Archival Resources and Uncertainties in Film Retranslation Research

Abstract

This article addresses some of the issues relevant to audiovisual retranslation with a focus on film redubs, a vast though still largely underexplored phenomenon that merits specific investigation. Redubbing is an umbrella term which encompasses translation and adaptation practices ranging from mere re-acting of a previously translated dubbing script, to slight revision, to completely new translating (Chaume 2007; Zanotti 2015). The present contribution aims to illustrate what archival resources are available for scholars wishing to pursue research on film retranslation and the specific problems that arise in dealing with redubs when considered from a historical and archival perspective. A case study is presented, focusing on *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1943), a classic Hollywood romance-at-war tale which was dubbed at least three times for distribution in Italy.

1. Introduction

Retranslation is a widespread practice that has been receiving increasing attention over the past years. The term encompasses both “the act of translating a work that has previously been translated into the same language” (Gürçağlar 2009: 233) and the product of such an act. In the words of Paloposki and Koskinen (2010a: 294), it commonly denotes “a second or later translation of a single source text into the same language”. In its more general sense, retranslation refers to “the coexistence of several translations of a single text within a given language” (Skibinska 2016: 236), a fact that has traditionally generated interest within translation studies.

Research on retranslation initially centred mainly around literary texts (Gürçağlar 2009: 233), particularly the canonical works that tend to be retranslated several times in the same language (Cadera 2017). It must be pointed out that other text types have recently come to the forefront, among
which are audiovisuals. Recent studies have begun to take a broad view of
the phenomenon, in an attempt to define audiovisual retranslation in terms
of motives, purposes and types (Chaume 2007; Zanotti 2015). Resubtitling is
assumed to occur relatively frequently, since a new subtitled version is usually
commissioned when the exhibition outlet or distribution format changes
(film festival, cinema release, home video, TV broadcasting, streaming
platform, etc.), leading to the creation of multiple subtitled versions of the
same audiovisual product (see Bywood 2016). The circulation of different
dubbed versions of the same feature film or TV programme within the same
country is comparatively less frequent, due to the complexity and
expensiveness of the dubbing process, and yet it is no less significant
(Maraschio 1982; Wehn 1998; Khris 2006; Valoroso 2006; Chaume 2007;
Votisky 2007; Zanotti 2011 and 2015; Chaume 2012; Wahl 2013; Di
Giovanni 2016; Mereu 2016). The existence of same-language (re)dubbing
and (re)subtitling has also been documented, especially for Anglophone and
Francophone countries (von Flotow 2009; Dore 2017; Dwyer 2017) – an
indication of the multifaceted nature of audiovisual retranslation.

Despite its relative frequency and pervasiveness over time and across
cultures, the phenomenon of audiovisual retranslation is far from being fully
understood. This is due, in part, to a lack of comprehensive and systematic
investigations, as well as to the scant availability of in-depth case studies. The
growing number of studies on the topic seems to suggest that there is interest
in exploring this phenomenon in more depth, with a view to identifying the
specific factors that determine retranslation in an audiovisual context. The
difficulty of identifying and classifying retranslated films and TV
programmes, along with the need to collect volumes of data large enough to
perform significant analyses, are among the reasons that explain why research
on this topic is still limited.

In this article I will address some of the issues relevant to audiovisual
retranslation with a focus on film redubs, a vast though still largely
underexplored phenomenon that merits specific investigation. As I have
discussed elsewhere, redubbing is an umbrella term which encompasses
translational practices ranging from mere re-acting of a previously translated
dubbing script, to slight revision, to completely new translating (Zanotti
As Chaume (2012: 130) points out, the reasons for redubbing are manifold. It occurs when “distributors and TV stations cannot easily get hold of older translations, either because of copyright issues or availability” (Ibid.) of the dubbed copy, or due to advances in sound technology, which lead the distributor to commission a new dub. The phenomenon of redubs is still to be properly mapped out and studied in detail in order to determine the nature and extent of the phenomenon, the motives that prompt distributors to redub a film, the relationship that redubs establish with previous dubbings, as well as the impact of audience reception on the fate of redubbed films. The present contribution aims to illustrate what archival resources are available for scholars wishing to pursue research on film retranslation and the specific problems that arise in dealing with redubs when considered from both a historical and archival perspective.

2. Studying film retranslation: problems, methods and approaches

The notion of retranslation has been subject to revision in the past decades. It is now seen as a complex phenomenon covering “a great many different kinds of reworkings” (Paloposki and Koskinen 2010b: 47), ranging from translating anew to revision of an existing translation, which can be more or less radical.

In an attempt to establish the motivations underlying the decision to retranslate a text, recent studies have endorsed Anthony Pym’s idea of “multiple causality” (1998), pointing to “a multiplicity of different factors in different combinations” (Paloposki and Koskinen 2010b: 46) and emphasising the role of the agents involved in the process (i.e. commissioners, editors, and translators themselves). Of particular interest here is the idea of competing interpretations being activated by retranslations, as suggested by Anthony Pym (1998), who argues that retranslations are also carried out to re-categorize or re-orient previously translated works. In other words, new translations often originate in response to competing interpretations and are to be viewed as a symptom of struggle in the receiving system (Pym 1998: 82-3), as also pointed out by Deane-Cox
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(2014: 12), who writes about “retranslation as challenge” to refer to the relationship of rivalry and competition that retranslations enter with previous translations. As Lawrence Venuti (2004: 25) notes, subsequent translations “justify themselves by establishing their differences from one or more previous versions”.

The intertextual relation between first and subsequent translations is an aspect that has been emphasized in recent studies (Gürçaglar 2011; Zhang and Ma 2018). Previous research has shown that all translations of the same source text within the same cultural context enter into relationships with each other, interacting in different ways and establishing what Theo Hermans calls a “translation-specific intertextuality” (2003: 41). This relationship has been described in terms of dependence or competition, “filiation” or “dissidence” (Zhang and Ma 2018: 578). Recent studies have concentrated on the notion of voice in retranslation and on the role of the different agents that take part in the process. According to Cecilia Alvstad and Alexandra Assis Rosa, a “complex web of voices” is present in retranslations, which can be described as texts “in which the voices of a multiplicity of agents may surface, but these other voices are always moulded by its retranslator” (2015: 3).

Of prime interest here is the notion of retranslations as palimpsests showing traces of translations that preceded them (Chaume 2007: 63). When applied to redubs, it points to the fact that remnants of the previous translation are inscribed in the text of the second translation. Redubs can be described as textual artefacts that are often in close relationship with the previous dubbed version(s). When the new version preserves many of the solutions of the first dubbed version, different textual layers can be identified and can be said to form a palimpsest. A new entity is created but the previous layer is still visible underneath.

Let us now take a look at aspects of retranslation that are more specific to the audiovisual medium. Although some fundamental similarities can be observed between film and, say, book retranslation, differences persist in terms of motivations (technical factors, commercial factors, unavailability of the first version, etc). What is more, in the case of films, the “unstable nature of some source texts” (Paloposki and Koskinen 2010a: 294) comes to the fore even more prominently, due to the impact of local legislation and
market-specific limitations. Studies conducted on literary retranslation have shown the impact of contextual factors, demonstrating that each new translation needs to be “analyzed in its own context in order to isolate the factors decisive for its emergence at a certain time and for a particular purpose” (Deane-Cox 2014). Consideration of contextual factors is especially important when it comes to audiovisual retranslation, as illustrated by the work of Carol O’Sullivan (2018), who has called attention to the importance of paratextual elements in framing new dubbed and subtitled versions of older films.¹

One of the problems in studying audiovisual translation from a historical perspective has to do with preservation. Cornu and O’Sullivan (2016: 4) have stressed “the importance of properly identifying ‘foreign’ versions held in film archives”, which is “essential in tracing their history and reception”. Another major issue lies in the method of inquiry that is most frequently adopted in examining different dubbed or subtitled versions, most typically using DVD editions. As O’Sullivan and Cornu (2018: 24-25) point out, one of the main limitations of this approach lies in the fact that it “depends on the availability of text pairs”. Because of the “instability of the film medium […] it can be difficult, and in some contexts impossible, to establish pairs of film texts which can be shown to stand to each other in the relation of source text and target text” (Ibid.), due to “the presence of censorship, pressures of programme length and other factors” (Ibid. 25). As O’Sullivan (2018: 269) notes, the easy availability of DVD editions has resulted in “an over-dependence on DVD versions as the object of study for AVT researchers”. An aspect that should be duly considered when studying retranslations is that the DVD format has numerous “limitations in respect of its representation of translation”, as the provenance of translations is only rarely revealed. As O’Sullivan observes, information about translators and the time when translations were produced is almost never given, hence “considering the question of retranslation, which is one of the key potential areas of visibility for translators, becomes methodologically difficult” (Ibid.) if one relies on

¹ Analysis of paratexts has proved extremely productive in the study of retranslation of both literary (Deane-Cox 2014) and non-literary text types (Kim 2018).
DVD editions (see Cabanillas, this volume). Therefore, the role and importance of archival research when it comes to film and television retranslation cannot be emphasised enough. Access to primary sources such as the films themselves, stored and preserved in film archives, is essential. However, as O’Sullivan and Cornu (2018: 25) point out, “Primary sources also include ‘non-film’ material, such as reviews, distribution and publicity material, dubbed dialogue lists, subtitle lists, oral history, etc. This category of documents is enormously valuable, especially when prints are no longer extant or not yet identified”. It is with this type of archival material that the present article is concerned.

3. The study

In this article I present a case study centred on the Italian retranslations of *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (USA, 1943), Sam Wood’s film version of Ernest Hemingway’s novel (1940), starring Gary Cooper and Ingrid Bergman. The film was released in a dubbed version for Italian audiences in 1948, and then redubbed for theatrical distribution in 1978. A restored version of the movie was released in DVD format in 2003 with a third new dubbing. This particular case was selected for study with a view to illustrating what archival resources such as ‘non-film’ material (O’Sullivan and Cornu 2018: 25) can reveal about the practice of film retranslation, and because it offers a paradigmatic example of the issues involved in investigating film redubs.

The aim of the study is twofold. In the first place, it wishes to raise some methodological questions pertaining to the study of audiovisual retranslation from a historical and archival perspective: How can we identify redubs? What happens when copies of a redub are no longer available, or cannot be located? What alternative resources are available to researchers working on film retranslation? A second goal is to address specific issues that have emerged from the work done to date on retranslation and that are more genuinely linked to a translational dimension: What is the relationship between first and subsequent translations? How can this be documented? How can the notion of “translation-specific intertextuality” (Hermans 2003)
be applied to film retranslation? In what follows, I will attempt to answer these questions drawing on a case study that explores the potential that lies in examining archival materials such as dubbing translator manuscripts, looking at the way these can contribute to our understanding of film retranslation as both product and process. This case study will be also used to investigate the problematic nature of the notion of source text when it comes to redubs (see O’Sullivan and Cornu 2018 above).

4. For Whom the Bell Tolls (USA, 1943): From political critique to romance

Publicised as “one of the greatest movies of all times”, For Whom the Bell Tolls premiered at New York’s Rivoli Theater in July 1943. It was the biggest hit of its year and one of the longest pictures of this period, with an original running time of 170 minutes. Photographed in Technicolor, it was Paramount’s answer to Gone with the Wind (see Hopkins 1985). The story follows Robert Jordan (Gary Cooper), an American volunteer fighting on the Republican side against Franco’s Fascists in the Spanish Civil War. He is assigned the mission to blow up a bridge and for three days he joins up with a group of local guerrillas led by Pablo (Akim Tamiroff), although the real leader of the band appears to be his companion Pilar (Katina Paxinou). Among them is a young woman named Maria (Ingrid Bergman), who was raped by a band of Fascists not long before. Jordan instantly falls in love with her and in the seventy-two hours that follow they live their tender and passionate love, until Jordan dies in the final firefight.

As Bosley Crowther noted, the film offered a faithful transposition of Hemingway’s novel, for “practically nothing was left out except all of the unmentionable language and the more intimate romantic scenes” (1943). Indeed, reports in the press stated that the Hays office – the appointed organ of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, the American film industry trade organization, which exercised a form of nongovernmental censorship on Hollywood – had refused to approve the novel’s famous scene of Jordan and Maria in the sleeping bag together (Variety 2 Dec. 1942).
The tremendous pre-release publicity that *For Whom the Bell Tolls* received, however, was because of its potentially controversial politics. The screenplay by Dudley Nichols had in fact stripped the novel of its political content, “bending over backwards to avoid any real engagement with the political foundations of the conflict in Spain” (Booker 1999: 119). By replacing “political critique with romance” (Leitch 2007: 39), Hemingway’s work had been turned into “a love and adventure story” (*Life*, 26 July 1943: 97), and yet its still controversial subject “invited problems with censorship” (Hall and Neale 2010: 121-122). The Spanish Civil War had ended only four years before the film’s release and “[b]ecause the picture was filmed in the time of war, there had to be serious regard for ideological and diplomatic interests” (Laurence 1981: 60). The American press revealed that “Spain’s diplomats in the United States attempted to halt the production of the film” (Laprade 2011: 117), which they feared could become an anti-Spanish propaganda document. At the suggestion of the State Department, the film’s producers allowed Franco’s representatives to have a say “on controversial angles of the script” (*Variety*, 2 Dec. 1942) to appease the Spanish government, which should be regarded as part of “the politics of neutrality between the United States and Spain” during World War II (Laprade 2011: 118). One of the results of such negotiations was the elimination of the scene depicting Maria’s rape by the Fascists (Ibid.). As underlined by Leitch (2007: 39), “*For Whom the Bell Tolls* proved that Hollywood could split Hemingway itself into two texts, adapting the commercial Hemingway without burdening itself with the political Hemingway”.

The film received mixed reviews. A recurring complaint among audiences and critics alike was the film’s excessive length. According to film critic Bosley Crowther (1943), *For Whom the Bell Tolls* was one of the best movies of the year, “in spite of its almost interminable and physically exhausting length”. The film’s original running time was reported as being around 170 minutes. Seventeen days after the premiere Wood reduced it to 156 minutes. The film was cut further to just 130 minutes when it was reissued in 1947, and for many years *For Whom the Bell Tolls* has been available only in this abridged version (Hopkins 1985).
5. Dubbing and redubbing For Whom the Bell Tolls for Italian audiences

Based on documents found in the archives of the Italian film commission,\(^2\) it can be hypothesised that the dubbing script was prepared between the date of the film’s importation tax, registered on 28 February 1946, and the date of the distributors’ official application for the film’s theatrical release (21 November 1947).\(^3\) The film received full approval from the Italian film commission on 29 November 1947. What is noteworthy here is that no cuts were required.\(^4\)

*Per chi suona la campana* was distributed in Italian cinemas in February 1948. Press reviews were, on the whole, positive, although a recurring complaint was the film’s lengthy running time of almost three hours, as noted by one of the reviewers:

Albeit convinced if not conquered by such a scrupulous effort, by the richness of the cast and the many good dialogue lines, the spectator in the end cannot help wondering if such an extraordinary running time of almost three hours was really necessary (“*Per chi suona la campana*, *La Stampa*, 17 February 1948, my translation).\(^5\)

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\(^2\) Commissione per la revisione cinematografica (Commission for Cinematographic Revision), Direzione Generale per il Cinema (General Directorate for Cinema), Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali (MiBAC) (Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities). The documents produced by the Commission can be found in the Italia Taglia database (http://www.italiataglia.it).

\(^3\) For details about the dubbing company and the voice artists see Di Cola 2008: 228.

\(^4\) “La commissione non ha fatto rilievi di indole politica o morale ed ha espresso parere favorevole alla pubblica proiezione” (MiBAC, *Per chi suona la campana*, Ref. 3395). As Carla Mereu (2014: 132) explains, “in order to obtain permission to distribute a film in the national cinema circuit, the film distribution or production company applied to the Italian film office with a film screenplay (often sent preventively), and a copy to be examined. After having assessed the suitability of the screenplay, a first commission examined the film and then decided whether to approve fully or partly (with age restrictions or other conditions), or reject the cinematic work. If authorized, the film would be distributed in cinemas. In the case of restrictions or rejection (approvata con riserva o vietata), the commission often specified the sort of visual or verbal changes to be carried out on the work in order to obtain the authorization”.

\(^5\) According to another review, the dialogues were lengthy and verbose, inevitably undermining the dramatic tension in the narrative arc of the film: ‘Ma perché, maledizione, assorbe e riproduce anche la sua verbosità? I “rossi” di Hemingway parlano
This and other similar reviews published in the Italian press provide an indication that the edition that circulated theatrically in Italy in 1948 was probably the 156-minute version. This seems to be further supported by textual evidence (see discussion below), and also by the fact that a total of 13,835 feet (4,217 mts) of reel length were reported in the application submitted by the distributor to the film commission.

The film was re-released in the cinema circuit several times in the years to follow. A new dubbed version was examined by the film Commission in 1978, obtaining permission for public screening. This was the version of the film that Cinema International Corporation prepared for distribution in Europe, probably the same as the one that was distributed for the first time in Spain in the same year (Valoroso n.d.). As stated in the certificate, the film was re-examined by the commission because it had been redubbed (“Sottoposto per la seconda volta alla revisione in quanto è stato ridoppiato”).

Locating copies of both the first uncut dubbed version that was released in Italian cinemas in 1948 and the 1978 version has so far proved unsuccessful. Archival materials such as the ones preserved in the MiBAC archives for imported films include censor’s certificates, original and translated dialogue lists, minutes, and other procedural documents relating to the rating and distribution of feature films. When copies of a dubbed version cannot be located, dubbing scripts remain the only surviving record of adaptation practices used in dealing with imported films in a given market and therefore constitute a major source of information about dubbed and redubbed films (see Mereu 2016), although we cannot overlook the fact that

senza fine, (...) in un’orgia di dialoghi che appesantisce l’opera, le dà prolissità stanca e lenta, attenua la drammaticità’ (‘Per chi suona la campana’, Il Corriere della Sera, 13.2.1948, p. 2).

6 Permission for public screening was obtained in 1956 and 1959 by Paramount films. The film was redistributed in Italian cinemas in 1965 by Gold film (Italia Taglia, Ref. 3395).
7 Ref. No 71607. The certificate is dated 22 February 1978.
8 I would like to thank Nunziante Valoroso for sharing material from his private collection.
9 For Whom the Bell Tolls/Per chi suona la campana (Italia Taglia, Ref. No. 71606).
the text contained in dubbing scripts may diverge from the film’s dialogues as recorded in the actual dubbed soundtrack (Matamala 2010, Zanotti 2014). In what follows I will offer a comparative textual analysis of the two dubbing scripts of *For Whom the Bell Tolls* that were submitted to the commission for cinematographic revision: namely the 1948 dubbing script (Ref. No. 3395) and the 1978 dubbing script (Ref. No.71606).

Some preliminary observations are in order. First of all, the translated text contained in the two scripts does not reflect the truncated 130-minute version that was used for TV airings but comes closer to the restored version that came out in DVD edition in 2003. Interestingly, all of the dialogue lines in the restored version are reflected in the Italian dubbing script that was prepared for the 1948 version, while several sequences are missing in the Italian dubbing script that was prepared for the 1978 version. Numerous scenes were edited out in the truncated version that has been broadcast on Italian TV channels for decades, such as the one containing references to Germany and Italy as the enemies against which the Republicans fight, or scenes where violent and brutal action was displayed or recounted (for instance, Pablo’s account of the slaughter of El Sordo’s men by Franco’s troops was edited out).

Other evidence seems to suggest that the two dubbed versions had a different running time. The reel length declared for the copy of the 1978 edition examined by the Italian film commission was 11,680 feet (3,560 mts), which means that around 2,296 feet of film – corresponding to approximately 26 minutes – were cut. This seems to confirm that the edition released in 1978 in a new dubbing was in fact an edited version of the film, as confirmed by screening times found in press ads (see also Valoroso n.d.).

10 Screening times as found in the press (e.g. 14.45, 17.15, 19.45, 22.15; *La Stampa*, 8 Nov. 1948) seem to indicate that the running time for this new version was less than 150 minutes, while the 1948 version was almost three hours long.
6. Reframing For Whom the Bell Tolls for Italian audiences

When a new dubbing is commissioned, scripts are unlikely to be translated anew for reasons of both cost-effectiveness and time saving. Revision tends to be the norm when it comes to redubs and only rarely is a new translation performed, especially when copies of the first dubbed version have survived. As a result, redubs often share an intertextual relationship with previous dubbed versions, which can be more or less prominently marked. In what follows I will attempt to show the unique insights that can be gained from studying redubs using primary sources such as dubbing scripts, particularly with regard to the relationship between first and subsequent translations.

Even a cursory examination of the two scripts brings one point immediately to the fore, namely that they stand in a close intertextual relation with each other. Textual traces of the first translation can be easily found in the newly translated dialogues and soon it becomes obvious that the dialogue adapter who was in charge of the adaptation process for the 1978 version drew upon the earlier translation. This becomes apparent, for example, when Maria gives voice to her love for Robert in a scene that is one of the climaxes of the film. As can be appreciated in the extract below, the wording of the first translation is literally replicated in the redub:

**Example 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original version</th>
<th>1948 version</th>
<th>1978 version</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MARIA: I love you as I loved my father and mother, as I love our unborn children [...].</td>
<td>ti amo come amavo mio padre e mia madre… come amerò il nostro bambino [...](p. 63)</td>
<td>Ti amo come amavo mio padre e mia madre… come amerò il nostro bambino [...](p. 61)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Back translation: I love you as I loved my father and mother, as I will love our child...]</td>
<td>[Back translation: I love you as I loved my father and mother, as I will love our child...]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While in the English text Maria refers vaguely to their ‘unborn children’, as part of a prefiguration of a future life together, the 1978 dubbing script follows the 1948 version quite closely in offering a much more restrictive
rendition ("il nostro bambino", meaning ‘our child’), clearly suggesting that Maria might be pregnant with Roberto’s child – an interpretation that both the novel and the film may encourage, especially considering Roberto’s last words to Maria (“Remember you’re me, too. You’re all there will ever be of me now”).

6.1 Textual alterations

What is of interest here, however, is that the 1978 version also differs in many ways from the previous dubbed version. This becomes apparent in those instances where a toning down of allusions or overt references to sexual intercourse could be seen at work in the earlier translation. For example, Maria overtly refers to lovemaking during a conversation with Robert (see Valoroso n.d.):

Example 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original version</th>
<th>1948 version</th>
<th>1978 version</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MARIA: So, if there’s nothing to do for you, I’ll sit by you and watch you, and in the nights we’ll make love.</td>
<td>Così… se non avrò niente da fare… ti starò vicina e ti guarderò… e la notte verrò a trovarli… (p. 61)</td>
<td>Così se non avrò niente da fare… ti starò seduta vicino e ti guiderò… e la notte faremo l’amore. (p. 59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROBERT: You are shameless!</td>
<td>Oh, sei una sfacciata! [Back translation: and in the night I’ll come to see you…]</td>
<td>Oh, ma lo sai che sei una sfacciata! [Back translation: and in the night we’ll make love.]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Using translation to censor taboo subjects, including premarital sex, was the norm when the 1948 version was created. Since imported films “could (only) be modified during the post-production phase”, a complex series of manipulative interventions were implemented “at the stage of the film’s translation and revoicing into Italian, and by visual editing” (Mereu 2014: 147). In the 1948 dubbed version, Maria’s words about lovemaking (“and in the nights we’ll make love”) had been neutralised using a somewhat
euphemistic formulation (“and in the night I’ll come to see you”). In 1978, target cultural norms had changed, thus making it possible for Maria’s original formulation to be restored to its original meaning.

In addition to setting a different level of formality for the earliest interactions between the two protagonists (differently from the 1948 version, Maria uses the informal way of address, *tu*, when she first meets Robert, rather than a formal one), the dialogue adapter implemented selected changes at the lexical level, putting the text through what we may call an operation of maquillage. That the new version is in close relationship to the first dubbing is demonstrated by the fact that remnants of the first translation are clearly visible in the 1978 typescript, differences being confined to a small number of lexical variants, as shown in example 3.

**Example 3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original version</th>
<th>1948 version</th>
<th>1978 version</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PILAR: Safety! Huh! There is no such thing as safety. Did I spend nine years</td>
<td>PILAR: La salvezza? Ah! Qui non esiste salvezza per nessuno. Ho passato nove</td>
<td>La sicurezza? Ah! Qui non esiste sicurezza per nessuno. Ho passato nove anni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with the worst paid matadors in the world not to learn about fear and about</td>
<td>anni coi matadors pagati peggio al mondo, e non ho mai saputo cosa fossero</td>
<td>coi matador pagati peggio al mondo, e non ho mai saputo cosa fossero paura e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>safety? Huh! […] From one year of war you’ve become lazy, a drunkard and a</td>
<td>paura e salvezza. […] Dopo un anno di guerra, sei diventato cialtrone … un</td>
<td>sicurezza. […] Dopo un anno di guerra sei diventato un buono a niente, un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coward.</td>
<td>ubriacone e un vigliacco. (p. 17)</td>
<td>ubriacone e un vigliacco. (p. 17)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another major point of divergence between the two available dubbing scripts concerns the amount of text displayed, which in the 1978 version decreased considerably due to the number of sequences that were edited out. Especially revealing is the omission of the sequence where Maria tells Robert that she carries around a razor blade to kill herself in case she gets captured by the Fascists. In showing Roberto the razor blade, Maria tells him how she’s been trained by Pilar about how to effectively use it. This exchange of dialogue did not find its way into the 1978 dubbing script, which offers further
confirmation to the conclusion drawn above that the edition used for the second dubbing was an abridged version of the movie.

Another deleted sequence is the one containing the most overtly political passage in the entire film, namely the sequence in which Robert explains why he is in Spain serving on the Republican side: “It’s not only Spain fighting here, is it? It’s Germany and Italy on one side and Russia on the other”. He goes on to explain how he views things: “The Nazis and Fascists are just as much against democracy as they are against the communists”. The overt reference to Fascist Italy was evidently problematic. As seen above, Franco’s diplomats pressured the film’s producers to avoid any criticism of the regime and any association of Franco with fascism. It is therefore extremely interesting to note that, while the whole sequence containing Robert’s explanation can be found in the 1948 dubbing script, it was almost certainly edited out in the 1978 version, as it is altogether missing in the 1978 script. This seems to indicate that the effects of “censorship interventions in both Italian and foreign films dealing with fictional World War II narratives” (Mereu 2014: 147) were not confined to the post-war years but extended well beyond that period. Even here, though, we should note that it is not possible to establish whether responsibility for all such censorial intervention fell on the Italian film commissioners, or the American distributors, or both, for there is no mention of the need to cut parts of the film deemed unsuitable for Italian audiences in either of the certificates.

But how was the process of revision leading to the second dubbing script carried out? The working method used by the dialogue adapter becomes apparent in the last pages of the typescript containing the dubbing script that was prepared for the 1978 edition (from p. 66 to p. 72). On page 68, reproduced here below, we find a text that looks identical to that displayed on page 67 of the 1948 script, except for some handwritten alterations and additions that were made as part of a process of revision. Using a copy of the first dubbing script, the dialogue adapter variously reworked and appropriated the text of the first translation, making a number of small but significant revisions, ranging from changing, deleting or inserting a single word or phrase to more extensive rewriting.
As exemplified by the typescript page reproduced above, the revisions specifically targeted address forms, which play a central role in the construction of the narrative – for example by changing the name Roberto, here used as vocative (“A fra poco, Roberto” ‘See you soon, Roberto’), in line with the original wording (“Until soon, Roberto”), to Ingles (for Inglés, meaning ‘English’ in Spanish), a term of address frequently used by Robert Jordan’s Spanish comrades when talking to him.

6.2 Competing interpretations

It should be noted that the most significant changes the dialogue adapter made were not so much improvements of expression or alterations in the lexical choices, but substantial additions which gave the film dialogue a
radically different slant, bringing it closer to the novel on which the film was based, thus allowing the Hemingwayian quality of the text to emerge in full. As I will try to demonstrate, the 1978 redub is particularly indebted to the Italian translation of Hemingway’s novel, which had been published late in 1945 by Mondadori in the translation by Maria Napolitano Martone. *For Whom the Bell Tolls* was the first of Hemingway’s novels to be published in Italy after the War, enjoying an immediate success.

6.2.1 Insults and terms of endearment

In revising the text of the first translation, the dialogue adapter paid particular attention to specific elements. The additions and substitutions, which bring the second dubbed version closer to the novel, comprise interventions aimed at enhancing the Hemingwayian effect, as becomes apparent in the choices made in translating insults and terms of endearment. An interesting example of this are the first words uttered on screen by Pilar, a gypsy woman who is the real leader of the band of Republicans that is joined by Roberto and a very charismatic and central character in both the film and the novel.

Example 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original version</th>
<th>1948 version</th>
<th>1978 version</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Even a cursory glance reveals that the text of the Italian translation of the novel is perfectly reflected in the dialogues of the 1978 dubbed version. The
filiation is evident in terms of lexical selections and additions, as exemplified by the occurrence of “senza marito” for unmarried – a word Pilar uses in the novel, yelling at Rafael, but not in the film:

“What are you doing now, you lazy drunken obscene unsayable son of an unnameable unmarried gypsy obscenity? What are you doing?” (Hemingway 1995 [1940]: 30)

“Che cosa fai li, poltrone, ubriaco figlio di una porca zingara senza marito? Che cosa fai?” (Hemingway 1947: 40)

As Grissom (2014: 113) points out, “Pilar’s opening line is the only one of many lines in the film adaptation that retains Hemingway’s original, creative way of cursing”. It is noteworthy in that it “also shows that Pilar has adapted men’s ways in order to function as their leader” (Ibid.). It seems reasonable to suggest at this point that what the dialogue adaptor had in mind (or maybe unconsciously did) was to provide a more genuinely Hemingwayian version of the film, aiming to catch the full flavour of Hemingway’s novel by going back to its original wording via the translation that had made the novel popular among Italian readers. I will illustrate this point with another revealing example.

In the novel, Robert calls Maria little rabbit, a term of endearment but also a tribute to Spain of which Maria is a personification (Laprade 2011: 15). On the contrary, little rabbit never occurs in the original film dialogue, which the 1948 dubbed version followed quite closely. What is interesting to note is that the vocative coniglietto, which is used in the Italian translation of the novel to render little rabbit,11 frequently comes up in Robert’s exchanges with Maria as found in the 1978 dubbing script.

Example 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original version</th>
<th>1948 version</th>
<th>1978 version</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MARIA: How much time have we left?</td>
<td>Quanto tempo abbiamo ancora?</td>
<td>Quanto tempo abbiamo ancora?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11 “Get in, little rabbit,” he said and kissed her on the back of the neck’ (Hemingway 1995 [1940]: 69) > “Vieni dentro, coniglietto’ disse baciandola sulla nuca’ (Hemingway 1947: 81).
The fact that, in revising the text, the dialogue adapter systematically added the Italian equivalent for *little rabbit* seems to suggest that Maria’s nickname was regarded as an essential and characterizing feature of Hemingway’s novel that the film had failed to convey.

### Example 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original version</th>
<th>1948 version</th>
<th>1978 version</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ROBERT: Maria, listen. Don’t... don’t say anything. We won’t be going to America this time. But always I go with you wherever you go. Understand? <strong>You go now, Maria.</strong></td>
<td>Maria... Senti... no... Non dire nulla. Non andremo in America questa volta. Ma io sarò sempre con te, dovunque andrai... capisci? <strong>Addio, Maria.</strong></td>
<td>Maria... Senti... no... Non dire nulla niente. Non andremo in America, questa volta. Ma io sarò sempre con te, dovunque andrai... capisci? <strong>Addio, Maria. Ciao, coniglietto</strong> (p. 70)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Back translation: <strong>Goodbye, Maria.</strong>]</td>
<td>[Back translation: <strong>Bye, little rabbit.</strong>]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 6.2.2 Ideologically loaded words

Ideologically loaded words were a major area of translatorial intervention. As pointed out by Diez (2008) and Laprade (2011), political labels were a major concern for Franco’s representatives. Nichols’s script was carefully crafted so as not to irritate Spanish diplomats and therefore the word *Fascists* was never used in the film to denote the Nationalists (Laprade 2011: 133, Booker
1999: 118), but only to refer to the Italian Fascists. The words Nationalists and enemies were favoured (nationalist being the term preferred by the Spanish regime), in contrast with Hemingway’s choice to use the term fascists constantly throughout the novel. Republicans and comrades (but not Loyalists) were the terms used to denote Franco’s opponents in the civil war, while no mention was made of communists (except when referring to the Russians), reds or anarchists, as opposed to the novel’s portrayal of the Popular Front fighters and of the various political groups (communists, anarchists, leftists and democrats) that became involved in the Spanish Civil War.\textsuperscript{12}

In the 1978 dubbed version the fairly neutral formulation the enemy, occasionally used in the film’s dialogue to refer to the Nationalists, was replaced with the word fascists, following the novel’s original wording.\textsuperscript{13}

\begin{table}
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|}
\hline
Original version & 1948 version & 1978 version \\
\hline
RAFAEL: Why not sell him to the enemy? & Perché non vendiamo Pablo al nemico? (p. 39) & Perché non vendiamo Pablo ai fascisti? (p. 38) \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

In the 1978 version the word comrade was strategically added in the opening sequence where Robert meets General Gotz, a Soviet General who orders him to travel behind the enemy lines and blow up a bridge. He is addressed as Comrade General in Hemingway’s novel and as Compagno Generale in its Italian translation (pp. 221, 222).

\textsuperscript{12} Here is a list of political terms that occur in the film dialogue: Fascist (1 occ. ‘Italian Fascists’); Falangists (0 occ.); Nationalist (3 occ., always Fascists in Hemingway’s novel); Enemies (4 occ.); Republican (5 occ. + 3 occ. [American] Republican); Comrade (5 occ. ‘communist’, 2 occ. ‘soldier of Nationalist army’); Communist (1 occ. ‘Russians’); Anarchist (0 occ.); Reds (0 occ.).

\textsuperscript{13} ‘We could sell him to the fascists,’ the gypsy said’ (Hemingway 1995[1940]: 218), translated as ‘Potremmo venderlo ai fascisti disse lo zingaro’ (Hemingway 1947: 242).
The same occurs in the sequence where Robert and Maria first meet. In the novel Maria addresses Robert as *Comrade* (‘*Hola, Comrade*’, 22), a word that was carefully avoided in the original film dialogue. It is therefore quite revealing that one of the additions in the script prepared for the 1978 dubbed version was the vocative *compagno*, the Italian equivalent for *comrade*.\(^{14}\)

A similar case occurs in the scene of the fight of El Sordo’s band against a troop of Nationalist cavalry. Captain Moro comes out of cover shouting all sorts of insults against the guerrillas, whom he believes are dead, before being finally shot dead by El Sordo.

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\(^{14}\) “*Hola! compagno* disse sorridendo la ragazza” (Hemingway 1947: 31).
## Example 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original version</th>
<th>1948 version</th>
<th>1978 version</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>CAPTAIN MORO:</strong> Bandidos, <strong>cobardes</strong>! Can you hear me? You <strong>sons of four-legged devils</strong>! Surrender now, you <strong>bandits</strong>, before our planes blow you to bits!</td>
<td>Banditì!... (in c.) ... Vigliacchi… Mi sentite?... (f.c.) <strong>Figli di diavoli</strong> maledetti… Arrendetevi, banditi… prima che i nostri aerei vi facciano volare in pezzi… (p. 47) [Back translation: You bandits, <strong>cowards</strong>! Can you hear me? <strong>You sons of damn devils</strong>! Surrender now, you bandits, before our planes blow you to bits!]</td>
<td>Banditì!... (in c.)… <strong>Porci rossi</strong>… Mi sentite?... (f.c.) <strong>Maledetti figli di puttana</strong>… Arrendetevi, ora… prima che i nostri aerei vi facciano volare in pezzi… (p. 46) [Back translation: You bandits! <strong>Red swine</strong>! Can you hear me? <strong>You sons of a bitch</strong>! Surrender now, you bandits, before our planes blow you to bits!]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here again, disregarding the original dialogue, the 1978 version replaced a politically neutral insult (*cobardes*) with a politically loaded one (*red swine*) following the text of the novel, as can be appreciated by comparing the script with the excerpt here below:

“‘Bandidos! Surrender now before we blow thee to little pieces.’ (…) ‘**Sons of the great whore,**’ the voice came now from behind the rocks again. ‘**Red swine**’” (Hemingway 1995[1940]: 314).

“‘Bandido! Arrendetevi, prima che vi facciamo a pezzettini!’ (…). ‘**Maledetti figli di puttana**’ riprese la voce dietro le rocce. ‘**Porci rossi**’” (Hemingway 1947: 342).

These examples reveal with sufficient clarity that the revision carried out on the first dubbing script aimed at setting a different agenda for the translated film dialogue.

In reviewing the film in *The Times*, Bosley Crowther wrote: “As often is the case with pictures which are based upon popular works, a thorough comprehension of this one may depend on whether one has read the book” (1943). Crowther pointed in particular to the representation of “the rapturous and tragic love of” Robert and Maria, which in his opinion had
been “vitiated in large measure by the obvious blanks compelled by the Hays code”, so that “the cosmic symbolism of their regenerative love […] will barely be comprehensible only to those who have read the book”. Moving from a similar viewpoint, but looking at the novel as a whole, the dialogue adapter in charge of the Italian 1978 dubbed version attempted to restore the power of Hemingway’s work, which had been greatly diluted in its filmic version, and to take the on-screen dialogue back to its original source, not only by neutralizing the effect of censorship by restoring suppressed lines of dialogue but also establishing an intertextual interplay with the Italian translation of the novel.

7. Conclusions

This article has examined and compared the 1948 dubbed version and 1978 redub of For Whom the Bell Tolls, showing how the Hemingwayian elements in the source language dialogues were reframed by the dialogue adapter not only to foreground the political dimension of Hemingway’s novel, as well as its anti-Fascist stance, which had been both downplayed in Nichols’s screenplay, but also to restore verbal material that had been accorded censorial treatment.

The material traces of the translator’s work as found in the 1978 script tells us something about the modes and means of film retranslation, and more generally about the conditions of audiovisual retranslation. Textual analysis revealed that each version was temporally positioned, each addressing a different audience and moving from a different agenda, hence pointing to the temporal situatedness of (re)translations. Close textual comparison offered the opportunity to reflect on the complex palimpsestic nature of redubs (Chaume 2007: 63), on how they are founded on each other, how they recycle the same verbal material while at the same pulling the text in a different direction, and finally how audiovisual texts can be reworked and transformed according to a different agenda in the process of retranslation. Using primary sources to study redubs thus makes it possible
to look at the ways in which the making of a retranslation left traces that indicate how (and maybe why) it was produced.

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