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The Czechoslovak–East German Co-production *Tři oříšky pro Popelku/Drei Haselnüsse für Aschenbrödel/Three Wishes for Cinderella: A Transnational Tale*

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From the 1950s on, film studios in the people's democracies of the Eastern Bloc regularly entered into international co-productions with partners from both sides of the Iron Curtain. This practice went through periods of greater or lesser intensity depending on the status of international relationships in different states or on the cultural policy of the Soviet Union. The studios had manifold reasons for engaging in negotiations with a foreign partner despite the inevitable problems they also encountered throughout the production process due to differing concepts, practices and expectations. By entering into co-productions, studios sought, for example, to secure commissions from party or government bodies, to achieve international recognition (especially when collaborating with a capitalist partner), to acquire training from indigenous practitioners and specialists, to secure superior technical equipment, to enhance the studio's production portfolio (and thus increase chances for festival awards or higher profits) or simply to share the production expenditures.¹ The last two reasons in particular played an important role in the case of *Tři oříšky pro Popelku/Drei Haselnüsse für Aschenbrödel* (Three Wishes for Cinderella, 1973).

Popularity With Two National Audiences

A fairy-tale film² coproduced by Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic (GDR), *Three wishes for Cinderella*, remains a perennial highlight of Christmas TV programming even today.³ The initial incentive to shoot it as a co-production was the desire on the part of the Czechoslovak studio, Barrandov, to share the film's production costs, which were projected to be much higher than the average.⁴ The deal was facilitated by the partners' mutual interest in producing a film that would be truly popular with both national audiences – and the fairy tale was one of the few genres⁵ with good prospects to appeal simultaneously to viewers in both countries. In fact, fairy-tale films proved to be an extremely attractive product, particularly during the early 1950s, the period when the range of genres available in East German and Czechoslovak cinemas was the most limited in the states' histories. In Czechoslovakia, *Pyšná princezna* (The proud princess, 1952) and *Byl jednou jeden král* (Once upon a time, there was a king, 1954) reached 6.8 million and 4.4 million viewers respectively, making them the second- and seventh-most attended movies of the decade.⁶ In the GDR, the adaptation of Wilhelm Hauff's story *Die Geschichte vom kleinen Muck* (The story of Little Mook, 1953) drew an astonishing 12 million cinema-goers, and the romantic fairy tale *Das kalte Herz* (The cold heart, 1950) reached 4.1 million viewers in the first two years after its premiere.⁷ In addition to the local popularity of indigenous fairy tales, films of this genre also proved to travel well throughout varied national and cultural spaces. Among the elements contributing to the genre's mobility were stories shared among cultures, clear distinctions between good and evil, and settings localised in fantastic and culturally nonspecific worlds – *Three wishes for Cinderella* contains all of these. Upon its release the film achieved extraordinary results in Czechoslovakia, garnering 1,476,000 viewers during the first year after its premiere⁸ and faring well in the GDR as well, where it was the sixth-most-attended movie in 1974, with 721,000 tickets sold.⁹

All these data imply that fairy-tale films in general, and *Three wishes for Cinderella* in particular, were truly popular with audiences. However, any consideration of 'popularity' in the context of cinema exhibition in the Soviet-bloc countries requires a brief clarification of the concept

'popular.' Usage of this term is complicated by the fact that Czechoslovakia and the GDR systematically provided promotional and distributional support for movies that fully met the state-defined ideological requirements. Furthermore, cinema-goers' choices were limited by the compulsory participation in screenings organised by their schools or places of work. These distortions complicate the interpretation of film attendance understood as an expression of cinemagoers' free choice, but despite that, the consistently high attendance numbers that fairy-tale films enjoyed in both Czechoslovakia and the GDR are a clear indicator of the genre's popularity. That is so if we understand the term 'popular' according to the anthropological paradigm whereby popularity is measured by the product's correspondence to the recipients' preferred values.¹⁰ The most popular fairy-tale films all shared a rather brisk narrative pace, contained a clear and easily acceptable distinction between good and evil, blended action with humour, visual attractiveness and familiar, culturally-domesticated stories that were 'well narrated' according to accepted norms of a 'good movie.' In effect, they more than met the demand for ethically distinct and culturally familiar entertainment that operated according to the established narrative and stylistic norms of a quality film product.¹¹

Children's Films at Barrandov and DEFA: a Temporary Reconciliation of Production Concepts

Barrandov and the East German Deutsche Film-Aktiengesellschaft (DEFA) studios jointly coproduced six films primarily oriented towards children and youth, of which four were creatively controlled by Czechoslovak film-makers: *Three Wishes for Cinderella*, *Die Insel der Silberreiher/Ostrov stříbrných volavek* (Island of the silver herons, 1976), *Der Katzenprinz/Kočičí princ* (The cat prince, 1979) and *Zauberhafte Erbschaft/Kouzelné dědictví* (Magical heritage, 1985). The other two – *Die Igelfreundschaft/Uprchlík* (The runaway, 1961) and *Abenteuer mit Blasius/Dobrodružství s Blasiem* (Adventure with Blasius, 1974) – were initiated and creatively controlled by DEFA, which nevertheless accepted a certain degree of advice and creative input from their Czechoslovak partners due to their trust in Barrandov's experience and effectiveness when it came to this kind of production. The fact that one partner always held clear creative dominance

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over each of the projects helped avoid major conflicts between the studios and yielded results which mostly, although not always, satisfied both partners. Besides, all but one of these co-productions were implemented in the 1970s and 1980s, that is, during the Normalisation era,¹² which put both party politics and the cinema industry structure in better sync.¹³ Another reason for the long-standing cooperation between these studios was the fact that fairy-tale films were more adaptable to cultural negotiation than other genres. By contrast, although cultural functionaries in Czechoslovakia and the GDR placed a high premium on the use of war movies as a way to confirm ideological alignment between the former wartime enemies, such productions inevitably touched sensitive nerves in the participating nations and were thus far less frequently attempted. Barrandov and DEFA did successfully demonstrate the ideal of solidarity among socialist states in the co-production of the war films *Jahrgang 21/Ročník 21* (Those born in 1921, 1957) and *Koffer mit Dynamit/Praha nultá hodina* (Prague at zero hour, 1962), however both projects had difficulty overcoming disagreements between the partners over the representation of the war,¹⁴ and consequently the studios never again made a joint foray into the war movie genre.¹⁵ It was in the production of films for children that the partners' mutual adjustment of expectations was most fluid and lasting.

This does not mean that conflict was entirely absent from the collaborative work on the six co-productions aimed primarily at children. Differences in the standards of cinema production and variances in the attributes expected from genre movies¹⁶ gave rise to numerous disputes and ultimately resulted in the termination of cooperation between the studios in 1985 after the production of the fairy-tale film *Magical heritage*. DEFA agreed to participate in this project, proposed by Barrandov, under the strict condition that Barrandov would reciprocate and coproduce a DEFA-controlled project titled *Der Eisen Hans* (Iron John, 1987).¹⁷ However, Barrandov harshly criticised the latter project on grounds that are significant because they echo rather typical complaints by Barrandov's creative personnel towards DEFA's output: that the script was poorly structured, overly symbolic and featured insufficient comic relief.¹⁸ Consequently, and in contrast to earlier cases, DEFA head Hans Dieter Mäde rejected all of Barrandov's proposed changes to the script of *Iron John*. The Barrandov practitioners were confident in their own creative capacities, believing that

their indigenous vision of children's films constituted a sure-fire recipe for success, and when DEFA refused to acknowledge this view, the partnership between the studios was effectively over. As a result, DEFA completed *Iron John* without Czechoslovak assistance.

Prior to Mäde's move to protect DEFA's sovereignty and individuality of production that resulted in this breakup, the studio had readily accepted the pragmatic approach of Czechoslovak dramaturges and scriptwriters for over a decade. The most productive period of cooperation was launched by the financial and popular success of *Three wishes for Cinderella*, which demonstrated Barrandov's expertise in crafting fairy-tale films and led to other collaborations on productions for children. In addition to the co-productions stimulated by the success of *Three wishes for Cinderella*, DEFA also cast Czechoslovak actor Pavel Trávniček in *Schneeweißchen und Rosenrot* (Snow White and Rose Red, 1978) in a role that closely followed Trávniček's leading character in *Three wishes for Cinderella*. A memorandum of the East German *Hauptverwaltung Film* (Central Film Administration)¹⁹ reveals that the guardians of cultural policy came to regard *Three wishes for Cinderella* as a benchmark for how a commercially and aesthetically satisfying family movie should look: 'We hope that this fairy-tale [*Snow White and Rose Red*] will replicate the commercial success and the artistic methods of *Three Wishes for Cinderella*, so that it may meet the expectations of children and adults.'²⁰

Cinderella, a Transnational Character

As Anne Jäckel has pointed out, a successful model of international co-productions demands cultural affinities.²¹ In the case of *Three wishes for Cinderella*, the studios succeeded in finding a common cultural field in the Cinderella story, which has strong ties with both the German and the Czech literary traditions. The story had been adapted by the creators of the romantic literary canon in both national contexts, the Grimm brothers and Božena Němcová, respectively.²² The authors and their folktales were easily tailored to meet the demands of the cultural policy in the GDR, as well as in Czechoslovakia during the Normalisation era. As part of the two German states' competition for national heritage, the Grimms were incorporated into the construction of the GDR's national identity and included

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in the official literary canon.²³ Likewise, Božena Němcová had a firm position in the Czechoslovak literary pantheon established according to state cultural policy after the communist putsch in February 1948.²⁴

Because of the global popularity of the Cinderella story more generally and its acceptability for the communist cultural policy more specifically, the 1973 movie *Three wishes for Cinderella* addressed audiences already well acquainted with filmic adaptations of the fairy tale: in addition to the black and white Soviet version *Zolushka* (Cinderella, 1947), there were also Disney's *Cinderella* (1950), which first came to Czechoslovak screens only in 1971, and an indigenous Czechoslovak adaptation, *Popelka* (Cinderella, ~~Vlasta Janečková~~), a black and white TV musical produced in 1969. In an effort to differentiate its new project from these previous versions, Barrandov envisaged *Three wishes for Cinderella* as a big budget venture with lavish sets, to be shot on the expensive Eastmancolor film stock. In effect, the project's high budget made external financing a necessity.²⁵

Although DEFA was very active in exploiting the writings of the Grimm brothers,²⁶ this 1973 Cinderella adaptation was not based on the Grimms' version but on the one written by Božena Němcová. The preference for Němcová's version of the story was rooted in scriptwriter František Pavlíček's²⁷ intensive and long-lasting interest in Němcová's oeuvre.²⁸ The differences are significant between the versions of Cinderella as adapted by Pavlíček from Němcová, on the one hand, and the Grimms' *Aschenputtel*, on the other. In contrast to the Grimms' take on the tale, Božena Němcová's Cinderella is a much more active figure, and Pavlíček emphasises the character's independence even further. Regardless of the recognizable tie to the Czech literary canon, director Vorlíček pragmatically promoted a transnational reading of the story during the project's approval process and insisted that he did not fear a 'denationalisation' of the fairy tale.²⁹ The Czechoslovak studio's declarations of the story's transnationality and cultural adaptability³⁰ might have been intended to emancipate the project from the sacrosanct cultural heritage of Němcová's fairy tales and might have been motivated by the desire to ensure that the envisioned international co-production not be cancelled. For their part, however, the German partners had no problem accepting that this modernised telling of the story diverged significantly from the Grimm version. The chief of DEFA, Albert Wilkening, was fully aware of the digression from

the German version of the tale, yet this did not prevent him from praising the film. On the contrary, he emphasised the film's 'strong realism' and the fact that 'deeds are more important for the story than miracles'.³¹

The modernisation became an emblematic feature of the project for both partners. Ota Hofman, the head of the dramaturgical group that had been developing the project, did not emphasise any element of national specificity; according to him, the divergences from the previous versions of the tale were a factor of the unconventionality, originality and modernity of the script, rather than a result of any attempt at national appropriation.³² He proclaimed that the script's moral value is grounded in a sense of justice and in the active attitude toward life Cinderella expressed in the story. The director, Vorlíček, also publicly emphasised this concept of an active heroine in a Czechoslovak film journal: 'Readers remember Cinderella as a passive, defenceless creature, tortured by her wicked stepmother and envious sisters, dependent on the help of doves and liberated by a prince charming. Our Cinderella is more like a modern girl, she is active, brave, sporty and she helps herself out of misfortune.'³³ The concept of the 'modernised' Cinderella, as well as the source of the modernisation in Němcová's version of the story were equally enthusiastically recognised and accepted in East German critical discourse. *Neues Deutschland*, the official newspaper of the *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands*, SED (Socialist Unity Party of Germany) highlighted the fact that Cinderella is presented as an emancipated, strong and determined character: 'Cinderella, as we met her in this movie, is different from the one we know from the Grimms' fairy tales. She does not bear her suffering with patience [...] she helps herself. [...] The movie elaborates an emancipatory tendency. Cinderella becomes a creature which could almost be our contemporary.'³⁴ Another review enumerates the character's features that would be easily attributable to the ideal socialist youth: 'In the centre of the story is not a lucky fellow (*Hans im Glück*) into whose hands happiness fell like a ripe plum. Instead, we are watching a girl who has to fight for her happiness and future. And the little cinemagoer can easily identify with Cinderella and can learn how one has to fight: with courage, persistence, purposefulness and an iron will.'³⁵

This did not mean that the social reality in the GDR and Czechoslovakia would keep the promises of such discourses of emancipation.³⁶ Although

young women were more independent than their mothers' generation, society still demanded that they behave according to traditional morals, a contradiction that was closely related to the society's modernisation.³⁷ In this context, the image of Cinderella as independent but also responsible, active and lippy but at the same time hardworking and caring, obviously corresponded to the constructed normativity of young women's behaviour. This movie provides us with a character that is rather extraordinary for a genre usually glorifying passivity and self-sacrifice as heroines' virtues but does not challenge societies' norms and expectations. In the GDR, 'by the 1970s, East German women and men began to change their attitudes about their social and economic roles, and DEFA fairy tale figures began to comment, often subtly, on these developments', Benita Blessing argues. She adds, however, referring to a DEFA fairy tale from 1978, '...that the cinema audience at the end of the 1970s was not quite ready for princesses to reject their princes was both reflective of a bourgeois sentiment regarding marriage and, at the same time, a lesson in not losing one's princess-worthy looks.'³⁸ Only the DEFA fairy tale *Gritta von Rattenzuhausbeiuns* (Gritta von Ratsinourhouse, 1984), in a diversion from the literary version, let the heroine avoid marriage. The late 1970s movie with more conventional ending that Blessing was referring to was, significantly, *Snow White and Rose Red*, that is, the fairy tale mentioned above as having been produced with the intention of repeating the concept and, in effect, the commercial success of *Three wishes for Cinderella*.

Conclusion

Although fairy tales were among the most popular genres both in the GDR and in Czechoslovakia, there was no guarantee that *Three wishes for Cinderella* would achieve equal success in both countries. Yet, despite the differences in the respective concepts of filmmaking for children, this is exactly what happened. The project also had to overcome a significant discrepancy in the degree of mutual respect between the partners. Whereas DEFA functionaries and filmmakers had highly prized and respected Czechoslovak fairy tales and children's films since at least the 1960s, Barrandov was not equally enthusiastic about DEFA's productions and creativity. The smooth and successful implementation of

the co-production outlined in this paper was determined by the East German studio's appreciation of the Czechoslovak approach to the genre, as well as by DEFA's fondness for Barrandov's scriptwriters and directors. The dramaturges at DEFA appreciated the effective storytelling as well as the light and humorous atmosphere in Barrandov's films for children. Another essential factor was the transnational dimension of the Cinderella story, which provided a ready defence against cultural heritage protectionists who might attempt to claim Němcová's adaptation as exclusively Czech (thereby ensuring that the project would remain available for international co-production), while at the same time making the film palatable to East German cultural functionaries, critics and audiences.

The exceptionally successful co-production *Three wishes for Cinderella* highlights some of the advantages as well as certain pitfalls of those international projects established between film studios from two Soviet bloc countries that focused on popular genre production. The sharing of expenditures and production facilities helped Barrandov overcome significant difficulties during the shooting process and increased the production value of the film, since the project was able to invest in expensive western film stock, lavish settings and attractive exteriors. No less important was the fact that DEFA did not interfere with Barrandov's creative concept. Both sides realized that the blending of two concepts into one product could hardly work. This mode of cooperation between the two studios came to an end in the mid-1980s, as Barrandov was not willing to assume the position of minor participant on *Iron John* and DEFA adopted a more protective attitude towards their own conception of fairy-tale films. Rather than being the product of a magic formula for a popular fairy-tale genre film, *Three wishes for Cinderella's* success was the result of a pragmatic alliance that united two production facilities under the umbrella of a singular creative concept built around a transnational story.

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Notes

1. For details on DEFA's motivations for international co-production, see Mariana Ivanova, *DEFA and East European Cinemas. Co-Productions, Transnational Exchange and Artistic Collaborations* (Dissertation, Austin, University of Texas, 2011). She recognises three motivations: to gain international prestige, to compete with the West in the field of genre production and to display international solidarity between the socialist countries. For detailed analysis of Barrandov's co-productions and its motivations, see Pavel Skopal, *Filmová kultura severního trojúhelníku. Filmy, kina a diváci českých zemí, NDR a Polska, 1945–1970* (Brno, 2014), pp. 21–59.
2. I classify *Three wishes for Cinderella* interchangeably as a fairy tale or as a children's film. Both labels are adopted from the contemporary discourse in the film industry and film criticism. Barrandov's dramaturgical plans, for example, routinely divided production output into five categories: 1. dramas, 2. adventure and detective stories, 3. comedies and musicals, 4. films reflecting 'problems of young viewers', 5. Children's films, with *Three wishes for Cinderella* falling into the last category.
3. For example, the largest Norwegian TV channel regularly screens the film at Christmas. In Germany, the film has a museum dedicated to it (in Moritzburg) as well as a strong fan base, and it is regularly screened on TV. A good token of the enduring fame of the film are websites such as: <http://www.dreihaselnuesse-fueraschenbroedel.de/> (accessed 1 March 2016).
4. See the interview with the director Václav Vorlíček from 4 May 2000, Národní filmový archive (NFA), Prague, 322 OS, Oral History collection. The film's budget was CZK 3,552,000, but the final expenditures reached CZK 4,083,000. See Barrandov Studio a. s., archive (BSA), Prague, collection Scénáře a produkční dokumenty, file Tři oříšky pro Popelku. It was still below the average budget in 1973 (CZK 4,761,000) but extraordinarily high for a fairy-tale (an average budget for crime films in the same year, for example, was CZK 3,213,000 – see Lucie Šimůnková, *Případ Exner. Prohry českého kriminálního filmu v letech 1970–1982* (M.A. Thesis, Faculty of Arts, Masarykova Univerzita, Brno, 2015), p. 126. More importantly, this was not the DEFA budget but solely the budget of Barrandov, which participated in the project with a 60 per cent share.
5. I'm referring to fairy-tale films as a genre. Most historians of GDR cinema dealing with production for children use 'fairy tale' as a generic label as well, see, for example, Benita Blessing, 'Happily Socialist Ever After? East German Children's Films and the Education of a Fairy Tale Land', *Oxford Review of Education* xxxvi/2 (2010), pp. 233–48; Qinna Shen, *The Politics of Magic. DEFA Fairy-Tale Films* (Detroit, 2015); Marc Silberman, 'The First DEFA Fairy Tales Cold War Fantasies of the 1950s', in J. Davidson and S. Hake (eds), *Take Two. Fifties Cinema in a Divided Germany* (New York, 2007), pp. 106–19. For a reflection

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- of the contested status of fairy-tale films as a genre, see Pauline Greenhill and Sidney Eve Matrix (eds), *Fairy Tale Films. Visions of Ambiguity* (Logan, UT, 2010), pp. 15–17, and Sue Short, *Fairy Tale and Film. Old Tales with a New Spin* (New York, 2015), p. 6.
6. Jiří Havelka, *Československé filmové hospodářství 1956–1960* (Praha, 1973), pp. 205, 209.
 7. Bundesarchiv Berlin (BArch), Ministerium für Kultur, DR1/4441.
 8. The ninth most-attended film in Czechoslovak cinemas in the period 1973–7. See *Rozbor distribučních výsledků za měsíc srpen 1974 v ČSR*, Národní filmový archiv (NFA), R18-BII-1P-2K.
 9. See Elizabeth Prommer, *Kinobesuch im Lebenslauf. Eine historische und medienbiographische Studie* (Konstanz, 1999), p. 346; and SED, Abteilung Kultur, 1972–1980, attendance of DEFA films premiered in 1974–5, Stiftung Archiv der Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR im Bundesarchiv Berlin (SAPMO-BArch), SED, DY/30/IV B2/9.06/80.
 10. For an introduction to the anthropological and market paradigms of popularity, see Richard Dyer and Ginette Vincendeau, 'Introduction', in Richard Dyer and Ginette Vincendeau (eds), *Popular European Cinema* (London-New York, 1992), pp. 2–5.
 11. For a more elaborate discussion of audience preferences in both the GDR and Czechoslovakia, see Skopal, *Filmová kultura severního trojúhelníku*, pp. 177–259.
 12. 'Normalisation', as it was known, was a period in Czechoslovak history that followed the Soviet-led invasion of the country in 1968. The conservative turn in politics that normalisation brought with it significantly affected cultural policy and had a strong impact on cinema culture. In 1970 Barrandov underwent major managerial and organisational changes: the former 'artistic groups' were replaced by dramaturgical groups and production groups. In this centralised model of production, which was typical of both the Czech and East German production systems, dramaturges coordinated screenplay development. For an overview of the organisational changes in Barrandov's production system, see Petr Szczepanik, 'The State-socialist Mode of Production and the Political History of Production Culture', in P. Szczepanik and P. Vonderau (eds), *Behind the Screen. Inside European Production Cultures* (New York, 2013), pp. 113–33; for a detailed description of dramaturges' role in the 'State-socialist Mode of Production', see also Petr Szczepanik, 'How Many Steps to the Shooting Script? A Political History of Screenwriting', *Illuminace* xxv/3 (2013), pp. 73–98.
 13. The liberalisation of Czechoslovak cultural policy in the 1960s, which had caused tension between these two countries, was later redrafted by hardliners, ensuring that it was in synch with that of the GDR. The official ideological positions of both the East German and Czechoslovakia Communist Parties

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were thus closer than previously. And the major changes which Barrandov underwent at the start of the Normalisation era saw it restructured in a manner similar to that which DEFA had put in place in 1966.

14. For more details on these projects see Pavel Skopal, 'Kriegsgeschichten von Liebenden und Nationen Internationale Romanzen in drei Co-Produktionen der späten 1950er-Jahre', in L. Karl, D. Müller and K. Seibert (eds), *Der lange Weg nach Hause. Konstruktionen von Heimat im europäischen Spielfilm* (Berlin, 2014), pp. 152–66.
15. Successful joint projects were focused on different generic formulae instead: a musical *Eine schreckliche Frau/Strašná žena* (A terrible woman, 1965), a historical comedy (*Die Gestohlene Schlacht/Ukradená bitva* (The stolen battle, 1971)), and a historical drama *Die Elixiere des Teufels/Elixiry ďábla* (The devil's elixirs, 1972). In all of these cases, certain disagreements had to be solved and conceptual differences had to be adjusted to meet the other partner's demands, but no serious conflict emerged, and all of the projects closely followed the concept of the leading partner: Barrandov for *The figure skater* and *fidelity*, and DEFA for *The stolen battle* and *The devil's elixirs*.
16. Although Barrandov's productions for children had a good reputation at DEFA, the East German studio cultivated its own tradition, and between 1950 and 1989 it produced over 40 feature length, live action fairy-tale films (*Märchenfilme*) which 'played an important role in the GDR's claim to the realist-humanist tradition.' See Shen, *The Politics of Magic*, for a cultural history of DEFA's fairy-tale films from the post-WWII period to reunification.
17. A report from 4 October 1984, BArch, VEB DEFA-Studio für Spielfilme DR 117/28357.
18. See, for example, letter from the director of Barrandov studios, Jaroslav Gürtler, to the DEFA director Hans Dieter Mäde, undated (probably the end of 1985), BArch, DR 117/28960.
19. A division of the Ministry of Culture that oversaw film production and distribution.
20. A letter from HV Film to Hans Dieter Mäde, 17 February 1978, BArch, DR 117/27245, file 1.
21. Anne Jäckel, 'European Co-production Strategies: The Case of France and Britain', in A. Moran (ed.), *Film Policy: International, National, and Regional Perspectives* (London and New York, 1996), p. 87.
22. Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, 'Aschenputtel', in J. Grimm and W. Grimm (eds), *Kinder- und Hausmärchen. Ausgabe letzter Hand* (Ditzingen, 1997), pp. 137–44; Božena Němcová, 'O Popelce', in B. Němcová (ed.), *Národní báchorky a pověsti I* (Praha, 1950), pp. 112–28.
23. See David Bathrick, *The Powers of Speech: The Politics of Culture in the GDR* (Lincoln, NE, 1995), pp. 167–8.

24. Božena Němcová (1820–62) was celebrated as one of the ‘classics’ of the Czech literary canon, a ‘progressive’ author and a representative of the Czech National Revival. Folk tradition became an important element in the shaping of the identity of the new regimes both in GDR and Czechoslovakia, although not without difficulties. The folkish culture had to be incorporated into the proper, progressive strand of two divergent trends: irrational Romanticism versus rational Classicism; and the bourgeois/reactionary element versus the national/progressive one. See Bathrick, *The Powers of Speech*; Vladimír Macura, ‘Obrození’, in V. Macura, *Šťastný věk (a jiné studie o socialistické kultuře)* (Praha, 2008), pp. 131–46; Jiří Křestan, *Zdeněk Nejedlý. Politik a vědec v osamění* (Praha, 2012), pp. 360–1.
25. The co-production contract divided the rights according to production share, that is, 60 per cent for Barrandov and 40 per cent for DEFA. See the contract between DEFA and Barrandov, BSA, collection Scénáře a produkční dokumenty, file ‘Tři oříšky pro Popelku’.
26. Throughout its history, DEFA made 23 feature-length films based on the Grimms’ tales. See Qinna Shen, ‘Barometers of GDR Cultural Politics. Contextualizing the DEFA Grimm Adaptations’, *Marvels & Tales* xxv/1 (2011), pp. 70–95.
27. Pavlíček wrote the script under the name of his colleague Bohumila Zelenková because he had been dismissed from Barrandov in 1970 for his political attitudes and had not been allowed to work for the studio since then. See Štěpán Hulík, *Kinematografie zapomnění. Počátky normalizace ve filmovém studiu Barrandov (1968–1973)* (Praha, 2011), pp. 108 and 121.
28. For the script Pavlíček also borrowed motifs from another Němcová fairy tale, *About Three Sisters*. In 1962 Pavlíček wrote a script for a biopic of Němcová, *Horoucí srdce* (An ardent heart, 1962); and just two years before *Three wishes for Cinderella* he authored a script for a TV adaptation of the most famous work by Němcová, *Babička* (Granny, 1971).
29. Václav Vorlíček’s explication of realisation and financial conditions of the co-production *Three wishes for Cinderella*, undated, Barrandov Studios Archive collection, scripts and production documents, file: ‘Tři oříšky pro Popelku’.
30. Which was fully justified, as hundreds of versions exist the world over, from China to North America, and it is impossible to reconstruct the *Urmärchen*, or authentic parent tale. See Maria Tatar, *The Hard Facts of the Grimms’ Fairy Tales* (Princeton, 1987), p. 153.
31. Barch, DEFA Studio für Spielfilme, DR 117/26495.
32. Ota Hofman’s dramaturgical explication of the literary script, addressed to Barrandov’s ‘central dramaturge’, Ludvík Toman, 29 June 1972, BSA collection, Scripts and production documents, file: ‘Tři oříšky pro Popelku’.
33. A. Krejčíková, ‘Národní spisovatelka a její pohádka v čase normalizace. Poznámky k Pavlíčkovu scénáři k filmu *Tři oříšky pro Popelku*’, *Kino* xxviii/7 (1973), pp. 8–9.

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34. Rolf Richter, *Neues Deutschland*, 24 March 1974. The popular magazine *Filmspiegel* similarly celebrates Cinderella's independence and activity (30 January 1974, quoted in *Československá kinematografie v zahraničním tisku 3 (1974)*, pp. 32–3). Both reviews recognise Božena Němcová as the source of the story and both also describe the character as a modern one – that is, as a proper benchmark for a socialist girl.
35. Ralf Schenk, 'Warum nicht einmal "Aschenbrödel"?' *Freies Wort* v/4(1974).
36. For an analysis of DEFA's *Frauenfilme* of the 1970s and 1980s, which addressed such 'typically feminist issues as equality in the domestic sphere, male violence against women, patronising male behaviour, and sexual harassment at work' and criticised 'the prevailing state of gender relationship in the GDR,' see Andrea Rinke, 'From Models to Misfits: Women in DEFA Films of the 1970s and 1980s,' in S. Allan and J. Sandford (eds), *DEFA: East German Cinema* (New York, 1999), pp. 183–203.
37. For example, women were still fully subordinated to the duty of work during the Normalisation in Czechoslovakia, although some exemptions from the duty were applied towards mothers. See Christiane Brennerová, 'Líné dívky, lehké dívky? Příživnictví a disciplinace mladých žen v době normalizace,' *Dějiny a současnost* xxxv/7 (2013), p. 19–22.
38. See Blessing, *Happily socialist ever after?*, pp. 240–5.