Vidor received praise for his expert pacing of the film, maintaining the feeling of an epic without getting lost in the plot. Undoubtedly, any attempt at a hypertext of *War and Peace* (in the past or in the future) will be compared with Bondarchuk's 1967 masterpiece, except possibly, when watching Woody Allen's *Love and Death* (1975). In fact, the film is a satire of not only Tolstoi, but also of much of Russian culture, including Dostoevskii and Sergei Eisenstein. Allen plays Boris the pacifist and Diane Keaton is Sonja, who is getting married out of patriotic duty during Russia's war with Napoleon. Both Sonja and Boris decide to assassinate the French leader. Despite being a dense intellectual comedy, it remains one of Allen's more successful films.

Although Tolstoi's large novels may have lent themselves frequently to border crossings, Dostoevskii received his fair share of attention as well. *Crime and Punishment* was an obvious choice for many filmmakers with its themes of murder, madness, and redemption. The first production in the United States was Lawrence B. McGill's 1917 version. Peter Lorre played Raskolnikov in Columbia Pictures' 1935 version, one of the more successful adaptations of the crime novel. Although some associate the film and its cinematic style with the director, Josef von Sternberg, the film played to the natural strengths of Lorre, who seemed expressly made for the part. The movie strays from Dostoevskii's novel in the strictest sense, concentrating on the crime, guilt, confession, and arrest, but ignoring the punishment and the larger philosophical issues, although Sternberg and Lorre provide a hypertext that is hauntingly congruent with the hypotext, especially with Lorre's ability to create a disturbing, yet sympathetic anti-hero. George Hamilton played a similar role in *Crime and Punishment, U.S.A.* (1959) and John Hurt reprised the lead role in a UK television mini-series in 1979. Hurt returned in a 2002 version directed by Menahem Golan as the detective Porfirii along with Crispin Glover (Raskolnikov), Vanessa Redgrave (Raskolnikov's mother), and Margot Kidder (Katerina Marmeladov).

The Brothers Karamazov (1958), starring Yul Brynner as Dmitrii and William Shatner as Aleksei, remains one of the more memorable American hypertexts of Dostoevskii's novel. In Richard Brooks's version, the primary focus is on the passionate relationship of Dmitrii and Grushenka (Maria Schell) and the murder of Fedor Karamazov (Lee J. Cobb). The moral

dilemmas represented in the characters of Ivan (Richard Basehart) and Aleksei remain undeveloped in this cinematic version. Brynner took the role very seriously and received, as part of his contract, private lessons about Russia from Count Andrei Tolstoi, the nephew of the novelist. However, it was Cobb who was nominated for an Academy Award as the debauched father.¹³ Leitch argues at the start of this collection of essays that Brooks's adaptation offered a more nuanced view of a multi-faceted Russia than most Cold War films.

The 1960s provided some of the more memorable adaptations of Russian texts for Western cinema. Beginning with Stanley Kubrick's *Lolita* (1962) and ending with Mel Brooks's *Twelve Chairs* (1970), which is discussed here by Robert Mulcahy, the decade was embroiled in a counterculture movement that was reflected in these films. Significantly, the feature film industry was in a state of transition, and it was not until the end of the decade that the Hollywood feature would reemerge as a form of entertainment for an increasingly affluent population. One of the reasons for Kubrick's decision to film *Lolita* in England was to avoid the American studio system that was struggling to regain its footing. More to the point, Hollywood was forced to react to the European film market and the perception that foreign productions were setting new standards for sophistication and artistic achievement. Art-house films were being dominated by European directors who were still struggling with the moral legacy of World War II.¹⁴ Can we see the increased interest in Russian literature as a reaction to the aesthetics of the European art films of neo-realism, auterism, and New Wave?

Kubrick's *Lolita*, about a middle-aged man's obsession with a prepubescent girl, was a significant development in the filmmaker's career. It was the first film over which Kubrick had complete creative control. He and producer James B. Harris had purchased the film rights to Vladimir Nabokov's novel in 1958. Nabokov himself tried several times to adapt his own hypotext, but the author and filmmaker could not come to an agreement. Although Nabokov received the sole credit for the screenplay, Kubrick and Harris extensively revised the script. Sue Lyon, who was thirteen, played the part of Lolita and although she was older than Nabokov's "nymphet," it was as far as Kubrick could push the censors on this delicate issue. James Mason played Humbert Humbert and Shelley Winters was Charlotte, Lolita's mother. Peter Sellers expanded the role of Clare Quilty and nearly stole the entire film with his mimicry and improvisation.

When released, *Lolita* was criticized for lacking psychological depth even though it had been made under strict censorship limitations. Kubrick himself was particularly disappointed with the finished product. Even so, the film received an Oscar nomination for Best Adapted Screenplay.¹⁵ It was not until 1997, when Adriane Lyne directed Jeremy Irons (Humbert), Melanie Griffith (Charlotte), Frank Langella (Quilty), and Dominique Swain (Lolita) in *Lolita*

that the film could contain “aberrant sexuality, a strong scene of violence, nudity and some language,” as described by the Motion Picture Association of America, capturing the deviant sensuality of Nabokov’s original.

Only four years removed from his role as Dmitrii Karamazov, Yul Brynner appeared in the large-scale Hollywood epic *Taras Bulba* (1962). At the height of his popularity, after *The King and I* (1956) and *The Magnificent Seven* (1960), Brynner specifically selected Gogol’s novella about a Cossack warlord who raises his son Andrei to infiltrate and kill the Polish enemy to avenge the Cossack people. Unexpectedly, Andrei falls in love with a Polish princess (Christine Kaufmann) creating absolute mayhem and violence on screen, executed with nearly 10,000 Argentinian extras. According to Nathaniel Thompson,

The fact that Polish Jews were the victims of Bulba’s attacks proved to be an early sticking point when Brynner recruited popular historical novelist Howard Fast to write the screenplay. When Fast refused to soften the implications of the borderline ethnic cleansing involved in the story, blacklisted writer Waldo Salt and Karl Tunberg were brought in to write the final script, with Harold Hecht producing.¹⁶

The film suffered from post-production choices in editing, but was nominated for an Oscar for Franz Waxman’s musical score in 1963. No matter what the possible criticisms of this film, it can be no worse than the 2009 Russian version of *Taras Bul’ba*. As Ian Appleby states, “Vladimir Bortko’s film adaptation is faithful [as an adolescent adventure story] inasmuch as it largely fails to engage on any more sophisticated level—despite a big budget, period costumes and some respected actors.” The film, which takes a very anti-Western/pro-Russian position, essentially acts as an “adolescent nationalist fantasy.”¹⁷

One of the most popular adaptations with Western audiences was *Doctor Zhivago* (1965) starring Omar Sharif (Zhivago), Julie Christie (Lara), Rod Steiger (Komarovskii), and Alec Guinness (Evgraf). Producer Carlo Ponti bought the film rights to Boris Pasternak’s novel from the Italian publisher in 1963 and hired David Lean as director due to his masterful handling of *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962). *Doctor Zhivago* was the first major Western film to depict the Russian Revolution, with later epics such as *Nicholas and Alexandra* (1971) and *Reds* (1981) to follow. The majority of *Doctor Zhivago* was shot in Spain over the course of two years and it cost \$14 million to make. Frank Miller notes that along with the reissue of *Gone with the Wind* (1939), *Doctor Zhivago* saved MGM from bankruptcy.

It also marked a new path for the historical epic. Previous films had simply focused on the scope of world-shaping events. With *Zhivago* director

David Lean and scriptwriter Robert Bolt brought a new romantic sensibility to the epic. That Victorian ideal would inform such later blockbusters as *Mary*, *Queen of Scots* (1971), *Lady Gray* (1986) and *Titanic* (1997).¹⁸

Doctor Zhivago was nominated for ten Academy Awards. It won for Best Adapted Screenplay, Best Cinematography (Freddie Young), Best Art Direction (John Box), Best Costumes (Phyllis Dalton), and Best Score (Maurice Jarre).¹⁹ This is certainly the most successful Zhivago hypertext, although there have also been Giacomo Campiotti's 2002 television mini-series starring Keira Knightley (Lara) and Sam Neill (Komarovskii) and the 2006 Russian mini-series with Menshikov (Zhivago), Chulpan Khamatova (Lara), and Sergei Garmash (the senior Antipov).

In 1968 Sidney Lumet, the director of theatrical adaptations such as *Twelve Angry Men* (1957) and *Long Day's Journey Into Night* (1962), decided to film Chekhov's *The Seagull*. Lumet assembled a stellar cast with James Mason (Trigorin), Vanessa Redgrave (Nina), David Warner (Treplev), Denholm Elliot (Dorn), and the French actress Simone Signoret (Arkadina). Unlike Konstantin Stanislavskii, who perfected the Chekhovian drama,²⁰ Lumet and his cast could not capture the tragi-comedic elements and most critics faulted the film for its austere tragedy and dramatic intensity.

In 1970, Mel Brooks adapted Il'f and Petrov's *The Twelve Chairs*, which satirizes Russian society in the early NEP years. Ostap Bender is played by Frank Langella and Dom DeLuise is Father Fedor. Mulcahy argues in his essay that the film is an important step in Brooks's development and a clear attempt by him to make an intellectual and aesthetic departure from his earlier films. Brooks personalizes the Russian satire by providing stereotypes of the Slavic and Jewish cultures that an American audience might recognize and find entertaining. Along with Brooks, *The Twelve Chairs* has been filmed by Tomás Gutiérrez Alea in Cuba in 1962, as a Soviet television mini-series in 1976, and by Leonid Gaidai in 1971 for Mosfilm.

Scholarship on Russian hypotexts in US and UK cinema is lacking, although there are many examples of successful films, as noted above, in need of attention. Of interest is the cultural baggage that is often smuggled through customs and then reimagined by Hollywood and London producers. This cultural baggage most often depicts Russia as an exotic and untamed place with passionate and slightly dangerous people, while revolution, war, love, and suffering are recurrent themes. However, as Leitch posits in this collection, these cinematic offerings are often in such universalistic terms that Western audiences never are asked to leave the comfort of their own culture and they rarely cross any borders (real or imagined) even when watching the Russian literary classics.

FRENCH CINEMA

In the 1930s, French cinema had become highly experimental, viewing film as art, creating a cinema of “intellectuals for intellectuals.” The filmmakers of this period anticipated the groundbreaking French New Wave of the 1960s.²¹ During this Golden Age of French cinema and, with the introduction of “talkies,” many authors and playwrights began to transport their works to the silver screen. In particular, the French embraced their own literary tradition with cinematic versions of Stendhal, Honoré de Balzac, Gustave Flaubert, Emile Zola, and Guy de Maupassant. Out of this trend, a cinematic current called *poetic realism* developed with film adaptations of French literary naturalism found in the works of Balzac, Victor Hugo, Eugène Sue, and Zola. The films concentrated on a working-class individual who experienced disillusionment and disenchantment. Rémi Fournier Lanzoni argues that “A succinct summary of major themes in poetic realism could be presented as follows: the representation of the popular hero, the pessimistic atmosphere, the (doomed) quest for happiness, and finally the tragic destiny.”²² All of this sounds quite Russian, in fact.

Consequently, it should not be surprising that Jean Renoir chose to work with Gor’kii’s *Lower Depths* in 1936. Renoir was considered the most “authentically French” filmmaker at the time and had already transported Flaubert’s *Madame Bovary* (1933) and Maupassant’s *Une partie de campagne* (1936; released 1946), and would later film Zola’s *La Bête Humaine* (1938).²³ With help from the Russian writer Evgenii Zamiatin, Renoir and Charles Spaak wrote the screenplay for *Les bas-fonds*. The film won the Louis Delluc Prize as selected by the Young Independent Critics of France. Although not Renoir’s most famous film, as French film theorists in the 1950s searched for a new filmic language that rejected old-fashioned concepts of literary adaptation for a more fluid personal reading of the literary canon, *Les bas-fonds* became an inspirational model for New Wave directors.²⁴

French cinema of the 1950s produced a group of young film critics and future filmmakers who in the 1960s would challenge established conventions and the outdated aesthetics of the studio system. Robert Bresson was one of the early directors of *cinéma d’auteur*—most often quoted by the following generation of directors for his originality. Of particular interest for this discussion is Bresson’s fascination (if not obsession) with Dostoevskii, which resonated with the filmmaker’s own individual spirituality and asceticism. As discussed in this collection, Bresson’s *Pickpocket* is viewed as a hypertext of Dostoevskii’s *Crime and Punishment*. Olga Hasty argues here that Dostoevskii and Bresson let their characters go free (within the ideational sphere) at the end of their respective works in order to embrace the unknown and the unforeseeable that lies beyond human control. Both the Russian writer and the French filmmaker proffer the regenerative power of

love, while representing the forces that obstruct the experience. Bresson's specific approach to Dostoevskii in *Pickpocket* is to mute the writer's narrative qualities in order to establish a uniquely French cinematographic experience. Bresson engages Dostoevskii's ideational sphere but creates a film that obfuscates the original narrative source in order to avoid the direct comparison of novel with film. In contrast, S. Ceilidh Orr argues that *Crime and Punishment* and Albert Camus's *The Stranger* serve as important intertexts for Bresson's *Pickpocket*, which she understands as a confessional narrative. Bresson's confession, in this modernist context, is a rejection of determinism and causality. Orr suggests that Bresson positions his film *Pickpocket* in direct dialogue with the hypotexts of Dostoevskii and Camus, in order to present the crime of picking pockets as a confessional act.

Inspired by *The Idiot*, Bresson then made *Au Hasard Balthazar* in 1966, which examines the life and death of the donkey Balthazar. The donkey is used by Bresson as a symbol of Christian faith and both Balthazar and his first owner, the young Marie (Anne Wiazemsky), suffer at the hands of people in the village. It is through Balthazar's eyes that the audience sees that the people in the village are weak and often cruel. Bresson's film opened the 1966 Venice Film Festival and won both the OCIC (International Catholic Organization for Cinema) Award and the Jury Hommage.

Une femme douce (1969) was Bresson's first color film and was based on Dostoevskii's short story "The Meek One." Loosely based on Dostoevskii's *White Nights*, and contrasting sharply with Luchino Visconti's *Le notti bianche* (1957), Bresson made *Quatre nuits d'un rêveur* in 1971. One night, Jacques (Guillaume des Forêts) sees a young Marthe (Isabelle Weingarten) as she tries to commit suicide. When Jacques prevents her from jumping from a bridge, Marthe tells him that she has become desperate after waiting for her lover for over a year. Jacques asks Marthe to meet him the next night and they spend the following three nights wandering through Paris. Jacques falls in love, but Marthe eventually finds her elusive lover, leaving Jacques heartbroken.

Similar to Bresson, Jean-Luc Godard also turned to Dostoevskii for inspiration. *The Possessed* was transported by Godard for his *La Chinoise* (1967). The film takes place in a small apartment in France and dramatizes the political ideologies of five university students who belong to a radical Maoist group. Among their many topics, the characters discuss the need for political assassinations in order to achieve their revolutionary goals. At the end of the film, Véronique (Anne Wiazemsky) mistakenly reverses the room number of the Soviet Minister of Culture and kills the wrong man. Ironically, *La Chinoise* is concerned with French political interests that rejected labor unionization and the Marxist theory of class struggle, even as it does advocate for a broad range of reforms that were initiated by Vladimir Lenin's October Revolution.

Paradoxically, many Russians came to France while fleeing Lenin's

revolution and contributed greatly to French filmmaking. The director Iakov Protazanov and the actor Ivan Mozzhukhin are two such examples. Mozzhukhin had begun his cinematic career in a hypertext of Tolstoi's *The Kreutzer Sonata* (1911) and starred in several of Protazanov's other cinematic hypertexts including *The Possessed* (1915) and *The Queen of Spades* (1916). Mozzhukhin arrived in France at the end of 1919 with an entire company of Russian artists who established themselves in an old Pathé studio in Paris where they began making films as the Albatross production company. Mozzhukhin rapidly became a leading actor in French silent films as well as the author of eleven screenplays.

Mozzhukhin played the lead role in Marcel L'Herbier's masterpiece *Feu Mathias Pascal* in 1926. L'Herbier was one of the preeminent silent film directors of the period and transported two of Tolstoi's works—*Resurrection* (1923) and *The Living Corpse* (1937). Tolstoi remained a popular source for French cinematic hypertexts with the filming of *The Kreutzer Sonata* by both Jean Dréville (1938) and Eric Rohmer (1956); *Father Sergius* was made by Lucien Ganier-Raymond in 1945. One of the more successful hypertexts, however, was Bresson's *L'Argent* (1983) based on the first part of *The Forged Coupon*. This was Bresson's last masterpiece and reflects the filmmaker's disillusionment with the modern age of materialism, as *The Forged Coupon* reflected that of Tolstoi at the end of his life. A chain reaction is caused by a forged 500 franc note by which Bresson confronts materialist society's obsession with money and the improbable things that people are willing to do to get it. Bresson, who first began to adapt the film script in 1977, received the Director's Prize at the 1983 Cannes Film Festival, tying with Tarkovskii for *Nostalghia* (1983).

With the early French and Russian cinema so tightly intertwined, there are research opportunities in the area of border crossings between two countries associated with revolution. How do French political sensibilities depict the Russian struggle under Tsarism, found in so many of the Russian realist novels? How much of the Russian cultural discourse remains in French adaptations when filmmakers, like Bresson, are providing their own personalized readings of these hypotexts?

GERMAN CINEMA

French cinema of the late 1920s and 1930s was negatively impacted by turbulent financial forces and a countless number of experienced actors and technicians were forced to seek work in Germany during these years. Hollywood produced an overwhelming amount of films that they used to flood the market, while the Germans made prestige films to be promoted internationally, especially within the European market. The advent of sound further influenced

French cinema adversely as both Germany and the United States were the largest manufacturers of cinematographic equipment and held most of the patents.

The Russian-French actor Mozzhukhin, as an example, appeared in six German films between 1928 and 1932, including a version of Tolstoi's *Hadji Murat* in 1930. *Der weiße Teufel* was directed by another Russian, Aleksandr Volkov, who began his cinematic career as an actor in one of Protazanov's films in 1913. Volkov and Mozzhukhin would work on nine films together. *Der weiße Teufel* was the first of Mozzhukhin's to include a synchronized soundtrack with limited sound effects, but no dialogue. Prior to *Der weiße Teufel* there had been nine other cinematic hypertexts of Tolstoi's works: *Die Erkenntnis* (1915) directed by Max Mack; Richard Oswald's *Der lebende Leichnam* (1918); *Lebendig tot* (1918) by Alwin Neuß; Frederic Zelnik's *Anna Karenina* (1919); *Die Kreutzer-sonate* directed by both Rolf Petersen (1922) and Veit Harlan (1937); Rudolf Walther-Fein's *Bigamie* (1922); *Der Mensch am Wege* (1923) by William Dieterle starring Marlene Dietrich; and Conrad Wiene's *Die Macht der Finsternis* (1924) with a predominantly Russian cast. Robert Wiene helped his brother write the screenplay for *Die Macht der Finsternis* a year after adapting and filming *Raskolnikov* (1923). Prior to Wiene's hypertext, Rudolf Biebrach had filmed Dostoevskii's *The Gambler* in *Die Rollende Kugel* (1919) and Carl Froelich had filmed *Die Brüder Karamasoff* (1921) with Emil Jannings as Dmitrii.

Much like Volkov, there were several more Russian filmmakers who transported their own literary tradition to European cinema audiences. Petr Chardynin made over 100 silent films including *Dubrowsky, der Räuber Ataman* (1921). Aleksandr Razumnyi filmed Chekhov's *Überflüssige Menschen* (1926) and Pushkin's *Pique Dame* (1927). A German-Soviet joint venture called the Deutsch-Russische Film-Allianz (Derussa) was founded in Berlin in late 1927. Derussa brought Soviet features to Germany and then sold them to other European countries. Russia also supplied émigré actors, directors, set designers, and scenarists to make "Russian" films in Germany. As already mentioned, many of these Russians, in fact, came from Paris and the French cinema industry. After financial mismanagement, Derussa suspended payment to all of its projects in September 1929.²⁵ Fedor Otsep came to Germany in 1929 to film Tolstoi's *The Living Corpse* with Vsevolod Pudovkin playing the lead role as a joint German-Soviet production. Remaining in Germany, Otsep and Erich Engels released *Der Mörder Dimitri Karamasoff* in 1931. The film was shot twice, once with German actors in German and once with French actors in French. The lead actress for both versions was Anna Sten, who got her start in the Soviet film *The Girl with the Hatbox* (1927), which was distributed in Europe by Derussa. Sten also starred in Protazanov's adaptation of Andreev's "The Governor" (*The White Eagle*, 1928) and, after

going to the United States, in Rouben Mamoulian's *We Live Again* (1934), based on Tolstoi's *Resurrection*.

World War II eventually brought an end to Soviet–German film cooperation, for a time. After the war, the Universum Film AG (UFA) studios were in the Soviet occupation zone and were reopened almost immediately after German capitulation. The film production company Deutsche Film-Aktiengesellschaft (DEFA) became a state-owned monopoly for East Germany. In the East, filmmaking remained centralized. For the most part, DEFA films were made by communists and leftists who had not prospered under the Nazis.²⁶ The first hypertext of a Russian hypotext by DEFA was *Die Mutter* (1958). In fact, this was Bertold Brecht's 1931 theatrical adaptation of Gor'kii's *Mother* that was filmed by Manfred Wekwerth, who used many of Brecht's actors for his cinematic version. Hypertexts of Gor'kii's works were also popular on East German television: *Die Letzten* (1963; 1977); *Kinder der Sonne* (1967); *Die Kleinbürger* (1968); *Nachtasyl* (1971; 1974; 1980); *Somow und andere* (1974); *Die Mutter* (1981); *Jegor Buljtschow und die Anderen* (1982); and *Barbaron* (1989).

In West Germany, film production was slower to recover and with the advent of regular television service in 1952, many Russian literary texts were transported to the small screen. As in East Germany, Gor'kii²⁷ was particularly popular as was Dostoevskii.²⁸ On the big screen, Rolf Hansen made *Auferstehung* (1958), a hypertext of Tolstoi's *Resurrection*. In 1969, *Scarabea—wieviel Erde braucht der Mensch?* by Hans-Jürgen Syberberg was based on Tolstoi's 1886 short story "How Much Land Does a Man Require?" West German filmmakers also adapted the works of Nabokov: David Niven played Charles Dreyer in a US–West German co-production of Jerzy Skolimowski's *King, Queen, Knave* (1972); Rainer Werner Fassbinder filmed *Despair* (1978); in another co-production, John Goldschmidt made *Maschenka* (1987), based on Nabokov's first novel, written while living in Berlin. Dennis Ioffe argues that Fassbinder builds upon the homosexual and Jewish themes found in Nabokov's *Despair*. Although these are rather subdued within Nabokov's text, Fassbinder exploits the rise of the Nationalist Socialist Party in Germany to heighten the dramatic suspense of his film. According to Ioffe, this is the main innovation of the cinematic hypertext, a historical perspective that Nabokov could not have completely foretold at the time of the novel's publication.

Prior to the war, German film studios were second only to the Hollywood studios in production and technology levels. It was at this time that German film companies drew from émigrés with experience in the Russian film industry, those who readily transported Russian literary classics into German cinemas. In turn, this experience in German studios proved valuable for Soviet actors, directors, and screenwriters. German Expressionism, developed in the 1920s, eventually penetrated Soviet film production as seen in

Eisenstein's *Ivan the Terrible* (1944). Following the war, the Soviet Union quickly reestablished the East German film industry. Many Soviet hypertexts were then brought, once again, to German cinemas. Given the interruption of film production it is understandable why post-war German filmmaking has been concerned with identity formation. New German Cinema emerged in the 1960s, including Fassbinder and Syberberg, who rejected the commercial studio system in order to achieve artistic freedom. However, as German film production has evolved, literary adaptations have mainly focused on German authors engaged in the German historical experience and how it relates to their national identity.²⁹ In this search for German distinctiveness, Russian literary texts seem to offer few answers to these questions.

ITALIAN CINEMA

The Cold War weighed heavily on Italian society. In 1948, elections were held for a new parliament in a rancorous political atmosphere that led to the shooting of the secretary of the Italian Communist Party by a right-wing extremist. Further acrimony resulted from Italy joining the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949. That same year, the Vatican excommunicated all Communists and their supporters. Political purges in Eastern Europe and McCarthyism in the United States continued to disrupt Italian society. As if this were not enough, Nikita Khrushchev's revelations at the Twentieth Party Congress caused yet deeper crisis in the Italian Communist Party.

This Cold War period coincided with the height of Italian neorealist cinema. Important cinematic hypertexts of this period included Riccardo Freda's *Aquila Nera*, based on Pushkin's *Dubrovskii* and a remake of Valentino's adaptation, *The Eagle* (1925), Freda's sequel *La vendetta di Aquila Nera* (1951), and Mario Camerini's *La figlia del capitano* (1947). Carlo Testa argues that Camerini selected Pushkin's *The Captain's Daughter* at a time when Italian political forces were wavering between an American-led Western bloc and a pro-Soviet Eastern bloc. The threat of a Slavic horde, especially after conflicts around the Italo-Yugoslav border, informed the filmmaker's depiction of the Pugachev revolt.³⁰ Nearly a decade later, Carmine Gallone provided another movie loosely based on Pushkin's text—*Michel Strogoff* (1956). This large-scale, widescreen production also depicted hordes of Yugoslav cavalymen disguised as Tartar rebels and bears dancing at a county fair by the Danube.³¹ The negative depiction of the Slavic marauders hit their intended mark with Italian audiences and won support for the Western bloc.

La tempesta (1958) was directed by Alberto Lattuada and was also based in part on Pushkin's *The Captain's Daughter*, but was made once Italy was

safely underneath the protection of NATO. Lattuada's Russians were less barbaric and Italian audiences "watched a different world on the screens of their cinemas."³² Lattuada received the Academy of Italian Cinema's award for Best Director for this film that has been referred to since as a Pushkinian "spaghetti eastern."³³ Lattuada showed a special affinity for Russian literary texts throughout his cinematic career. In 1952, he had created the scribe Carmine De Carmine in *Il cappotto* drawing from Gogol's *The Overcoat*. A decade later, he filmed *La steppa* inspired by Chekhov's *The Steppe: The Story of a Trip* from 1888. The film was shot in Yugoslavia and told the tale of a young boy who, during a trip through the steppe, witnessed disease, old age, religious zeal, and the greed for gold. Lattuada's intention was to present life as a struggle for survival.³⁴ In 1976, Lattuada adapted Bulgakov's *Heart of a Dog* for Italian audiences. *Cuore di cane* attempted to transform Bulgakov's grotesque elements into a more humane story, yet while still conveying the deep pessimism that Italians were feeling about their own struggle for civil liberties.³⁵

Luchino Visconti also turned to the Russian classics, Dostoevskii in particular. Visconti filmed *Le notti bianche*, which Testa argues "aptly symbolized the dysphoric mood of Italian democrats amid the many political disappointments of a country that, in 1957, still appeared in impotent provincialism." Three years later, Visconti filmed *Rocco e i suoi fratelli*, which borrowed narrative elements from Dostoevskii's *The Idiot*. The film represents the mass migration of Italians from the South to Northern cities in the 1950s.³⁶ Marcello Mastroianni starred in Visconti's *Le notti bianche* and, thirty years later, in Nikita Mikhalkov's *Oci ciornie* (1987). In *Le notti bianche* Mastroianni played Mario, a shy young man new to Livorno, who falls in love with Natalia after accompanying her about the city for three nights. Natalia was played by Maria Schell, whose next role would be Grushenka in Richard Brooks's *The Brothers Karamazov* (1958). Ronald Meyer has argued in this collection of essays that the Italian hypertext of *Le notti bianche*, along with Bresson's *Quatre nuits d'un rêveur*, has added an entirely new semantic layer of meaning to Dostoevskii's hypotext, making it difficult for future filmmakers to ignore these cinematic versions. On the other hand, *Oci ciornie* was a Russian-Italian co-production, which was based on several of Chekhov's stories, most notably "Lady with the Pet Dog." Mastroianni received the Best Actor Award at the Cannes Film Festival for his role as Romano.³⁷

Italian cinema, like those national cinemas already mentioned, seemed to favor transpositions of both Tolstoi³⁸ and Dostoevskii.³⁹ In particular, it is worth mentioning Paolo and Vittorio Taviani, brothers who several times adapted Tolstoi's works for the silver screen. In 1971, they reimagined *The Divine and the Human* as *San Michele aveva un gallo*, which was praised by film critics. Their *Il sole anche di notte* (1990) was based on *Father Sergius*. Testa

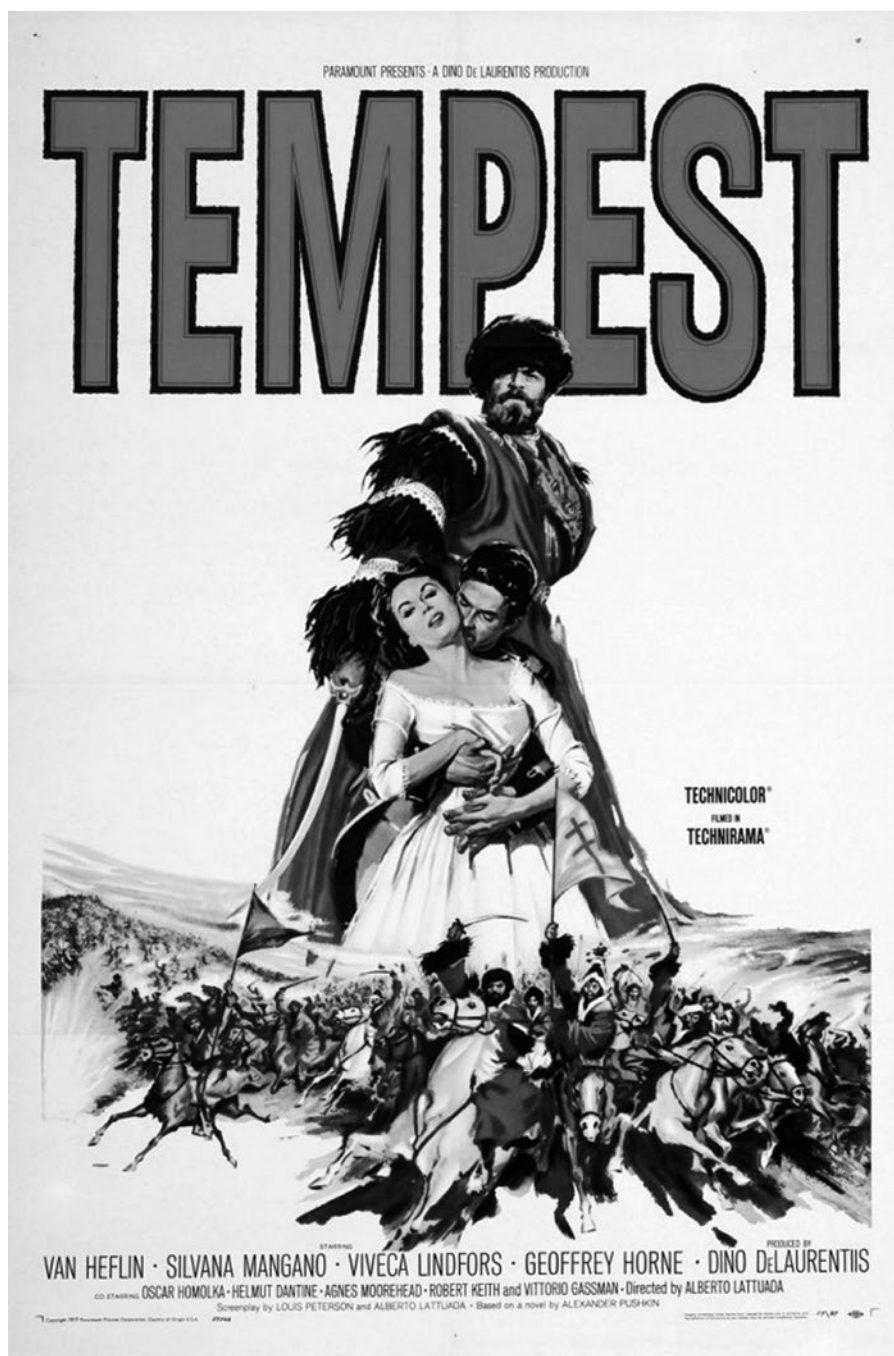


Figure C.3 American movie poster for the Dino De Laurentiis production of *La tempesta* (1958).

explains: "A society imbued with the quick, abundant, and vulgar money of private TV empires clearly acts here as the Tavianis' cultural subtext."⁴⁰ In 2001, the brothers also directed a television mini-series which drew inspiration from *Resurrection*.

Bernardo Bertolucci filmed *Partner* in 1968, a transference of Dostoevskii's *The Double*. The novella depicts a government clerk who goes mad, obsessed by the idea that a fellow colleague has usurped his identity. In *Partner*, Pierre Clémenti plays the dual roles of the acting teacher Giacobbe and his deranged double. This was one of Bertolucci's less successful films, followed by the more critically acclaimed *Il conformista* (1970) and *Last Tango in Paris* (1972). Testa suggests that *Partner* embodies the revolt of 1968 and can be interpreted as an exhaustive anthology of Italian filmmaking during a period of cultural transition.⁴¹

Other notable Italian transpositions include Renato Castellani's animation of Pushkin's "The Shot" from *The Tales of Belkin* in *Un colpo di pistol* (1942); Marco Bellocchio's *Il gabbiano* (1977), which captured the struggle of Italian intellectuals in the dialogue of Chekhov's *The Seagull*; Andrei Platonov's novella *The Third Son*, which inspired Francesco Rosi's *Tre fratelli* (1981); and *Lamerica* (1994), which was Gianni Amelio's reimagining of Gogol's *Dead Souls*. Testa concludes that Russian literature and culture in the decades immediately following World War II seemed to present to Italians an uncomplicated commercial product, which they desired, and that later it allowed Italian society to explore revolutionary themes. In the 1980s, both of these trends faded and we find fewer and fewer representations of those Russian themes in contemporary Italian cinema.⁴²

CONCLUSIONS

Once you hear the "thunk, thunk," you know that your passport has been stamped and that you will be allowed legally to cross the border into a different country. Experienced travelers understand that this crossing involves more than just intersecting political lines and demarcations. Entering a different country means interacting with a dissimilar culture, often speaking a different language, and, sometimes, negotiating a contradictory understanding of the surrounding world. This transportation into different cultural territories is complicated further if this passage takes you to eighteenth-century Moscow or nineteenth-century St. Petersburg or to the shores of the Volga, to Nizhnii Novgorod, at the beginning of the twentieth century. How can a German or Italian cinematographer interact with this new and unfamiliar territory? How does an American or Japanese producer transport Communist revolutionaries to movie theaters in Salt Lake City or Tokyo in a meaningful way? Can a

British or French actress truly find her way into the role of Anna Karenina? These questions have less to do with the theory of adaption and much more to do with the issue of cultural communication. Yet, it has worked, when done well—Lean’s *Doctor Zhivago* and Bresson’s *Pickpocket* are examples.

Not every border crossing causes a cultural and physical dislocation. In some instances, especially in Russia itself, the borders are unexpectedly realigned, causing a different type of cinematic migration. Films from literary hypotexts are preferred in this case because as the political landscape changes, culture becomes an anchor by which one can hold firmly onto one’s past. Bondarchuk’s *War and Peace* is a timeless classic for this reason. In fact, many of the films that are still discussed in Russian film courses are hypertexts of literary works: *Chapaev*, *Circus*, *The Cranes Are Flying*, *A Few Days from the Life of I. I. Oblomov*, *Stalker*, and *Prisoner of the Mountains*. The more unknown the political terrain, the more comforting it is to travel that topography with a trusted friend—Pushkin, Tolstoi, Chekhov, or Bulgakov.

Border Crossing: Russian Literature into Film invites further investigation of the transportation of a literary text to another time and place. Crossing from one temporal or spatial territory into another alters the cinematic environment as film versions of literary texts are involved in a dialogical process. In most instances, audiences know that they will be entering a new territory, one that may look different from the one they remember (or imagined). As a result, the conversation should not be bound to fidelity, but to how the new cinematic territory communicates, interacts with, and interprets Gogol, Dostoevskii, or Nabokov. After all, how can you ask Kubrick to restrain Sellers as the two joyfully begin their voyage together, even if it means making Clare Quilty the most dynamic character of *Lolita*—the film, not the book? Adapting, transporting, migrating, conveying, transferring, transposing—whatever words best describe the action of crossing into new cinematic territories with often an entirely different semantic language, this collection of essays argues that the metaphor of travel across spatial and temporal borders is best used when visiting your favorite Russian classic at your local movie theater.

NOTES

1. The French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu offered the term “cultural capital” that has been employed by scholars in discussions of canon formation. Such a discussion about the constitution and distribution of cultural capital (associated with both literary and cinematic production) and how it applies to consumption should eventually be had within the context of both the Russian literary canon and the films that have resulted from those works, those films that create symbolic and/or ideological capital for a particular purpose. This concluding chapter, however, avoids any explicit attempt to form a cinematic canon of Russian-inspired cinematic hypertexts in order to expand, rather than reduce, the

scholarly conversation. That said, there is a large body of actors (producers, directors, scriptwriters, actors) within the cinematic process who often collude with cultural merchants (critics, theater owners, merchandisers) to project an aesthetic value (art-house film, literary classic) for purely economic or ideological reasons. The following discussion will more closely track toward the historical and economic drivers of film production than the specific debate over canonicity. See Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art*; Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*.

2. Beumers, *A History of Russian Cinema*, 8–15. As Beumers states, 53 percent of Russian films in the 1910s were adaptations. *Ibid.*, 18.
3. Youngblood, “Iakov Protazanov, the ‘Russian Griffith,’” 105–21.
4. Youngblood, *Russian War Films*, 118.
5. Beumers, *Nikita Mikhalkov*, 40–66.
6. Beumers, *A History of Russian Cinema*, 164.
7. *Ibid.*, 225–6, at 225.
8. Belton, *American Cinema/American Culture*, 13.
9. Sargeant, *British Cinema*, 30–7.
10. Steffen, “The Eagle.”
11. Neuhaus, “Anna Karenina (1935).”
12. Miller, “Anna Karenina (1948).”
13. Steinberg, “The Brothers Karamazov (1958).”
14. Monaco, *The Sixties*, 3.
15. Stafford, “Lolita.”
16. Thompson, “Taras Bulba (1962).”
17. Appleby, *Vladimir Bortko*.
18. Miller, “Doctor Zhivago.”
19. *Ibid.*
20. Some debate exists as to the assertion of Stanislavskii’s role in “perfecting” the “Chekhovian drama”; however, in this instance Lumet’s hypertext was unsuccessful in striking the delicate notes between tragedy and comedy or for capturing the mood of a dissatisfied society on the eve of revolution for which Stanislavskii’s theatrical hypertexts are credited. An earlier reference to Bourdieu and canon formation could offer an interesting research project considering the way in which Stanislavskii and the Moscow Art Theater built a reputation on perfecting the “Chekhovian drama,” against which all other hypertexts (theatrical and cinematic) are now compared. How has the Moscow Art Theater co-opted and branded Chekhov’s plays so successfully and why is no other interpretation possible in the estimation of cultural merchants?
21. Lanzoni, *French Cinema*, 45–7.
22. *Ibid.*, 75.
23. *Ibid.*, 84.
24. *Ibid.*, 207.
25. Saunders, “The German–Russian Film (Mis)Alliance (DERUSSA),” 168–88.
26. Brockmann, *A Critical History of German Film*, 192–4.
27. *Nachtsyl* (1959; 1982); *Wassa Schelesnowa* (1963); *Der Alte* (1967); *Die Letzten* (1967); *Langweile* (1969); *Die Kleinbürger* (1969); *Menschen* (1970); *Die Mutter* (1971); *Feinde* (1976).
28. *Raskolnikov* (1953); *Helle Nächte* (1964); *Die Sanfte* (1964); *Onkelchens Traum* (1965); *Die fremde Frau und der Mann unter dem Bett* (1968); *Der ewige Gatte* (1969); *Die Ballade von der Geige* (1972); *Die Dämonen* (1977).
29. For more on this subject see Rentschler, *German Film and Literature*.

30. Testa, *Italian Cinema*, 2–14.
31. *Ibid.*, 19–20.
32. *Ibid.*, 14.
33. *Ibid.*, 30.
34. *Ibid.*, 31–2.
35. *Ibid.*, 84–9.
36. *Ibid.*, 36–8.
37. Mastroianni was originally cast to be the lead role in Shakhnazarov's *Ward no. 6*, which he first tried to produce in 1988.
38. *La sonata a Kreutzer* (Umberto Fracchia, 1920); *Il cadaver vivente* (Pier Angelo Mazzolotti, 1921); *Resurrezione* (Mario Caserini, 1917; Flavio Calzavara, 1944); *Amante senza amore* (Gianni Franciolini, 1948); *Polikuschka* (Carmin Gallone, 1958); *Agi Murad il diavolo bianco* (Riccardo Freda, 1959); *Teorama* (Pier Palo Pasolini, 1968).
39. *L'idiota* (Salvatore Aversano, 1919); *Il principe idiota* (Eugenio Perego, 1920); *Nella morsa della colpa* (Aleksandr Uralsky, 1921); *I fratelli Karamazoff* (Giacomo Gentilomo, 1947); *Bianca* (Nanni Moretti, 1984).
40. Testa, *Italian Cinema*, 149.
41. *Ibid.*, 59.
42. *Ibid.*, 195.