CHRIS WAHL

MULTIPLE LANGUAGE VERSIONS MADE IN BABELSBERG

Ufa's International Strategy, 1929-1939

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Cover illustration: A photograph made during the shooting of *Walzerkrieg / La guerre des valses* (1933, Ludwig Berger) showing Rose Barsony from the German version and her counterpart Arletty from the French version. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque du Film (Paris). Copyright: Deutsche Kinemathek – Horst von Harbou.

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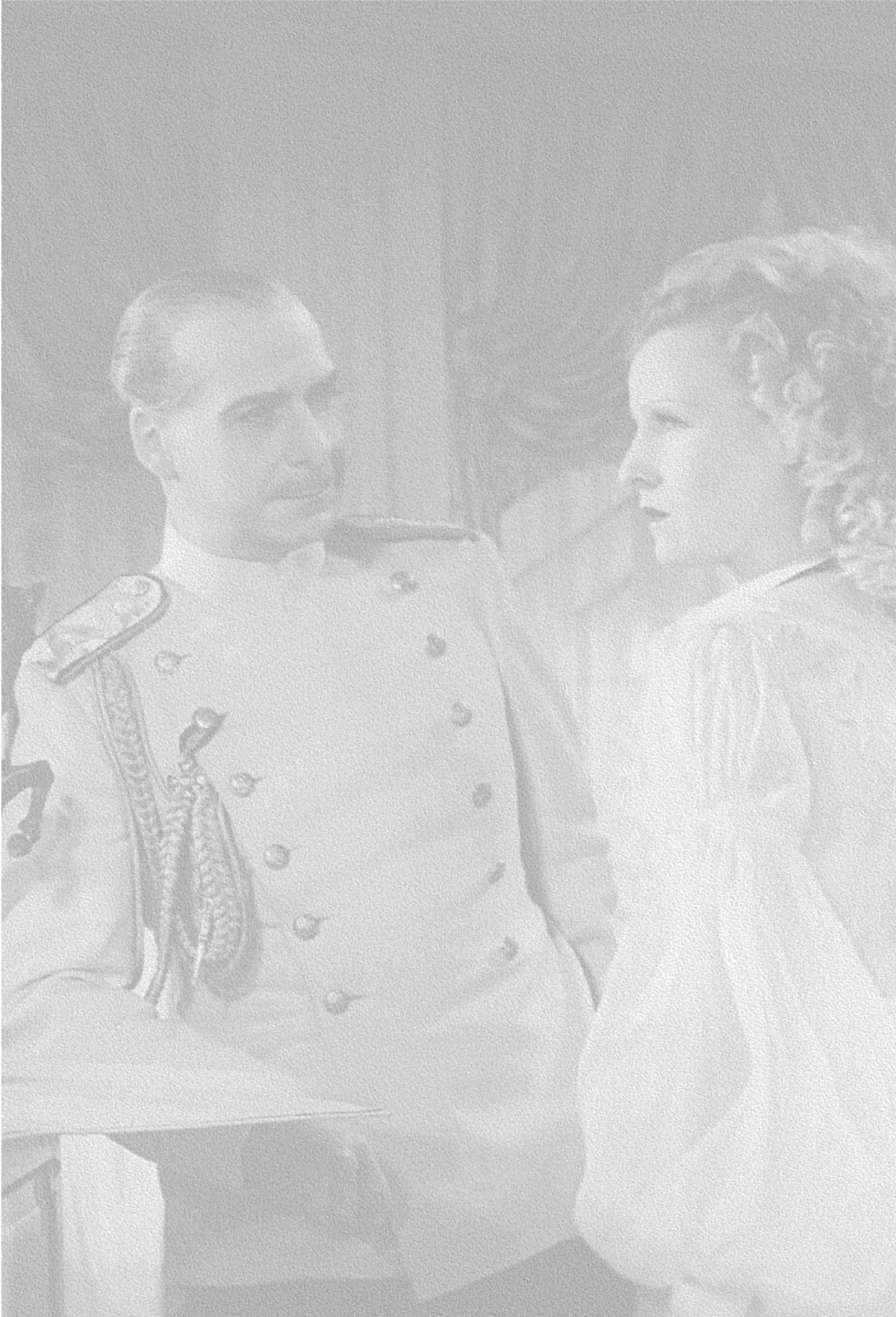

INTRODUCTION

Given that we supposedly live in an (audio)visual culture, what happens to its products after they have been economically exploited by various methods (cinema, DVD, etc.) leaves the majority of its producers and consumers remarkably unaffected. On the one hand, there is an indifference to films that are virtual reminders of the medium's "wild days," when film strips were simply destroyed after their money-making potential had been exhausted; on the other, some individuals naïvely believe that efforts to conserve, restore and reconstruct them are unnecessary. While at the time of this book's writing German politicians appear to be realizing that this should change,[1] by no means invalidates the preceding observation. In keeping with the motto that the faster and easier information can be accessed, the less interest there is in how it came to be, a major contradiction currently exists between the number of people who are "somehow involved with audiovisual media," the level of common knowledge of how they work and sensitivity to questions beyond direct consumption or immediate participation in the production process. Anyone who has attempted to explain what a film scholar or even a film historian does to the "average" educated person will know exactly what I mean. No, we do not make films. Truly alarming, however, is when students of these disciplines are clueless. One of the problems of teaching at the university level is certainly the increasing dilution of individual disciplines through their integration into a broader field of media studies, in which most arguments tend to be abstractly philosophical or sociological, at the very least theoretical, thereby pushing hands-on work on the object into the background, as is the norm in art history. This book addresses specialists, by offering a wealth of newly discovered materials, but also tries to present the subject matter in a way that is as comprehensible as possible to all other readers fascinated with films, the circumstances of their production, and their continued existence.

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The purely historical account of Universum Film AG's (Ufa) international strategy from 1929 to 1939 indicated by the book's subtitle is both narrowed in scope and expanded, as indicated in the book's main title: The various language versions that Ufa produced of its feature-fiction films are considered expressly in the context of the foreign activity of what was then Europe's largest film-production company; all other aspects of its international strategy are dealt with only insofar as they are relevant to this main focus. At the same time, the portrayal of Ufa's production of multiple-language-version films requires a frame situating the theme clearly within film and media history. This concerns both strategies employed by other companies and other methods used in the early sound era for the presentation of foreign-language feature films and the actual relationship of alternate-language versions to other varieties of film versions to an equal degree. The general "versionality" of a film is, in this instance, the junction that reveals both the connections between the sound and silent eras as well as techniques – frequently labeled postmodern – that appear throughout film and media history. The aim of this book, however, is not only to present a precise treatment of a clearly outlined topic, but also to provide examples of a conceptual pattern for study of cinematic history in which film is conceived as a polyvalent medium of reflection, namely as a document of a specific time and Zeitgeist; as the result of a complex process based on political, economic, cultural and technological conditions; as both commodity and artwork; as an object capable of displaying effects in a multitude of situations and reception contexts; as a product affected in the course of its existence, in terms of both content and materiality, by loss, deformation and other changes, and which for this reason almost never exists in a pure or original form.

I first encountered the subject of multiple-language-version films and Ufa in particular while studying dubbing, subtitling and multiple-language-version films as well as the transition from silent films to sound for my PhD thesis.[2] My participation in the International Film Studies Spring School in Gradisca, Italy, which focused on multiple-language-version films from 2003 to 2005, compounded the realization that this theme was far from a poor cousin of film-history research and could shed light on the process of filmmaking beyond its clearly demarcated confines. This was also a research project that would require a great deal of effort and expense. The German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft) kindly provided me with financial support from September 2005 to August 2008, making my work possible, which included the unlimited use of a large number of European archives. Working in archives, especially when crossing numerous borders is involved, requires a considerable amount of flexibility, both because speaking the various local languages represents a significant advantage and

because each archive has its own system and regulations. While I made every effort to locate the films in the corpus of Ufa language versions, there are no publicly available catalogues, either central or local, for looking up specific titles. The individual archives were, naturally, reluctant to check through a list of in my case, some 70 film titles, meaning that patience and empathy were also necessary. Particular challenges were also presented by the question of national responsibility for foreign-language versions and the number of errors in metadata. For example, the French version of a German film might be listed in an archive's database under the German title. Therefore, establishing contact with specialist archivists beforehand is advisable, as they are more familiar with their holdings than the regular staff members an unknown visitor has to deal with first. Furthermore, specialists are also more likely to want to correct catalogue errors and can provide useful leads concerning other archives. In the past, films in German and French were exported to many different countries, and now they can sometimes be found in quite unexpected places. For example, I discovered material on the Hans Albers film *Der Sieger*, long considered lost in Germany, at the Yugoslav Film Archive in Belgrade, where nobody had looked for it in the last 60 years. The Russian Film Archive in Moscow also represents a rich trove, though its holdings are, of course, spoils of war. I found films there that had not been seen in Germany since the Second World War, such as the Heinz Rühmann vehicle *Strich durch die Rechnung* and a French version of the first Ufa operetta on sound-film, *Liebeswalzer*, featuring Willy Fritsch and Lilian Harvey.

The book is laid out fairly clearly in six chapters followed by a filmography, a bibliography and three indices, which also make it useful as a reference work. The first chapter aims at providing a somewhat abstract definition of versions as opposed to copies that is in line with the traditions of art history and media philosophy, thereby indirectly illustrating why the term "original" is problematic. The chapter's second part more clearly focuses on the different types of film versions – of which the language version is only one – that producers, consumers, historians and archivists encounter. Chapter two describes the methods employed for presenting foreign-language films in early 1930s Germany, followed by an introduction to the multiple-language-version film method and a survey of the films produced in Europe and the US. The contrast and especially the competition between the rival film industries in these two areas may be, from a European viewpoint, best conveyed by the term Film Europe, the history of which is portrayed, focusing on the 1930s and 1950s. Finally, the issue of whether something comparable to the alternate-language version exists in other media is discussed. Chapters three to five are dedicated to Ufa's multiple-language-version films, and their development is portrayed in three periods. Chapter three deals with 1929-1932, the most crucial phase,

and Ufa's most important foreign market, France. It traces the development of Ufa's specific method and strategy, the company's special relationship with Hungary, and the failed attempt to conquer the US market with English-language versions. Additionally, particular production processes relevant to an understanding of Ufa's foreign-market policy are explained, such as the system of commissioned productions. This is also the longest chapter, as it thoroughly elucidates connections so that knowledge of them can be presumed for the two subsequent chapters. Also included are analyses of three areas of particular significance to the topic: the relevance of vocal characteristics and accents in the early sound-film era, the connection between sound-film operettas and the record industry in the 1930s, and both the dialogues and cultural mise-en-scène in multiple-language-version films, which were altered to suit the tastes and customs of their target audiences. Chapter four covers 1933 to 1936, when the company's focus gradually shifted, from economic to ideological. As 1936 came to an end, production of multiple-language-version films at Ufa stopped. Two subchapters examine the special cases of an English version made after 1933 and two Dutch versions. Two further exceptions are discussed in the fifth chapter, which covers the years 1937 to 1939, when Ufa was wholly nationalized. These years saw the production of two foreign-language films, one in German and Spanish and a second in German and Italian, though these combinations – like some others – had previously been of no interest whatsoever to Ufa. The historical section ends with a foray into the present and a look at the film *La niña de tus ojos*, which provides a caricature of Ufa's Spanish adventure. Because of its multilingual concept this film also represents a link between the 1930s and the present, which is expanded further still by the example of the polyglot fraternization films, *Joyeux Noël* in particular. The last chapter discusses the difference between multiple-language-version films and remakes, including 1950s remakes of Ufa's alternate-language versions from the 1930s. It simultaneously harks back to the first chapter and the issue of versionality, using the example of the various domestic and international remakes of the Ufa multiple-language-version film *Viktor und Viktoria* to demonstrate how the fundamental strategies of repetition and variation in tandem enabled the spread of a limited number of audiovisual motifs through time and space in such a way that film history has developed into an infinitely rich universe.

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CHAPTER ONE

Versions

ORIGINAL, COPIES AND VERSIONS

"Without reproductions there would be no originals,"[1] writes the sociologist Niklas Luhmann in his study on mass media, thus making it clear that a product becomes an original only in retrospect, namely the instant someone reproduces it. Two types of reproduction are conceivable: copies and versions.

A copy is a type of reproduction intended to be identical with and replace the original, created with the aid of a certain form of manual, mechanical (optical, chemical, etc.) or digital technology. With each new technological level the degree of similarity between original and copy increases and the speed of reproduction accelerates. Versions, on the other hand, represent a type of reproduction geared towards the original without ever being identical to it, or even similar in every respect. But often a version – as opposed to a copy – demands a more profound knowledge of the original, effectively being a comment on it. Thus, a copy strives to repeat the original state, to make one forget the resistance of time and (geographical and/or cultural) space between itself and the original, while a version documents this resistance. The additional value of a version, compared to a copy, might also be called "the new."[2]

For Walter Benjamin – I refer here to his famous essay on artwork, first published in 1936 – the original of the mechanical era has lost its authority over its reproductions. The natural authenticity of manually produced originals, their uniqueness made evident by the fact that they can be forged, no longer holds true for works created mechanically.[3] Comparing this idea with another famous text written some thirty years later, Nelson Goodman's *Languages of Art*, is instructive. According to Goodman, the visual arts are "autographic" because "even the most exact duplication [...] does not thereby count

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as genuine."[4] Music, on the other hand, is "allographic," as the copying of notes changes nothing of a composition's authenticity, while musical performances, due to the unrepeatability of the moment, always represent an original that cannot be copied.[5] This two-phase nature of music is, however, not typical of the allographic arts. Literature does not require performance, yet it cannot be forged either.[6] Regardless of which version of a book is read, it is always the same text, assuming, of course, that it was copied accurately. It should not be forgotten that, in contrast, handwritten texts such as diaries can be forged when a piece of writing is ascribed to an individual who, in fact, did not pen it.

This shows that the terms "authenticity" and "forgery" refer to both a certain natural materiality, as described by Benjamin, and also a person's direct, virtually palpable influence, to individual traces underlying the creative achievement. In the traditional visual arts these traces are fundamental and nearly constitutive; hence, they are autographic. The painter's hand guiding the brush is not only responsible for a work's originality, but ultimately for its reproduction, which is why producing a copy of a painting that does not simultaneously represent a version is altogether impossible. In the progression to mechanical and then digital reproduction the brush, i.e. the machine, assumes an increasing amount of responsibility for copying. As can be seen prior to and even more clearly after digitization, this involves the surrender of responsibility for originality to the machine. In photography and film the camera takes on a creative function, which was foregrounded explicitly by both documentary movements such as cinéma vérité and Direct Cinema as well as in fiction, by movements such as neorealism and Dogma 95. In the digital world even the creation of artworks without human intervention is conceivable. Following this logic, responsibility for both the copy and the version must eventually lead to a reunification at a single hand, though this would be guided by machines rather than humans.

According to Maurizio Marini, Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1571-1610) belonged to an epoch when individual artists saw themselves not as authors of a work, but as inventors of a particular visual idea for which they claimed a kind of copyright. This allowed them to produce their own replicas or authorize copies that had the same status as the "repeated performances of the same piece of music by a certain composer."[7] In photography of the digital era, according to someone intimately familiar with the field, there is currently a return to recognizing "the immaterial visual idea" as the original.[8] If this was because, in Caravaggio's day, the author, as creator of an original, preferred that his collaborators were not regarded as his equals, in the digital age the reason lies in the fact that we are still unaccustomed to recognizing machines as (co)authors of an original.

According to Benjamin, manually created originals are surrounded by an aura which otherwise can only be found in nature: "To follow with the eye – while resting on a summer afternoon – a mountain range on the horizon or a branch that casts its shadow on the beholder is to breathe the aura of those mountains, of that branch."[9] Benjamin's "aura" betrays itself here to be a concept derived from the Romantic tradition, which reflects a retrospective perception: Aura expresses a sense of longing (Benjamin: "the unique apparition of a distance, however near it may be"[10]) that can only be ascribed to nature after having attained a special status, after having become something one can look at. The aura, which Benjamin finds not only in nature, but also in manual art, is therefore – and he would probably deny this emphatically – a profoundly bourgeois concept. It is a gaze at the tamed uncertainty of life from a cozy sitting room. As long as nature simply existed, it had no aura. As long as what are now called visual arts represented a natural part of (spiritual) life, they lacked an aura. This applies to every single object. Van Gogh's works were apparently misused and debased before he was recognized as an exceptional painter. One might also say that visual artworks take on their true significance only after being torn from the context of their creation and put on display in museums.

In Benjamin's day neither photography nor film was exhibited in museums on a regular basis. From today's perspective it would, however, be wrong to claim that, contrary to the experience of gazing at the original Venus de Milo in the Louvre, the specific print one watches of the thousands made of Chaplin films does not matter.[11] With the musealization of film, recognition of its cultural value, an increase in the significance of film archives and, last but not least, publication of parts of its (partially restored and reconstructed) history in digital form, the awareness has grown that almost every surviving print of a film represents a different version. The search for the original, one might also say the retroactive definition of the original (premiere version? director's cut?), is now equally important in the reconstruction of film history as identifying originals and their creators in the world of painting and sculpture.

While mechanically reproducible art forms such as photography and film are now displayed in museums (though in the case of film the dispositif of cinema has changed from the place of performance to the location of the exhibition, and the film itself has sought other channels, as it did prior to cinema's establishment), the deficiencies that Benjamin attributed to mechanical technology are now ascribed to digitization.[12] Nostalgia for mechanical reproduction increases along with the emergence of digital visual worlds. One might almost speak of the interplay in the charging and discharging of aura. Or, to use Boris Groys' terminology,[13] of a continual dispelling of "media-ontological suspicion," of doubt in the trustworthiness

of the "submedial space" as the foundation of the visible surface. As with customary ontological doubts concerning the authenticity of other individuals behind their perceptible façades, we are dealing here with a to and fro of curiosity and safety-mindedness. A new medium is considered exciting, though somewhat dangerous at the same time. With time it is, apparently, tamed to some extent, and turned into a museum exhibit. However, this involves a loss in the capacity for interaction, which – as with two people – may be restored at any time, together with all the doubts and in a form one might call a revival.

The progression of manual to mechanical to digital represents a history of both the increasing ease of reproduction and decreasing visibility. While with painting one can speak of the possibility of direct observation, photographs and films are easier to copy than paintings, though they operate with visual encodings. With Polaroids – as with paintings – direct observation is possible. On the other hand, they are neither intended, nor produced for reproduction, which is also the case with slides. While the latter can, in principle, also be viewed directly, even if they have to be held against the light at the very least and a projector is required to enjoy them fully. But in most cases, photography and film involve a negative process[14] that can produce several generations of copies – with decreasing quality. The simplification of reproduction involves the toll of a visual encoding of the original, which only attains its full visibility through the process of copying. In the case of photography copies are also generated as paper prints. While these authorized vintage prints are sometimes referred to as original prints, they are not originals in the proper sense, but simply copies.

After all, in digitalized art both original and copy consist of binary codes. They can be duplicated so easily and without quality loss that copyright holders employ various kinds of copy-protection systems in order to maintain some degree of control over reproduction. On the other hand, experiencing art in digital form requires appropriate software and viewing aids such as monitors. Compared to the negative process, the encoding of visual information has taken on an extreme aspect. This decrease in visibility is accompanied by, as one might interpret Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin, an increase in "remediation," i.e. the capacity to incorporate and represent other media.[15] While a painting may look like a photograph (photorealism), it cannot contain an original photo, except in the form of a collage, which intentionally and manifestly plays with foreign objects. Inversely, photographs can show paintings in the same way as any other object. By this logic, a digital file may contain photos or films, but representing the digital in a photo or film is extremely difficult. Films, because of their power of incorporation (of theater, music, literature and painting), are often fundamentally regarded as total works of art. In the digital world, however, they too are only a single

component that can be remediated. On the other hand, new visual media can not only incorporate older ones, they can also help them attain new forms of visibility. Just as invisible differences between paintings may be detected by mechanical (optical or chemical) means,[16] digitization has contributed to a way of seeing films that only now makes their "versionality" manifest .

All photographs – also in contrast to paintings – are very closely related to the precise *moment* they are taken, the instant of their creation. This explains why the impression of uniqueness is inherent to each one. A number of photographs taken in short succession, whose moments of creation are closely aligned, tend to be perceived as a series and filmic. A film consists of many such series of photographs (separated by means of cuts). When pairs of individual frames are compared, they resemble – due to their exposure at extremely short intervals – copies of one another. But when arranged in a series, they reveal themselves to be different versions of the external world.[17] In other words, a film consists of many image sequences in which each photo represents minimally different versions of the external world in temporal and spatial succession. According to André Gaudreault, one could therefore say that editing a film entails a selection process similar to a decision concerning which object should be captured from which perspective.[18] While an individual still photograph refers to something in reality, a film's serial frames refer to one another.[19] This is how film creates its own time and space, an independent universe that, in turn, demands constant variation. While photos and films principally refer to reality, in the digital age (for instance in computer games) the filmic universe is increasingly becoming a substitute for extramedial reality.[20] Hence, "moving," photographically created images have also attained auratic status.

FILM VERSIONS

Certainly, George Steiner was correct when claiming, in reference to literature, that the "relations of a text to its translations, thematic variants, even parodies, are too diverse to allow of any single theoretic, definitional scheme."[21] At the same time, there have been repeated attempts to do precisely this. Harold Bloom's theory on the anxiety of influence, which was strongly influenced by Freud's psychoanalysis, describes six "revisionary ratios," all of which refer to a personal dependence or, in most cases, an attempt that is normally repressed to create distance from models that cannot be surpassed.[22] This theory cannot, however, be applied to film, as too many different individuals are involved in the creative process, in contrast to literature, thus contributing to film's basic versionality. While identifying which collaborator (director, cameraperson,

actor, etc.) was inspired by which model is certainly possible, synthesizing this knowledge into a coherent overall picture would be difficult if not impossible. The more limited model made up by film versions, which will be elaborated in this chapter in spite of Steiner's warning, will, however, be based on variants of a formal, rather than personal, nature. Such models would be problematic only if they were advanced as the definitive truth, which is certainly not the case here. On the contrary, the objective of this book is to create a kind of open list that provides suggestions for its further development.

Experts believe that the 1978 FIAF[23] conference in Brighton brought about, in part if not entirely, a paradigm shift in the way cinematic history is written. A closing of ranks took place there, involving archivists and university scholars who research early film, a subject that had not been taken completely seriously to that point. Gradually, archives began opening up and, through their work with the heterogenous types of material held in these archives, which went far beyond the problematic of early film, university researchers came to a realization. David Bordwell describes this as follows:

> Archivists had long known that a film might survive in a number of variants, and that almost all the canonized classics could be found in different versions. Yet this fact had almost never been acknowledged by practicing historians. [...] The study of different versions eventually led to important debates about principles of restoration and reconstruction.[24]

Joseph Garncarz, who was the first film scholar to submit a theory of the alternate film version, formulated an extremely cogent definition:

> While one can speak of a new version only when a film differs significantly, not every product of a significant variation is termed an alternate version. The product of a significant variation of a film is termed a new version only when a certain degree of correspondence between the variant and the original exists. This correspondence may be neither too great, nor too inconsequential. The greater the correspondence, the less justification for speaking of two different independent versions of a film, so we tend to speak of *one* film. With less correspondence, one would be more inclined to speak of two films rather than two versions of a single film. The possible definitions for the final product as a kind of version lie somewhere between these poles.[25]

A useful example for elucidating this definition is the fact that a director's cut does not differ from the version most commonly distributed to the extent that it is considered a different film. The remake represents the opposite end of the

spectrum: While it represents a variation of a film, the difference is so great that no one would dream of not classifying the two as separate works. Garncarz's pattern of "initial film – variation – final product: independent film or version of the initial film" can be found in my inventory as a basic model, though I categorize a film's versions according to the circumstances of production, as pre- and post-versions. The first group comprises the versions that were made during shooting of the original film, according to a plan, while those in the second group were produced after completion of the original. Generally, the intention is to bring life to the scheme and search for answers to the questions of what, how and why with regard to film variations.

Pre-versions

There are two different categories of alternate versions planned before production of the original film, versions created through the simultaneous use of multiple cameras and others shot in different takes with the same camera angles. Before 1926 definition in duplicate negatives was not good enough to produce a large number of positive prints without a significant loss of quality.[26] For this reason, a makeshift method was employed between 1914 and 1928: Several different original negatives from different takes were assembled, with one negative for the domestic market and the others for export.[27] This was done even after the switch to sound-film. From the minutes of the February 19, 1930, meeting of Ufa's board of directors:

> It is hereby resolved that, if need be, surplus footage will be dubbed [i.e. the original negative will be duplicated[28]] to create a second negative of each sound version [in this case alternate-language version] as far as possible.[29]

This method was introduced to eliminate insurance premiums for the original negative. However, it soon proved to be impracticable, as duplication of far too many scenes was necessary. For that reason, a lavender print was made of every negative as a kind of backup.[30] Interestingly enough, though this might be mere coincidence, it was mentioned specifically that second negatives were not made of the films *Zwei Herzen und ein Schlag* and *Der Sieger*, both of which were completed in early 1932.[31] Instead, the surplus footage was saved and kept separate (for later use), and both films are now considered lost in Germany.[32]

Another way to create more than a single original negative was shooting with several different cameras that operated simultaneously. Called multiple-

camera shooting, this technique was employed not only for versions intended for export, but also with scenes that could be shot only once, e.g. when extremely dangerous stunts were involved, which explains why production crews – in Hollywood in particular – began to use it again at the beginning of the sound-film era. From 1929 to 1931, when the sound technology then in use did not permit the combination of various takes, this was the method employed by studios most often, as shots from a variety of perspectives were available for the editing process as a result.[33] However, difficulties with not only the new sound systems but also the color-film technology being developed at the time were dealt with by means of multiple-camera shooting. One famous example is Jacques Tati's *Jour de fête* (1949):[34] The French Thomson color system was used, making this film a monument to what the country's film industry could do. At the same time, there was a justified fear that it would not work, and so color and black-and-white cameras were employed simultaneously. As a result, several different versions of this film were produced.[35] In the recent past in particular, multiple cameras have been employed for stylistic reasons, such as for *Timecode* (2000, Mike Figgis), in which four different perspectives of the same events are shown in a single split screen.

The general versionality of the medium of film is illustrated in the last two examples, in that a single technique can not only enable production of different versions of the same work, it can also be employed for a single film. Certain technical systems are employed to achieve desired visual qualities by shooting several different versions of a scene simultaneously. For example, the widescreen effect of Cinerama, developed in 1952, was created by projecting film footage shot with three cameras set at slight angles onto a concave screen.[36] The fourth Technicolor process (1932-1955) took advantage of the full spectrum of colors by using three different negatives (for the three primary colors) in a single camera, which were synthesized later in post-production.[37]

At the beginning of the sound-film era not only multiple-camera shooting, the proven technique of assembling a variety of takes into different versions was used again. As mentioned above, a number of alternate versions of silent films were produced for export in this way, and the use of different takes offered an advantage over shooting with more than one camera in that the action in the different versions could be altered and adapted to different cultures, e.g. ending the film work on a happy or tragic note.[38] When sound-film was about to be introduced, Hans Kahan wrote at length on the differences between German and American films:

> On the other hand, it happens all too frequently in scenes in our movies involving a man and a woman that the man, in a justified outburst directed at the woman, asserts the stronger sex, even physically attacking

> the woman, where we definitely approve of it, assuming it is logically anchored in the plot. In America, the man would lose the audience's sympathy completely. Regardless of how justified his actions, in the opinion of Americans men must not permit themselves to be carried away and physically attack women.[39]

The opportunity offered by having numerous variations of certain shots was exploited not only by the producers, for the film's international distribution, but also by directors who were not quite certain of the plot's ideal progression. Though it was not his usual work method, Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau, for example, shot several versions of a certain sequence in *Faust* (1926), as he was apparently unable to settle on the eponymous character's motivation for selling his soul to the Devil.[40]

This technique was of particular significance for multiple-language versions, which represented a reaction to the difficulties involved in film distribution resulting from the new use of dialogues and the public's initial rejection of dubbing and subtitling. In multiple-language-version films employing footage from various takes and ending individual scenes in different ways was not considered sufficient: Before shooting began, a check of the screenplay was made with the foreign market in mind; passages that would require alteration were identified, the dialogues were translated, and with a few exceptions, the actors were replaced with native speakers of the desired language.

Post-versions

Versions made after completion of the original film can be categorized as those based on the same and other material that required shooting entirely new footage. I term subsequent versions that used the same material post-versions. While the producers always bear the final responsibility for pre-versions, this is not necessarily the case with post-versions. The film's director is ultimately responsible for the director's cut, as it represents the version he or she has edited personally as opposed to the official distribution version approved by the producers. The details of individual cases are, of course, always far more complex.[41] Some distributors even try to influence the alterations made to a preview version prior to a premiere and the subsequent official distribution.

Censorship often involves cooperation between government authorities and the production company or distributor and, in most cases, the latter are prepared to make major compromises in the interest of avoiding a film being banned – sometimes in the form of self-censorship. For example, MGM,

in response to politically motivated complaints regarding the depiction of German soldiers as "militant aggressors,"[42] produced a shortened version of the Rudolf Valentino vehicle *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* (1921, Rex Ingram) especially for the German market. In such cases no one bothers to consult the director. In 1936 Viktor Tourjansky complained to film journalist Fritz Olimsky during shooting of the Ufa film *Stadt Anatol*, French and German versions of which were produced, about how the films he made in France were shown in Germany. His *Volga en flammes* (1934)

> was chopped up in such a terrible way that I was unable to recognize my own film. The foreign version is beyond belief, and when watching *Schwarze Augen* [*Les yeux noirs*, 1935] I was again surprised here in Germany by the fact that the role of [Harry] Baur was hacked up in such a way that his character literally seemed like a completely different person.[43]

Similar results can be produced in dubbed versions of feature films, and Garncarz's book about film versions describes numerous examples of such postwar German films in detail. Normally, the distributor decides whether the original version (with or without subtitles) or a dubbed version will be shown in theaters. It can also happen that what the distributor believes will be good for the film's distribution conflicts with the director's intentions. Fatih Akin's *Solino* (2002), shot in both German and Italian as planned, was shown throughout Germany in purely German versions with the Italian dialogue dubbed; a great deal of important information was left out as a result. The director complained and declared his disapproval of the final product, and the distribution version won a Liliput, an award bestowed by the Bundesverband Kommunale Filmarbeit, an association of non-commercial film theaters in Germany at the Berlinale film festival since 1997 for the best or – in this case – worst version of a foreign-language film. In addition to semi-official censorship or similar changes supposedly intended to protect the target audience from pitfalls in the original screenplay, there are also subversive versions that have little if anything to do with the original material. In these cases a wholly new meaning, usually satirical, is produced on the basis of the visual material. Such clips, many examples of which are available on the internet platform YouTube, add new dialogue or subtitles to excerpts or, rarely, entire films. These works, which can be ascribed to a certain type of fan culture, are nothing more than an exaggerated form or parody of the translation method where the intention is not to convey the original text, but rather to adapt it to a different linguistic and cultural context. Deviating from a literal rendering of the original text to an independent creation requires a great deal of confidence on the part of the translator, that he or she comprehends the deeper or

actual meaning of the original text and is capable of reproducing it in a new and appropriate guise. The playful aspect of this strategy was introduced in Germany by Rainer Brandt, who, in the early 1970s, worked on the series *The Persuaders!* (1971/72, called *Die Zwei* in the German version) as well as films with Bud Spencer and Terence Hill, Adriano Celentano, Louis de Funès and Pierre Richard as a dubbing actor; perhaps more importantly, he was a writer of dubbing scripts, for which he employed a cocky, slangy German. Woody Allen also began his directing career by reinterpreting an existing film, and *Kokusai himitsu keisatsu: Kagi no Kagi* (1965, Senkichi Taniguchi) became *What's Up, Tiger Lily?* (1966). A decade later, in a sequence in his *Annie Hall* (1977) subtitles reveal what two characters in the process of becoming romantically entangled are really thinking as they engage in small talk. Of course, this effect corresponds excellently to Allen's obsession with psychoanalysis. At that time highly ideologized exercises also appeared in the spirit or tradition of the Situationist Movement and particularly Guy Debord and Gil J. Wolman's 1956 "A User's Guide to Détournement."[44] The French experiment entitled *La dialectique peut-elle casser des briques* (1973, René Viénet and Gerard Cohen) is regarded as the first film to be repurposed in its entirety as a détournement (rather than for entertainment purposes, as with *What's Up, Tiger Lily?*). All the dialogue in *Tang shou tai quan dao* (1972, Doo Kwang Gee) was replaced to turn a Hong Kong kung-fu film into a didactic study intended to illustrate the conflict between proletariat and bureaucracy. The subtitle theorist (and translator) Abé Mark Nornes encourages translators working in film to make such subversive strategies, which he termed "abusive" – as opposed to "corrupt" – the new standard. The intention is to emphasize linguistic and cultural differences, and also the constraints of the apparatus – dubbing and subtitling in particular are subject to these limitations – in a creative way.[45]

Some post-versions are products of variations in local laws. In Germany this was the case until the Reich Moving Picture Act (*Reichs-Lichtspielgesetz*) came into force on 12 May 1920. After that, "producing several different versions of a film was not necessary for it to comply with local and regional censorship regulations."[46] Before the introduction of sound-film and the standardization it involved, there were still numerous local ways to make one's own film version for screening purposes, whether by manipulating the projection speed or adding alternate sound by means of musicians, voice actors or narrators.[47] But even during the sound-film era, films were not safe from the whims of self-appointed and self-righteous local censors, some of whom mercilessly edited out images that failed to meet their approval. This phenomenon attained some notoriety thanks to the film *Nuovo Cinema Paradiso* (1988, Giuseppe Tornatore), in which the local priest forces the village theater's projectionist to remove everything morally objectionable – such as scenes with kissing – before

showing a film. Proof that this was not a product of Tornatore's imagination is provided by the surviving print of the French version of the Ufa film *Der Kongress tanzt*. Some moralizer apparently removed all shots that provided a glimpse of Lilian Harvey's undergarments.[48] However, the opposite could also happen. In early 1934 a columnist for *La Cinématographie Française* expressed his outrage concerning what was done to a number of French films by Buenos Aires theater manager Tito Gazolo. The French version of *Ariane* (1931, Paul Czinner), starring Gaby Morlay, for example, was "improved" with a number of pornographic scenes and crude dubbing to match, then screened under the title *Princesa se desnuda* (The princess undresses). Gazolo apparently altered some other films in the same way.[49]

Restoring and reconstructing prints are the work of film historians and archivists. The former involves returning the footage to its original state, such as when the colors have faded, and this is done in light of ideals that do not necessarily correspond to the original film. Reconstruction entails sorting and assembling film material from surviving fragments of versions that can be found in various archives due to the specific circumstances of the original's production, distribution and projection history. In this case, documentation of the production phase, censorship, etc., if available, must be consulted to obtain an impression of what the original film was like. Of course, a decision must first be made as to which version will be considered the definitive original, such as the official version that was distributed or a (virtual) director's cut. All reconstructions represent nothing more than an approximation rather than a true copy, and are themselves merely alternate versions.

Re-versions

My term for versions created after completion of the original film on the basis of newly shot material is re-version. The most obvious example of such a new film work is the remake, which will be dealt with in the final chapter in more detail. In principle, responsibility for a remake lies with the producers who purchase the rights to rework the original version's screenplay. The producers of both original version and remake can also be one and the same. Another type of re-version is the imitation: A film's basic idea is altered slightly and produced without this fact being conceded officially. The Ufa film *Glückskinder* has been termed an imitation of the Columbia Pictures production *It Happened One Night* (1934, Frank Capra), and "in spite of this fact [it] can be considered a German original, a tailor-made product with its own style. Though based on someone else's idea, the film deserves [...] the mark of origin 'Made in Germany.' "[50]

On the other hand, when a remake is produced without the permission of the rights holders or when they declare that the finished product represents an imitation and bring suit, the film can be termed the product of plagiarism. This happened with another Ufa film, *Das schöne Abenteuer*, though the roles were reversed this time: Ufa's directors accused the Hollywood studio Paramount of plagiarism because of its *Paris in Spring* (1935, Lewis Milestone). They also claimed that this was systematic, as the studio had already released a film, *Girl Without a Room* (1933, Ralph Murphy), that was conspicuously similar to an Ufa production (*Ich bei Tag und Du bei Nacht*, 1932).[51] However, Ufa lost the case. On 1 July 1935, head of distribution Wilhelm Meydam wrote to the production manager, Günther Stapenhorst:

> Paramount had already copied entire scenes from our film *Ich bei Tag*, nearly word for word. We were unable to do anything about it at the time because it was proven that the basic idea and a few of the resulting situations had already appeared in literary works before the novella on which we based the film was written.[52]

Basically, it would seem that the Germans decided rather prematurely, during the Weimar period, that Hollywood was creatively superior, partly out of an evenhanded recognition of another's efforts and partly from a desire to discredit their own. "Ufa," writes Klaus Kreimeier, "which of all German film companies was strong enough to compete with American companies, never reached Hollywood's international standard."[53] At the same time, concentration on the international market, which demanded products that were quite different than what satisfied German tastes, was the stumbling block that prevented "development of a national cinema," according to Thomas Elsaesser.[54] On the other hand, US film historian Eric Rentschler – as mentioned above – was not the only voice to admit that the film *Glückskinder* has great intrinsic value despite being identified as an imitation; David Shipman of Great Britain, for example, writes that the Ufa multiple-language-version film *Voruntersuchung* is "infinitely superior" to any contemporary American crime film.[55]

George Steiner, in his standard work on translation theory, describes three types of versions: imitations, independent reproductions and versions that are as literal as possible.[56] Applying these classifications to something other than literary translations by no means clashes with Steiner's intentions, as he himself called for an extremely broad understanding of translation according to which, in principle, every act of communication or form of rendering represents a translation, meaning that this definition also applies to production of a film version. Two of his categories can be found in our scheme as separate subgroups of re-versions: imitations and independent reproductions

(remakes). At the same time, subgroups of pre- and post-versions, which tend to be as literal as possible, examples being multiple-language versions (pre-versions) and dubbed versions (post-versions), can also be made as imitations or independent reproductions. On the other hand, some remakes (re-versions) are also intended to be extremely literal and recreated following the original shot by shot, such as Gus Van Sant's 1998 version of Hitchcock's *Psycho*.[57]

The public discussion of re-versions teems with imprecision, many examples of which do more to confuse than explain the issue. As mentioned above, normative classifications can never cover each individual case precisely. Much more important is keeping in mind the simple means available for differentiation so as not to completely confuse matters. The term "remake," for example, should only be applied to *films* that recreate an original *film*, while versions in other media should more properly be designated as such rather than remakes. This applies to the many film adaptations of novels and comics as well as spinoffs, e.g. film adaptations of television series or computer games based on films, and vice versa. Sequels, such as *Rocky* (1976, John G. Avildsen) and the films that came after it, *Rocky II* (1979, Sylvester Stallone), etc., constitute a completely separate category, if they are termed versions at all.

Quotes

In addition to remakes and imitations/plagiarized works, there are also parodies, i.e. films turned into comedies by taking elements of an original film or number of films in a particular genre and mercilessly exaggerating or distorting them. In the course of his career Mel Brooks made a number of such parody versions. As the term "elements" and mention of "genres" indicates, parodies can allude to a single original film, though parts of several different works are normally involved. One could say that parodies – and their counterpart, pastiches – comprise a multitude of quotes, or remakes of a shot or sequence. Such references have frequently been treated as identifying characteristics of postmodern cinema, e.g. such as in *Pulp Fiction* (1994, Quentin Tarantino),[58] and can also be regarded as part of the Nouvelle Vague or the comedy genre.[59] Of course, film quotes existed before Tarantino, and not all were part of certain movements or appeared in comedies. One example is the numerous variations of the baby-carriage motif from the famous staircase scene in *Battleship Potemkin* (1925, Sergei Eisenstein) in American films. In *Bananas* (1971) Woody Allen needed no more than a brief shot of a baby buggy to establish a link between his parody of a revolution and the most famous of all revolution films. While the baby-carriage turned into a vacuum cleaner in *Brazil* (1985, Terry Gilliam), the reference was still obvious. The extremely

complex sequence in *The Untouchables* (1987, Brian De Palma) represents an homage to the masterful editing of Eisenstein's scene, and the original's Czarist soldiers are replaced by gangsters. *Naked Gun 33 1/3: The Final Insult* (1994, Peter Segal) parodied not Eisenstein, with whom the film's target audience was probably unfamiliar, but De Palma.

The films described above represent indirect quotes, which can also assume the form of allusions in dialogue or – as in the examples described below, manifestations of an Ufa "flow" – posters that advertise for another film. Direct quotes, on the other hand, involve the concrete use of material from a different film. One reason for doing so is to reference it specifically. However, producers frequently hope that the reference goes unnoticed, as in the case of stock shots, which depict events that do not involve specific individuals. Stored in studio archives, they can be used in a variety of films when the need arises. One case that has never been described involves a film by Alfred Hitchcock, *Rich and Strange*, produced by British International Pictures at London's Elstree Studios in 1931, where Ewald André Dupont's *Atlantic*, the first film of which various multiple-language versions (German, English, and later French) were made, was shot two years previously. The German version, *Atlantik*,[60] is considered the first sound-film in which all the scenes had dialogue in German. *Atlantic*, the first full-length feature fiction about the sinking of the *Titanic*, contains a few action scenes depicting the event, of course, and two of them, which show the crow's nest and the ship's hull being pierced, accompanied by the sound of thrashing machines that is so distinctive in *Atlantic*, were recycled in *Rich and Strange*. They were combined with new footage so that inclusion of the disaster, which was of secondary importance, would not increase production costs significantly. However, when footage from the Ufa film *Morgenrot* was used for BIP's *Freedom of the Seas* (1934, Marcel Varnel), the German company's board of directors demanded, "in spite of amicable business dealings in the past,"[61] that studio boss John Maxwell ensure the "removal of the images [that were] used without permission."[62]

While I have failed to notice a similar use of stock shots in Ufa films,[63] keeping production costs low was the overriding principle in Babelsberg. A true Ufa "flow," to employ another apparently postmodern term anachronistically, came into being through allusions and cross references in a number of early 1930s films. In *Der weiße Dämon* Hans Albers casually says the line "Jawohl, Herr Kapitän" (Yes sir, Captain) from the song "Das ist die Liebe der Matrosen", his version of which was a big hit in the preceding film, *Bomben auf Monte Carlo*. Early in Ludwig Berger's *Ich bei Tag und Du bei Nacht* two film posters can be seen at the movie theater, one for the fictitious film within a film "Dies alles ist Dein", and the other for Wilhelm Thiele's sound operetta *Zwei Herzen und ein Schlag*, French and German versions of which were made; it had

premiered just a few months beforehand and is now lost.[64] In the Potsdam sequence of the Berger film, the reason for mentioning Adolf Menzel's painting *Das Flötenkonzert von Sanssouci* was certainly that Ufa, shortly before the film's production, shot another film with the same title (1930, Gustav Ucicky). In addition, the nameplate for the woman who rents the bed where he sleeps during the day and she at night reads, "Cornelia Seidelbast. Member of the Lippe-Detmold Goethetheater." Eighteen months earlier, in the extremely successful *Die Drei von der Tankstelle*, Willy Fritsch, who plays the nightclub waiter in *Ich bei Tag und Du bei Nacht*, had a cocky response for Kurt Gerron's attorney Dr. Kalmus. The latter claims that something extremely unpleasant must have happened during the three friends' absence: "A change of government in Lippe-Detmold, hmm?" Considering the fact that this free state (until 1947), a principality until the end of the First World War, was rarely mentioned in the history of film, probably did not represent a coincidence.[65] Fritsch's final line in *Ich bei Tag und Du bei Nacht*, a comedy set during the economic depression, was directed at Käthe von Nagy, who plays manicurist Grete: "Isn't it wonderful? You constantly chase after happiness, then you notice that you've been sleeping in the same bed with it." With minor variations the topos of happiness being attainable even by ordinary people can be found in a number of Ufa films. Another von Nagy film, with the expressive title *Einmal eine grosse Dame sein* (Being a great lady for once), contains the following line of dialogue, which Wolf says to his beloved, Ria: "Everyone finds what makes them happy sooner or later, it sneaks up on you quietly." In the background we can see the father of the bride creeping toward them for the purpose of playing a joke on his daughter, and this – maybe unintentionally – imbues the topos of happiness with a satirical or even rather bitter note. Ufa star von Nagy, one of the most popular actors in the early 1930s, made a cameo appearance in the Heinz Rühmann vehicle *Strich durch die Rechnung*, firing the starting gun to begin a bicycle race. The surprise guest was not announced or even mentioned, in either special editions focusing on a specific film, such as the *Illustrierter Film-Kurier*, or reviews of the film.[66]

Along with titles, lyrics, dialogue and even stars appearing or being referred to in film after film, the frequently recurring narrative and visual motifs were of course what created an independent Ufa universe. Sound operettas and romantic feature fictions were generally based on the formula of comedies of errors, according to which such as in *Ich bei Tag und Du bei Nacht*, for example, two members of the working class take each other for wealthy upper-class citizens or even aristocrats. On the one hand, this increases the degree of mutual attraction and, on the other, it sets up a later revelation of identities, which must precede a true relationship. Most importantly, these ordinary people can envision their dreams eventually coming true. Other

themes were also employed: In late 1933 Reinhold Schünzel made *Viktor und Viktoria*, the story of a woman who dressed as a man so she could perform as a female impersonator, which was quite daring at the time. As a signifier of her femininity, the woman's character performed while wearing a long-haired wig. And in order to show that she is really a man, she removes the wig at the end of her act, revealing a short haircut. For the remainder of the film the main thing is determining how an individual with short hair could be a woman. Two years later the motif of androgyny was used again, though this time as something wholly natural: In her second German film, *Heißes Blut*, Marika Rökk plays a daring horseback performer at a circus who is at first taken for a young man because of her boyish appearance and behavior. Then, after performing a lively *csárdás*, a traditional Hungarian folk dance, she removes her cap and shakes out her hair, and the others are surprised to realize that she is, in fact, a woman.

While the use of stock shots depends on the strategy of repeatedly recycling material (its own, in the case of a studio), someone else's footage can also be recontextualized or recombined. The final product can be either a found-footage film, in which previously shot footage is often assembled in a rather experimental way to create something new and innovative, or a compilation film, in which clips from other films are juxtaposed or contrasted, primarily for the purpose of documentation and education. Apart from these methods, which are officially approved despite all the legal issues involved, clandestine appropriation has also taken place on occasion. In her monograph on F. W. Murnau, Lotte Eisner writes of how his *Nosferatu* (1921) was post-synchronized by Deutsch-Film-Produktion (*Nosferatu* was produced by Prana Film) and reedited by Waldemar Ronger, though without crediting Murnau. It was also given a new score, new footage was shot, and outtakes from the original production were added. The result was distributed as *Die zwölfte Stunde. Eine Nacht des Grauens* (1930).[67]

Alternate-format Versions

In conclusion, I would like to discuss versions that might not be described as such at first glance, format versions.[68] For each film a certain data-storage medium and distribution channel are selected, and each one creates specific conditions that influence the work's reception. In the case of local versions the fact has already been illustrated that a film can be altered significantly by the specifics of how it is received. Some examples of storage mediums are nitrate and safety film, electromagnetic tape and digital files. Each medium involves the use of certain specific distribution channels, such as movie theaters, tel-

evision, VHS cassettes, DVDs, Blu-rays or the internet, and they create certain circumstances for the work's reception, such as on a cinema screen, in the spectator's living room, on the screen of a laptop or a mobile phone's display. In a great many cases films are adapted after the fact for a specific channel or channels, and alternate-format versions are sometimes even planned from the very beginning.

Joseph Garncarz used three examples to describe the first case, all of which involve alteration of cinematic films for television broadcast or video editions: the pan-and-scan method, which removes the black bars from widescreen films (and, unfortunately, a significant portion of the right- and left-hand sides of the picture), a method for colorizing black-and-white film, and a technique employed to shorten or lengthen a film's running time, commonly used in the US to make a film fit into a program slot and for commercial breaks.[69] As explained by Rick Altman, films are even reedited for this purpose.[70] The strategies of adjusting the projection speed (by means of the crank) and remounting the film to fit certain time frames were also employed with silent films.[71] The methods familiar at the time for adding sound at the theater were also popular among television broadcasters for programs of silent film, such as Hanns Dieter Hüsch's series on television broadcaster ZDF, *Väter der Klamotte*.[72] Even moral censorship in the form of editing out scenes depicting sex or violence is common at public broadcasters such as ZDF. The adaptation of cinematic films for television can also take place in the form of appropriation, such as with *Nosferatu*. An American broadcaster purchased the rights to Alain Resnais' famous documentary film about the concentration camps, *Nuit et brouillard* (1955), and then butchered it, excluding the director's name and other credits, adding different footage, and reediting it to create a new version with different narration in parts; at times the footage was cast in a wholly new light than the one originally documented. This turned a film about the genocide of Europe's Jews into a Cold War anti-totalitarian propaganda weapon.[73] As a second example, which involves a planned version, I would like to mention the film *Little Dieter Needs to Fly*. In 1997 Werner Herzog produced it as an 80-minute English version for the American market, and simultaneously edited a German version with a running time of only 40 minutes. Entitled *Flucht aus Laos*, it was intended for broadcast by ZDF as part of the series *Höllenfahrten*.[74]

CHAPTER 2

Multiple-Language-Version Films

WORK ON AND SCREENING OF FOREIGN-LANGUAGE FICTION FILMS

In Germany the conversion process to production of sound-film began in the course of 1929, approximately two years later than in the US. Corinna Müller writes that "it was not driven by public demand";[1] in other words, it was a "revolution from above" which would enable Ufa to compete with the Hollywood studios on the world market.[2] The company, which undertook a major "risk"[3] with this decision in the words of its CEO, Ludwig Klitzsch, saw itself in direct opposition to segments of the press, in particular *Licht-Bild-Bühne*, which he accused of "increasingly inciting the theater owners' animosity against sound-film"[4] and Ufa's distribution department, Ufaleih, as well. But the conversion of production at Ufa, a late but determined start, and the Ufa-Klangfilm-Vertrag (Ufa Klangfilm Agreement concerning the purchase of sound-film equipment)[5] created a force that none of the sector's companies were able to resist.[6] The core group of cinemas that screened films everyday had been set up with the equipment necessary for sound by early 1931. In this regard, Müller makes the following statement:

> The theaters' transition from silent to sound-film took place (at least in Germany) faster than anything else in media history up to the 21st century, and nothing comparable can be found in any other medium.[7]

Converting existing theaters to sound-film, which entailed firing theater musicians or entire orchestras and purchasing new projection and loudspeaker equipment, was one matter. Theaters that hesitated before making the change had few film works to choose from; they were left with a few silents that had not been screened yet and talkies that had also been produced in silent versions.

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Of course, there were a few bumps during the transition. At a few cinemas, attempts were made to keep the old days alive by trickery, as this quotation from an article published by *Bochumer Anzeiger* describes:

> The most elegant cinema in Bratislava, the Redoute, announced the premiere of a sound-film. After a great deal of advertising ahead of time, the city's public, which had not yet had the opportunity to see a sound-film, purchased all available seats by three days beforehand. The film was *Die 12 Räuber an der Wolga*.[8] However, shortly after the show began, the audience realized that it had been duped, as they were being shown the film's silent version and the sound was produced by musicians hidden behind the screen. More and more expressions of displeasure turned into an ear-splitting racket.[9]

The other difficulty was the issue of foreign-language dialogue films, which had not represented a major problem in the past. The intertitles commonly used in silent films were merely replaced with translated versions. This method was adopted for use with "international versions" of talkies: Intertitles were added to the dialogue, which made the film comprehensible in a manner similar to subtitles. Marcel Carné, still working as a film critic at the time, presumably had this in mind when writing in the 29 November 1929 edition of *Ciné-Magazine* about the paradox that intertitles were still being used in sound-films, and had even multiplied astronomically.[10] An even more elegant method was turning off the original soundtrack completely and replacing all dialogue with musical accompaniment. To the horror of a number of critics this was done at the Paris premiere of international hit *Der blaue Engel*.[11] There was another important decision to be made, whether to put the musical accompaniment on phonograph records or use a sound-on-film system.[12] Sound on disc offered a few advantages compared to sound on film, e.g. more options for mixing and copying, which also affected the quality of sound and picture. One obstacle remained, the expense and difficulties involved with distributing the records. In Germany the general decision to use sound on film was made early in the transition, most importantly because this technology was preferred by the Tobis-Klangfilm company, which had a virtual monopoly, thanks in part to its cooperation with Ufa. Nevertheless, both technologies were initially available in Germany, the reason why a number of films with sound on film were copied to sound-on-disc systems, though hardly any were produced with sound on disc alone.[13] This explains why Ufa's directors insisted that distribution of the company's first fiction-feature dialogue films, *Melodie des Herzens* and *Liebeswalzer*, be made possible with both sound on film and sound on disc.[14] However, for production of international versions, particularly for the Polish

and Italian markets,[15] Ufa chose phonograph records in most cases. After 22 October 1930, Italy was the largest market for these versions without dialogue because on that particular day Mussolini had a law passed that prohibited the screening of any sound-films that contained dialogue in a foreign language.[16] In general, an international version was produced as soon as one was requested by the foreign-sales department, which bore the costs.[17] However, other work was accounted in the same way:

> It is agreed that the film [*Nie wieder Liebe*] contains long takes that can be made less conspicuous by the use of musical accompaniment. The board approves the costs of composition of such music, which will be credited to the account for international versions.[18]

Since the beginning of the sound-film era, films in foreign languages had been screened with their original sound, and this became an established alternative practice in capitals such as Paris, London and Berlin. The relevant literature contains mostly reports of rejections and disapproval on the part of the public, particularly in the case of American feature fictions.[19] Noteworthy in this regard is an article published in *La Cinématographie Française* on 23 January 1932, according to which a silent version of the Garbo sound-film *Romance* (1930, Clarence Brown) ran in Paris and broke all the box-office records for sound-films. On the other hand, there was no shortage of examples to the contrary. On 21 May Jean Tarride and Pierre Braunberger launched a series of films with their original sound in Paris' Panthéon theater, beginning to great success with *The Love Parade* (1929, Ernst Lubitsch), which featured French star Maurice Chevalier as the male lead.[20] *Der blaue Engel*, the international version of which met with so much criticism, was shown in Paris in the original version, at the city's avant-garde Studio des Ursulines cinema.[21] Nearly all movie theaters there screened original versions in foreign languages until mid-1931, not least because dubbing had yet to become established in France. Thirty-seven Paris cinemas were included in a list published in 1934, and 17 of them showed foreign-language films exclusively, 11 most of the time, and nine occasionally.[22] These numbers are worth noting and are without a doubt connected to the fact that a few suburban cinemas where the audiences had become accustomed to seeing dubbed films began to replace them with subtitled original versions. At the same time, films with original sound tended to become established in the capital's center in the medium term, which was also the case in Germany.[23]

In most cases, research can show whether an original version was screened with or without subtitles, and subtitled prints were involved in the majority of instances.[24] While finding an answer may not always be possible, it

can be said with certainty that both variants existed from the very beginning. Therefore, Joseph Garncarz's claim that no foreign-language films were shown in Berlin in their original version without subtitles, in either 1930 or 1931, was incorrect,[25] as it ignores an extremely well-known example to the contrary: René Clair's *Sous les toits de Paris* (1930), screened at the Mozart-Saal cinema on 15 August 1930. In any case, the film was produced at the brand-new studios of the French company Tobis, in Epinay-sur-Seine, a suburb of Paris, "with a *German* crew and French actors,"[26] which could have affected the amount of interest it aroused among Berlin's public, of course. In a manner that was quite unusual for French taste but typical for Clair's attitude to sound-film,[27] *Sous les toits de Paris* comprised mostly polished experiments with post-synchronized sound, most importantly chansons.[28] A number of shots were originally filmed without sound, and dialogue was added to solely a few in the form of direct sound, which was to become so distinctive in French cinema. However, there was still plenty of dialogue in French,[29] and for this reason a live spoken introduction – frequently used for foreign-language films during the early years of sound-film[30] – preceded the film's Berlin screening. In his review Siegfried Kracauer made the following observation: "I am quite fond of [Joachim] Ringelnatz, but his introduction was wholly superfluous. The film, which ran for three months in Paris with indisputable success, speaks for itself."[31] After the show, as reported in *La Cinématographie Française*, Albert Préjean, the lead, sang French chansons, which was met with resounding applause.[32] There were requests for the film from all large German cities, and Südfilm promptly began distributing the original without subtitles.[33] Not everyone was pleased with this development. Ufa's board of directors, which was nationalistic, conservative and revanchist, complained on 2 October 1930:

> The board declares it was unaware of the fact that this film, produced exclusively in French, was shown at some of our theaters. It is hereby declared that, in light of the political significance, the fundamental question of whether films in French should be screened in Germany should have been discussed by the board.[34]

At the screening of his second sound-film, *Le Million* (1931), shown in the original version at Berlin's Gloria-Palast, René Clair thanked the German public for their enthusiastic reception of *Sous les toits de Paris*, which was vital for the film's international success.[35] At the same time, he claimed that if dubbing were the objective with sound-film, deafness would be preferable, so that one would not be forced to listen to this silliness.[36] The question posed later by *Licht-Bild-Bühne*, on 26 September 1931, sounded almost despairing:

> Why, in spite of a political atmosphere that is much less than favorable, are French films such as *Unter den Dächern*, *Million* and *Nassauer* [*Le roi des resquilleurs*, 1930, Pierre Colombier] so popular when shown here in *French* (while some German versions produced in Hollywood at great expense fail to be successful among our public)?[37]

Not only in the final year of the Weimar Republic, but even during the Nazi era, original-language versions could be seen in Berlin, as is described in the following report from *Film-Kurier*:[38]

> A single theater in Berlin, the Marmorhaus, has over the past few years turned into a "theater for foreign (though exclusively American) films" (aside from the *Kurbel* [German for crank, also the name of a cinema] that also brings us many foreign films, and the *Kamera* [German for camera, also the name of a cinema] that brings us primarily second runs of international – including German – top-quality films, which is why they should be considered "repertory theaters").[39]

Further examination of this trade periodical will show, however, that foreign-language films were also screened at other cinemas on occasion. Both the original (at the Capitol theater) and a dubbed German version (at the Marmorhaus) of *Grand Hotel* (1932, Edmund Goulding) ran at the same time in March 1933.[40] In May 1936 the U.T. Kurfürstendamm cinema, which was run by Ufa, showed the original version of *Peter Ibbetson* (1935, Henry Hathaway) with subtitles before the actual theatrical premiere of a dubbed version.[41] The Swedish film historian Gösta Werner, "who in the '30s worked as a film journalist in Berlin,"[42] expressed surprise that the Swedish film *Pettersson & Bendel* (1933, Peter-Axel Branner), which played with anti-Semitic clichés, was shown as a subtitled version, because "normally all films that were expected to be major successes are dubbed,"[43] as was the case with *Pettersson & Bendel* just three years later. The periodical *Pour Vous* reported that the original version of *Mademoiselle Josette, ma femme* (1933, André Berthomieu) ran for several weeks at the Astor.[44] At some press screenings both versions of a film were shown, consecutively, one example being *La maternelle* (1933, Jean-Benoît Lévy and Marie Epstein), at Ufa-Palast.[45] On the other hand, theater owners caused some annoyance by doing all they could to avoid revealing in advertisements whether the original version of a foreign-language film would be shown.[46] This did not change until the outbreak of the Second World War.

The majority of foreign-language films shown to the German public – both at that time and currently – are dubbed. Dubbing technology existed in 1929 and even earlier, as Corinna Müller writes, since the first time sound was

added to images, in *Tonbilder* (short films with sound on disc, mostly featuring musical performances), in Germany in 1903.[47] At the same time, obtaining consistent quality at a reasonable cost was probably not possible until the 1930s, after the development of improved methods of sound recording[48] and mixing[49] (e.g. separate tracks for background sound, music and dialogue[50]).[51] "The technical difficulty," according to Müller, primarily involved "developing a system that took into account the problems and mental states of the actors and helped them work precisely during dubbing so as to match the actor on film."[52] The stage actors employed for producing dubbed versions had to adapt to the requirements of the new medium, and vice versa.

Getting accustomed to the new technology represented an even greater difficulty for the audience than for the actors, as sound-film turned them into both spectators and listeners. In light of this fact, it is not surprising that particular importance was placed on making sure that the voices speaking to them were believable and matched the images on screen. In the same way that a film grammar creates an artificial unity of time and space through editing, and it has to be developed and learned by the audience, the simulated unity of on-screen body and voice coming from the loudspeakers was something new and required some getting used to. This is why Joseph Garncarz writes of a "cultural learning process,"[53] which, in light of an actual *decrease* in the viewer's attention, could also be termed an *un*learning process. A contemporary observer described this phenomenon with a great deal of foresight:

> At the same time, one must consider the fact that the attitude of a sound-film's future *listener* might possibly differ from today's. Someone who watches sound-films at present is not completely free of the attraction of something new; everyday he reads definitions of what dubbing is, how the soundtrack must be made, etc., and is familiar with all the errors he might notice – along with the accomplishments that he certainly noticed during the screening. He looks at the speakers' and singers' mouths in a way he never would in real life, and follows the movements of their lips in order to ascertain whether they are synchronous, or whether a German dialogue was added afterwards to an American speaker – the future viewer may not have any of these bad habits, and so their illusion is stronger, at least in terms of the details named above.[54]

The first film ever to be dubbed in a foreign language was the German version of United Artists' *Lummox* (1930, Herbert Brenon), which ran under the title *Der Tolpatsch* (The clumsy oaf) and was criticized by the press in stinging terms. However, some of the commentators were more forward looking, e.g. Ernst Jäger, who did not consider "this method a failure," even though the

"original theme," the "makers of the German dialogue" and the "voice-actor material" left much to be desired.[55] The most frequent criticism of *Der Tolpatsch*, one that became the basis of how all dubbed versions produced before the Second World War were assessed, was that the lip movements were not synchronous with the dialogue.[56] At the same time, abstruse changes in the dialogue's meaning were accepted:[57]

> In order to match the actor's expressions and mouth movements as closely as possible with a similar word, the phrase "I love" – but only when the result made sense – was frequently dubbed with *Ich schaffe* [I manage, do *or* work].[58]

In another case, the "makers of the German dialogue" chose for the tragic phrase "My lover is dead" something less dramatic, *Mein Kaffee ist kalt* (My coffee is cold). But even though the word "love" was translated correctly with *Liebe* once, in other instances the rest of the sentence fell victim to a "translation into our mentality." In Garbo's *Queen Christina* (1933, Rouben Mamoulian) John Gilbert espoused a theory concerning love's relationship with climate: "Love – as we understand it – is a technique that must be developed in hot countries." His German voice, on the other hand, denied its absence in his native country: "*Liebe ist für uns keine Schicksalsfrage, sondern vielmehr Inbegriff der Daseinsfreude*" (Love is not a matter of fate for us, but the essence of the zest of life).[59]

Because of the difficulties of synchronizing lip movements, Ufa's foreign-sales department even came up with the solution of producing a second negative, as was done with silent films intended for export, "in which post-production dubbing in foreign languages was made possible by a variety of shots and *avoidance of closeups*."[60] Christoph Mülleneisen of the Cinéma Filmvertriebs-GmbH company termed this a "post-synchronization dialogue negative."[61] Head of production Ernst Hugo Correll, however, believed that this method would "slow production and make it more expensive."[62] He either changed his opinion later or approved a solution applied during editing without the use of additional shots: According to a 1932 *Film-Kurier* article concerning the dubbed Italian version of *Ihre Hoheit befiehlt*: "No closeups were shot."[63] Conversely, the French version of *Der alte und der junge König* (1935, Hans Steinhoff), which was produced at the Films Sonores Tobis dubbing studio in Epinay, received special praise because the dubbing was not detectable, even in closeups.[64] One of the few early dubbed versions to receive positive reviews, despite the difficulties described above[65] was – according to Corinna Müller – the German version of the US fiction feature *The Great Gabbo* (1929, James Cruze). This film dealt with "a performer, a ventriloquist, whose

inner conflict was expressed through his dialogue with a dummy."[66] With a mostly static camera and sound recorded on set, it explicitly illustrated the division between body and voice for its spectators, which is why the dubbed German version was accepted by the public.[67] This can be seen especially well in a scene in which Erich von Stroheim, playing the Great Gabbo, tells his audience that he will make his dummy talk while he drinks a glass of water and smokes a cigarette. A closeup shows the ventriloquist's head while the dummy can be heard off screen singing a song. A modern audience, which is familiar with and accustomed to a separation of sound and image, would presumably consider a shot like this completely superfluous.

In August 1931 *Film-Kurier* published the following in its *Kinotechnische Rundschau* supplement:

> Each production company and distributor, each film director and post-synchronizer now has their own "method," which are methods in name only, and almost all are applied "any old way" rather than according to deliberate and purely technical conclusions.[68]

Of course, each company relied on a specific technology, and in Germany Carl Robert Blum's Rhythmographie, the Organon system developed by Thun and Gerst, and Ludwig Czerny's method all competed for dubbing business.[69] With Rhythmographie, the voice actor watches a scene several times before the dubbed dialogue is recorded; at the same time, he or she must pay careful attention to a tape with the lines of dialogue and markings that indicate when to start talking.[70] Blum's method was employed by Universal,[71] which had its films dubbed for the German market during the 1930/31 season, and in Paris for the French market during the 1931/32 season.[72] In order to demonstrate what the company was capable of, screenings were held in which segments of the original version were mounted in sequence with dubbed clips for the sake of comparison.[73] A full-blown scandal was caused by the German version of *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1930, Lewis Milestone), the film adaptation of the famous Remarque novel, and the attacks carried out by National Socialists at screenings and censorship in Germany are well documented.[74] It should be noted that one of the reasons for the dispute was technical rather than political:

> The technical necessity described by Blum and others of rephrasing dialogue when making dubbed German versions of foreign-language films in the interest of the greatest possible phonetic correspondence and therefore synchronicity of lip movements was, in the case of *Im Westen nichts Neues* [*All Quiet on the Western Front*], interpreted as a systematic deception in both an aesthetic and ideological sense.[75]