

Turbulence of the Fin-de-siècle: Arts Through the Looking-Glass of Intermediality

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Abstract

This paper addresses the *fin-de-siècle* period as a time when most of what are called intermedial processes, that is to say, those processes that arbitrate aesthetic design at the intersection between different media, began to play a substantial role in the production of cultural artifacts. The epoch is investigated through the prism of intermediality, which manifested itself as a valuable tool in the development of the arts and media, particularly after the birth of photography and cinematography. These intermedial processes fostered a media-based creative experimentation that culminated in the modernist and postmodernist movements. The role of intermediality in the *fin-de-siècle*, particularly in light of the syncretic processes it originated, is considered as an aftereffect of the tumultuous events of the time, which in a way acted as a stimulus for this new-fangled aesthetics. The paper concludes that the turbulence that characterizes this epoch, as well as the diffusion of new artistic and philosophical movements, impacted the development of mixed (intermedial) arts, stimulated their growth and activated the exploration of intermedial forms and genres in all the arts. This is the era of mass publishing and the growth of literacy rates, an era that laid the foundations for future theories on intertextuality and the idea of the work of art as an inclusive “canvas” inside of which all media have a place.

Keywords: art studies, fin de siècle, intermediality, media studies

Intermediality has been a subject of scholarly attention since the 1980s. However, even though its objects of study – intermedial artefacts – have their origin in the early art forms of the ancient world, there still remains to be crafted a defining theory that would circumscribe its critical characteristics. Thus, scholars from various research “clusters” offer different, sometimes contradicting approaches. In view of this methodological quandary, I’ve had to choose the definition that I believe best describes the word: “intermediality” in this paper will be regarded as “(the study of) specific relations among dissimilar media products and general relations among different media types” (Elleström, 2017).

The term “intermediality” first appeared in 1983, when Aage A. Hansen-Love published his research on problems of correlation between verbal and pictorial arts in Russian modernism (Hansen-Löve, 1983). Therein he opposed his newly coined word both to “intertextuality” and Dick Higgins’ term “intermedia”, having investigated the phenomenon rather from a semiological perspective. However, most research that followed and used the newly-coined term was dedicated to modern and postmodern works, new media, mass media, and cinematography, thus ignoring any creative output from earlier periods that had a direct impact on the development of the concept and provided the fruitful basis for its growth and eventual maturity in the modernist spirit.

However, whether modernism is to be seen as “the expressive domain of modernity” (Susan Stanford Friedman, qt. in Moody & Ross, 2020) or literature that “registers” modernity (Immanuel Wallerstein, qt. in Moody & Ross, 2020), it is in either case the response to the new sensibility ushered in by the *fin-de-siècle* temperament and its concomitant aesthetic requirements. Modernist aesthetics “burgeoned across Europe” from the 1860s to the 1930s (Bell-Villada, 1996), which makes the turn of the century an aesthetic precursor to what is nowadays considered “true” modernism.

Bearing in mind that the aestheticising of contemporary life under the forces of new media has been growing since the end of the XIX century (Guillory, 2022), it should be assumed that the media wields a very significant influence on the subjective valuation gradient of a modern person’s judgment, aesthetic or otherwise. This presumably requires a re-calibration of the *foci* of literature studies to integrate the significance of the unmediated, raw influx of information.

In this regard, this paper is an attempt to draw attention to the broad *fin-de-siècle* epoch as a period when, yet unknown under this term, intermedial processes intensified due to the birth of photography, cinematography, phonography, telephony, radio and mass publishing of literature. The methodological approach comprises elements of literature review, context analysis and historical research.

Pre-Context: Romanticism and Realism

Before expanding on the reasons for analysing the *fin de siècle* as a critically important period for intermediality and related processes, it would be beneficial to highlight the concept of “integral medium”. It would be fair to say that romanticism, which from a theoretical and

aesthetic perspective preceded turn of the century artistic tendencies, revered artistic activity as a critical foundation for leading a meaningful life; romantic art aimed at the transformation of the world in a way that would allow this to happen (Kagan, 1972). This made it possible for G.W.F. Hegel and F.W.J. Schelling to formulate and methodise a new intermedial paradigm, one that might systematise the search for intermedial processes in art history from antiquity to modernity. Thus, the philosophers spoke about the sequence *architecture/sculpture* > *painting* > *music* > *poetry*. Here, antiquity and the medieval period are seen as artistic epochs when architecture and/or sculpture served as a key integral medium, the one considered by artists and philosophers as the one capable of amalgamating and incorporating all other media. In this sense, painting is the avatar of the renaissance; music is romanticism's key medium; and literature (poetry) is regarded as a dominating art form for all the subsequent periods: post-romanticism, realism, modernism, and postmodernism.

When considering intermediality, romanticism is also decisive in terms of its ability to cross the hitherto stable borders between styles (classical and romantic), religions (Christianity and pantheism), and arts and sciences (literature and natural studies) (Nivala, 2016). Its capacity to usher in a new category of art – mixed or complex arts – resisted previously accepted distinctions between technical/mechanical/non-depictive productions and muse/liberal/depictive arts. Within this context, initially recognised mixed arts included music-dramatic art, music-choreographic art, architectural-depictive synthesis, theatrical art, synthesis of music and poetry, and pictorial-poetic synthesis (Kagan, 1972).

Owing to the new, inexpensive and quick mass publishing options introduced by new press and stereotyping technologies in the 1840s and 1860s (Altick, 1999), the realism that characterises what followed established literature as a dominant medium, one capable of directing other media, and turned it into the key instrument for creative communication. The growing literacy rates in Europe – for example, in England and Wales from 1800 to 1900 literacy grew from sixty per cent for men and forty per cent for women to ninety-seven per cent for both sexes (Lloyd, 2007) – supported the spread of verbal genres and forms, including newspapers and journals, that were no longer exclusive or inaccessible to wider audiences. The vastly enlarged readership, coupled with urban growth, established a concentrated market for literature as a commodity (Altick, 1999). Sharing information through the telegraph, newspapers or the publication of literary works through journals and pamphlets supported free or low-cost access to verbal artefacts, making word-based experiments easier. Serialised fiction actively exploited illustrations and other pictorial forms to support the readership's imagination, which laid a solid foundation for intermedial experimenting. In addition, realism's aesthetics began to assimilate the idea that the arts were not structurally stable categories, but rather consisted of non-absolute forms without stable boundaries; this launched and facilitated the constant transformation of the arts, the searching for the continuation of one art in another (Takho-Godi, 1982). This eventually characterised art-related processes during the *fin de siècle* and following periods.

Historical Context: The Picture of Turbulence

The decadent *fin de siècle* period of the second half of the XIX century may seem remote from modernist aesthetics. But when speaking of this epoch as a prefigure for the birth of intermediality as we now know it, one should think of a distinction “between the *fin-de-siècle* as a chronological period, and *fin-de-siècle* as a unique attitude or response to this period” (Nottingham, 2015, p. 351). It is the *fin-de-siècle* aesthetic temperament that flows into and influences modernism, eventually allowing the emergence of sundry intermedial forms.

Thus, *fin-de-siècle*, society, as memorialised in the voice of its artists, philosophers, scientists and technicians, faces and responds to multiple crises, turmoil and abrupt changes, allowing Heidegger to call the century from 1850 to 1950 “the darkest of all the centuries of modern times” (qt. in Franks, 1994, p. 11). As proposed by the authors of *The Fin-de-siècle World* (Saler, 2015), one may best describe the aesthetics of the period, with its literature of decadence reflecting the rapid development of cities, the mass movement from rural areas to urban settlements, its industrial revolution and the associated changes in the concepts and perception of time and space, using Bakhtin’s *chronotope* concept (Bakhtin, 1981). The period also brings with it the birth of new nationalism, a new imperialism, and new politics of “higher individualism”. Changes in mass culture included the above-mentioned mass publishing, acceleration of transport, the birth of consumer culture, the spreading of advertisement, the development of “human” or social sciences, a new philosophy, eugenics, mind-breaking developments in psychology and psychiatry, and medicine. People began to conceptualise their selfhood in a different manner, and there was a significant shift in the perception of gender and sexuality, ethnicity and race, religion and atheism and, very importantly, aesthetics. New challenges stimulated new music, new visual arts and new realism, whereas new arts, in particular cinematography, stimulated a spiral of artistic development and troubled the minds of people through the unique experience of witnessing pictures actually move, a novelty that so genuinely corresponded to the speed of the events happening around them.

The feeling created by this turbulence, with its rapid developments, and the rate of critical changes that occurred within one generation, evolved into the artistic sensitivity that we call modernism. Modernism, in turn, faced more brutal wars (World War I and World War II) and economic crises (worldwide Great Depression), societal unrest (equality movements, class changes, spread of socialism and bolshevism), violent political upheavals (collapse of most empires), all of which impacted culture (birth of new music, domination of Paris as the modern world’s artistic centre and its shift to New York, spread of visual culture, growth of architectural scales, revival of Olympic games). Political nationalism developed actively and served as a constituent of a wider trend to adapt old forms into new and different ones, producing a deeper degree of self-consciousness and explicitly defining “the other” in opposition to self, to the “national” (Baycroft, 2015). The refining processes, when the national self was to be grasped through awareness of national characteristics and culture, echoed internal personal processes, which would resonate in modernism’s description and normalisation of self-perception using measures of “efficiency, productivity and health” (Killen, 2015, p. 47).

The *fin-de-siècle* crises also facilitated reflexive practices that reinforced binaries and oppositions, dividing the world into enemies and friends; modernism matured these practices and transformed them into the juxtaposition of cultures and national discourses through its own, modernised and upgraded self-reflexion. While the literature of decadence adopted an anarchistic style, when, as psychologist Havelock Ellis puts it, “everything was sacrificed to the development of the individual parts” (in Gagnier, 2010, n.p.), the self-reflexion at the turn of the century was a wider process and included various constituents. An increase in “individuation led to the disintegration of the whole” (Gagnier, 2010, n.p.), which was eagerly accepted by modernists as a tool for artistic, economic, political, and social re-assessment of external processes that had an impact on the internal, personal world and, as a consequence, it laboured to find a new concept of the self. At the same time, the turn of the century and modernism have been notionally linked by the aesthetic doctrine of art for art’s sake (Bell-Villada, 1996) which, because of its inclusive nature, ties into one intermedial knot various artistic streams, genres, approaches and generations.

The pain of going through unknown and unpredicted turbulence, like Dorian Gray’s fear of growing old and dying, is what unites *fin de siècle* and modernism like parents and children. They face different experiences, but they are equally tough and painful, and the response to rapid changes is similar – rejection, questioning, re-inventing, recycling, re-writing, sewing together multiple strands in the intermedial fabric... This leads to the creation of new intermedial artefacts and other prolific intermedial processes.

Both decadent artists and modernists search for new creative forms that reflect both the interior world of the artist and the dramatic external events. The creators require a new synthesis and dialogue at all levels to keep their sanity in the twisted, chaotic world – they existed at the borders between cultures, civilisations, arts, and social classes and reflected on them. Because of its social relevance, art became the voice of change, the voice heard by millions. And the need for these new voices and new creative forms reflected the artistic obligation to incorporate a variety of new media. And, while *fin de siècle* prepared the solid base of knowledge, practices and experience, modernists gathered it to re-invent the arts and present new medial forms, having grounded them in literature as an ever-growing and dominating form, given the ultimate authority of the verbal media in human communication processes.

Medial Context: The Flowers of Change

As culture transitions between the XIX and XX centuries, *fin de siècle* sensibilities begin to appraise art synthesis more critically. On the one hand, they designate literature as the new (or first-ever) mass art, and on the other – they praise the achievements and experiments of painting. Moreover, along with the change in communication brought by the railroad and telegraph (Plunkett, et al., 2012), and the improved lighting in dwellings and consequent ease of reading as time-spending activity (Altick, 1999), the new technologies encroach upon the traditional ways of living as never before, to such an extent that they cannot be ignored by artists. Art and science tend to disagree, yet the artistic horizons are extended by scientific inventions while the scientific ethos extant at the turn of the century profoundly influences

modernism (Bell-Villada, 1996). Photography (1839), cinematography (1878), phonography (1877), telephony (1876) and radio (1895) change the world of art and technology by giving people access to new dimensions of experience. Recording and transmitting sounds and images, the power to conserve things that before were non-preservable, non-documentable, challenge literature and its documenting functions by enlarging the role of aestheticism in people's lives and the role of media in general (Guillory, 2022). Thus, photographic imagery impacts the entire system of artistic vision and creativity and facilitates the birth of new genres and techniques through the development of new documentalist features; cinematography, as a synthesis of verbal and photographic mediums, is born at the junction of new visual "moving pictures" techniques and literary fables, stories, and motifs; phonography allows recording voice and sound and its replication on secondary devices, whereas telephone and radio allow transmitting sounds and information instantly all over the world.

This media explosion and consequent variety of *fin-de-siècle* genres and forms eventually led to modernism. Significantly, while these technologies appeared during the broad *fin-de-siècle* period, a time of pessimism and decay when one might perceive these new technologies as just more malevolent concoctions, modernists, on the other hand, encouraged their growth and dominating influence on society. On the one hand, there was an emergent literary dynamism supported by mass publishing, which reinforced the dominant position of the novel (Plunkett, et al., 2012), on the other – the new media seeded confusion, rejection, fear, all in connection to the fear of the new century and its all-to-rapid developments. Speaking of the growth of new media, the very first radio interchange happened in 1895, whereas the first commercial radio broadcast was in 1920; additionally, Auguste and Louis Lumière showed the first film to the mass audience in 1895, while in 1896 multiple cinematographic theatres were built all over Europe. By 1902 there appeared a first film with the natural colour process and in the 1910s most films had sound integrated to them. The speed of certain media-related processes bordered on insanity for many observers of the time, who thought that the speed of change could prove psychologically devastating. Thus, for instance, Queen Victoria, a symbol of British stability, ascended the throne in 1837 before any of these technologies and media appeared, and by the time of her decease in 1901, there were half a dozen new media forms, using new mediums, new processes, new techniques, producing the outcomes and artefacts that none would have expected in so short a time frame.

The development of key modernist writers, their childhood and youth, happens to coincide with the turn of the century. They absorbed *fin-de-siècle* cultural traditions from their birth and were witness to the spread of new media, which they were more than eager to accept. Accordingly, James Joyce owned Ireland's first cinema and borrowed elements of the cinematographic craft for his writing, while Virginia Woolf published her essay *The Cinema* (1926), where she stressed the simultaneously existing archaism, primitivism and newness of the cinematographic art. As modernists, they are concerned with everyday life, perception, time, and "kaleidoscopic and fractured experiences of urban space" (Marcus, 2016); they also borrow cinematic techniques of close-up, flashback, and montage to shape their experimental works. This can be said of other modernists as well – some researchers would argue that modernisms are the individual responses to the media that appeared and began to re-shape lives; some would say

that analysis of decadent literature is a valuable tool for the exploration of the works of Joyce, Woolf and other modernists (Boyiopoulos, Choi, & Tildesley, 2015); others would stress that modernist masterpieces emerged from the colonial world of the XIX century (Bell-Villada, 1996) – altogether linking the pre-modernist XIX century and modernism into a unified artistic, political, historical, social and cultural fabric.

At the same time, while speaking about these two artistic epochs, one should bear in mind the vagueness of the border between modernism and pre-modernism, especially regarding the appearance of the new media forms, as it is not clear whether modernist techniques and works appeared after the turn of the century or during its peak. Global modernism has multiple, asynchronous timelines reflecting specific experiences and developments in various cultures and historic discourses (Moody & Ross, 2020). Thus, for instance, John Ruskin's theories, Friedrich Nietzsche's philosophies, and Sigmund Freud's approaches were formulated and publicised earlier than the "official" chronology proposes the beginning of modernism in Europe. The close link between *fin de siècle* and modernism is like an umbilical cord between a mother and her child – at a certain stage they are so closely tied together that any attempt at delineation is impossible. However, the notion of the aestheticization of life through new media obviates the need for this rupture between the *fin de siècle* and modernism. Thus, sometimes one must speak about non-modernist works raising modernist topics through non-modernist language. Was Oscar Wilde a modernist? No. Was the focus of his writing modern? Yes. Besides, one may see significant differences between the novels of E. M. Forster (which are far from being experimental and resemble Wilde's writings) or Somerset Maugham's "pop literature" and the works of Samuel Beckett, who is a representative of late modernism. Comparing the works of James Joyce, Virginia Woolf, T. S. Elliot, or D. H. Lawrence published in the 1920s would also be problematic, as they represent different modernisms.

On the opposite side of the intermedial fabric, modernism in pictorial art may start its chronology from Édouard Manet (1890s), or the pre-Raphaelites if conceived as his foreshadowers (1850s), or even J. M. W. Turner's studies of light, colour and atmosphere (1830s-40s). In addition, there were many historical delays in terms of the "uneven politics of language" (Moody & Ross, 2020). Thus, for instance, Karl Marx's works are a product of the early *fin de siècle*, however, his *Das Kapital* (1867) reached the English-speaking world twenty years later, in 1887, energising the minds of anti-realists and supporting modernist processes when German-speaking cultures had already developed their response to it.

This allows speaking of new media as a collection of synthetic forms that required no documentation through literature and were easy to spread, influencing the masses and uniting people from countries that had reached a certain level of technological advance. While *fin de siècle* fathered such media, modernism used them as a tool, as a reinstatement of experimental forms, and as a stimulus. Cinematography, phonography, radio, and later television would confirm that the borders had been broken – heretofore strange lands were no longer so mysterious, almost everyone could see foreign landscapes or "exotic" people without travelling, and people could hear the voices of prominent singers or listen to operas without the need to travel to Italy or the nearest theatre. Boundaries, shattered physically and mentally,

began to be questioned, along with the oppositions they embodied. Artists delved ever deeper into themselves and thought more of their own bodies, health and mind. However, these innovations did not yield universal acceptance, as certain of its products were met with challenges and faced rejection. Such is the case with Charles Baudelaire's *Les Fleurs du mal* (censored in 1857), Oscar Wilde's works (which, along with his love for Lord Alfred Douglas, caused him to flee to France in 1897), and D. H. Lawrence's sensual novels (1920s). Some would be praised, like James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922), however, the depth of modernist provocation would not be easily detected due to the experimental nature of its methods. Processes of assemblage and collection, triage and sorting would be established by turn of the century mediums (Moody & Ross, 2020), and modernists would make the discernability of these processes a fundamental element in their creative efforts.

Rupture: In Search of Lost Art

A deeper understanding of *fin de siècle* aesthetic attitudes allows for a better appreciation for this epoch as the source of key stimulating substances for modernist sensibilities. There is no doubt that the researcher can always go as far back as Homer's *Iliad* in that work's Book XVIII description of Achilles's shield, which remains one of the better-known cases of ekphrasis. But *fin de siècle* sensibilities are what give modernist arts *the* significant impetus. There is a new impulse positively to re-evaluate the role of earlier aesthetic sensibilities, from the Middle Ages to romanticism, and to incorporate this inclusivity into its new perception of art and life, aesthetics and philosophies.

Strictly speaking, modernism is an intermedial cauldron. On the one hand, artists attempt to create new artefacts, new concepts and new art in general, however, on the other hand, they draw from the legacy of the previous artistic epochs. *Fin de siècle* attempts to combine individual-sensitive-internal with the inherited-communal-external that comes in the forms of historical and mythological archetypes, legends, and epics. It comes with a re-assessing of the roles of text and image (Emden & Rippl, 2010) which continues to this day and facilitates the reassessment of literature's role in the global context.

Thus, methodologically, modernism should be perceived as a phenomenon of multiple scales and dimensions (Moody & Ross, 2020), with its historic, political and cultural legacy being one of its fundamental characteristics. Like Marcel Proust searches for lost time, modernists continue the *fin-de-siècle* tradition of searching for lost arts, though more surreptitiously. They are not painting dozens of literary characters as the pre-Raphaelites did, but they integrate the archetypal qualities of these characters into their works and plant semi-veiled references. James Joyce's *Ulysses* directly refers to Homer's Odysseus and his wandering on the way back home after the Trojan war, although in other cases the links are not that obvious and require deciphering by the informed reader. E. M. Forster's *Where Angels Fear to Tread* (1905) may be seen exclusively as a modernist novel with multiple ekphratic depictions of Italian Renaissance painting, or as an interpretation of the Endymion myth – both approaches making it intermedial through the use of ekphrasis or adaptation of one literary form by another. In the *Foreword* to his *Sons and Lovers* (1913), D. H. Lawrence calls the work an interpretation of

the Oedipus myth, although both chronologically and thematically the *Foreword* rather refers to Lawrence's next novel, *The Rainbow* (1915), which has as sequel in *Women in Love* (1920). This allows all three novels to be studied as intermedial adaptations of the Oedipus story, making them a modernist re-cycling of the ancient drama. Samuel Beckett's novels tie an even more complex intermedial knot, as they can be seen both as allusions to ancient myths and parodies or echoes of James Joyce's works, primarily *Ulysses*.

Examples of such intermedial intensification are plenty. It is modernism that openly reflects on media, is impacted by it, and ultimately seeks to integrate it or experiment with it in its literary forms. It builds, as we have seen, on the legacy of earlier generations of artists, philosophers and scientists. The popularity of such experiments is observed in the ever-growing dominance of literature, extant in the self-reflective artistic explorations of the modernist novel. Thus it is that modernist experiments generate a historical context and reveal the influence of earlier conventions, as "dialectic of art resembles the social dialectic" (Adorno, 1984) they exist in.

Thus, while speaking of intermediality and its multiple phenomena, it is necessary not only to draw parallels with other epochs, but also to search for the origin of specific fables, plots, archetypal characters, and analyse how they unfold in modernist works. This straightforward consideration may help reveal additional features, conceivably identifying a subconscious legacy in modernist creators, instilled in them in childhood and adolescence by parents and grandparents. The link with *fin de siècle* and its turbulence can make the research more penetrating, interdisciplinary, intercultural, and international by dissolving boundaries.

Moreover, the alignment of cinematography and literature, and the interplays between these two media at the turn of the century are "among the most crucial factors that shaped what came to be called modernist literature and culture" (Marcus, 2015). Early films often attempted to capture the particular traits and peculiarities of cities. Fine examples are Walter Ruttmann's *Berlin: Symphony of a Great City* (1926) and Dziga-Vertov's *Man with a Movie Camera* (1928). It is easy to see how James Joyce tries to replicate film's facility for visual depiction not only in *Dubliners* (1914), but also in *Ulysses* (1922). Moreover, in her novel *Mrs Dalloway* (1925), Virginia Woolfe focuses on Clarissa's perambulation around the streets of London on a single day. The imagistic quality of Joyce's depiction of Blum's wanderings around Dublin and of Clarissa's around London, for example, is a testament to the intermedial outlook of the times.

On the other hand, literature served as key material resource and source of inspiration for film, as a slew of novelists and playwrights became involved in the cinematographic business (Trotter, 2007). Additionally, literature gave context to the new mediums in terms of poetics and montage (Schmid, 2019; Stewart, 1999) and, taking their cues from film, writers were able to give new and unconventional characteristics to their literary endeavours, engaging in a self-aware search for new forms that was "at once fragmentary and encyclopaedic" (Trotter, 2007). In this sense, intermediality and its processes can be construed as nurturing the birth of the cinema.

Given the significant role of cinema in the development and progress of modernisms, one may assume that intermediality is a *fin de siècle* phenomenon that facilitated the birth of modernism. At the same time, despite the intimacy between new media and modernism, one should bear in mind that these “cross-breeds” were conscious and artificial, as the new media were essentially recording mediums, while literature is representational (Trotter, 2007) and they vary in nature, form and purposes.

Conclusion

The turbulence of the epoch and the evolution of new artistic movements, new aesthetics and philosophies, impacted the development of mixed (intermedial) arts, stimulated their development, and activated the exploration of intermedial forms and genres in all the arts. Intermediality served as a basis for modernist developments and for new thinking in terms of all the arts and creative processes on which they are contingent. This is the legacy of the *fin de siècle*.

The period also enhanced the role of the literary medium due to the introduction of mass publishing and the uptick in literacy rates. New media, *inter alia*, facilitated the introduction of new techniques to the verbal forms and stimulated experimental writing in key modernists, facilitating the birth of new literature-based synthetic, intermedial forms and genres. New concepts of time and space, the shrinking of intervals between events, the speedier diffusion of information due to the invention of the telephone and the radio—not to mention photography, cinematography, phonography—facilitated the collapse of boundaries, guiding the modernists towards a deeper study of the self, especially in relation to others. Incidentally, psychological analysis is also a *fin-de-siècle* legacy.

Altogether, *fin de siècle* and its crises and turbulences created the basis for modernist trends and catalysed the intermedial experiments and birth of new forms and genres – this should always be considered when researching literary artefacts established after the 1840s, as they are expected to bear a significant intermedial load or be directly influenced and/or impacted by the treatment of media.

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