HUMANITIES INSTITUTE Burak Sevingen, MA

Crime and Punishment (1935)

Josef von Sternberg (1894-1969)

Contents

Overview Story Themes Characters Character Analysis (Roderick Raskolnikov – Sonya – Inspector Porfiry)

OVERVIEW

"It was an assignment"—Josef von Sternberg remarked in retrospect when asked why he had chosen to direct Crime and Punishment. The choice was significant as it marked the end of von Sternberg's eightyear-long Paramount Pictures period, which had culminated in three silent films in the 1920s and six dazzling films with Marlene Dietrich in the early 1930s—plus *The Blue Angel* that he directed as he was loaned to Germany's UFA. This new project had a low budget, a far cry from some of director's previous films like *The Last Command*, for which he had enjoyed working with a blank check. Although *Crime and Punishment* had a modest scope, von Sternberg's retrospective recollection of it as an assignment was an understatement. For one thing, he was faced with the challenge of adapting one of the all-time masterpieces of literature to cinema.

The Novel and Adaptations. 1935's most popular film was *Mutiny on the Bounty* (Lloyd), another literary adaptation with a historical setting. Some of the literary classics—including *Crime and Punishment*¹—were in the public domain and required no copyright payment, which made them attractive **for the producers.** <u>Fyodor Dostoevsky</u>'s 1866 novel <u>Crime and Punishment</u>² had been adapted into film many times since 1909—with an early expressionist version, *Raskolnikow*, by Robert Wiene in 1923. Since then, adaptations have been filmed in India, Philippines, Finland, Mexico, and various other countries. In 1935, when Josef von Sternberg's version was released, another *Crime and Punishment*—directed by Pierre Chenal premiered in France (in a contemporary review, Graham Greene remarked that the French version was preferable over von Sternberg's film, which he found "vulgar").³ Among later works that are inspired by Dostoevsky's classic are Bresson's *Pickpocket* (1959) and Scorcese's *Taxi Driver* (1976). There have been several television series starring top actors such as Ben Kingsley and John Hurt.

Peter Lorre. Peter Lorre was cast as Roderick (Rodion in the novel) Raskalnikov. Lorre was a rising star who had worked with Brecht and had achieved international recognition with Fritz Lang's <u>M</u>. The previous year, he had completed *The Man Who Knew Too Much* with Hitchcock. Lorre had yet to play Joel Cairo and Ugarte, roles that would make him even more famous, respectively in *The Maltese Falcon* (Huston, 1941) and *Casablanca* (Curtiz, 1942). He was the only member of the cast who had read Dostoevsky's novel.⁴ According to Thomas Beltzer, he "was born to play Raskolnikov and "*Crime and Punishment* is a Peter Lorre tour-de-force ably assisted by Josef von Sternberg".⁵

The Cast. Von Sternberg didn't think too highly of the caliber of the cast⁶; nonetheless, it included respectable actors who turned out fine performances. Sonya (Maria Marsh) is as charming as previous von Sternberg heroines, but the story does not call for the dazzling glamour that his audience would have been accustomed to. The relentless and perceptive police inspector was played by Edward Arnold (*Meet Nero Wolfe* [1936], *Meet John Doe* [1941], *The Devil and Daniel Webster* [1941]), who was a veteran of authority figure roles. Mrs. Patrick Campbell played the pawnbroker. Campbell was a renowned stage actress—George Bernard Shaw had written *Pygmalion* with her in mind. Campbell was angry at the way von Sternberg filmed her, she thought he overdid the physical ugliness of the detestable pawnbroker.⁷

Gene Lockart plays Lushin, Antonya's obnoxious fiancé. Among Lockart's memorable roles was the Nazi collaborator in Fritz Lang's *Hangmen Also Die*.

Universal Setting. *Crime and Punishment* was von Sternberg's third film set in Imperial Russia, following *The Last Command* with its Czarist general turned Hollywood extra, and a spectacular story about Catherine the Great, *The Scarlet Empress* (1934). Von Sternberg's approach to *Crime and Punishment* was from a minimalistic and universal perspective. Similar to *The Blue Angel*, there are almost no technological advances such as automobiles or phones—vaguely suggesting a late 19th Century setting. There are few clues to a specific location and except for the names, references to Russia are limited. Hence, the novel's spotlight on the "modern urban condition"⁸ does not have a parallel in the film. According to Frederic Will, the "immense historical canvas that Tolstoy painted in *War and Peace* is alien to the existential turn in Dostoevsky". Seen in that light, von Sternberg's lack of interest in historical specificity is in the spirit of the novel.⁹

Volatile Context. *Crime and Punishment* was released in the context of rising authoritarianism, with the Second World War just around the corner. One of the main reasons for von Sternberg's fall from grace was the reaction generated by his *The Devil is a woman* (1935). Spanish authorities had felt offended by the film and successfully stopped its distribution; they had actually come close to having the film stock destroyed for good. This was two years before the bombing of Guernica and four years before the rule of Franco, whose regime would make sure that von Sternberg's film remained banned.

Crime in the 1930s. In the aftermath of The Great Depression, the crime wave (i.e. "public enemies") and heavy-handed response by the law enforcement were important social issues. Depression-era outlaws were prevalent in 1930s films and they have continued to be a source of interest in films made about that decade. Examples of lovers on the run themed films are <u>You Only Live Once</u> (Lang, 1937); (at least in part) *The 39 Steps* (Hitchcock, 1935); *They Live by Night* (Ray, 1948). *Crime and Punishment* too has a couple that exists on the fringes of the law, but they ultimately opt for a course of action that is different from the films that feature couples on the lam.

The Production Code and Moralism. *Crime and Punishment* basically respects the Production Code by suppressing problematic issues such as suicide, and portraying the negative consequences of alcoholism. Furthermore, piety is promoted by way of a devout character that provides redemption to the troubled unbeliever. On the other hand, flaws in the justice system are highlighted and particular emphasis is placed on police brutality. Such social criticism is bracketed by the use of a smart precaution: an introductory title card reads: "Story by Dostoievsky". This is followed by an asterisk, which directs to, "Feodor Dostoievsky, Russia's foremost author, wrote 'Crime and Punishment' in 1866'". This reminder underscores that the story is set in the 19th Century; it serves to distance the producers from potential inferences and connections to issues of the 1930s.

Intertextual Legacy and Film Noir. In 1946, Alfred Zeisler directed another *Crime and Punishment* adaptation titled *Fear*, which was not necessarily a faithful adaption, but a full-fledged film noir. Von Sternberg had also conceived his version as a crime story¹⁰, at a time when film noir was not yet a cinematic category. Certain qualities and some contributors of the film connect it to the film noir cycle as a progenitor. Cinematographer Lucien Ballard (*The Killing* [Kubrick, 1956]; *The Wild Bunch* [Peckinpah, 1969]) and von Sternberg's chiaroscuro lighting prefigures film noir aesthetics. Cinematographer Ballard would contribute to *The Lodger* (Brahm, 1944); a thriller that revolved around a serial-killer, whose lodging was depicted by the use of chiaroscuro lighting reminiscent of Raskolnikov's clamped quarters. Another film noir connection from the crew of *Crime and Punishment* is Stephen Goosson, who was credited as the set decorator. Goosson would be the art director of noir classics *Gilda* (1946) and *The Lady from Shanghai* (1947). Peter Lorre would star in *Stranger on the Third Floor* (Boris Ingster, 1940), arguably the first film noir. His character in that film, "The Stranger", is a mysterious lodger who sometimes recalls Raskolnikov and an exaggerated display of his antics.

Raskolnikov as von Sternberg. Reminiscing about making *Crime and Punishment* in his memoir, von Sternberg considered the period as a break:

For an approximate period of seven years I had worked as I wished to work, and swept away all interference, or, at any rate, most of it (...) it seemed time to pause. But it was not easy to pause abruptly; I had worked too hard and first had to slow down. Like a runner who must keep his legs moving for a little while after the race is over.¹¹

No interference meant he had enjoyed a degree of control over the filmmaking process like only a few auteurs did. After 1935, he would not have that kind of power. In a way, Raskolnikov stands for von Sternberg—of humble origins, he was hailed as a genius, just as abruptly demoted, made a comeback, followed his breakthrough with spectacular films, then retreated from the limelight, making only a handful of films after 1935. Generally, his pre-1935 years are regarded in much higher esteem compared to the later ones. However, *Crime and Punishment, The Shanghai Gesture* (1941), *Anatahan* (1953), and other films of this period are important and compelling; they are also essential for a complete understanding the work of this auteur.

STORY

The Graduate. Roderick Raskolnikov graduates from the college at the top of his class. The young scholar is hailed by his professor as a brilliant criminologist destined for a great future. His proud mother gifts Raskolnikov his father's inscribed watch. His sister Antonya and best friend Dmitri congratulate him.

Struggling. Raskolnikov is revealed to be poverty-stricken. He is struggling to keep the tail up, inspired by portraits of Napoleon and Beethoven in his barely furnished apartment. He is unable to pay for his lodging and is harassed by the landlady. There seems to be no prospect of improvement in his economic circumstances. Nonetheless, Dmitri tries to keep up his friend's spirit.

Published. Amidst all the problems, Raskolnikov's article is published in a reputable journal. There is a setback though, as the editor has chosen to withhold the author's name—which he didn't "think important enough to mention". Even though his ideas have "startled the world of criminology", Raskolnikov remains unknown. Furthermore, the payment from the magazine has not solved any problems since he had to send it to his family. Antonya has been fired from her job—she repelled her domestic employer (with her personal handgun) when he attempted to molest her.

Pawnbroker. Raskolnikov resorts to pawning his watch; the interaction with the ruthless pawnbroker is infuriating and he contemplates murder. At the shop, he encounters Sonya, who is desperate for cash just like himself. He sells his watch for way less than he had hoped for, but is so touched by Sonya's circumstances that he discreetly gives her whatever money he got for it.

Family. Raskolnikov's mother and sister visit him. His sister Antonya is engaged to Lushin, an older and obnoxious man, who likes to boast about his wealth and his—two—government positions. The meeting turns sour as the two men don't hide their annoyance with each other. When Sonya shows up and is treated rudely by Lushin, Raskolnikov is even more irked and kicks him out. Lushin leaves with Mrs. Raskolnikov and Antonya, who are both dependent on him.

Crime. Raskolnikov's frustration grows—fueled by both poverty and the society's failure to recognize his brilliance. He finally makes up his mind to murder the pawnbroker and steal her hoard. He takes a poker from the building's basement and goes to her shop with a pretense to sell a valuable item. While she is busy unpacking, he hits her with the poker. Then, he hastily goes through her things, finding the watch he pawned, but not much else of note. With other visitors knocking the door, he panics, but manages to get away unseen by anyone. He gets rid of the poker and buries the stolen merchandise, making sure that no evidence of his crime can be found.

Summoned. Raskolnikov is terrified when he is summoned to the police station. He is extremely relieved to find out that the reason was a trivial matter related to the rent. It turns out that the police inspector has read his published article and is a true admirer. They have a candid chat and Inspector Porfiry is amused by Raskolnikov's arrogance. As for the murder, another man has been apprehended as the suspect, but with no admission of guilt despite—implied—torture.

Celebration. Evading the investigation relieves Raskolnikov and boosts his confidence. He borrows some money from Dmitri and impresses the magazine editor with his assertive demeanor—which leads to an advance payment. Raskolnikov then buys a new suit and invites his family and Dmitri to celebrate. He takes the opportunity to mock and taunt Lushin, who leaves for good. That makes Dmitri free to woo Antonya and she returns his affection. Raskolnikov is cheerful and they all have a good time at the dinner.

Suspect. Sonya is interviewed by Porfiry; with her statement, she unwittingly incriminates Raskolnikov. Smelling blood, the inspector goes after the young criminologist, pushing him for a confession. Raskolnikov denies him one, but he can't disperse the suspicions either. Consequently, his feeling of entrapment grows.

Cornered. Antonya's previous employer (and would-be sexual assailant) Grilov resurfaces and takes lodging near Sonya's apartment. He eavesdrops on her conversation with Raskolnikov at the moment the latter divulges to her his crime. He then blackmails Antonya with the sensitive information. Grilov does not step back when she brandishes her handgun; nevertheless, he somehow realizes that his actions are in vain and decides to let her go. He also gives his savings to Sonya and leaves their lives entirely.

Farewell. The blackmail threat's elimination doesn't affect the course of the investigation, since Inspector Porfiry has already made up his mind about Raskolnikov being the real culprit. Porfiry confronts him for the last time, forcefully reminding that he would be responsible for the death of a wrongly convicted man. Raskolnikov still does not confess, but is clearly distraught and penitent. He bids farewell to his mother and sister—heading out, presumably to commit suicide.

Confession. Sonya finds Raskolnikov on the bridge and appeals to his conscience once again. She urges him to surrender to Porfiry and pledges to wait for him to until he completes his prison sentence. Raskolnikov is persuaded and together they go to the Inspector, who says that he has been expecting him.

THEMES

Conscience, Confession, and Redemption. Inspector Porfiry and Sonya represent two distinct influences on Raskalnikov. They both push him towards confession as the only path leading to redemption. Porfiry is only partially successful. As a rational and perceptive man, he quickly realizes Raskalnikov's culpability and soon becomes certain of it, even though key evidence is lacking. He tries to coerce Raskalnikov to confess, reminding him that an innocent and wrongly convicted man would most likely die in his place. "A worse crime", Porfiry calls it, as he reproaches Raskolnikov and leaves him alone with his conscience. The scolding is very effective as Raskolnikov is distraught and penitent. However, it does not lead him to take the last step to confess. That is ultimately a consequence of Sonya's intervention. She prevents him from committing suicide and urges him to go to Porfiry to make a confession. A strength of the adaptation over the novel is arguably the powerful ending that comes with the confession, as opposed to continuing the story and recounting Raskolnikov's imprisonment.

Justice and Injustice. Justice system short circuits with Raskolnikov's expertise of investigation procedures; he knows how to hide evidence and remove traces. A consequence of his ability to evade them entails disaster for another man. The painter who works in the building is apprehended and wrongfully accused of the homicide. Being an alcoholic (and probably a vagrant) worsens his predicament; not before long, he is convicted of the crime. The sentence is long-term imprisonment in Siberia—which he is not expected to survive. Even when Inspector Porfiry is sure that Raskolnikov was the actual culprit, he does nothing to stop the miscarriage of justice. If it was not for Raskolnikov stepping forward with a confession, the innocent man would suffer the consequences.

Religion. Sonya is a devout believer. "Don't take away my faith, I need it" she says in response to Raskolnikov's skepticism and "unbelief". Selling her heirloom Bible was a low point in her life and she is very happy to recover it. The Bible is precious for her, but not because of its inherent value (it is inlaid with semi-precious garnets—not diamonds that are sought by the pawnbroker). She tries to inspire

Raskolnikov by reading him the story of Lazarus. Her success at steering him towards the good deed basically stems from her belief in God.

Suicide. The Motion Picture Production Codes ("<u>Hays Code</u>", fully effective as of 1934) dictated that suicide could not be used as a narrative device presenting a way out for criminals—the guilty had to be prosecuted by law. Raskolnikov's farewell to his family could be interpreted to imply his departure or intention to commit suicide. Earlier, Sonya and Raskolnikov stand by a dark pond and he mentions talking with the dead. Sonya immediately removes any implication of suicide by cheerfully telling him about related verses in the Bible.

Oppression. While *Crime and Punishment* is respectful of the Motion Picture Production Code, its representation of law enforcement does quite the opposite. Policemen obviously use torture as a basic interrogation method; they are able to secure a confession out of the painter who has been apprehended without substantial evidence.

Criminology. Raskolnikov is considered to be a brilliant scholar and that's not groundless: Porfiry represents an old-fashioned approach to criminology, along the lines of the self-proclaimed founder of criminology Cesare Lombroso. Porfiry evidently believes that appearance is an indicator of criminality. His approach repulses Raskolnikov, who mocks the inspector's lack of sophistication.

CHARACTERS

Roderick Raskolnikov. Young Roderick has graduated from college with distinction and he is destined to become a brilliant scholar—except that he is broke and badly needs money to sustain himself and help his family.

Inspector Porfiry. Senior police official is ruthless and efficient. He connects Raskolnikov to the crime early on and by the end, he is sure about his culpability—even though there is no confession and very little evidence.

Sonya. Raskolnikov's sweetheart is—implied to be—a prostitute with an alcoholic father. She is wholesome and virtuous; she takes care of her siblings and with her goodness, she is a guiding light for Raskolnikov.

Antonya Raskolnikov. Roderick's beloved sister. She is a survivor of a sexual assault from her previous employer (Grilov), who is obsessed with her. Out of necessity, she has engaged to Lushin, an older and repulsive man. Antonya carries a handgun, which has helped her beat off the molester.

Mrs. Raskolnikov. Roderick's mother.

Dmitri. Roderick encourages his trusted friend to get cozy with his sister Antonya.

Lushin. Holder of two government positions, the middle-aged man is ill-suited to be Antonya's husband if it was not for his claim to be wealthy.

Grilov. Antonya's stalker blackmails her after he eavesdrops on Raskolnikov's confession of his crime to Sonya.

CHARACTER ANALYSIS

RODERICK RASKOLNIKOV The brilliant criminologist feels entitled to being recognized as such, but society somehow fails to note it. Together with poverty, lack of social recognition is making him full of contempt. Following his murder of the pawnbroker, he realizes that he can evade the law, which boosts Raskolnikov's self-confidence. He becomes assertive and arrogant.

Napoleonic. Despite all the hardship, Raskolnikov keeps fighting and is inspired by his two idols, Napoleon and Beethoven. After all, he achieved exceptional academic distinction in the same circumstances thanks to his belief in his powers. The film does not go into the character's ideology or the

notion of the Nietzchean superhuman that is important in the novel. There is not much dialogue concerning this concept and first person narration by Raskolnikov is never employed. Instead, glimpses of the portraits of these two figures effectively provide a visual cue about Raskolnikov's mindset. He achieves success and recognition, parallel to becoming more assertive.

Hesitant and Unbalanced. Raskolnikov is confused about what to do, panics easily, and does unpredictable things—such as his second visit to the crime scene, which only makes his situation worse by alerting Porfiry. According to Frederic Will, the novel's Raskolnikov is characterized by his tendency to be "unsure". That involves doubting his sanity and mental powers. The film's Raskolnikov does not appear to go that far.

Loving and Hateful. A title card introduces the central theme of *Crime and Punishment* as human hearts' response "to love and hate; pity and terror". An aspect of Raskolnikov's dualism is his capacity for love and hate. He is compassionate towards his sister and mother, as well as his friend Dmitri. His love for Sonya brings an end to his suffering by confessing his crime and feeling relieved. On the other hand, the encounter with the pawnbroker demonstrates his capacity for hate. He also has a tendency to demonstrate contempt when faced with official figures such as the clerk at the police station and Antonya's obnoxious fiancé who has two government positions.

Arrogant and Meek. The dual nature of Raskolnikov's character means that he oscillates between meekness (e.g. his submissiveness when bullied by the patrolman and the drunken painter) and moments of reckless arrogance (mocking Inspector Porfiry by calling him professor—"because you profess to know things").

Guilty. The film does not use first person narration, which means that its capacity to provide a detailed verbal depiction of Raskolnikov's mental state is limited. In the novel, Raskolnikov's feeling of guilt is not only a psychological problem, but a physical one—he gets sick as a consequence of his suffering. A comparable trait in von Sternberg's *Crime and Punishment* is Raskolnikov often sweats profusely and his voice trembles.

SONYA Raskolnikov first pities Sonya; he then admires her goodness. Gradually, she becomes a more important influence on him, in a way replacing his idols Napoleon and Beethoven.

Angelic. Sonya's piety counterbalances Raskolnikov's lack of faith. "Don't take away my faith, I need it" she responds to his skepticism and "unbelief". Actresses in von Sternberg's previous films—Marlene Dietrich, Evelyn Brent, Betty Compson—were portrayed glamorously; this time Sonya's social class does not call for glamour, nonetheless, she radiates an aura of goodness.

Redemptive. Sonya gently persuades Raskolnikov to confess. She succeeds where Inspector Porfiry fails. Through confession, Raskolnikov's suffering ends and he is redeemed.

INSPECTOR PORFIRY Like Raskolnikov, Porfiry has a dual nature: he is kind and friendly towards the eccentric criminologist, but his underlings and the detainees fear him.

Cordial. Porfiry meets Raskolnikov after having read his article. He is an admirer and treats him like an esteemed colleague. He amiably puts up with Raskolnikov's antics and sarcasm. Ultimately, the inspector's friendly attitude confuses Raskolnikov and his arrogance results in self-incriminating moments.

Perceptive. The eagle-eyed inspector is often cheerful and friendly, but he is always watchful and does not fail to notice Raskolnikov's culpability. Not before long, Porfiry is certain of his guilt, even though substantial evidence is lacking.

Intimidating. Raskolnikov may act way too relaxed in the presence of Porfiry, but make no mistake; the cordial figure is a senior police official in Imperial Russia and people obviously fear him. He acknowledges that inspiring fear ("of law or the god") is his main instrument for securing confessions. The scenes that take place at the police station do not show violence, but the detainee (the drunken painter

who was wrongfully apprehended for the murder of the pawnbroker) appears terrified—he was evidently interrogated under torture. As a consequence, the man soon confesses, which temporarily relaxes Raskolnikov.

Discussion questions

Why does Raskolnikov borrow money from his friend Dmitri?

Is Raskolnikov's suffering in the second half of the film due to his conscience or as a result of pressure from Inspector Porfiry?

Depression-era outlaws were prevalent in 1930s films and they have continued to be a source of interest in films made about that decade. Examples of lovers on the run themed films are <u>You Only Live Once</u> (Lang, 1937); (at least in part) *The 39 Steps* (Hitchcock, 1935); *They Live by Night* (Ray, 1948). How would you compare *Crime and Punishment*'s couple with couple on the lam films?

Consider the following question that Frederic Will poses (concerning Dostoevsky's novel) in the context of von Sternberg's film:

"Does Raskolnikov kill the old lady because he is downtrodden and poor, or because of his theory that some people are not worth living? Why does he pick her? Does he feel any immediate remorse for the killing?"¹²

What makes Grilov change his mind and leave Antonya alone?

What could Napoleon and Beethoven signify for Raskolnikov? In 1935? In 1866? Today?



(Sonya guides Raskolnikov with her "wholesome purity".¹³ Audiences would have been previously accustomed to the glamorous visualizations of von Sternberg. Even though Sonya's social position is anathema to glamour, her visual portrayal is striking as per von Sternberg style; Raskolnikov has delusions of grandeur)



(Raskolnikov's two inspirations are Napoleon and Beethoven)



(Raskolnikov's knees shake when he is summoned to the police station—while his idol, Napoleon, is watching over his shoulder; his confidence boosted, Raskolnikov dresses up and prepares to conquer the world. His second idol Beethoven's portrait is hanging by the mirror)



(Von Sternberg's favorite costume, feather adorned flapper style gown appears only once, briefly on an extra; Mrs. Patrick Campbell plays the pawnbroker. Campbell was a renowned stage actress; George Bernard Shaw wrote *Pygmalion* with her in mind. Campbell was angry at the way von Sternberg filmed her, she thought he overdid the ugliness of the detestable pawnbroker¹⁴)



(Gene Lockart plays Lushin, Antonya's obnoxious fiancé. Among Lockart's memorable roles was the Czech Nazi collaborator in Fritz Lang's <u>Hangmen Also Die</u>; Peter Lorre portrays Raskolnikov with wit. Lorre had achieved international recognition a few years ago with Fritz Lang's <u>M</u>)



(Grilov, Sonya's stalker; Raskolnikov descends the stairs. Stylistically, von Sternberg's chiaroscuro lighting prefigures film noir. Lorre would star in *Stranger on the Third Floor* (Ingster, 1940), arguably the first film noir)

¹ Dostoevsky, Fyodor. *Crime and Punishment* /translated by Constance Garnett. London: Bantam, 1981. https://archive.org/details/crimepunishment00fyod/page/104/mode/2up

² Will, Frederic. "Crime and Punishment". *Humanities Institute*. https://static-cdn.edit.site/users-

files/36050dc740814a173e0bc55e10cc6c17/crime-and-punishment.pdf?dl=1 Retrieved November 2021

³ Greene, Graham "The Milky Way/Strike Me Pink/Night Mail/Crime and Punishment". *The Spectator. 20 March 1936* (reprinted in: Taylor, John Russell, ed. *The Pleasure Dome. 1980, 60–61*

⁴ Von Sternberg, Josef. *Fun in a Chinese Laundry*. NY: Collier. 1965, 270

⁵ Beltzer, Thomas. "Crime and Punishment: A Neglected Classic". Senses of Cinema.

https://www.sensesofcinema.com/2004/cteq/crime_and_punishment/ April 2004. Retrieved December 2021 ⁶ Von Sternberg, 168

- ⁷ Ibid, 169
- ⁸ Will
- ⁹ Ibid

¹⁰ Von Sternberg, 168

- ¹¹ Ibid, 270
- ¹² Will
- 13 Ibid

¹⁴ Von Sternberg, 169