

Korngold's Merry Men: Music and Authorship in the Hollywood Studio System

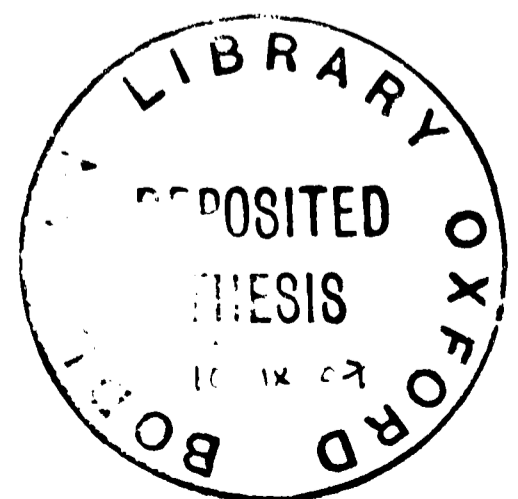
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D.Phil.

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ABSTRACT

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This study examines the critical issue of artistic 'collaboration' in the Hollywood studio system as it relates to the composition of a film score. It suggests what a postmodern critical edition of the score to *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (Warner Bros., 1938) might look like and, through an engagement with poststructuralist thought, exposes the collaborative reality of its authorship, both in production and reception. The epilogue places the study in a wider scholarly context, assessing its possible impact on the emerging discipline of film musicology and upon current debates within musicology.

Chapter 1 discusses theoretical approaches to authorship and their application both to Hollywood studio era cinema and film music of the same period. It proposes an alternative conceptual framework to the work-concept when thinking about the film score, bringing film musicology more in line with trends in film studies. Chapter 2 is a theoretical discussion of the problems inherent in producing a postmodern critical edition of a film score, suggesting some possible solutions. Chapter 3 takes an in-depth look at the circumstances surrounding the production of the score for *The Adventures of Robin Hood*, beginning with a detailed description of the sources (both manuscript and audio-visual), followed by a discussion of the 'origin' of some of the

music contained within, and concluding with a ‘reconstruction’ of the score’s production process. Chapter 4 comprises a discussion of musical meaning in the cinema and a ‘reading’ of a cue from the film that is dependent on the existence of the critical edition found in the appendices; the reading uses a methodology adapted from Roland Barthes’s work of literary criticism, *S/Z*. The appendices include four edited cues from *The Adventures of Robin Hood*, complete with accompanying editorial apparatus.

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Fine Laus Deo¹

¹ The orchestrator Hugo W. Friedhofer writes this at the end of cue 11C in *The Adventures of Robin Hood*, a long and particularly 'busy' section of the score. It seemed an apposite way to conclude.

Prologue: Beginnings

‘In 1938 Erich Wolfgang Korngold composed the score for the Warner Bros. film *The Adventures of Robin Hood*.’ This simple statement might be found in any Korngold biography or popular book on film music; yet assertions like this strike me as troubling, for what notions about the act of composing, the authorial figure, and the film score are implied here? For the purposes of this dissertation I shall allow this statement to pose numerous questions: what do we mean by a film score; what kind of object is it, and what might it have in common with the musical work-concept? What did it mean to ‘compose’ one during Hollywood’s Studio Era (c1930-1950)? Who is this Erich Wolfgang Korngold, and is he the same Korngold who composed operas in post-World War I Vienna? Was he the only ‘authorial’ figure to contribute to the score? Ultimately, this dissertation is an attempt to address these questions, and demonstrate the problems inherent in the idea of individual authorial agency, through an engagement with a number of various and, at first sight, contradictory approaches. Theories of authorship, including cinematic *auteurism*, will be considered within the context of an archival study of the circumstances surrounding the production of *The Adventures of Robin Hood*, adopting a postmodern approach to textuality that has also prompted an experimental critical edition of part of the score (see Appendix II). In addition, the consideration of wider questions of musical meaning will invoke Roland Barthes’s work of literary criticism, *S/Z* and adopt its analysis of narrative (within a poststructuralist context) to show how musical meaning in the cinema can be theorised and de-mystified.

So why this score and this composer? Given my interest in questions of authorship, why look at a film score that is credited to a single composer in preference

to some of the other scores produced under the studio system's collaborative practices? It would, for example, have been far easier to illustrate collaborative notions of authorship by examining scores produced by the 'group composition' practices of Twentieth Century-Fox, or the Music Department of Universal Studios, with its reliance on pre-composed material and music libraries (see Chapter 1). Although a major consideration was the availability of the manuscript materials,¹ part of the reason lies also in my own admiration for the figure of 'Korngold the composer' and his film scores; maybe unconsciously I came to recognise that my own attachment to a romantic aesthetic of authored composition needed challenging. This is perhaps reflected in a productive tension in the dissertation: despite my theoretical allegiance to Barthes's ideas concerning the 'death of the author', Korngold's authorial presence is never entirely absent; indeed in Appendix II, the captions on the individual cue title pages of my critical edition ironically read 'Music by Erich Wolfgang Korngold'. One might even quote the well-worn truism that the author is never more alive than when we proclaim him dead, or argue that Barthes was forced to project ideas of authorship and authority that never existed in reality. Yet the archival research carried out demonstrates that the 'authorial presence' of Korngold that I reveal is very much more complicated than this Prologue's opening statement would suggest.

The Korngoldian author figure seen in Chapter 3 and displayed in Appendix II is, in fact, an inherently plural one, a multi-voiced character who speaks in the language of his past works, and mimics the voices of Elizabethan balladry, as much as he communicates with the voice of the composer of 1938. His orchestrators may have attempted to act as ventriloquists in adopting his style, but ultimately, as is discussed

¹ My thanks must be extended to Bill Wrobel. Without his 'film score rundowns' on the internet, I would have had no idea that the manuscript full score of *The Adventures of Robin Hood* was extant and available for consultation. It played a major role in determining the course of the project.

in Chapter 1, they too contribute to the fragmentation of the author figure as the locus of authority. Moreover, once we cease to deal with the productive realities of the film score—no matter how simple or complicated and fragmented its genesis—and begin to ask what this music *means* (Chapter 4), we begin our struggle with it as *text* and, as Michael Klein puts it, ‘as another text to be interpreted in the intertext around a work, the author has no transcendental power to close interpretation and fix meaning in place’.²

The dissertation can also be read broadly, then, as a critical journey from ‘work to text’. As such it shows how an object often perceived as a fixed entity, the film score, is in fact merely ‘text’ momentarily at rest; for, as Barthes contends, ‘the Text cannot stop (for example on a library shelf); its constitutive movement is that of cutting across (in particular, it can cut across the work, several works)’.³ This interpretation problematizes the traditional musical work-concept and its associated composer-centred discourses, as discussed in Chapter 1, but also offers new directions for the editor intent on paradoxically ‘capturing’ the essence of the text in physical form, possibilities discussed (theoretically) in Chapter 2 and revealed (practically) in the critical edition found in Appendix II. While the discussion of the score’s origins and production processes offered in Chapter 3 must necessarily concentrate on Korngold’s voice(s), in acknowledging the ‘textual’ characteristics of the film score and engaging with questions of musical meaning (Chapter 4), Korngold inevitably loses some of his authority as the final arbiter of its communicable meaning. Barthes’s *S/Z* thus provides a convenient model for theorising the act of reading (of an obscure novella by Balzac or the score of a 1938 film), revealing how multiple strands of

² Michael L Klein, *Intertextuality in Western Art Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 111.

³ Roland Barthes, ‘From Work to Text’, *Image, Music, Text: Essays Selected and Translated by Stephen Heath* (London: Fontana Press, 1977), 157.

meaning interact to construct the rich tapestry of the text. I rely here on the example of John S Ellis, who has recently sought to coordinate Barthes's ideas with contemporary music theory and analysis.⁴

As Kevin Korsyn has pointed out in his critique of the discipline of musicology:

the fear that we will contaminate music by importing concepts, such as that of textuality from “outside” the field misses the radical potential of textuality to scramble our categories, to force us to rethink the inside/outside polarities on which our anxieties of disciplinary purity depend.⁵

Other musicologists too, including Michael Klein and Raymond Monelle,⁶ have embraced the idea of text as developed by Barthes, Kristeva and others. Few, though, have attempted to apply the model of reading found in *S/Z* quite as closely as I do in Chapter 4 and admittedly, as Peter Brooks and Naomi Schor have argued,⁷ Barthes never intended to become an exponent of dogma. He offered a series of ‘method trials’ rather than a model that should be used for future analysis. Yet, the application of *S/Z*'s five codes of narrative to music at least allows us to ground sometimes vague hermeneutic musings in an identifiable method. Furthermore, *S/Z* offers a model for the dissertation as a whole in its critical plurality.

I will return to the possible impact of this dissertation on musicology in the Epilogue, for in combining the archival study and editorial tasks of what might be

⁴ John S Ellis, ‘Breaking the “Codes”: The Ideas of Roland Barthes in Music Theory’, Gino Stefani, Eero Tarasti, Luca Marconi (eds.), *Musical Signification, between rhetoric and pragmatics/La significazione musicale, tra retorica umana* (Bologna: CLUEB, 1998), 202-211.

⁵ Kevin Korsyn, *Decentering Music: A Critique of Contemporary Musical Research* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 42.

⁶ Klein, *Intertextuality in Western Art Music*; Raymond Monelle, *The Sense of Music: Semiotic Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

⁷ Peter Brooks and Naomi Schor, ‘Roland Barthes – Twenty Years After’, *Yale Journal of Criticism*, vol. 14 no. 2 (Fall 2001), 433-437.

considered ‘traditional musicology’ with postmodernism’s concern for music’s ‘textual’ status, there are methodological implications not only for film musicology specifically, but more generally for musicology as a whole. As in Barthes’s *S/Z*, it is up to the voices of the different kinds of criticism to make themselves heard, and it is only through the weaving of these different ‘voices’ that the ‘text’ is revealed. It is certainly my hope, then, that the combination of methods adopted for this study of *The Adventures of Robin Hood*—by overturning notions of univocal authors, static musical objects, and monologic approaches—may provide a model, in turn, for the study of other film scores and other musical ‘texts’.

Chapter 1: Issues of Authorship in the Studio Era Film Score

What might be considered a felt lack of musical competency among many film scholars has created a vacuum; and this vacuum has been filled not only by musicologists, influenced to a much lesser extent by post-structuralism, but also by film music fans and by composers themselves...One conspicuous result of these developments is an auteurism of the Romantic sort. Post-structuralism's dethronement of the individual artist has simply not occurred for film composers

Claudia Gorbman¹

The relative newness of critical discourse surrounding film music has, as Gorbman rightly points out in her article for the *Oxford Guide to Film Studies*, resulted in a discipline that lags behind its counterparts in film studies. The privileging of the individual *auteur*/composer, long abandoned in film studies as a whole in the wake of poststructuralism, is still well entrenched in the mainstream of film music discourse, often taking the form of composer evaluation and canonisation. Gorbman posits that part of the reason for this lag in critical practice lies in the contributions of the film music fan and composers: composers are understandably individual-centred; the film music fan, aided and guided by the recent phenomenon of soundtrack recordings, tends to concentrate on a limited canon of favourites. The perceived absence of a poststructuralist approach amongst the musicologists, whose contributions to the discourse have greatly increased in recent decades, is a more perplexing matter however. If Gorbman is correct in suggesting that film studies enjoy greater critical

¹ Claudia Gorbman, 'Film Music', John Hill and Pamela Church Gibson (eds.), *The Oxford Guide to Film Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 43-44. Caryl Flinn expressed a similar worry about the state of film music scholarship in *Strains of Utopia: Gender, Nostalgia, and Hollywood Film Music* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992): 'Most prominent among them [the problems with the existing literature on film music] is an aesthetic and formalist tendency that treats film music as a discrete, autonomous artifact.' (4) This, she argues, results in a desire to canonise film composers at the expense of an institutional and social understanding of music's role in film.

sophistication with regard to the individual, how has it achieved this, while musicology, by implication, remains lost in a mire of Romantic individualist ideology? Of course, the ‘readings’ of film music undertaken by writers such as Robynn Stilwell, Peter Franklin, and others, have arguably done much to hasten the author-composer’s ‘death’.² Yet, for the most part, those studies address reception at the expense of issues of writing or authorship. Where writers *have* looked at ‘authorship’, they have tended to do so with the aim of bringing marginalized composers *into* the canon, rather than effecting its undoing. Thus Randall Larson’s 1985 study *Musique Fantastique* and William Cline’s work on serials,³ though important in highlighting the collaborative practices at play at Universal in the 1930s and ’40s, are for the most part claims for the cases of composers Frank Skinner and Hans Salter. It might be argued, though, that Gorbman’s preoccupation with poststructuralism is somewhat out of date. French poststructuralist thought has suffered numerous, and well-publicised, attacks in the past ten years: Sokal and Bricmont’s exposure of the misuse of ‘scientific’ terminology, in fact, has done much to fuel talk of the ‘death of theory’.⁴ As Colin Davis rightly points out, though, poststructuralism itself heralds the death of any one dominating theory, and remains

² See, for example, Peter Franklin, ‘King Kong and Film on Music: Out of the Fog’, K J Donnelly (ed.), *Film Music: Critical Approaches* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001), 88-102, or Robynn J Stilwell, ‘I Just Put a Drone under Him...’: Collage and Subversion in the Score of ‘Die Hard’, *Music and Letters*, vol. 78 no. 4 (November 1997), 551-580. Though Stilwell refers to composer Michael Kamen’s reminiscences about scoring *Die Hard*, she reveals how the character of Hans Gruber is associated more with the quotations from Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony than the ‘drone’ of Kamen’s memory (565-566).

³ Randall D Larson, *Musique Fantastique: A Survey of Film Music in the Fantastic Cinema* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1985). ‘The Beat Goes On’, William C Cline, *Serials-ly Speaking: Essays on Cliffhangers*, (Jefferson, N.C: McFarland, 1994), 170-174.

⁴ Alan Sokal and Jean Bricmont, *Intellectual Impostures: Postmodern Philosophers’ Abuse of Science* (London: Profile Books, 1998). There is a sense, however, in which many attacks on poststructuralism can be seen as part of a general mistrust of French rhetoric, with a hint even of xenophobia, as Colin Davis argues in *After Poststructuralism: Reading, Stories and Theory* (London: Routledge, 2004), 1. Davis also offers a convincing critique of Sokal and Bricmont in his first chapter, ‘Impostures of French theory’, 9-33.

as theory's 'ghost'.⁵ Yet, whether we agree with the poststructuralist agenda or not, there is a sense in which film musicology has still to grapple fully with its implications, especially with regard to the individual. Perhaps an examination of the 'successes' of film studies in overturning the privileging of the individual will provide a clue to the 'failings' of musicology in this regard.

The Rise and Fall (and Rise Again?) of Auteur Theory

In recent decades, studies discussing cinematic authorship have generally sought to contextualize it in history, industry, society or psychoanalysis, and, as a result, to put the final nails in the coffin of *auteurism*. Bordwell, Staiger, and Thompson's landmark 1985 book, *The Classical Hollywood Cinema*, for example, in attempting to link economic and stylistic factors, posits a model of film history in which the organization and practices of the motion picture industry, and the films it produces, are closely related:

The way that films are conceived, planned, and produced leave their marks upon the films - not only directly, in telltale [sic] details, but structurally as well. At the same time, stylistic aims have shaped the development of the mode of production. The relations between film style and mode of production are, we argue, reciprocal and mutually influencing.⁶

Though the authors were part of the neo-formalist Wisconsin school and attempted to posit a structural view of film history in which the classical film could be broken down into its constituent parts and characterised, the book was, in some senses at least, at the vanguard of a new wave of critical approaches throughout the 1970s and '80s. In examining cinema of the studio era in its societal framework, their approach

⁵ Davis, *After Poststructuralism*, Chapter 7: 'Spectres of theory', 152-177.

⁶ David Bordwell, Janet Staiger, and Kristin Thompson, *The Classical Hollywood Cinema. Film Style and Mode of Production to 1960*. (London: Routledge, 1985), xiv.

was arguably triggered by the implications of Roland Barthes's 1968 essay 'The Death of the Author'.⁷ Re-contextualizing meaning as arising at the point of reading rather than at the moment of creation, Barthes's essay had a profound effect on notions of authorship in the cinema, dynamizing the author-reader relationship, and opening the door to a plurality of critical approaches.⁸ The chief casualty of this landmark change in approach was *auteur* theory.

Auteur theory developed in the 1950s and '60s as a means of classifying and, ultimately, evaluating the creative role of the director. Although the term *auteur* dates back to the 1920s in film discourse, the debate exploded into life in a 1950s Paris flooded with American cinema. Through a series of reviews and articles in the journal *Cahiers du cinéma*, certain directors—who introduced a personal, cinematic, quality to their films—were lauded as an example to contemporary French cinema. In addition to Jean Renoir and Robert Bresson, this group included the Hollywood directors Howard Hawks, Douglas Sirk, and Alfred Hitchcock. The *auteurists*, among whose ranks could be found young filmmakers Jean-Luc Godard and François Truffaut, initially created a kind of apartheid where directors were either *auteurs*, with complete control over the script and thus able to imprint a personal vision, or merely *metteurs-en-scène*, able only to adapt the scripts of others.⁹ Gradually, though, they expanded their canon of *auteurs* to include directors who, despite having only a limited control of the script, evidenced an individual and identifiable directorial style through the control of *mise-en-scène*. Even as early as 1957, though, André Bazin, a

⁷ Roland Barthes, 'The Death of the Author', *Image-Music-Text: Essays Selected and Translated by Stephen Heath* (London: Fontana Press, 1977), 142-148.

⁸ Barthes followed up his essay with a series of writings that effected a shift from structuralism to poststructuralism, including 'From Work to Text' (1972) and what, in Terry Eagleton's words, is considered the 'work of the break': *S/Z*. Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory: An Introduction*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1996), 119.

⁹ See Edward Buscombe, 'Ideas of Authorship', *Screen*, vol. 14 no. 3 (Autumn 1973), 75-85 for an overview of the activities of the *Cahiers du cinéma* group.

member of the *auteurist* group, was beginning to back away from some of the implications of his colleagues' writings.¹⁰ For Bazin, the starting point of the *politique des auteurs* was an appreciation of 'taste and sensibility'; when, however, the genius director is thought to be traceable, through the imprint of his style, in an entire filmic output, 'weaknesses' are wrongly assumed to be beauty that is not yet understood. The *auteurists*, in choosing the personal factor in artistic creation as their standard of reference, assumed that individual style was something that progressed from one film to the next, and thus chose to look down on anything that stemmed from a common fund, yet might be entirely admirable. Bazin used Orson Welles as an example of the wrong-headedness of their polemic. In praising *Confidential Report* over *Citizen Kane* because it is 'more personal' and less obviously the collaborative product of the studio system,¹¹ the *politique des auteurs* ignores the obvious influence of the latter film over American cinema and the secondary importance of the former.

Despite Bazin's concerns, the implications of the *politique des auteurs* were followed with alacrity by the American critic Andrew Sarris. His excesses are generally blamed for turning what had been a method of classification into an evaluative theory of directorial ability, used specifically to culturally elevate the American cinema. In his 1968 book, for example, Sarris seemingly isolates the director completely from any sort of historical or cultural context.¹² Organising the study into separate evaluative sections, which he 'justifies' as an open acknowledgement of the 'spurious façade of objectivity',¹³ Sarris proceeds to classify

¹⁰ André Bazin, 'On the "politique des auteurs"', *Cahiers du cinéma*, vol. 70 (April 1957), trans. Peter Graham and reproduced in Jim Hillier (ed.), *Cahiers du cinéma vol 1: The 1950s: Neo-Realism, Hollywood, New Wave* (London: Routledge, 1985), 248-257.

¹¹ For a discussion of the collaboration involved in making *Citizen Kane* see Robert L Carringer, *The Making of Citizen Kane*, revised and updated edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

¹² Andrew Sarris, *The American Cinema: Directors and Directions 1928-1968* (New York: E P Dutton, 1968).

¹³ *Ibid.*, 15.

a huge number of directors in such descriptive categories as ‘Lightly likeable’, ‘Oddities, one-shots and newcomers’, ‘Less than meets the eye’ and, the ultimate praise, ‘Pantheon Directors’:

These are the directors who have transcended their technical problems with a personal vision of the world. To speak any of their names is to evoke a self-contained world with its own laws and landscapes. They were also fortunate enough to find the proper conditions and collaborators for the full expression of their talent.¹⁴

In elevating individuality over all other criteria of value, Sarris dismisses out of hand the possibility of a highly individual, but ultimately bad, director. Instead, the upshot of his classification theory is to claim that, though *auteur* theory claims neither the gift of prophecy nor extra-cinematic perception, a bad director will ‘almost always’ make a bad film.¹⁵ In effect, all this says is that if *auteur* theory cannot find a director’s individual style evidenced in the *mise-en-scène* of one of his films, it is unlikely to find it in another.

As a ‘theory’ of the aesthetic worth of films, *auteurism* lacked sophistication, though it soon caught on in both academic and industry circles.¹⁶ Defence from accusations of Romantic idealism and greater critical cachet arrived in the marriage of *auteurism* and structuralism in the late 1960s. Andrew Wollen, and others, in adopting

¹⁴ Ibid., 38. Interestingly, the implications of this last sentence, which suggests that the directors he dismisses as ‘less than meets the eye’ may have simply lacked the ‘proper collaborators’, are not pursued by Sarris.

¹⁵ Ibid., 26.

¹⁶ Stephen Crofts in his article ‘Authorship and Hollywood’, Hill and Church Gibson (eds.), *The Oxford Guide to Film Studies*, 310-326 argues that the prevalence and widespread acceptance of the theory eventually forced a change in Hollywood itself. With the collapse of the studio system as a vertically integrated industry following the anti-trust decrees of 1946, and the various social changes affecting America after the end of World War II, the industry was ripe for change. When it came in the late sixties, the ‘New Hollywood’ adopted a package-unit system of production that privileged the director in a creative way not seen since the pre-studio era. Nor was *auteur* theory restricted to directors: as an alternative, rather than in addition, to the director, writers (e.g. Ben Hecht), producers (Arthur Freed), and even performers (the Marx brothers, Mae West) were analysed as *auteurs* of their films.

the anthropological methodologies of Claude Lévi-Strauss, tried to recast the *auteur* as a set of structures operating over an entire filmic output. In his 1968 book, *Signs and Meaning in the Cinema*, Wollen therefore uses the same techniques used by literary structuralists in discussing myths and fairy tales, to uncover or ‘decipher’ structures in the films of Howard Hawks, the paradigmatic *auteur*.¹⁷ Like Roman Jakobson and Lévi-Strauss, Wollen searches for binary oppositions and ‘a master antinomy’ in Hawks’s output, concluding that

Hawks would be a lesser director...if his adventure dramas were the sum total of his work. His real claim as an author lies in the presence, together with the dramas, of their inverse, the crazy comedies. They are the agonized exposure of the underlying tensions of the heroic dramas.¹⁸

As many have recognised, there is a fundamental problem here in trying to reconcile two diametrically opposed modes of thought. *Auteur* theory is based on the primacy of the individual; the anthropological structuralism of Lévi-Strauss, in contrast, transcends the individual and discusses the role of unconscious structures in the group creation of mythic meaning. Where the *auteur*-structuralists uncovered ‘structures’ they explained them not as the product of unconscious processes, but of the creative individual. Thus although Wollen ‘uncovers’ binary oppositions in the Western films of John Ford, these ‘structures’ can be regarded as generic and could just as easily be applied to any Western film. By the third edition of his book in 1972, Wollen acknowledged this problem, adding a conclusion that moderates the primacy of the individual:

¹⁷ Peter Wollen, *Signs and Meaning in the Cinema*, 3rd edition, revised and enlarged (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 90-91.

The structure is associated with a single director, an individual, not because he has played the role of artist, expressing himself or his own vision in the film, but because it is through the force of his preoccupations that an unconscious, unintended meaning can be decoded in the film, usually to the surprise of the individual involved. The film is not a communication, but an artefact which is unconsciously structured in a certain way.¹⁹

Already, it seems, the influence of Barthes is beginning to impact on notions of cinema authorship: no longer is the *auteur* seen as the creator and communicator of meaning, though the emphasis is still on the individual director rather than the viewer as reader of the film. Wollen's conclusion also hints at the possibility of a using a psychoanalytic approach to decode meaning in these unconscious structures.

Stephen Heath is perhaps the principal proponent of Barthes's poststructuralism in film discourse. Essential to his conception of authorship was the notion, outlined by Jacques Derrida, that an author can no more determine how his text is read than can the sender of a message control its reception. Thus, in commenting on a paper of Edward Buscombe's in the Autumn 1973 edition of *Screen*, Heath calls for a radical overhaul of *auteurism* in film theory that would allow the contradictions of a film text to be seen in relation to socio-historical processes rather than an individual:

...the author, like its corollary the reader as passive receiver, now becomes part of an activity of writing-reading; we come back once again, in other words, to the new object of the text, space of the process of sense and subject.²⁰

The translation and publication of Michel Foucault's 1969 essay 'What is an Author?' in the Spring 1979 edition of *Screen* also hints at the growing acceptance of a

¹⁹ Ibid., 167-78.

²⁰ Stephen Heath, 'Comment on "The Idea of Authorship"', *Screen*, vol. 14 no. 3 (Autumn 1973), 88.

particular kind of poststructuralism in the film studies world.²¹ Lapsley and Westlake argue that though the liberation of the reader was of less appeal to theorists of film than of the other arts, Foucault's pre-occupation with the institution of authorship was of great interest.²² Foucault, while sharing Barthes's desire to replace the notion of an originating subject, nevertheless asserts that the institution of authorship undeniably exists. This he demonstrates by investigating the problems that arise with the use of an author's name. The link between a proper name and the individual being named, and the link between an author's name and that which it names, he argues, do not function in the same way. For Foucault, therefore, the author's name serves as a means of classification, as a way to 'characterise the existence, circulation, and operation of certain discourses within a society'.²³ In such a discursive context, he argues, it matters not who the author is; only the discourse generated is of importance.

Critical attitudes in the late 1990s are best summed up by Stephen Crofts who, in his article for *The Oxford Guide to Film Studies*, calls for the final abandonment of any theory of authorship based on a communicative model of language:

Not only the author and the text but, just as importantly, the reading must be seen as historically and culturally shaped. Time and place will, almost always, divide the moment of production from the moment of reading. The 'meaning' of any text will thus vary, as will that of any author-name which may be attached to it.²⁴

This, in some senses, warns against the continued persistence of authorship within cultural discourse, a phenomenon which Crofts explains with reference to its

²¹ Michel Foucault, 'What is an Author?', trans. Donald F Bouchard, *Screen*, vol. 20 no. 1 (Spring 1979), 13-33 (originally appeared in 1969 in the *Bulletin de la Société Française*, vol. 64 no. 3, 73-104).

²² Robert Lapsley and Michael Westlake, *Film Theory: An Introduction* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), 125.

²³ Foucault, 'What is an Author?', 19.

²⁴ Crofts, 'Authorship and Hollywood', 322.

importance for marketing and product differentiation, its support for the cultural and cult statuses of the cinema, and the high global status of individualist discourses in general.²⁵ While *auteur* theory may be considered dead and buried by some commentators, then, authorship discourses are still seemingly alive and well, though now used more as a commercial than critical strategy. Their relevance to films of the studio era had, however, all but evaporated until a resurgence in interest in the past few years put them back on the bill. Gerstner and Staiger's 2003 book *Authorship and film* grapples with the question: why look at authorship again?²⁶ They both recognise that the destruction of the author's authority risks damaging the opportunities for a critique of the power relations surrounding his/her position. As Staiger points out, authorship is a means of defining self and that

for many people in a nondominant situation, who is speaking does matter. A consequence of feminism, identity politics, and queer theory has been the demand for a retheorization of agency within the advances of poststructuralist philosophy.²⁷

Rather than considering the 'death of the author' a *fait accompli*, David Gerstner argues, we should consider it an ongoing process, and that to already claim him/her dead is 'in itself an act of authorial privilege and hubris'.²⁸ The collection of essays found in *Authorship and film* aims to readdress authorship discourse from a position within poststructural thought, yet Peter Wollen's article on Michael Curtiz seems an old-fashioned attempt to restore him to a canon of *auteurs*.²⁹ Justifying this return to a

²⁵ Ibid. Crofts links this high status with a 'withering away of the socialist alternative to consumer capitalism' and the 'rapid social changes and uncertainties of post-industrial capitalism'.

²⁶ Janet Staiger, 'authorship approaches', David A. Gerstner and Janet Staiger (eds.), *Authorship and film: trafficking with Hollywood* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 27-57.

²⁷ Ibid., 49.

²⁸ David A. Gerstner, 'the practices of authorship' in Gerstner and Staiger, *Authorship and film*, 21.

²⁹ Peter Wollen, 'the auteur theory - michael curtiz and *casablanca*' in Gerstner and Staiger, *Authorship and film*, 61-76.

rejected critique by claiming that ‘The Death of the Author’ was not quite as earthshaking as he had remembered (surely an obvious observation given that more than thirty years have elapsed), Wollen argues that ‘it is simply mistaken to believe that Curtiz was no more than a studio hack without authority over the films he made’.³⁰

While Gerstner and Staiger’s points concerning the need for individual subjectivity are valid, it is clear that they believe that this must happen from a position within poststructuralist thought. Others have announced the re-birth, or return, of the author, or even questioned the legitimacy of the announcement of his/her death. Seán Burke, in particular, has suggested that the ideas proposed by Barthes in ‘The Death of the Author’ have not been adequately debated; they are either accepted or rejected, seemingly without question.³¹ He argues convincingly that while Barthes may announce the ‘Death of the Author’, his ultimate aim is, in fact, the end of a representational view of language, ‘for it is only through the function of the author as possessor of meaning that textual language is made obeisant to an extratextual reality’.³² The abandonment of a representational aesthetic, as Burke argues, renders the death of the author meaningless. This leaves space for the author to make a re-appearance as the guest of the reader, as indeed Balzac does at the end of Barthes’s essay, *S/Z*.³³

Despite the resurrection of interest in the author in recent years, or the denial that the author figure ever existed in the way Barthes conceived him, film studies has at least explored the question. Why then, if indeed it is true, does musicology persist in tacitly accepting the figure of the author, seemingly *without* question? Is there

³⁰ Ibid., 64.

³¹ Seán Burke, *The Death and Return of the Author: Criticism and Subjectivity in Barthes, Foucault and Derrida* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992), 21.

³² Ibid., 43.

³³ Roland Barthes, *S/Z: An Essay*, trans. Richard Miller (New York: Hill & Wang, 1974).

something profoundly different about music as a creative act that renders these arguments null and void, or is there an implicit failing in musicology? Gorbman's sweeping statement that musicologists are 'influenced to a much lesser extent by poststructuralism' may demand qualification, but in more popular film music literature it appears, by and large, to be correct.³⁴ These writers have not jettisoned aesthetics 'in the tidal waves of psychoanalysis, Marxism, and cultural studies'.³⁵ Instead, they are content, for the most part, to ignore the cultural context implications of postmodernist thought, and continue to organise their discourse around the persona of the composer and the canonical body of film music.³⁶ Even when it is acknowledged that a composer's activities in the studio era may exist within the contextual framework of a music department,³⁷ the old arguments used by the proponents of directorial *auteurism* (long-since abandoned in film studies) re-appear: the relationship between composer and music department is portrayed as a Romantic conflict between art and commerce, with the artistic will of the individual battling

³⁴ By way of contrast, more serious discussion of film music (by authors such as Flinn, Buhler, Neumeyer, Kassabian, Franklin, Stilwell et al) has contributed greatly to the diverse range of approaches evident in film musicology today. Gorbman's comments, therefore, are perhaps directed more at authors with a musical, but not necessarily musicological, background. Nevertheless, Charles Leinberger (a professor of music theory at the University of Texas at El Paso) writing of Morricone's music can write: 'He [Morricone] is the auteur of the music just as the director is the auteur of the film'. Charles Leinberger, *Ennio Morricone's The Good, the Bad and the Ugly: A Film Score Guide* (Lanham, Md: Scarecrow Press, 2004), 14.

³⁵ Gorbman, 'Film Music', 43.

³⁶ Christopher Palmer's book, *The Composer in Hollywood* (London: Marion Boyars, 1990), for example, is organised into chapters with the following titles: 'Max Steiner'; 'Erich Wolfgang Korngold'; 'Alfred Newman'; 'Franz Waxman'; 'Dimitri Tiomkin'; 'Roy Webb'; 'Miklós Rózsa'; 'Bernard Herrmann'; 'Alex North'; 'Elmer Bernstein and Leonard Rosenman'; 'End of an Era'. In page 8 of his introduction, Palmer states that 'for each composer discussed, my policy has been to place his achievement in overall perspective, and then to analyse a small number of major scores in detail'. Similarly, William Darby and Jack Du Bois's book *American Film Music: Major Composers, Techniques, Trends 1915-60* (Jefferson, N.C: McFarland, 1990) has chapters devoted to: 'From Silents to Sound'; 'Max Steiner'; 'Alfred Newman'; 'Franz Waxman'; 'Erich Wolfgang Korngold' etc. A quick comparison with Andrew Sarris's 1968 book *The American Cinema* reveals a similar *auteurist* attitude, though Sarris is clearly ranking his individuals in addition to assessing their contributions and achievements.

³⁷ See for example, William C Cline's 1986 essay, 'The Beat Goes On' in *Serials-ly Speaking*.

against the collective financial priorities of the movie studio.³⁸ This supposed conflict has discursive roots that date back to contemporary studies of the studio system.³⁹ In providing a justification for directorial *auteurism*, it also implicitly supports a composer-centred view of film music. Yet, there are alternatives to this account of artistic creativity that stress collaboration, rather than conflict and the ultimate victory of any one individual, as a more accurate model of studio era filmmaking. Before we examine the reluctance to question the primacy of the individual in film music discourse, therefore, an exploration of the discourse surrounding the studio system as a creative force is in order.

The Studio System

While *auteur* theory is now largely discredited in academic circles, its power over film discourse is undoubtedly due to its ability to resolve, albeit in a simplistic way, a fundamental question of film theory: how can an industrialised, collaborative product be interpreted as art? Although at the heart of film theory, the implications of this question had long been ignored by the time *Cahiers du cinéma* began to discuss them in the 1950s, as Hortense Powdermaker, in her anthropological study of Hollywood in the late 1940s, recognised:

Perhaps the most fundamental and striking characteristic of the motion picture as an institution is that the making of movies is both a big business and a popular art...

³⁸ The introduction by Fred Steiner (no relation to Max) to Robert R Faulkner's book *Music on Demand: Composers and Careers in the Hollywood Film Industry* (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1983), talks of conflicts arising 'between those who want to express themselves artistically and those who merely want to make a profit' (1). This, he says, is nothing new, citing Michelangelo and Bach as similarly involved in this conflict. While the conflict may have existed, the implication of Steiner's argument, as with directorial *auteurism*, is that the boundaries between the creative acts of the individual and the commercialist anti-creativity of the producers and system were sharply defined.

³⁹ Caryl Flinn would point out that the roots of this attitude in music date back to nineteenth century romanticism. See Flinn, *Strains of Utopia*, Chapter 1, 13-50.

The general attitude in Hollywood, and out of it too, is to try to escape this essential dualism: Making movies must be either business *or* art, rather than both.⁴⁰

The *auteurists* of *Cahiers du cinéma* recast the fundamental question by separating the director as the creative artist from the restrictions of the industrialised system in which he worked. The question therefore became: how can a creative individual (the director) overcome the obstacles erected by a commercially motivated industry to bring into creation his view of the artwork? This separation of the director, as loyal defender of the true ‘cinematic’ art, from the movie industry, as the commercial ‘whore’ of Wall Street,⁴¹ was possible due to prevailing attitudes about the studio system, specifically the resonance between its organisation and methods of production and those of more traditional industries.⁴²

The term ‘studio system’ is worth exploring at this stage as it has several meanings in film history. In one context the ‘studio system’ refers to the oligarchy or oligopoly established by eight corporations that lasted from the mid 1920s to the early 1950s, in which control of the three constituent parts of the motion picture industry—namely production, distribution, and exhibition—was achieved.⁴³ Of these eight major corporations, five (Paramount, Loew’s [MGM], Twentieth Century-Fox, Warner Bros., and RKO) were, by 1930, vertically integrated: they had direct access to the box office through their ownership of theatre chains, and therefore directly controlled the three parts of the industry. The other three corporations (Universal,

⁴⁰ Hortense Powdermaker, *Hollywood, the Dream Factory: An Anthropologist Looks at the Movie-Makers* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1951), 25.

⁴¹ See the December 1937 issue of *Fortune* magazine (vol. 16 no. 6). An article entitled ‘Warner Bros.’ compares Wall Street’s love of Hollywood with ‘the masochistic, fascinated distaste of a gentleman in love with a whore’ (216).

⁴² This was despite MGM’s motto ‘Artis Gratia Artis’, or ‘Art for Art’s sake’. See Thomas Schatz, *The Genius of the System: Hollywood Filmmaking in the Studio Era* (New York: Metro, 1996), 32.

⁴³ This ‘vertical integration’ was first achieved in the US by Paramount in 1917, with the other studios following in the 1920s. For an overview of the rise of the vertically integrated studios, see Susan Hayward, *Cinema Studies: The Key Concepts*, 2nd edition (London: Routledge, 2001) or Douglas Gomery, *The Hollywood Studio System* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1986).

United Artists, and Columbia), although not vertically integrated, nevertheless had access to the others' theatre chains through a degree of collusion that squeezed out their smaller competitors, such as Monogram or Republic pictures, reducing them to the production of B-movies and Serials. This self-preserving oligarchy was aided by the self-enforcing censorship of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America Inc. (the MPPDA)—a 1922 replacement for the earlier National Association of the Motion Picture Industry—and reinforced by the technological challenges of the sound film.⁴⁴ The advent of sound in the late 1920s marked the point at which the studio system as an oligarchy closed its doors to smaller competitors, as the huge amounts of money required to invest in sound reproduction allowed the majors to increase their stranglehold on the industry. The foresight of Warner Bros., for example, in investing in sound film at an early stage allowed them to purchase an exhibition circuit with their newfound profits that elevated them to the ranks of the vertically integrated majors.⁴⁵

The implications of this tightly controlled oligarchy for commentators' views of the films they produced cannot be underestimated, forming as it did the conception that Hollywood was in the pocket of big business. Lewis Jacobs for example, writing in 1939, blames Wall Street for what he sees as the decline of the director in the late

⁴⁴ Douglas Gomery has implied that the MPPDA, led by William H Hayes, is evidence of collusion between the eight major corporations to maintain their pre-eminent position in the industry: it could virtually guarantee box-office failure for competitors and functioned as an agent through which the corporations could negotiate market rules within the US, as required by the National Recovery Administration in the 1930s, and abroad. See Gomery, 'Hollywood as Industry', Hill and Church Gibson (eds.), *The Oxford Guide to Film Studies*, 252.

⁴⁵ *Fortune* magazine's article on Warner Bros. (see footnote 41) ascribes this foresight to Harry Warner himself: he sold personal belongings to help fund the Vitaphone corporation's experiments with sound. As a result of the success of the early talkies, Warners were in position to buy out their competitors. In 1928, they acquired the Stanley Company in order to gain control of nearly all the first run houses in the mid-Atlantic states and, as a result, gained a one third share in First National Pictures. On 4 November 1929, they acquired First National outright. Within two years of 1928, Warner Bros. had gone from being a \$16,000,000 gross assets corporation to a \$230,000,000 corporation. Incidentally, Warner Bros.' reasons for experimenting with sound were nothing to do with speech, but to bring the sound of the symphony orchestra to the small movie theatre that could not afford its own (see Schatz, *The Genius of the System*, 59.)

1920s. Specifically, the vast capital needed to make sound film is cited as the reason for Hollywood remaining almost entirely a commercial, and therefore largely uncreative, undertaking.⁴⁶ Other contemporary texts that supported this view of industrial hegemony include F D Klingender and Stuart Legg's 1937 report for the Film Council on the British film industry, *Money Behind the Screen*, which includes an appendix summarising American film finance.⁴⁷ The authors attempt to show the dependence of Hollywood, both directly and indirectly, on the financial empires of J P Morgan and J D Rockefeller, arguing that through their joint control of the most important American patents in sound equipment, they exercised considerable influence.⁴⁸ There were, however, notable exceptions to this attitude. As mentioned above, Powdermaker's anthropological approach, by keeping in mind the essential dualism of art and commerce in Hollywood, suggested that the conflict was embodied in the studio executive himself: while seemingly only concerned with profit and costs, he would also take great delight in seeing his movies praised in terms other than box-office success.⁴⁹ This perhaps suggests that the tension between art and business in the studio system, as a supposedly hard-edged and competitive oligarchy, was not as one-sided as Jacobs, Klingender and Legg would have us believe.

Aside from denoting the structure of the industry's oligarchy, the term 'studio system' is also used to refer specifically to the common production practices in place in the main Hollywood studios during the same era. These allowed employees to move between corporations without too much disturbance to their working methods. Unsurprisingly the business/art dialectic has just as much relevance in this context,

⁴⁶ Lewis Jacobs, *The Rise of the American Film: A Critical History* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1939), 495.

⁴⁷ F D Klingender and Stuart Legg, *Money Behind the Screen: A Report Prepared on Behalf of the Film Council* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1937).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁴⁹ Powdermaker, *Hollywood, the Dream Factory*, 27.

and encouraged the proliferation of a factory or assembly-line analogy that had a similar effect on the perception of Hollywood by painting it as a commercial stifler of directorial creativity. This analogy still had currency until relatively recently, though perhaps without some of the negative industrial implications that the *auteurists* relied upon for their view of the director as a creative individual at the mercy of a bureaucratic impersonal machine.⁵⁰ By 1984, though, Richard B Jewell was calling for an end to its use in the literature:

The time has come to dispense with the assembly-line analogy for studio production. Although the moguls no doubt wished their operations could be as efficient and predictable as those of a Ford plant, their product mitigated against standardization.⁵¹

Yet the analogy and its accompanying discourse is historically well-founded, dating back to contemporary studies of the studio system. Lewis Jacobs writes:

Production methods under this rigid system became mechanised: the “assembly line” appeared in Hollywood. The resulting standardization of pictures caused the downfall of the most important directors during the late twenties. The various branches of production were divided and specialised so specifically and minutely that directors had a lessening opportunity to contribute to the whole. Most directors became “glorified foremen” under the producer-supervisors.⁵²

⁵⁰ Rudy Behlmer, for example, in *Inside Warner Bros. (1935-51)* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1986) wrote that ‘The studio system of the twenties, thirties, and forties was essentially a factory-like method of turning out product to distributors and then to exhibitors for the public. Basically, it was not much different from the manufacturing of automobiles’ (xvii).

⁵¹ Richard B Jewell, ‘How Howard Hawks Brought Baby Up: An Apologia for the Studio System’ (1984), Janet Staiger (ed.), *The Studio System* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1995), 46.

⁵² Lewis Jacobs, *The Rise of the American Film*, 296.

The pairing of this analogy with a threat to the individual creativity of the director was thus already in play as a critical backdrop to the *auteurist* attitudes of the 1950s.⁵³

Discourse about the relevance of this analogy and alternative approaches to modelling the studio system can be found in the contemporary anthropological studies of Powdermaker and Leo Rosten, respectively.⁵⁴ Both these texts attempt to situate the movie industry in a sociological context, recognising the highly collaborative and complex nature of the personal relationships involved. Of the assembly-line analogy itself, although acknowledging that it has some relevance, Powdermaker concludes:

The product of the dream factory is not of the same nature as are the material objects turned out on most assembly lines. For them, uniformity is essential; for the motion picture, originality is important. The conflict between the two qualities is a major problem in Hollywood.⁵⁵

⁵³ Ultimately, the analogy's presence in the early literature and continued persistence points to its grounding in well-observed phenomena in the production practices of the studios. Jacobs' comments, for example, relate to the organisation changes brought about in the early 1930s when the central producers were replaced by a producer-unit system. In dividing the studio's production of features between teams of dedicated units, each headed by a producer-supervisor and each responsible for a certain number of films each year, the production executives achieved a considerable increase in efficiency. Ironically, the unit system was first suggested by David O Selznick ('Industry to test unit producing to shave cost, improve quality', *Motion Picture Herald*, 104 no. 5 (1 August 1931)) on artistic grounds as a means of *restoring* artistic creativity lost under 'factory production'. Undoubtedly, though, it was the economic advantages that won over the studio executives, struggling in the midst of the Great Depression, and by October 1931 Columbia Pictures had adopted the new system; it soon spread to the other corporations. Implicit in the producer-unit system of production was a division of labour and an accompanying demarcation of genre: each unit could be organised to produce a certain type of film, and would accrue personnel, including directors and stars, accordingly. At Warner Bros. for example, following Darryl F Zanuck's departure for Twentieth Century-Fox in 1933, Hal B Wallis, as the Executive in charge of Production, had six supervisors working under him, though Warner Bros. did not adopt the system officially until 1937 when the supervisors were finally given 'associate producer' credits. Of these, Henry Blanke tended to work on the prestigious pictures, often biopics starring Paul Muni and directed by William Dieterle; Lou Edelman handled service pictures and 'headliners', contemporary stories lifted from the newspapers; and Bryan Foy produced the studio's B-pictures. As Janet Staiger has convincingly shown in Chapter 24 of Bordwell, Staiger, and Thompson, *The Classical Hollywood Cinema*, 311-319 this division of labour was reinforced by the activities of the unions, and by the tradition of public awards ceremonies that rewarded contributions to strongly demarcated fields. The assembly-line analogy is evidently rooted in this strict division of labour.

⁵⁴ Leo Rosten, *Hollywood, the Movie Colony, the Movie Makers* (New York: Harcourt, 1941).

⁵⁵ Powdermaker, *Hollywood, the Dream Factory*, 53.

Thus the analogy articulates the larger tension between art and business that is a major focus for her study. Nor did she see the Hollywood studio system running with the smooth precision of an assembly-line: it appeared to operate in a constant atmosphere of crisis, adapting to situations as they arose rather than planning ahead. As a result, the studios exercised a ‘parasitic reliance’ on accidental finds from the stage, radio and literature in preference to training their own personnel.⁵⁶ Ultimately for Powdermaker, the production of movies was a creative process, even if this fact was denied in the industry, and a *collaborative* creative process at that.

In a similar vein, Leo Rosten’s 1941 study posits a model of production practices that ascribes the output and essential style of a studio to the production executives who ‘establish the preferences, the prejudices, and the predispositions of the organisation and, therefore, of the movies which it turns out’.⁵⁷ Thus, rather than viewing them as cold business executives at the head of an anti-creative commercial industry merely interested in profit, there is grudging acknowledgement of the “‘geniuses” of the movie colony.’⁵⁸ Rosten paints the production executives as the last remnants of the early days of Hollywood. Required to be jacks-of-all-trades able to turn their hand to set design, subtitle writing, and plot development, the early producers were artisans and craftsmen as well as promoters and businessmen. He continues:

....as the making of pictures became a process requiring an increased division of labor, specialists began to replace prima donnas in every department of movie making – except production.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Ibid., 33.

⁵⁷ Rosten, *Hollywood, the Movie Colony, the Movie Makers*, 242-3.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 252.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 245.

That is not to say that Rosten ascribes competence to these people; indeed he takes great delight in the opposite:

The producer, like the dictator, often falls victim to the delusion that authority mysteriously endows its possessor with a range of competence which reaches from dramaturgy to economics.⁶⁰

Ultimately, though, in discussing the efforts of New York financiers to circumvent the ‘wild men of Hollywood’ in the immediate post-depression era, he concludes that while the producers may be checked or guided, they could not be replaced with any degree of confidence in the outcome.⁶¹ Furthermore the recent trend toward exhibitor-producers, he argues, had not improved the quality of movies, even if it improved profits.⁶² The primacy of the producer was also noted by Lewis Jacobs, though there is no grudging acknowledgement of genius in his polemic. Rather it is painted in opposition to the previously dominant primacy of the director, as discussed above, thus reinforcing the negative view of the system as anti-creative, and opening the way for a celebration of those who railed against it:

The art of moving pictures is so dependent for its livelihood on commerce that directors enjoy less freedom than artists in any other media.

Despite these disadvantages of their profession a few directors have achieved fine *individuality and style* [italics mine]⁶³

⁶⁰ Ibid., 248.

⁶¹ Ibid., 252.

⁶² Ibid., 259. Rosten cites the case of Universal Pictures. In 1937/8 Nathan J Blumberg replaced Carl Laemmle as head of the studio and placed two exhibition experts (Clifford Work and Matthew Fox) in charge of production. Used to the economics of the movie market, they cut costs mercilessly, used old plots, fired temperamental artists, and even released old hits. The financial results were staggering: in just three years they turned a net loss of \$1,084,999 into a profit of \$2,390,772.

⁶³ Jacobs, *The Rise of the American Film*, 453.

Despite the efforts of Powdermaker and Rosten, it appears that the views of Jacobs, Klingender, and Legg were the ones that *auteurists* responded to, using them to justify their veneration for directors in the American cinema. As Bazin pointed out, the American cinema had heavier restrictions than anywhere else;⁶⁴ how much greater then, the *auteurists* argued, is a director's achievement if he can imprint his own creative personality into a film, despite the obstacles presented by Hollywood's studio system?

In recent times, given the decline of *auteurism*, studies of the studio system have sought to stress the complexity of relations between various collaborators in the motion picture industry. In this regard, many have seized upon André Bazin's self-acknowledged distance from the more extreme views of some of his fellow contributors to *Cahiers du cinéma* and his refusal to condemn those elements of a film that stem from a common fund of expression:

The American cinema is a classical art, but why not then admire in it what is most admirable, i.e. not only the talent of this or that film-maker, but the genius of the system, the richness of its ever-vigorous tradition, and its fertility when it comes into contact with new elements.⁶⁵

Thomas Schatz, for example, quotes the above in the preface of his 1989 book, *The Genius of the System*, which also borrows its title and polemic from Bazin's argument. Rejecting outright the *auteurist* legacy in the theories of Andrew Sarris, Schatz elevates a view of classical Hollywood cinema that brings to the fore the negotiation and struggle between various creative elements:

⁶⁴ Bazin, 'On the "politique des auteurs"', 257-8.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 258.

[*Auteurism* effectively stalled] film history and criticism in a prolonged state of adolescent romanticism...But the closer we look at Hollywood's relations of power and hierarchy of authority during the studio era, at its division of labor and assembly-line production process, the less sense it makes to assess filmmaking or film style in terms of the individual director – or *any* individual, for that matter.⁶⁶

Similarly, Richard B Jewell refers indirectly to Bazin's language in his article 'How Howard Hawks Brought Baby Up,' which he subtitles 'An Apologia for the Studio System':

It is also time that we recognise the intrinsic *genius of the system* [italics mine]. There were both sound business sense and artistic advantage in the assembling of a diverse group of specialists under one umbrella structure.⁶⁷

He calls for an 'open-minded' re-evaluation of the system that recognises the complexity and uniqueness of its constituent parts (the individual studios) and rejects the notion of factory uniformity. He also argues that the power and influence of movie stars have been underestimated, a view that Thomas Schatz also examines in his article "A Triumph of Bitchery". Warner Bros., Bette Davis and *Jezebel*'.⁶⁸ Such approaches to Hollywood's complexity of human relationships clearly owe something to Powdermaker and Rosten's social anthropology, perhaps suggesting that *auteurism*'s stranglehold over criticism of the studio system as the factory-like destroyer of creativity is finally coming to an end. As Jewell so neatly points out, although a modern systems analyst would find the studio system in the 1930s riddled with flaws and inefficiencies, it is precisely these weaknesses that allowed creativity

⁶⁶ Schatz, *The Genius of the System*, 5.

⁶⁷ Jewell 'How Howard Hawks Brought Baby Up', 48.

⁶⁸ Thomas Schatz, "A Triumph of Bitchery". Warner Bros., Bette Davis and *Jezebel*., Staiger (ed.), *The Studio System*, 74-92.

to flourish. Though studio system discourse is perhaps no nearer to answering the aesthetic question, ‘how can an industrialised, collaborative product be interpreted as art?’, it has perhaps stopped trying to answer it, and, in doing so, has revealed a multiplicity of human ‘flaws and inefficiencies’ in the ‘system’ that are of far greater interest to us at the present time.

Composers in the Studio System

The image of the studio system as the factory-like destroyer of creativity in musicians is, by way of contrast, still firmly entrenched. One only has to mention the ‘butchery’ of scores by canonic composers such as Bernard Herrmann or Alfred Newman by their respective studios, to invoke this implicit understanding.⁶⁹ Like *auteur* theorists before them, composer-centred writers on film music use this cliché as a means of boosting the creative image of the individual. This portrayal of the composer’s relationship with the institution of the Hollywood studio has rarely been questioned, much less aggressively interrogated—though Caryl Flinn, in arguing that this attitude can be traced back to nineteenth century romanticism, is a noticeable exception.⁷⁰ Flinn, however, is no musicologist. Why should this image still predominate, and why

⁶⁹ See Ken Darby’s vigorous defence of Newman in *Hollywood Holyland: The Filming and Scoring of The Greatest Story Ever Told* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1992) or Tony Thomas’s outrage at the butchery of Walton’s score for *The Battle of Britain* in *Music for the Movies*, 2nd edition (Los Angeles: Silman-James Press, 1997), 2-3. Even Kathryn Kalinak gets in on the act in her discussion of Herrmann’s score for *The Magnificent Ambersons* in Chapter 6 of *Settling the Score: Music and the Classical Hollywood Film* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992). Likewise, Royal S Brown is almost vitriolic in his condemnation of those who disturb the ‘intentions’ of composers (*Overtones and Undertones: Reading Film Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 64, 115). Though he could be considered ‘composer-centred’, his lack of basic historical knowledge about Korngold is startling: ‘[Korngold] had composed a number of classical works including an opera before he came into film scoring...’ (117). Korngold had, in fact, been one of the leading operatic composers in Europe; he had written *four* operas before coming to Hollywood (and completed a fifth before scoring *The Sea Hawk*, about which Brown was writing) in addition to a number of high profile concert works (including a left hand piano concerto for Paul Wittgenstein).

⁷⁰ See Flinn, *Strains of Utopia*. Flinn points out the importance of placing film music within its social and institutional contexts to avoid cloaking criticism in the ‘illusion of apparent transcendence’ (14). As she points out, ‘Critics performed rhetorical somersaults in order to transform this industrial product into the document of personal expression, an artifact conceptualised by uniqueness and singularity...’(30).

has musicology not addressed its implications? In her article for *The Oxford Guide to Film Studies*, Gorbman, as a teacher of film, media studies, and literature, bemoans the musical illiteracy of her film studies colleagues. Their inability to discuss the role of music to her satisfaction has consigned such scholarship, in her eyes, to the ranks of musically-literate, but composer-centred, writers.⁷¹ Yet she neglects to discuss quite why such an unfashionably anachronistic critical strategy is still the norm; why, when film studies has dispensed with the individual in its discussion of studio-era film, has writing on film music appeared more reluctant to embrace the dethronement of the composer? Is there something even within the discipline of musicology that prevents the abandonment of the individual and the embracing of non-aesthetic discourses? The mythic power of the work-concept as a force in musical aesthetics may well act as such a barrier. In bringing this conceptual baggage to the interdisciplinary study of film music, the privileging of the composer's role becomes simply unavoidable. Such a stranglehold surely needs to be explored and, indeed, exploded. By examining the studio era film score, and its role alongside opera and ballet (two other forms that have been marginalized by musicological discourse in the past) in problematizing the historical effects of the work-concept, we can recognise that, far from being an aesthetic given, the work-concept is perhaps best understood as a culturally constructed product of reception. Having abandoned this 'last bastion of aesthetic discourse',⁷² the actualities of musical practice in the studio era may well become clearer, allowing a re-consideration of the individual 'author' and the re-alignment of film music with its related disciplines in film studies.

⁷¹ In, for example, Bordwell, Staiger, and Thompson's *The Classical Hollywood Cinema*, aside from a brief section on music and narrativity (33-35), music is barely mentioned.

⁷² Gorbman notes that 'within the general field of film studies, the study of film music might well represent the last bastion of film aesthetics', Gorbman, 'Film Music', 43.

The door to exploding the work-concept in music has long been open. Carl Dahlhaus, for instance, in his *Aesthetics of Music* noted that ‘the idea that music is exemplified in works, no matter how firmly rooted it has become in the past century and a half, is far from self-evident’.⁷³ Proponents of the ‘new musicology’ that take an ethnographical or anthropological approach toward Western culture, such as Susan McClary, have also highlighted our composer-centred, work-dominated view of music.⁷⁴ In historically locating the point at which the work-concept began to regulate practice, Lydia Goehr’s controversial book, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works*, outlines periods of musical practice that she claims lie outside its influence.⁷⁵ Whether one agrees with her conclusions or not, the critical apparatus necessary to explore the work-concept in film music is already in place,⁷⁶ and, as Reinhard Strohm has pointed out, there is nothing new in challenging the hegemony of the work-concept in musicology.⁷⁷ Why, then, have so few in film musicology jumped on board this new musicological express? When film music, as I shall show, is one of the areas of music practice that most clearly problematizes the work-concept, why do many stubbornly resist following the implications of such thought?

The question is by contrast the subject of lively debate in popular music discourse, perhaps thus threatening by association film music’s recently more

⁷³ Carl Dalhaus, *Aesthetics of Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 10.

⁷⁴ See Susan McClary, *Conventional Wisdom: The Content of Musical Form* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000) or Bruno Nettl, ‘Mozart and the Ethnological Study of Western Culture’, Katherine Bergeron and Philip V Bohlman (eds.), *Disciplining Music: Musicology and its Canons* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 137-155. Harold Powers’s article ‘A Canonical Museum of Imaginary Music’, *Current Musicology*, vol. 60/61 (1996), 5-25 also discusses the historical, cultural and geographical contingency of the work-concept.

⁷⁵ Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay on the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

⁷⁶ ‘Looking Back at Ourselves: the Problem with the Musical Work-Concept’ (128-152), Reinhard Strohm’s critique of Goehr’s position and that of Michael Talbot’s slight variation on it, ‘The Work-Concept and Composer-Centredness’ (168-186), both in Talbot (ed.), *The Musical Work: Reality or Invention* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), concludes by rejecting the notion of ‘one-line developmental models’ or ‘philosophical categorisations’. The advances of the regulative work concept and composer-centredness, Strohm maintains, are spread out over many centuries of Western history, ‘in the same sense in which the bourgeoisie always rises’ (150).

⁷⁷ Strohm, ‘Looking Back at Ourselves’, 130.

elevated status.⁷⁸ The legacy of the attacks on film music, as a culturally bankrupt art, by Eisler and Adorno, served to mark out the discipline for many years as a subject unworthy of serious academic attention.⁷⁹ Even Walter Benjamin's positive assessment of film as the cathartic destroyer of aura and emancipator of art has perhaps left a sour taste in the mouth of those hoping to elevate film music's status as 'pure' art.⁸⁰ Indeed, one could argue, it is only through the canonising efforts of film music fans and composer-centred writers that film music is taken seriously at all by musicology. By embracing the implications of the new musicology for film music and jettisoning the un-questioned primacy of the individual, there is perhaps a risk that we align the discipline more with popular music than with traditional concert music, and therefore undermine film music's status as high art.⁸¹ Is this a good reason, though, for avoiding the debate? Although it might encourage us to consider film music practice more naturally alongside other 'popular music' genres, we may gain a greater understanding of it, and further expose the close relation between film, opera and ballet. As a trade-off, it is not a bad one, and further serves to bring the study of film music into line with film studies as a whole. In addition, although we may recognise the work-concept to be merely a function of reception, the plurality of possibilities

⁷⁸ Talbot's *The Musical Work* includes papers that question the role of the work-concept in popular music. Specifically, David Horn's 'Some thoughts on the Work in Popular Music', 14-34, demonstrates the unsuitability of using such a concept in popular music discourse. Including film music in his definition of 'popular music' he concludes that, in spite of the desire of many to do so, the application of the concept is inappropriate.

⁷⁹ See Hanns Eisler with Theodor Adorno, *Composing for the Films*, with a new introduction by Graham McCann (London: Athlone Press, 1994).

⁸⁰ See Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', *Illuminations* (London: Collins-Fontana Books, 1973), 219-244. Benjamin argues that by substituting a plurality of copies for a single, unique one, and thus allowing the reproduction to reach the consumer, it 'reactivates the object reproduced' (223). He goes on: 'These two processes lead to a tremendous shattering of tradition which is the obverse of the contemporary crisis and renewal of mankind... Their most powerful agent is the film.'

⁸¹ The recently founded *Journal of Film Music*, for example, seems to stress film music's links with high art culture. In a recent issue devoted to Bernard Herrmann (in itself a canonising act), William H Rosar entitles his editorial: 'Bernard Herrmann: The Beethoven of Film Music?', *The Journal of Film Music*, vol. 1 no. 2/3 (Fall-Winter 2003), 121-151. Similarly, Charles Leinberger in his Morricone film score guide writes of 'Beethoven-like crescendos' (Leinberger, *Ennio Morricone's The Good, the Bad and the Ugly*, 70).

allowable under such a critical approach does not demand that we throw away all that the work-concept implies. Film music fans may continue to buy soundtracks and composer compilations, and organise their not inconsiderable discourse around a pantheon of favourite composers, provided musicology recognises that the concept they base their activities around is a cultural construct rather than an aesthetic given.

Removing the Barrier of the Work-Concept

Ultimately, in whatever way we receive film music as cultural consumers, we are, to some degree, mapping our desires onto the reality of production. The unquestioned acceptance of the work-concept as a productive force has, however, raised a barrier between the discourses of film music and film studies that needs to be removed, or at least explored. By doing so, we will also help illuminate the work-concept's true nature and its complex relationship with ballet, opera and, indeed, concert music reception. Film music's equally complex relationship with the non-musical elements of a film provides a useful starting point for examining the issues, especially with regard to a musical work's supposed autonomy.⁸² As with opera and ballet, and to a lesser extent the symphonic poem, the reliance of the musical object on extra-musical stimuli largely outside of the composer's control is an important facet of the music's identity. With opera and ballet, this is restricted to highly interpretative staging and

⁸² See David Horn's list of nine senses of the word 'work' in his article 'Some thoughts on the Work in Popular Music'. Such a list, as he acknowledges, is not the result of sustained scholarship but of his own accumulated impressions. Nevertheless he outlines nine characteristics of the 'work' that may be useful to bear in mind in the following discussion: 1) the discrete, identifiable object, the *piece*; 2) a piece of music with its own *identity* or character; 3) an *achievement*, the outcome of endeavour; 4) the endeavour is that of an identifiable author or authors, that the author has shown *creativity* and the result of the creativity lends *authority* to both piece and author; 5) that the work is the possessor of *originality* with a relative absence of imitation; 6) that the work's originality bequeaths potential to obtain *status* or rank; 7) its originality allows some works to exude a sense of artistic sanctity, what Benjamin calls *aura*; 8) the work as a piece of *property* requiring a signal of authorship and individuality; 9) the work's existence incorporates some sort of *blueprint* or template for performance, allowing it to be brought into existence by someone other than the work's originator.

choreography considerations, and a more textually ‘fixed’ libretto.⁸³ With cinema, these extra-musical stimuli come in the form of a far more rigorously fixed audio and visual track. While our interpretation of such elements is still an act of reception, the physical fixing of these extra-musical considerations in cinema will naturally tend to prescribe the character of the musical object more closely than might be the case with opera or ballet, where productions may differ markedly in terms of visual stimuli. Situations where music underscores dialogue in film, for example, can be particularly prone to non-musical prescription. By this I mean that dialogue’s hegemony over music is always maintained: music must either reduce in dynamic or, as in many cases, reduce in complexity to allow easier perception of dialogue. This is a consequence of our inability to simultaneously process two perceptual pitch streams (such as music and dialogue).⁸⁴ Common in a score like *The Sea Hawk*, for example, are ‘plateau notes’, held chords over which dialogue can more easily be heard without necessitating the reduction of the musical track’s volume. Of course, the listener is always free to ‘go against the grain’ and focus his/her attention on the background perceptual stream. In a similar way, as Barthes points out in *The Pleasure of the Text*, the reader is free to skim-read a classical narrative with a rhythm that the author cannot predict.⁸⁵ This ‘tmesis’ is never the same on each reading; similarly, I would argue, a spectator never ‘reads’ the balance between the various elements in a movie

⁸³ Even though the *livrets de mise-en-scène* and *disposizioni sceniche* of nineteenth century operas can be prescriptive in their instructions, Roger Parker has questioned whether they clarify something already in the operatic ‘text’ or are merely interpretative glosses and, therefore, an act of reception. Their appearance, he argues, marks an attempt to impose textuality, in a rearguard action, on something that has already been weakened and they must therefore be treated with caution. See Chapter 6 ‘Reading the Livrets, or the Chimera of “Authentic” Staging.’, Roger Parker, *Leonora’s Last Act: Essays in Verdian Discourse* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 126-148.

⁸⁴ See John A Sloboda, *The Musical Mind: The Cognitive Psychology of Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 166-174.

⁸⁵ Roland Barthes, *The Pleasure of the Text*, trans. Richard Miller (New York: Hill and Wang, 1975), 10-12.

sound track in the same way twice. It is the rhythm of what is 'read and not read' that creates the pleasure of the sound track text.

Paradoxically, though, the constraining power of this audio-visual structure in imposing characterisation or identity on the musical object perhaps also highlights the freedom of the object, in itself, from fixed extra-musical associations.⁸⁶ This can be demonstrated through the widespread use of stock music material to score films in the studio era, allowing the same music to appear effectively in different films.⁸⁷ Especially prevalent among the smaller studios, Universal, Columbia and Republic in particular,⁸⁸ musical re-use also occurred among the 'big five': Max Steiner, for example wrote over three hundred scores between 1930 and 1963 for RKO and Warner Bros., necessitating the occasional recycling of material.⁸⁹ Jean Cocteau's notion of accidental synchronisation perhaps also demonstrates a similar freedom of identification.⁹⁰ What these practices may demonstrate is music's ability to operate as a blank canvas onto which meaning, identity or character can be painted. However, once identity has been attached, it is very difficult to return the musical object to its 'blank canvas' state without substituting an alternative. As Michael Chion also

⁸⁶ Chapter 4 perhaps moderates this statement by showing that film music can also have relatively fixed associations of meaning.

⁸⁷ Such practices also raise questions of originality that I will discuss later along with the issue of multiple authorship.

⁸⁸ See Darby and Du Bois, *American Film Music*, 184-197.

⁸⁹ The 1942 Steiner-scored film *They Died With Their Boots On*, for example, uses musical material previously found in *Santa Fe Trail* (1940), *Virginia City* (1940), *Gold Is Where You Find It* (1938), and *Dodge City* (1939). See Kate Daubney, *Max Steiner's Now Voyager: A Film Score Guide* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000), 10. Similarly, Korngold also used a sequence written for *The Green Pastures* (1936) in *The Sea Hawk* (1940). See Brendan Carroll, *The Last Prodigy: A Biography of Erich Wolfgang Korngold* (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press 1997), 260.

⁹⁰ Gorbman discusses Cocteau's accidental synchronisation in *Unheard Melodies: Narrative Film Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 15. Cocteau would take the music of Georges Auric, composed to fit particular scenes, and deliberately place it against different ones. The success of the technique perhaps points to the dependence of music on vision (and vice versa) in establishing character or identity, to the extent that some of Auric's creative efforts, in marrying particular music to a particular scene, are lost as a result of Cocteau's editing. On the other hand, if music did not carry some meaning 'in itself', we could ask: why did Cocteau bother? In any case, whether it is possible or not for meaning to be conveyed through music, we can say, categorically, that we do not hear the music in the way Auric conceived it.

argues, an audio track removed from its visual associations would sound very strange unless the listener imposed the visuals from his/her memory.⁹¹ That said, there can be few musical passages that do not draw on a web of cultural associations already in play; when we hear any march, for example, we hear in some senses *all* marches. Such issues of intertextuality clearly raise problems for the musical work if we think of it simply as an autonomous aesthetic object possessing identity in itself. Whether we choose to present the musical object of a film score in isolation in the concert hall as an autonomous ‘work’ is, however, a matter of reception practice. If, indeed, a listener to such a ‘work’ had not seen the film from which it was extracted, such an object could be appreciated as a ‘work’ with its own identity or character. This, however, as an act of reception, should not be confused with the cultural practice in which the musical object was originally embedded: the identity of the film score at the point of production is, like opera and ballet, dependent on extra-musical elements that are, by and large, beyond the composer’s control.

Such a statement raises problems with the idea of a productive musical work-concept in relation to these genres, dependent as it is upon the notion of a controlling musical author or authors. Much musicological discourse in recent years, particularly with regard to opera, has sought to explode this myth, or at least widen authorial collaboration beyond the composer. Roger Parker, in his book *Leonora’s Last Act*, explores the idea of opera as a multiple-authored text with competing and destabilizing authorial intentions between the personas of composer, librettist, impresario, set designers, *regisseurs*, and principal singers:

⁹¹ Michael Chion, *Audio-Vision: Sound on Screen*, edited and translated by Claudia Gorbman with a forward by Walter Murch (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 40. Indeed Chion argues on page 39 that there is ‘no soundtrack’, that the sounds of a film do not form a coherent entity taken away from the image track.

As I've tried to suggest in several of the chapters that follow, awareness of a multiple operatic text, one that continually escapes a single, controlling authorial hand, can indeed be critically productive, in some way releasing us from having to demonstrate a compatibility between an author's vision of the work and ours.⁹²

In a similar vein, Emanuele Senici has sought to demonstrate the central role played by Elizabeth Billington in bringing Mozart's *La clemenza di Tito* to the London stage, and the added layers of authorship generated as a result.⁹³ Ballet, too, has been explored as a collaborative genre, though to a lesser extent than opera—perhaps because so many ballets are more established in the concert hall than on stage, allowing many of the issues of multiple authorship to be sidestepped. John McGinness's discussion of Debussy's *Jeux*, though, makes pains to point out that the ballet's conception was an unashamed collaboration between Debussy, Diaghilev and Nijinsky, though he questions the extent to which Debussy knew of the others' agenda.⁹⁴ Similarly, Tchaikovsky's collaborations with his balletmasters, and the contractual authority of the latter over the former, provide interesting parallels.⁹⁵ If both opera and ballet can be shown to be collaborative genres, they pale in comparison with the collaborative effort involved in film score production in the studio system. Not only does the film score act in collaboration with non-musical

⁹² Parker, *Leonora's Last Act*, 7-8.

⁹³ Emanuele Senici, "'Adapted to the Modern Stage": *La clemenza di Tito* in London', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, vol. 7 no. 1 (March 1995), 1-22.

⁹⁴ John McGinness, 'From Movement to Moment: Issues of Expression, Form, and Reception in Debussy's *Jeux*', *Cahiers Debussy* 22 (1998), 51-74. Interestingly, although McGinness's interests in *Jeux* are also connected with the ballet's rediscovery by Boulez in the 1950s and are therefore not necessarily transferable to other ballets, he points out that *Jeux* was not as successful in the concert hall as its contemporary, *Le sacre de Printemps*. This perhaps suggests that discussions of the multiplicity of authorial intentions in ballet are easier, like opera, when the piece in question is not firmly entrenched in the music only space of the concert hall. Similarly, Irene Alm's discussion of Stravinsky's *Agon*, 'Stravinsky, Balanchine, and *Agon*: An Analysis Based on the Collaborative Process', *Journal of Musicology*, vol. 7 no. 2 (spring 1989), 254-269 notes that although *Agon* has enjoyed critical acclaim since its première in 1957, concert performances have met with mixed reviews. It then becomes relatively straightforward for her to claim that 'lacking the choreography, the work of art is incomplete' (254).

⁹⁵ See Roland John Wiley, *Tchaikovsky's Ballets: Swan Lake, Sleeping Beauty, Nutcracker* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1985), especially the introduction (1-10).

elements, the multiplicity of musical authors extends further than even opera or ballet can manage.

Recognising Authorial Multiplicity

If the film score requires an author figure, then it would seem that the studio, far more than the composer, must often be regarded as the true author of the film score.⁹⁶ Max Steiner, in recognising this fact, noted that:

A thousand and one things can happen to a music sound track from the time it leaves the composer's brain until it is heard by the audience. I have had pictures which did not require any music whatsoever, according to the producers. Some of these turned out to be 100 per cent underscoring jobs. On other pictures I was told that a certain film could not be released without an entire underscoring job, and I would work for weeks, day and night. When the finished product left the studio to go to the exchanges, only 60 per cent of all the music written remained.⁹⁷

Although scoring did not generally take place until a rough cut of the finished film had been produced, changes could subsequently be made that would completely alter the intentions of the composer.⁹⁸ Bernard Herrmann's horror at seeing his score for *The Magnificent Ambersons* replaced in part by the music of Roy Webb has been well documented, and though it perpetuates the romantic notion of a work created before it

⁹⁶ Korngold could quite possibly be the exception that proves the rule in this regard, as Hugo Friedhofer notes: 'I can recall many instances when Korngold would go to the producer and say, "Look, can you give me a little more footage at the end of –" whatever scene it was. "I feel that as the end of an act. I feel that there's a first act curtain there." And he would always get his way.' (quoted in Linda Danly (ed.), *Hugo Friedhofer: The Best Years of His Life: A Hollywood Master of Music for the Movies* (Lanham, Md: Scarecrow Press, 1999), 46).

⁹⁷ Max Steiner, 'Scoring the Film', Nancy Naumburg (ed.), *We Make the Movies* (London: Faber & Faber, 1938), 231.

⁹⁸ Caryl Flinn notes that the composers' relative lack of control over their scores helps to explain their turn to the romantic aesthetic. By allying themselves with composers of the nineteenth century, they sought to appropriate the romantic myth of the single creative genius, but in doing so, she argues, they forfeited the protection offered by unions and other labour organisations. See Flinn, *Strains of Utopia*, 32-33.

is passed to the studio for commercial butchery, it shows that the composer was not regarded by the studio as a figure with authority over the finished product.⁹⁹ Indeed during the studio era, most composers relinquished their ownership rights to the studio.¹⁰⁰ As far as the law is concerned, therefore, the author of the score to *King Kong*, for example, was RKO Pictures Inc., not Max Steiner. Korngold is often cited as a rare exception to this rule and is said never to have had a formal contract with Warners; he even worked for rivals Paramount on *Give Us This Night* at the same time as *Captain Blood*.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, when Korngold's score for *Anthony Adverse* won the Academy Award for Best Musical Score on 4 March 1937, the award's recipient was announced as Leo F Forbstein, the head of the music department.¹⁰² Clearly, in the eyes of the movie industry, and even those of the public, the film score was 'owned' by the movie studio.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ See, for example, Darby and Du Bois, *American Film Music*, xiv. Although post-dating the demise of the studio system, Alfred Newman's score for *The Greatest Story Ever Told* (1965) suffered a similar fate to Herrmann's. Cues were dumped in favour of classical extracts and continual re-writes demanded by director George Stevens. Newman tried to have his credit removed to no avail, prompting David Raksin to christen the debacle 'The Saddest Story Ever Told'. See Ken Darby's entertaining book *Hollywood Holyland* for an insider's perspective on the 'plight' of the composer.

¹⁰⁰ In their book *Composing for the Films*, Eisler and Adorno quote at length, in a footnote on page 55, from a clause in a typical Hollywood contract: 'All material composed, submitted, added or interpolated by the Writer pursuant to this agreement shall automatically become the property of the Corporation, which, for this purpose, shall be deemed the author thereof, the Writer acting entirely as the Corporation's employee...[the Writer grants to the corporation] the right to use, adapt and change the same or any part thereof and to combine the same with other works of the Writer or of any other person to the extent that the Corporation may see fit, including the right to add to, subtract from, arrange, rearrange, revise and adapt such material in any Picture in any manner.' They go on to complain that this fluid interpretation of authorship and of the music's status suddenly becomes sharply defined in the event of the composer breaching the contract, such is the omnipotent power of the Corporation over the individual. Then the music is endowed with 'peculiar value' and the breach of contract causes the Corporation 'irreparable injury and damage'.

¹⁰¹ Similarly, Hugo Friedhofer never had a formal contract with Warners and in his spare time would 'rush over to Goldwyn's, and do some work for Alfred Newman.' Danly, *Hugo Friedhofer*, 41.

¹⁰² Korngold was so upset at what he mistook for an attempt to claim credit for the music, that he wrote Forbstein a letter, even after Forbstein had sent an apology and published a congratulatory message in the *Hollywood Reporter*. In the letter, Korngold claims he is 'not in a position to accept an award given officially and publicly to you by way of a private gift' (Forbstein had evidently offered to give the oscar to Korngold). He refused to take the statuette and it remained with Forbstein until his death in 1949, at which point it was returned to Korngold. By the time of the Academy Award ceremony on 24 February 1939, the practice had changed and Korngold accepted the award for *The Adventures of Robin Hood* personally. See Carroll, *The Last Prodigy*, 266, 285.

¹⁰³ Film music fans would often write to the studio asking for copies of the music or recordings. For the studio, it made sense to refuse, thus encouraging them to see the film again to hear the music. For the

In the majority of cases, the composer did not work in isolation either. An assignment could have quite specific and copious notes from a producer detailing how the scoring should be undertaken. In the case of executive producer Hal B Wallis at Warner Bros., these notes are startling in their specificity and comprehensiveness:

From Hal B Wallis [presumably to Music Department chief Leo F Forbstein]

Cutting Notes

Reel #2

Casablanca Sep 2 1942

...Start the piano as Ilsa and Laszlo come in the door. You can stop the piano playing at the table with Ilsa when Renault brings Strasser over to the table. Then don't start the music again until Sam introduces the guitar player. When Ilsa calls Sam over to play, let that go just as it is until the scene is interrupted by Renault coming back, saying: "Oh, you have already met Rick". Now, at that point, when Rick and Ilsa exchange glances, on the first of their close-ups, start an orchestration using "As Time Goes By". And *score* the scene. Let Steiner do this. And carry this right through the Exterior until the lights go out.

Music Notes Sep 2 1942

...On the *Marseillaise*, when it is played in the cafe, don't do it as though it was played by a small orchestra. Do it with a full scoring orchestra and get some body to do it. You should score the piece where the Gendarmes break the door in and carry right through to the dissolve to the Police Station.

music for *King's Row*, those that addressed their letters to Korngold himself, c/o Warner Bros. were rewarded with a piano copy of the main theme and a personalised reply (see Carroll, *The Last Prodigy*, 305). Those that merely wrote to the music department had to be content with a form letter, prepared on 23 August 1942, an extract of which follows:

'Many people have written to our Music Department, telling us how much they enjoyed the music in *King's Row*. We appreciate your interest in the picture, and do want you to know something about the music.

The incidental music that continued on through the picture was written by our own Erich Wolfgang Korngold. The music was not published and, consequently, can not be purchased; nor was the music recorded for commercial distribution, we are sorry to say...' See Behlmer, *Inside Warner Bros.*, 142.

In the last reel, the last time Bogart looks off and we cut to the plane I would like to see a dramatic pause in the music, just before the cut to the plane. Then as we cut to the plane, emphasize the motor noises and then, when you cut back to the scene, resume the music.¹⁰⁴

Interestingly, in addressing the remarks to Forbstein, rather than Steiner directly, Wallis also provides a useful indication of the composer's lowly status within the creative process.¹⁰⁵ Kathryn Kalinak also reproduces a facsimile page of Wallis's cutting notes for *Captain Blood* in her book *Settling the Score*. These notes seem to post-date the recording of the music, since at certain points Wallis asks for cues to be removed:

Lose the music under the KING JAMES sequence, where he sends the slaves to Jamaica, and bring the music up a little when it comes in now, just when KING JAMES speaks the last speech is where the music should start...Take the music out under the scene with BAYNES at his bedside, and start it up again when the guards come toward the place...Take out the one little piece of music between the girl and the boy when the girl is on horse-back, before FLYNN gets on to go and take care of the GOVERNOR...Lose the scoring in back of the voices as CAPTAIN BLOOD'S row boat pulls up along side...We just hear the singing until the men rush down stairs, then pick up that music.¹⁰⁶

Though a producer's musical ability could vary drastically (Friedhofer noted with characteristic acerbic wit that their 'musical tastes are, in a great many instances,

¹⁰⁴ These notes are reproduced in Rudy Behlmer's invaluable collection of extracts from Warner Bros.' archives *Inside Warner Bros. (1935-51)*, 216. As Aljean Harmetz notes in *Round up the Usual Suspects: The Making of Casablanca - Bogart, Bergman and World War II* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1993), 259-60, only 3 of Wallis's notes for *Casablanca* are extant, implying that there would have been more.

¹⁰⁵ Again the exception may be Korngold. Kathryn Kalinak claims that Wallis wrote five single-spaced pages of notes for Korngold while he was working on *Captain Blood* (Kalinak, *Settling the Score*, 76). If these are addressed to Korngold personally, it might indicate that Wallis regarded Korngold as a composer with a higher status than Steiner. Indeed, Korngold was allowed to pick and choose his assignments for Warner Bros. and consequently only wrote thirteen scores in twelve years. In the same period, Steiner wrote fifty-five (see Daubney, *Max Steiner's Now Voyager*, 9).

¹⁰⁶ These notes are dated 10 December 1935 and are reproduced in Kalinak, *Settling the Score*, 77.

dictated by the kind of phonograph records that their wives buy'¹⁰⁷), one cannot doubt their proclivity for influencing the sound of a film score.¹⁰⁸

Another example of the studio's overall control of musical matters is noted by Aljean Harmetz: Steiner was reluctant to use the song 'As Time Goes By' in the score to *Casablanca*, preferring to compose a melody of his own.¹⁰⁹ By the time he had persuaded Hal Wallis of his case, though, Ingrid Bergman had cut her hair for her next role, and the sequences featuring the song could not be re-shot. That 'As Time Goes By' dominates the score so completely, then, is perhaps a further indication that the studio's word in all matters musical was final.¹¹⁰ While such employee-employer disagreements were perhaps relatively rare amongst the top echelon of free-lance composers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (or so the Romantic aesthetic would have us believe) the commercial implications of pre-nineteenth century patronage, and the activities of ordinary professional composers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, suggest that this relationship was nothing new in music. Indeed, given the composer's need to earn a living, some sort of authorial input from a commissioner or patron is almost inevitable. In the case of film music of the studio era, though, this input could be decisive in the final form of the product. I do not wish to suggest however, that the studio's close artistic control over music was necessarily

¹⁰⁷ Irene Kahn Atkins, *Oral History with Hugo Friedhofer*, American Film Institute/Louis B. Mayer Foundation (unpublished), 54.

¹⁰⁸ Selznick's concern for all matters musical, for example, is noted in Thomas DeMary's article 'The Mystery of Herrmann's Music for Selznick's *Portrait of Jennie*', *The Journal of Film Music*, vol. 1 no. 2/3 (Fall-Winter 2003), 153-183.

¹⁰⁹ Harmetz, *Round up the Usual Suspects*, 254-55. The song featured in the play, *Everybody Comes to Rick's*, on which *Casablanca* is based.

¹¹⁰ Indeed a few months after the film's release, Steiner acknowledged that the song must 'have something' even though he still did not like it. This suggests that Steiner was an unwilling collaborator in this aspect of the score's creation. Kate Daubney notes in *Max Steiner's Now Voyager* that Steiner also fell out with David O Selznick over the constant re-editing of *Gone With the Wind* and draws our attention to a Steiner remark halfway through a cue in *They Died With Their Boots On*: 'Music stops - if it were *my* picture'(17).

a negative intrusion into the creative process; clearly, as in the case of Wallis and *Casablanca*, it could prove extremely fruitful.

The phenomenon of the ‘temp track’ also provides us with further authorial input from a figure other than the composer, or a composer at a different point in his career. This refers to the practice among producers, directors and editors of using a temporary music track of library cues to assist them in the editing or previewing of a film before an original score has been written. This can often create difficulties when the score is subsequently produced, since it becomes very hard to disassociate the image from the music already heard. A composer may therefore be requested to make his music ‘more like the temp track’. In extreme cases, the most often cited being *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968), the original score is dumped entirely, in favour of the temp track. In some cases, the film is tracked with a composer’s own music from a previous film:

In some instances, a picture that I have been assigned to do the composition on has had sequences in it that were tracked for preview, but they were tracked with music of mine. And in some case, they fit so beautifully that I just re-utilized them. A case in point was the John Huston picture that he shot in Japan, *THE BARBARIAN AND THE GEISHA* [1958], where I utilized some thematic material and also some sequences practically in toto that were tracked from a score that I did for a Nunally Johnson picture called *THREE CAME HOME* [1950], which also had a Japanese background.¹¹¹

Friedhofer’s anecdote suggests that it was his choice to ‘re-use’ his own music, yet some authorial credit must surely go to the producer who tracked the film with Friedhofer’s earlier score in the first place.

¹¹¹ Atkins, *Oral History with Hugo Friedhofer*, 145.

In a rather more obvious example of authorial multiplicity during the studio era, the smaller majors (Universal, Columbia and United Artists) and low-budget studios such as Republic would often choose a more economical approach to scoring that made use of multiple composers, the re-use of original musical material, and music libraries. This was possible because, in most cases, the studio owned the rights to all the music produced by its music department. Universal, for example, was a veritable music factory. They re-used original musical material in different movies or serials,¹¹² sanctioned collaboration between multiple composers, and even used a library of pre-existing ‘classics’. As might be expected, financial considerations were a powerful motivating factor for this practice, as David O Selznick noted:

I suggest that we make immediate investigations of the costs of the scores of other A pictures produced by the major studios and by the independents...I think also that we don't do nearly enough of using old music...For many years I have considered it absolute nonsense that the great music of the world, all available to us, was not used in pictures simply because of the ego and selfish interests of the composers whom we engaged...There are certain pictures which absolutely require original music, in whole or in part. There are others that don't require any original music, or certainly very little.¹¹³

When James Dietrich supplied music for Universal's 1932 horror film *The Mummy*, for example, director Karl Freund replaced half of the score with stock melodies from the studio's library, including extracts from Tchaikovsky's *Swan Lake*.¹¹⁴ Larson points out that such was the level of co-operation between members of Universal's music department, ‘quite often a single score would be created by an entire cadre of

¹¹² Randall D Larson points out that Franz Waxman's music from *The Bride of Frankenstein* crops up in the serials *Flash Gordon*, *Buck Rogers*, and *Radio Patrol*. Larson, *Musique Fantastique*, 17.

¹¹³ Selznick to O'Shea & Ernest L. Scanlon, 24 July 1947 quoted in DeMary, ‘The Mystery of Herrmann's Music for Selznick's *Portrait of Jennie*.’, 162-63.

¹¹⁴ Larson, *Musique Fantastique*, 27.

composers, each one taking a hand in the composition, orchestration and what-not in order to get it done in time'.¹¹⁵ Indeed in such an atmosphere, argue Darby and Du Bois, composers at Universal would work together as a team, with one supplying a melody, another working it out developmentally to fit the screen context, and the cost-conscious studio fleshing out the resulting score with library materials.¹¹⁶

Nor were such practices restricted to the smaller studios, though they tended to use them to a greater degree.¹¹⁷ Max Steiner is known to have worked on some films at RKO early on in his career without screen credit,¹¹⁸ and Hugo Friedhofer (and others) contributed compositionally to Selznick's *Gone With the Wind*:

...and the pressure [of scoring to the deadline] was so great that Max [Steiner] finally decided that we'd better call in some other people to orchestrate. And he put me on the job of sort of supervising over these guys, and writing some of the score, based on his material, of course...Maurice DePackh was one. Reginald Bassett was following me, on the stuff that I was writing. Heinz Roehmheld did one or two sequences. I don't know who orchestrated for him. And Adolph Deutsch did one very striking sequence, the whole thing, the siege of Atlanta, with all the wounded lying around, and the fire and the whole bit. But the score was fundamentally -- the material -- was all Max's really...There's a very famous scene, one of the first really bloody scenes on the screen -- the Yankee deserter, who gets shot by Scarlett. That was mine. And also the famous seduction scene, which started with Gable standing behind Scarlett...He ultimately picks her up and carries her upstairs, and fade out, fade in, to next morning, with Scarlett sitting up in bed, with this complacent, pussy-cat smile on her face. And there were some other, minor things that I did throughout.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 37. Composer-collaborators at Universal included Hans J Salter and Frank Skinner.

¹¹⁶ Darby and Du Bois, *American Film Music*, 190.

¹¹⁷ Portions of the *King Kong* score, for example, turned up in later RKO features such as *Last of the Mohicans*, *We're only Human*, and *The Last Days of Pompei*. See Larson, *Musique Fantastique*, 12.

¹¹⁸ Daubney, *Max Steiner's Now Voyager*, 9.

¹¹⁹ Atkins, *Oral History with Hugo Friedhofer*, 147-153.

Such practices must have been common in the atmosphere of creative collaboration engendered by the studio system. David Raksin talks at length in his article ‘Holding a Nineteenth Century Pedal at Twentieth Century-Fox’ of the collaborative practices in play during the studio era:

One of the procedures employed to deal with the implausible time schedules was “team composition.” On the day when a new film was turned over to the music department for scoring, the staff gathered in the projection room of our headquarters, the Lasky Building... We usually ran the picture one reel at a time, stopping at the end of each 1000-ft reel to determine where music was indicated... Sometimes these discussions tended to drag out... When the scoring layout for each reel was complete, one of the cutters would leave for the music editing rooms to begin work on the timing sheets for that reel... After lunch... [David] Buttolph, [Cy] Mockridge and I retired to our own studios to compose whatever material we had assigned ourselves. We would presently reconvene, usually with several versions of each proposed theme, to decide which ones would best serve our purposes... In retrospect, it seems remarkable that this process, which might have been complicated by rivalries, went so smoothly, and that the essential agreements were so easily achieved. The themes chosen would then be photostated, and a set was given to each of the composers. By then the timing-sheets were ready, so Buttolph, Mockridge and I divided up reels to be scored more or less evenly among ourselves...¹²⁰

Though Raksin admits that ‘while the better films were usually handed to a single composer, very often scores were done by teams - even when there was no particular hurry. I myself worked in this way at nearly every studio in town’.¹²¹ Even where only a single composer was employed, a measure of cannibalising the works of others took place, either through choice or necessity. Steiner’s score for *The Great Lie*

¹²⁰ David Raksin, ‘Holding a Nineteenth Century Pedal at Twentieth Century-Fox’, Clifford McCarty (ed.), *Film Music I* (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1989), 171-3.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 173-4.

(1941), for instance, uses the principal melody of Tchaikovsky's First Piano Concerto to portray Mary Astor's concert pianist, and his use of vernacular songs by Stephen Foster adds an extra degree of verisimilitude to the *Gone With the Wind* score.¹²² The use of generic studio fanfares could also form part of the score: Steiner's Warner Bros. fanfare, for example, sometimes segued straight into a film's opening title sequence, necessitating changes in key and arrangement depending on the music that followed it.¹²³ Although defining the film as part of the collective output of a studio, these fanfares could therefore be appropriated by the individual score, adding the creative efforts of yet another collaborator to the overall musical content of the film. Necessity, by contrast, *forced* Korngold, when faced with a three-week deadline for Warner Bros.' *Captain Blood*, to use an extract from Liszt's symphonic poem, *Prometheus* to help score a scene, a story recalled by Friedhofer:

I don't know whether Korngold was tired, or what, but anyway, he decided that except for an introduction to it, a play into the actual duel, and a play-off at the end, we adapted something from a symphonic poem of Franz Liszt called "Prometheus." It had a fugue. And fugues make an excellent background for duels, because that's the conflict -- one voice against the other. I think I still have a miniature score of the Liszt piece, with the markings in it that we discussed the night I went over to his house, at about eight o'clock in the evening, and left around midnight and went home and orchestrated. The copyist picked it up in the morning, and that afternoon it was recorded.¹²⁴

¹²² Daubney, *Max Steiner's Now Voyager*, 23-24.

¹²³ See the beginnings of *Casablanca* and the *Big Sleep* (scored by Steiner) and *The Maltese Falcon* and *They Drive by Night* (scored by Adolph Deutsch) for an example of this technique. The fanfare itself was first used in Steiner's 1937 score *Tovarich*, though Daubney in *Max Steiner's Now Voyager* (93) claims that 1938 *Gold is Where You Find It* has that distinction. She does, however, reproduce a page from Steiner's short score of *Now Voyager* that takes the fanfare from the score of the 1938 film (14). Twentieth Century-Fox's fanfare (written by Alfred Newman) is still in use today and such is its affinity with, for example, the music of the *Star Wars* trilogy, that it is even included in soundtrack albums featuring John Williams's music. See, for example, Varèse Saraband VCD 47201.

¹²⁴ Atkins, *Oral History with Hugo Friedhofer*, 122.

As a result, Korngold insisted his credit be changed to ‘Musical Arrangements by Erich Wolfgang Korngold’ in place of the customary ‘Music by...’.¹²⁵ This suggests that Korngold, as a composer for the concert hall and opera house, frowned upon such practices. If he required something that, for whatever reason, could not be written at the time, he seems to have preferred to look into his back catalogue for something appropriate, rather than turn to another composer. Such an example can be found in the score to *The Adventures of Robin Hood*. Perhaps motivated by the lack of time to compose what he described as a ‘ninety percent action picture’,¹²⁶ Korngold took his father’s advice¹²⁷ and used an earlier concert work, the Symphonic Overture *Sursum Corda*, for some of the themes. *Sursum Corda* thus provides themes for both Robin and Maid Marion, and large sections are extracted, almost without alteration, for the fight sequences.¹²⁸

The Film Score as ‘Work’?

Such reliance on earlier material is, however, not confined to film score composition and is quite common in the world of ‘art’ music, especially when the earlier work was not well received, as indeed was the case with *Sursum Corda*. Musorgsky’s orchestral work *St. John’s Night on the Bare Mountain*, for example, was derived from music written for an abandoned opera, and was, itself, subsumed into his opera *Sorochintsy Fair*. To add a further complication, the ‘work’ we know today is also a Rimsky-Korsakov version of the piece, based on the operatic extract. A similar uncertainty in identifying the boundaries of a ‘work’ occurs when composers make revisions. As

¹²⁵ In fact, a good deal more of *Prometheus* was used to score the attack on the town of Port Royal earlier in the film.

¹²⁶ Letter to Hal B Wallis dated 11 February 1938 and in the files of Warner Bros. archives. Reproduced in Behlmer, *Inside Warner Bros.*, 52.

¹²⁷ See Carroll, *The Last Prodigy*, 269.

¹²⁸ See Chapter 3 for a full discussion of *Sursum Corda* and its role in *The Adventures of Robin Hood*.

Roger Parker points out, the existence of these second thoughts brings two irreconcilable Romantic tropes into conflict: 1) that the great composer is able to determine every aspect of his creation in a single ‘gestalt’; and 2) that the composer’s artistic life is a process of maturation, implying that to revise is to improve.¹²⁹ He identifies the conflict that arises between these two tropes as an aspect that contributes to an already formidable question of textuality in the revisions of Verdi’s *La forza del destino*.¹³⁰ The film score, too, defies to some extent the idea of a fixed ‘workable’ object: the re-release of films in directors’ cuts that include previously unheard music, whether newly composed or left out of the original edit, leaves us with a problem of identity. Where would the ‘work’ lie in a film score: in the ‘final’ edit, if such a thing exists; or in the total amount of music composed, whether orchestrated or not? Clearly, our inability to answer these questions suggests that the idea of applying fixed ‘work’ boundaries to the film score could be an erroneous one.

The implications for the work, as an identifiable object, and the concept of originality that these examples of musical borrowing or re-use imply are, indeed, great. While film score production may have been more overt in the range of its musical borrowings than other contemporary musical ‘art’ traditions, there is plenty of evidence that such borrowings are an integral part of ‘art’ music practice. Even Beethoven, the paradigmatic composer of ‘works’, borrowed the music of other composers, writing variations for piano and cello on Mozart’s *Die Zauberflöte*,¹³¹ and using Thomas Arne’s ‘Rule Britannia!’ in *Wellington’s Sieg*, though in these instances the ‘borrowing’ is clearly acknowledged and referenced. The issue of

¹²⁹ Chapter 4 ‘Leonora’s Last Act: La forza del destino’, Parker, *Leonora’s Last Act*, 61-99.

¹³⁰ The other notable example of a revisionist composer is, of course, Bruckner, though virtually all composers go back at some stage to earlier ideas. Other examples include Tchaikovsky’s different versions of the *Romeo and Juliet Fantasy Overture* or the Second Symphony, and Balakirev’s *Fantasia on Themes from Glinka’s ‘A Life for the Tsar’*.

¹³¹ See Op. 66, a set of 12 variations on ‘Ein Mädchen oder Weibchen’ and WoO 46, a set of 7 variations on ‘Bei Männern, welche Liebe fühlen’.

originality becomes even more clouded when the art of orchestration or arrangement comes into play. How do we assign authorship, for example, to Rachmaninov's 'arrangement' of Bach's E major violin partita for piano, or to Ravel's orchestration of Musorgsky's *Pictures at an Exhibition*? The art of orchestration and its implications for the multiple-authored text has, of course, particular relevance for the studio era film score. After the composer(s), the orchestrators probably constitute the largest creative contribution to the sound of the musical object. As musicologists, we often hail composers for their orchestration (Rimsky-Korsakov, Ravel, Berlioz for example) and recognise that the 'unique character' of a work is often dependent on it: Ravel's rich orchestration of Musorgsky's *Pictures*, for example, has a completely different 'character' from the piano original. Yet the orchestrator's role as an author receives relatively little attention in the film music literature. No doubt, the composers working in the studio system were able, and would have preferred, to orchestrate their own music.¹³² Such were the pressures of time, however, that delegation, albeit with copious notes and instructions, was essential. No matter how detailed the instructions were, though, or how closely the orchestrator stuck to them, the art of orchestration is undeniably a creative process that adds an extra layer of authorship to a film score. Ken Darby relates a conversation he had with Alfred Newman's orchestrators that reveals a great deal about the authorial importance of such collaborators:

Years before, Leo [Shuken] and Jack [Hayes] had called me aside to say, "This is crazy, man. Al's sketches are so complete, and annotated so precisely, that a *copyist* could lay them out on the score paper. What do you need orchestrators for?"

¹³² Korngold's orchestrator at Warners, Hugo Friedhofer, remarked that 'No there was no reason that Korngold, had he had time, couldn't have orchestrated his own music. But when you've got seven, eight weeks to do one of those monster epics, you just have not got the time.' Quoted in Danly, *Hugo Friedhofer*, 59.

I answered them a bit impatiently. “You dopes! A copyist would put it down exactly as it is. Both of you have seen the film. You know the substance of the scene and the intent of the composer. If either one of you has the faintest feeling in the seat of your pants that Poppy’s [Newman’s nickname] choice of instruments is in some subtle way wrong, or could be improved by the addition of another instrument - or placed in another octave - and *don’t follow that hunch*, then you’re making no contribution at all, and sooner than later he’ll catch up on it and raise hell. That’s why he loves you guys. You’re great orchestrators, *not* copyists. So - go orchestrate!”¹³³

Hugo Friedhofer, as the trusted orchestrator of both Korngold and Steiner, also provides an interesting insight into the creative task of orchestration. Of his working relationship with Korngold, he remarked:

Well it was a very, very close association. He always liked to look at the scores. We’d discuss the sketches very thoroughly. He had a fantastic way of playing the piano with an orchestral style, so you could almost sense what he was hearing in the orchestra. He did not make an orchestral sketch, in four or five lines, as some do, and as I do personally. He wrote a piano part, actually. And sometimes there was a large hole in the middle, you know. It would be what lay conveniently under the right hand. You had to sort of be possessed of a certain clairvoyance, a kind of a musical crystal ball, to figure out whether that was the way he really wanted it, because sometimes he *did* want that wide open space in the middle. And sometimes the whole set-up, in the piano part, would have to be a certain extent re-voiced, or else filled out.

But the first few, he gave me half a dozen of his sketches, we discussed them, and then I took them home and orchestrated them. He seemed very pleased, and he made an extraordinary remark. He said, “You must be very well acquainted with the music of Gustav Mahler.”¹³⁴

¹³³ Darby, *Hollywood Holyland*, 190-191.

¹³⁴ Atkins, *Oral History with Hugo Friedhofer*, 60-61.

We would sit together at the piano with the sequence to be orchestrated and he would play it through, with me filling in the occasional notes that were outside the capacities of ten fingers...After the run-through at the keyboard, there would be a detailed discussion of color in the orchestra. This was a give and take affair, with me telling him what I heard and he giving me his conception for what the color should be. Then I would make careful enquiry as to those places in his sketch which were capable of being set as they stood, i.e. without any re-voicing, changes of register, octave doubling, etc.

When I had completed the sections he had given me, he and I would go through the full score together and in detail. As time went on, he came to rely more and more on my discretion in the matter of color and voicing, and in many instances would discuss with me the orchestrations of sections which were to be farmed out to other orchestrators.¹³⁵

Friedhofer's comments suggest a gradual appropriation of the Korngold style that enabled him to orchestrate in a similar manner. Yet, no matter how many instructions were left, or how familiar with Korngold's music he was, there must be a certain amount of Friedhofer's creativity in these scores. Similarly, Max Steiner also provided him with notes of varying degrees of specificity. Examples of these, scattered throughout Steiner's short scores, include: 'screwy Hugo! as "NASTY" AS POSSIBLE - (w.w only??)'; and 'Hugo! Orchestrated full BUT played pp (misterioso), gong, vibra, pianos etc!!'¹³⁶ There is obviously room here for some artistic licence on the part of the orchestrator and, indeed, for dispute with the composer. Friedhofer claimed to have only once had a disagreement with Steiner over the orchestration of a passage. Rather tellingly it was the composer who relented in the end after trying many alternatives to Friedhofer's version.¹³⁷ Such a partnership

¹³⁵ Letter from Hugo Friedhofer to Rudy Behlmer dated 24 March 1967, reproduced in Carroll, *The Last Prodigy*, 251-2.

¹³⁶ See Daubney, *Max Steiner's Now Voyager*, 16.

¹³⁷ 'I remember once, only, that we [Friedhofer and Steiner] had problems. It was on a picture called *Green Light*...There was a character played by Sir Cedric Hardwicke. He was a bishop who had a slight limp in one leg...Max wrote this kind of limping theme, and he indicated in the score, "This is

surely questions the unchallenged creative primacy of the composer as musical author. Indeed, in addition to his contributions to *Gone With the Wind*, Friedhofer can perhaps also be credited with a sizeable influence on the *Casablanca* score, if we believe this reminiscence:

I know that he [Steiner] didn't have the feeling that the thing ['As Time Goes By'] would work in the orchestra at all, because he had a concept of it as being kind of a square tune, which requires translation from what's in the printed piano part to a more relaxed version. You know, you can't play (SINGING) "Ta-ta, ta-ta, ta-ta. Ta-ta, ta-ta, ta-ta," which is what it is, in the original. So, I say this with all modesty, I said, "Max, think of it this way, (AGAIN SINGING, "AS TIME GOES BY," BUT VERY BROADLY) "Dah-dum-bah, duh, duh, duhm. Bah-dim-bah, dah, dah, dahm," with triplet phrasing. He kind of thought about it, and that's the way it came out.¹³⁸

The Constraints of Technology

In addition to the orchestrators, certain extra layers of authorship can be added that are peculiar to the practice of film music composition and recording. These were a result of certain restrictions that were placed on composers by the circumstances of film music production in the studio era. Some, as in the size and make-up of the ensemble for which the composer was writing, are applicable to composition in the Western art tradition; others are more unusual. The way films were projected, for example, placed technical restrictions upon the film score. Milton Lustig, in his guide for music editors, mentions the problems of cues crossing reels, and the necessity of

for the bishop, who limps. He's a cripple but", he said, "don't make him as heavy-handed as the one in *Of Human Bondage*. He's a pretty cripple." And that's all he told me, so I fooled around with it. For some reason or other, I was not on the stage when this episode was recorded. Max read it through and was very unhappy, for some reason or other...And he started tinkering with the orchestration, and apparently spent two hours, trying this way, trying it that way...Finally...he said, "All right, fellows. Let's forget all about that. Let's try the original version again." So they did, and then he liked it.' Quoted in Danly, *Hugo Friedhofer*, 45.

¹³⁸ Atkins, *Oral History with Hugo Friedhofer*, 159-160.

designing these cues so that projection machine changeover could occur without interfering with the music.¹³⁹ Lustig points out that such cues require a gap in the soundtrack of at least two-thirds of a second, and that ‘the music should be so designed by the composer as to accommodate what must take place mechanically’.¹⁴⁰

The recording technology of the 1930s also necessitated a specific approach to orchestration and recording. Kurt London, writing in 1936, provides valuable information detailing the effect of recording on the timbres of individual instruments and groupings, for as he laments: ‘the microphone *has* moods; it displays preference and disinclination, has its favourites and its foes; to the annoyance of artists and technicians, it remains to-day as unreliable as ever’.¹⁴¹ Such foes included the sound of the violin and the horn, while favourites included most of the woodwind section, whose ‘specific suitability for the microphone is proven and irrefutable’.¹⁴² Indeed London, in recognising that the rules of orchestration for the sound film are ‘essentially different from those governing the symphony orchestra’,¹⁴³ advocates an approach that promotes clarity, avoids doublings of line, and even supports the notion of a ‘microphone orchestra’ that disposes with the strings completely. Hugo Friedhofer, reminiscing about some of the primitive conditions of recording stages in the early 1930s, offers an example of how the composer/arranger’s work can be altered by the technical decisions made by the sound department:

I remember going into dubbing to hear what they were doing with the musical end of the film [George White’s *Scandals*, 1933]. And at one point, I turned to the mixer and said, “Where in

¹³⁹ Milton Lustig, *Music Editing for the Motion Pictures* (New York: Hastings House, 1980), 38.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ Kurt London, *Film Music: A Summary of the Characteristic features of its History, Aesthetics, Technique; and possible Developments*. (London: Faber & Faber, 1936), 164.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 170.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 182. Leonid Sabaneev also discusses the orchestration of the film score and the ‘phonogenicity’ of individual timbres in *Music for the Films: A Handbook for Composers and Conductors*, trans. S W Pring (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons Ltd, 1935), 56-90.

the devil are all the lows?" And somebody who was there, from up front, from the sound department, very nonchalantly said, "Oh, we were experimenting with a high-pass filter, and dropping the lows." I forget whether I fell into a faint, or got into a temper tantrum. But it was too late to do anything about it. Because there it was, with all the lows gone out of the thing. Anything, let's say an octave below middle C, forget it. It was really a disastrous experience, because I had really worked myself sick on those arrangements.¹⁴⁴

By 1938, however, Max Steiner notes that improvements in 'wide range and ultraviolet recording' made almost no limitations on the range of the orchestra that was recordable, observing that this was 'very different from a few years ago when the low G on the double-bass caused the most unpleasant consequences'.¹⁴⁵ If composers or orchestrators were forced to avoid certain notes or sonorities, could not the technology have some minor authorial role in the film score? Similarly, the sound of the film score as presented in performance in the movie theatre was also dependent on a number of factors encountered in recording and playback. During the recording process, the conductor (admittedly often the composer himself) and recording engineer would collaborate, according to Steiner, and place microphones according to 'which instruments or orchestra sections shall be especially emphasized or *miked*'.¹⁴⁶ This implies an ability to effectively alter the orchestration at the point of recording. London also points out the ability of poor theatrical acoustics to undermine the careful efforts of recording engineers when music playback occurred, adding yet another variable to the effective presentation of the original orchestration.¹⁴⁷ Of course, the most famous example of a sound system affecting a score is found in the Soviet film

¹⁴⁴ Atkins, *Oral History with Hugo Friedhofer*, 41.

¹⁴⁵ Max Steiner, 'Scoring the Film', 237. Such restrictions are common throughout the history of art music, though since the nineteenth century the Romantic conception of the artist has ensured that the practice of allowing a creative vision to be impacted by performance concerns is implicitly frowned upon.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 228.

¹⁴⁷ London, *Film Music*, 206.

industry, in Prokofiev's music for *Alexander Nevsky*. The poor technological apparatus limited the number of instruments Prokofiev could use, resulting in a sparse sound that is arguably a major feature of the score. Prokofiev made full use of the limited technology available, though, by utilising the new techniques of sound filtering and manipulation he had discovered on his trip to Hollywood's Paramount, MGM, and Disney studios in early 1938. This allowed him to create the sound of the Teutonic trumpets by deliberately positioning horns and trumpets too close to the microphone and filtering the results.¹⁴⁸

Such variables add extra layers of authorship to the film score, and though these variables can also be found in the recording and playback of classical 'art' works, it could be argued that, contrary to the film score, the identity of a classical 'work' is not so closely bound with the recorded object.¹⁴⁹ Of course, in accepting the notion of a fixed musical object, we ignore the problems of identity that re-edits and re-releases provide. However, while sections of music may be re-edited as part of any cinematic re-release, the 'fixity' of the film score in terms of its performers and technicians is ingrained on the celluloid at the point of final printing. Unless the musicians are re-assembled to re-record the music (admittedly a distinct possibility these days), the authorial role of recording engineers and their like cannot be underestimated.

¹⁴⁸ See Russell Merritt, 'Recharging *Alexander Nevsky*. Tracking the Eisenstein Prokofiev War Horse.', *Film Quarterly*, vol. 48 no. 2 (Winter 1994-95), 39. Tatiana Egorova has claimed that this was an accidental discovery. See Tatiana K Egorova, *Soviet Film Music: An Historical Survey*, trans. Tatiana A Ganf and Natalia A Egunova (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1997), 61.

¹⁴⁹ With the recent practice of re-recording film scores for commercial release, especially of older music where the original tapes are in poor condition, this situation is perhaps beginning to change. Examples include Varèse Sarabande's 1990 release of Korngold's score for *The Adventures of Robin Hood* produced by the composer's son, George (Utah Symphony Orchestra/Varujan Kojian VSD47202), and Marco Polo's 2003 release of the same score (Moscow Symphony Orchestra/William Stromberg 8.225268). In addition, the increase of interest in recorded 'art' music, in preference to live music, suggests that for a growing number of people, 'works' are indeed becoming increasingly bound to a single repeatable performance.

The Notated Score

This also leads us into considering the role of a notational blueprint, considered by David Horn to be fundamental to the musical work-concept,¹⁵⁰ in the production of film scores. Here again, the notion of a productive work-concept is problematized by film music practice. Whereas traditional art music has, until the proliferation of recording, required a score for performance, the music for a sound film, as an entirely recorded medium, can do without the physical object of the score. Once the music has been recorded and ‘fixed’ onto film, the manuscript itself becomes redundant as a pre-requisite for performance. While a ‘new’ concert performance of the score is always a possibility as long as the notes exist on paper, to do so would remove the music from the cultural practice in which it was embedded.¹⁵¹ In contrast, where composers sanction the creation of concert suites, they are making a deliberate creative decision to present the music as a re-performable object, without its attendant visual images and sound track. This constitutes a separate and quite different musical tradition. A blurring of this polarity of states—between musical objects destined for fixed repeatable performances, and those designed to be re-performed—admittedly occurs where a composer writes a piece of music designed to function within the diegesis of a film as a ‘work’. In its believability as an independent musical object ‘performed’ on screen, it suggests that such an object was designed with this function in mind, and not merely as part of a film score. This is, to some extent, borne out by the decisions of composers to extract and publish these ‘works’. Examples include Korngold’s ‘Cello Concerto, composed for the film *Deception*, and his tone poem *Tomorrow* for

¹⁵⁰ See footnote 82.

¹⁵¹ That is, we ignore the fact that the film score’s identity is closely bound to the visuals it accompanies. In another sense, though, the cultural practice advocated the re-use of music material in other film scores. Presumably this was not possible unless the original parts were still extant. So, while the manuscript may be redundant for performance, its existence may be a pre-requisite for the creation of a new film score.

mezzo soprano, women's chorus and orchestra, written for *The Constant Nymph*. Both these works were given an opus number (Op. 33 for *Tomorrow*, Op. 37 for the concerto) and published, though with some revisions. Although Korngold used musical material from film scores in other published 'works',¹⁵² these are two film score extracts that could, quite conceivably, have been destined for a re-performable medium at the time of composition.

A Way Forward

The above discussion presents a picture of the studio-era film score as a collaboratively authored intertext that, although eventually fixed as a *performance* on celluloid, remained free as music to be re-used, revised and re-edited as the studio, the legal owner of the score, saw fit. Such a fluid practice resists the rigid application of any *single* method of reception, such as the musical work-concept, or any composer-centred discourse, and is, instead, open to a plurality of interpretations. Like ballet and opera, the film score reminds musicology that the musical work-concept is merely a construct imposed upon an array of disparate music practices to help order and evaluate them.¹⁵³ Though it has admittedly held sway for a long time in musicology,

¹⁵² The Violin Concerto, for example, makes use of themes from *Juárez*, *The Prince and the Pauper* and *Another Dawn*, but is very much a musical work in the traditional sense that merely uses film score material as a starting point (though there is a possibility that Korngold began sketching the themes of this concerto before these films were made). Similarly, themes used in *Captain Blood* and *Anthony Adverse* can be found in the *Symphonic Serenade* and virtually every post-war work features some material from a film score.

¹⁵³ Canonisation is perhaps a necessary and inevitable part of musical culture, but as a method of canonisation, the work-concept is not the only construct open to us. Powers argues that it is possible to formulate a general set of criteria for ascribing canonical status to a musical practice without linking it to a work-concept (see Powers, 'A Canonical Museum of Imaginary Music', 6). In terms of film music, the films whose scores are considered worthy of discussion tend to crop up in the canon of film itself. Very few bad Hollywood films are considered to have scores worthy of critical contemplation; rather it is the pantheon of film art (*Citizen Kane*, *Vertigo*, *King Kong* etc) whose scores are endlessly discussed, suggesting that canonisation is already operating in film music discourse independently of the musical work-concept. What tends to follow, however, is a widening of this canon to include the other 'works' of a noted film's composer. In this sense it mirrors the canon formation policies of the early *auteurists* in film studies who sought to show directorial style in development and therefore privileged weaker films because they were the work of 'pantheon' directors.

its pre-eminent position as the only way of conceiving musical production and reception needs to be checked, especially as we recognise the more interdisciplinary nature of opera, ballet, and film. Whereas film studies, in the wake of poststructuralism, recognised its reliance on a construct that privileged the individual at the expense of a wider appreciation of cultural context, musicology is only beginning to do the same, and then only really with opera. Given the epistemological shift in the author-reader relationship brought about by poststructuralism, is it time, then, for us to finally nail the coffin shut on the composer? Clearly, as Gerstner and Staiger have argued, there is still a need for authorship discourse,¹⁵⁴ and the need for a continued historical investigation of film score production cannot be ignored. In addition, a great many of the historical actualities of film score production, such as the changes made on the scoring stage, can only be learned through a detailed examination of the manuscript sources, as yet largely untouched by musicologists, Kate Daubney, David Cooper and others aside.¹⁵⁵ The middle way I advocate in this dissertation would allow this traditional musicological task to take place within an explicitly postmodern intellectual environment, investigating the *process* of film score production and emphasising the collaborative practices involved, without claiming a work-like universality to the end product. The composer in this approach is perhaps better understood as a ‘producer’ rather than an ‘author’, though not necessarily with the political baggage that Benjamin’s use of this term implies.¹⁵⁶ He is part of a process alongside other creative collaborators and readers, rather than an originating source of meaning. Perhaps, then, we should keep the coffin lid firmly on the

¹⁵⁴ See Gerstner and Staiger, *Authorship and film*.

¹⁵⁵ See, for example: Daubney, *Max Steiner’s Now Voyager*; David Cooper, *Bernard Herrmann’s Vertigo: A Film Score Handbook* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001); and David Cooper, *Bernard Herrmann’s The Ghost and Mrs Muir: A Film Score Guide* (Lanham, Md: Scarecrow Press, 2005).

¹⁵⁶ Walter Benjamin, ‘The Author as Producer’ (1934) trans. Edmund Jephcott, Michael Jennings (ed.), *Walter Benjamin - Selected writings vol 2 1927-34* (Cambridge Mss: Belknap Press, 1999), 768-782.

composer as 'author', and continue to hammer in the nails, while allowing the composer as 'producer' free reign. Perhaps only then can we steer a middle course between 'reading' and 'writing'.

By exploding the myth of the individual author and revealing the work-concept as merely a construct of reception that can be unceremoniously dumped if we so choose, the opportunities for revealing more about the practices of film music production and reception thus become richer. Nor do we necessarily need to abandon aesthetic discourse about film music either, despite Gorbman's concerns that 'in film studies at large, aesthetics has been jettisoned in the tidal waves of psychoanalysis, Marxism, and cultural studies'.¹⁵⁷ Rather, we need to place such discourse within the context of the 'narrative, visual, [and] ideological intricacies of the films from which favourite soundtrack discs come'.¹⁵⁸ Once these two aims have been achieved, we might legitimately lay claim to film music for our own discipline, and allow Claudia Gorbman to rest easy, safe in the knowledge that musicology can deal with its demons and match the critical sophistication of film studies.

¹⁵⁷ Gorbman, 'Film Music', 43.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 44.

Chapter 2: On Editing Film Scores

Though possessing a long history, the principles and problems of editing a literary text have attracted a particularly large amount of critical attention in the past thirty years. Unsurprisingly, given the advances in structuralist and poststructuralist thought in the late 1960s and early 1970s, authorial ‘intention’ and ‘definitive’ versions have been strongly contested in a number of key studies. Jerome McGann’s 1983 book *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism*, for example, outlines the problems in trying to establish either original or final authorial intention, remarking that the issue rests on an assumption about the location and locatability of literary authority:

...a scholarly project must be prepared to accept an initial (and insurmountable) limit: that a definitive text, like the author’s final intentions, may not exist, many never have existed, and may never exist at any future time.¹

In McGann’s portrayal of literary criticism and its history, such ‘problems’ emerged in the late 1970s and are perhaps most clearly shown in the case of Shakespeare’s *King Lear*. The two contemporary printed sources of the play were found not to be two relatively corrupted texts of a pure (but lost) original, but rather two relatively reliable texts of two different versions. Such a discovery has important implications for our editorial aims and strategies in any kind of text, literary or musical. If we abandon the notion of an authorial original with its attending claims of authority, does this not open the door to a bewildering number of ‘alternatives’, each with its own claim to legitimacy? Philip Gaskell evidently thought so in 1978 when he addressed

¹ Jerome McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 89-90.

the question, remarking that it was tempting for the editor to display all possible manifestations of a text:

...tempting because the inclusion of everything would release him of [sic] the difficulty of deciding what to omit, and would also guard him against possible criticism for having omitted what he should have included.²

Gaskell quickly points out, though, that he believes such an inclusive approach to be not only impossible, but also deeply unsatisfactory for a reader. The reader, he claims, is not interested in the editor's scholarship. Yet while this might be the case for the average lay reader, especially if a publication is to sell widely, is the statement true for all? Is there not a case for arguing that for those interested in what McGann calls a 'socialized concept of authorship and textual authority', these variants are of great interest?³ Might the tensions between historically-located 'authors' and the institutions of textual production be best displayed in an edition that openly acknowledges its variants?

McGann also mentions the case of Auden as an author whose personal habits of composition and revision create further problems of authorization:

...Auden often plundered his earlier work for later and very different textual uses...he would often place poems in entirely novel contexts and thereby generate different networks of meaning. In many cases the verbal surface would not be altered in any significant way, but the import would shift dramatically because of the contextual change.⁴

² Philip Gaskell, *From Writer to Reader: Studies in Editorial Method* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 6.

³ McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism*, 8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 87.

McGann's example is of the prose piece *Depravity: A Sermon* which, in its original context as part of the 1935 work *The Dog Beneath the Skin*, was a biting antireligious parody, yet it appears in 1945's *Collected Poetry* as a serious religious tract. Auden's attitude toward revision and the notion of 'composition' is also shared by musicians, and is of particular relevance to *The Adventures of Robin Hood*. Indeed, this score's use of Korngold's Symphonic Overture *Sursum Corda* describes a virtually identical situation: in substance, the music is not altered in any significant way (see Chapter 3) yet the contextual change brought about by the images and the other elements in the sound track generates those 'different networks of meaning' to which McGann refers. This observation should perhaps draw our attention to the similarity, in editorial terms, of musical texts to their literary counterparts. The issues that are of relevance to an editor of Auden are equally as relevant to an editor of Korngold, even before we take into account the very special nature of a film score as distinct from an 'autonomous' work of music.

The problems with editing any text, be it musical or literary, are thus numerous. To some degree, they are arguably the product of a continued fascination with the work-concept and an unwillingness to recognise that it should often be seen as functioning more as a cultural construct that merely regulates how we receive a text, than as a productive force or aesthetic given.⁵ Yet, even an awareness of this fact, particularly with regard to studio era film music, coupled with a willingness to abandon the work-concept's notion of uniformity, still leaves us with a dilemma: how can we present a film score editorially in a way that is both useful for musicologists, and yet acknowledges the pluralistic complexities of the score's identity? If we, in turn, embrace the cultural contingency of editorial decision in purporting to present

⁵ There are, obviously, commercial considerations that come into play. In trying to pin down a fluid tradition into a unified 'work' suitable for mass audience consumption (whatever the level of critical aptitude assumed), the edited text cannot avoid some distortion of identity.

only the preferred version of a text, the dilemma is, to some extent, solved for us: we can choose whatever method of presentation is appropriate for our end purposes, collapsing the pluralism of the film score text. If we choose to think of the film score as a work to be performed in the concert hall, why not present it in such a way? Yet, the idea of a 'critical' film score edition perhaps suggests that something more rigorous than mere expediency is required, that our editorial decisions should be based in and around an historical understanding.⁶ In terms of opera, for example, Ursula Günther's edition of *Don Carlos* sought 'all the versions of the opera for which Verdi's direct responsibility is historically documented',⁷ and Suzanne Scherr noted in 1990 that the task of identifying the multiple versions of Puccini's operas was an essential first step toward a critical edition.⁸ In that sense, for our edition to be 'critical' it must attempt to reflect as accurately as possible something of the historical actuality of studio music practice. The critical question that should underpin our endeavour is therefore: how should we best think about the studio era film score? Only when this question is clear can we embark on the thorny problems of presentation.

With reference to the exploration of identity conducted in the previous chapter, I would like to suggest that we re-define the 'film score' as an umbrella term to group *all* the music surrounding a given film, whether recorded in manuscript *or* aural sources. The film score, therefore, can be characterized as a plural object. It might include music written for the film but rejected by a producer or director, or

⁶ Indeed, in his four 'constituent principles' of editing, James Grier, makes it clear that, for him, the task of editing is grounded in historical inquiry, see James Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music: History, Method, and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 8.

⁷ See Andrew Porter's review 'Giuseppe Verdi. *Don Carlos: Edizione integrale delle varie versioni in cinque e in quattro atti (comprendente gli inediti verdiani)*. Piano-vocal score with French and Italian texts, edited by Ursula Günther (and Luciano Petazzoni). 2 vols. Milan: G. Ricordi, 1980.', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 35 no. 2 (summer 1982), 362.

⁸ Suzanne Scherr, 'Editing Puccini's Operas. The Case of "Manon Lescaut"', *Acta Musicologica*, vol. 62 fasc. 1 (Jan-Apr 1990), 63.

music that exists in only some cuts of a film (the practice of revisiting films and releasing 'director's cuts' or 'special editions' produces these situations in abundance). In short, the 'film score' should not be defined as a *single* identifiable object, able to be represented clearly in a conventional published edition suitable for performance. We may, though, ask at this point whether such an editorial enterprise is wise at all? Will any so-called 'critical' edition truly represent the historical actualities of film music practice as we understand them? The answer, of course, is no. The studio era film score, like all music practices to some extent, is a nebulous beast that instinctively balks from being constrained in the bonds of an authoritative text, no matter how grounded in historical inquiry it is. Film music has a complex relationship with both the images of a film and its attendant partners in the sound track (dialogue and sound effects), and by advocating the separation of the musical object from its accompanying sensory stimuli, we ignore this complex interaction and lose an essential part of the film score.⁹ In effect, by presenting an edition of the music, we are 'objectifying' the film score and coming dangerously close to distorting the fluidity of its identity and relationship with other elements of the film. Yet the need for editions of film scores surely outweighs any considerations of the conceptual impossibility of the task. One intriguing idea is the possibility of a multimedia edition that might combine manuscript sources with archival documents, movie clips, and audio. Such an edition might seek to present as much material as possible, allowing the musicologist to consult two or three different manuscript versions of a cue while watching a version of the scene that was edited before the film was released, or video of a scoring session. Material could be scanned in to a computer so that original

⁹ Claudia Gorbman, for example, has written that 'to judge film music as one judges "pure" music is to ignore its status as a collaboration that is the film. Ultimately it is the narrative context, the interrelations between music and the rest of the film's system, that determines the effectiveness of film music' (Claudia Gorbman, *Unheard Melodies: Narrative Film Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 12).

copies of documents and manuscript sources, in addition to transcribed versions, would be available. While DVDs are increasingly moving down this path by providing extended versions, deleted scenes, storyboards, screenplays, and documentaries, the addition of various music sources would be a welcome bonus for film musicologists. The resulting tool would be very ‘text-like’ in a Barthesian way. In any case, a tool to aid analysis of cinematic music—both in its context as part of a film, and even in its place as part of the Western classical tradition—is long overdue; providing the difficult nature of the task is recognised, the demand for film score editions in musicology need not go unsatisfied.

Though film music can be aligned closely with opera, ballet, and even concert music in highlighting the problems of a blanket application of the work-concept to all music practices, it differs in one crucial regard: performance. It is clear from the previous chapter that the identity of the studio era film score can lie somewhere among a plurality of possible manifestations: in its physical score; as a recorded object; as the partner of a visual track; as the partner of an audio track; as a possible concert hall work;¹⁰ as the material for future films; as material lost in the final edit, and so on.¹¹ What is certain, however, is that, at point of production, the film score is not primarily destined for concert hall, or any other, performance, save through the mechanical process of projection.¹² This is in marked contrast to a Mozart symphony, for example. The question is, therefore: should a critical edition reflect these historical

¹⁰ I am thinking here not of a symphonic suite adapted by a composer from a score and presented as a separate work, but of the possibility of playing large chunks of material directly from the full score.

¹¹ One particularly unusual destination for the film score is the narrated radio programme. On 11 May 1938, Korngold’s music for *The Adventures of Robin Hood* was broadcast along with narration by the actor Basil Rathbone. The musical cues used in the broadcast differ in numerous ways from the cues heard in the film, though they were adapted directly from the full score and trailer music (see Chapter 3).

¹² The practice of composers creating concert suites of film scores or creating works based on film score material (for example Prokofiev’s *Alexander Nevsky* cantata or Korngold’s ‘Cello Concerto, based on music from *Deception*) arguably constitutes a different composing/performing tradition, though the content of these concert works would obviously be of interest to the editor. In any case, it seems unlikely that these later ‘works’ were intended at the time of the film’s production.

considerations? With a new critical edition of a Mozart symphony, the aim is surely to provide a resource that, though critically informed, can be used for performance. This seems entirely appropriate given the historical circumstances of the music's composition. Grier, in discussing the layout of a critical edition, even advocates the hiding of all editorial procedure so that the text may be more directly available to the performer.¹³ Although the editorial accoutrements are clearly of vital importance for Grier, creating a text that promotes what was obviously the main function of this music, is a priority.¹⁴ Should this be any different for the film score? Clearly, the studio era film score was not, after the moment of recording, destined for live performance by musicians, but for endless repeatable performances by that mechanical marvel the sound-film projector and its accomplice, the loudspeaker. Should a critical edition of a film score therefore privilege the same editorial approach that encourages live performance in the concert hall repertoire?

Such a 'performing' or 'interpretative' edition would indeed be possible, though it would require some demanding editorial decisions;¹⁵ in claiming that it reflects the historical actualities of a specific performance, namely the particular cut of the film as heard in the cinema, it might also have some critical validity. John Caldwell notes that an acceptable substitute for the often difficult task of reproducing the 'intentions of the composer', would be to 'reproduce a version which can be shown to have been current at some particular time and place'.¹⁶ Yet, such a performing edition would reveal only a very narrow band of that totality of possible

¹³ Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music*, 157.

¹⁴ While this may be partly a commercial consideration (Grier advocates placing the commentary at the back rather than on the same page, so that the text may form the basis of a commercial edition, see Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music*, 157), the emphasis throughout Grier's book is understandably performance-centred.

¹⁵ Grier discusses interpretative editions that remove virtually all doubts and indecision. See Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music*, 151-155.

¹⁶ John Caldwell, *Editing Early Music*, Early Music Series, 5, 2nd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 2.

identity manifestations referred to above. Even after a score has been recorded, music and picture editors can subject it to a potentially bewildering number of changes before it is married to the film. Similarly, the music track of many films contains large amounts of diegetic music that may not feature in the manuscript parts for recording. While they are not traditionally considered part of the musical ‘score’ as it is defined by the industry, they do have a large part to play in the construction of the musical object heard in the cinema.¹⁷ Such an example might be the music for *To Have and Have Not*, dominated as it is by the songs of Hoagy Carmichael.¹⁸ These are played in the film by Carmichael himself (as the character Cricket) and his band, and function as both diegetic performances involving the film’s main characters and action, and as a kind of substitute underscore, complementing the sparse orchestral cues.¹⁹ What, then, would a performing edition of this score include? By leaving out Carmichael’s diegetic songs, and just presenting the orchestral cues, the edition would present only a very narrow part of the musical content of the film.²⁰

Unpublished performing ‘editions’ of sorts are used for modern soundtrack recreations of studio era film scores, and the problems are all too clear. The Marco Polo recording of *The Adventures of Robin Hood* is a case in point.²¹ John Morgan’s reconstruction of missing sections of the score is both commendable and well documented in the copious liner notes, but in preparing a version of the score to be

¹⁷ The perceived boundaries between the diegetic and non-diegetic are, as many have recognised, not always clear-cut. While the manuscript full scores may make it clear what does or does not belong to the musical ‘score’, a ‘performing’ edition of a film score would necessarily lose much that is ‘performed’ on screen.

¹⁸ Interestingly, no mention is made in the titles of the composer(s) of the score (supposedly Franz Waxman and William Lava), merely the musical director (Leo F. Forbstein) and the composer of the film’s theme song ‘How Little We Know’ (Carmichael).

¹⁹ See the pivotal scenes towards the end of the movie in Harry’s room: the sound of Cricket’s band can clearly be heard from the lobby below. Though the viewer knows the music is diegetic, the source is hidden. In an earlier scene, as Johnson is killed by a stray bullet, Cricket intones a mournful tune (a version of Gustav Lange’s *Blumenlied*) on the piano, much like a non-diegetic cue, only to be told to ‘cut it out’ by Harry.

²⁰ To include them, assuming they were not fully notated in advance, might require a monumental effort, transcribing Carmichael’s improvisatory style.

²¹ Marco Polo 8.225268.

recorded, some material was necessarily excluded. Cue 8A (Robin's escape from the gallows), for example, has three possible endings, two of which are preserved in the full score: (1) the original understated ending; (2) an alternative, fanfare-like conclusion; and (3) a hybrid version that is heard in the film (see Chapter 3 and Appendix II). Morgan's track 16 'The Gallows-The Flight of Robin Hood', features the second of these endings. The listeners to the CD therefore hear only one conclusion to the cue out of a possible three. While the recording may have been intended for an aficionado who, already familiar with the ending used in the movie, might be interested in a rejected version, it highlights a possible problem with a performing edition of this film score. Even if the alternatives were included in an appendix, which of the three would appear in the main text? Presenting all of them might prove confusing to performers. The decision is further complicated by the fact that the actual ending used in the film does not exist in any of the extant manuscript sources and would require reconstruction.²² While the eventual decision may be justifiable, the privileging of any version over another by placing it in the main text implicitly makes assumptions concerning some important, and difficult, questions: what were the composer's 'intentions'? What were the producer's, and how might they have differed?²³ Should the edition try to recover these intentions and specify a 'preferred' choice, or merely present the three versions neutrally? Answers to these questions can perhaps only be discussed fully in the extensive supporting materials commonly found in a 'critical edition'.

²² Indeed it may have been created artificially by manipulating the recording of the alternative fanfare ending (see Chapter 3).

²³ For example, the film's producer Hal Wallis is known to have provided copious cutting notes concerning musical placement for other contemporaneous scores such as *Captain Blood* (see Kathryn Kalinak, *Settling the Score: Music and the Classical Hollywood Film* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 76-77) and *Casablanca* (see Rudy Behlmer, *Inside Warner Bros. (1935-51)* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1986), 216).

Clearly, the film score is often far too complex an object to be adequately represented by one performance type; the recording sessions may be just one stage in compiling the musical object. Newly recorded cues can be manipulated editorially and combined with music from a studio's library or live non-notated improvisations. Even the 'performance' of the score on-screen, once music has been married to image, does not necessarily constitute a fixed, inviolable musical object; films can be re-released cinematically in different cuts, and are often trimmed for TV presentation. While a performing edition is therefore a possibility, in attempting to fix one version of what is ultimately a flexible and multi-faceted musical identity, it cannot lay claim to the label 'critical'.

Before turning our attention to other potential exemplars, we should look at existing musicological models such as those found in opera or ballet critical editions published in recent years. In their concern for the historical circumstances of a production, including the way the work may have been altered for various performances, they might provide a useful model for a film score edition. However, though the operatic critical edition arguably comes closer to meeting our requirements than an interpretative or performing edition, the need for editors to steer a middle course between the demands of musicologists and performers might be considered a handicap. As Gossett points out with reference to his editorial work on Verdi, an edition is a series of compromises, and there is no way a single musical edition can satisfy the needs both of performers and those interested in knowing precisely what is contained in the sources.²⁴ No matter how historically aware an operatic critical edition is, then, the needs of the performer often take precedence over the interests of the musicologist. In Claudio Gallico's edition of *Ernani*, for example, Silva's inserted

²⁴ Philip Gossett, 'Toward a Critical Edition of Macbeth', David Rosen and Andrew Porter (eds.), *Verdi's Macbeth: A Sourcebook* (New York: W W Norton & Co., 1984), 199.

cabaletta ‘Infin che un brando vindice’ is relegated to the appendix, despite the evidence outlined in the edition’s introduction that Verdi sanctioned its insertion for the September 1844 performances at La Scala, Milan.²⁵ In preserving a ‘definitive state’ of the work for the performer, the editor is forced to separate the cabaletta from its immediate context, and to rely on the scholar’s competence in consulting the supporting materials.

Given musicology’s performer-biased editions, it therefore seems appropriate to examine how other disciplines have tackled similar editorial problems of identity unencumbered by the demands of performers. The most pertinent examples are surely found in a close relation to the potential film score edition, the published screenplay. It, too, has been extracted from the film and ‘objectified’; it can also have multiple sources and a blurred identity, both through its complicated relationship with visuals and sound, and through its revisions and redrafts; and crucially, as it has no ‘performance concerns’, it does not have the same constraints placed on its presentation methods as its musicological equivalents. Its usefulness to film studies is in explicating the art of screenplay writing and, in this regard, it might provide a corollary to the possible aims of a film score critical edition. Unfortunately, the existing examples are as wide-ranging in quality and critical rigour as any musicological example, as the following discussion demonstrates.

The Wisconsin Center for Film and Theatre Research’s series of Warner Bros. screenplays approach their editorial task with a fairly rigorous critical attitude, and each volume is introduced by Tino Balio with a statement of intent:

²⁵ *The Works of Giuseppe Verdi*, Series 1 vol. 5 ed. Claudio Gallico (Chicago and Milan: University of Chicago Press/Ricordi, 1985), xxii.

Our goal in publishing these Warner Brothers screenplays is to explicate the art of screenwriting during the thirties and forties...In preparing a critical introduction and annotating the screenplay, the editor of each volume is asked to cover such topics as the development of the screenplay from its source to the final shooting script, differences between the final shooting script and the release print, production information, exploitation and critical reception of the film, its historical importance, its directorial style, and its position within the genre.²⁶

Rudy Behlmer's edition of Norman Reilly Raine and Seton I Miller's script for *The Adventures of Robin Hood* is prefaced by a lengthy introduction that explains the development of the screenplay and, as a result, includes as an appendix a key scene that was left out near the end of this process. The only editorial changes to the 'revised final' script are mentioned in a section entitled 'editorial process', namely: the correction of typographical errors; the modernisation of punctuation and capitalization; and a redesigned format to 'facilitate readability'.²⁷ Significantly, therefore, no effort is made to bring the dialogue into line with the actual words spoken by the actors. This is contrasted by Bruce F Kawin's edition of *To Have and Have Not*.²⁸ In his 'Notes to the Screenplay', Kawin informs us that '[t]hroughout the screenplay I have used brackets to indicate changes in the film; the corresponding material is supplied in the Notes'.²⁹ This results in a presentation of both the '2nd revised final' script and, through some judicious flicking to the notes at the back of the volume, the actual dialogue where it differs as heard in the film.³⁰ Clearly, in both

²⁶ Rudy Behlmer (ed.), *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1979), 7.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 8. What this actually means is not discussed. A sample facsimile page might have been useful to illustrate the readability problems with the original format.

²⁸ Bruce F Kawin (ed.), *To Have and Have Not* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 185.

³⁰ Presumably, Kawin has transcribed this dialogue himself from a print of the film, though he does not confirm this. The overall effect is a little unusual in that the transcribed dialogue sections contain virtually no stage directions. It is very clear, therefore, that these parts are intended to be read with

these cases, valid editorial decisions have been made that result in quite different presentations of their respective texts. Though both preserve the 'single text with appendices' approach of operatic critical editions, they acknowledge the equal interest and value of their multiple sources.³¹

In Karl French's edition of three Marx Brothers' scripts (*Monkey Business*, *Duck Soup*, and *A Day at the Races*) the editor is hampered by the lack of extant sources, as this 'publisher's note' demonstrates:

As no original scripts were available for *Monkey Business* and *Duck Soup*, the versions presented here were built up from a dialogue continuity provided by Universal City Studios Inc., amplified with material gained from a shot-by-shot viewing of the two films...During the filming of *A Day at the Races*, the action moved away considerably from the original script. The version presented here combines the script with the dialogue and action in the film itself.³²

Similar reconstructions may indeed be necessary in a film score edition; however, French neglects to cite from which source the dialogue in *A Day at the Races* comes, or which sections in the other two films are 'amplified with material gained from a shot-by-shot viewing'. The publisher's note is therefore of no great use, merely a passing acknowledgement that the necessity of critical rigour has been recognised and largely ignored. Unfortunately, it seems, most screenplay editions seem to be written

direct reference to the film itself. Kawin's introduction is also a thorough exposé of the complexities of the script's development, from the Hemmingway novel, through the contributions of Jules Furthmann and William Faulkner, to the changes made on set by Humphrey Bogart (the star), Howard Hawks (the director), and Faulkner (the principal writer). He acknowledges, however, that certain sources were unavailable to him: he was unable to examine the 'Revised Final' screenplay dated 18 February 1944, extant and housed at the University of Southern California but unavailable for access, or some of the drafts of scenes by another writer, Cleve F Adams (Kawin, *To Have and Have Not*, 27-28).

³¹ Other examples in this series include James Naremore (ed.), *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1979). In his 'Annotations to the Screenplay', Naremore identifies which lines of the presented script are missing in the film, translates any Spanish dialogue, and notes how the script differs from both the film and the original novel.

³² Karl French (ed.), *The Marx Brothers: Monkey Business, Duck Soup and A Day at the Races* (London: Faber and Faber, 1993), 6.

for the interested movie-goer rather than the serious scholar, and therefore avoid undue critical effort; few have editorial commentaries or even identify their sources. Most seem to use the ‘final shooting script’ in preference to transcribing dialogue,³³ and the only editorial task actively engaged in is largely one of copy-editing. Thus Matthew J Bruccoli’s editing of Budd Schulberg’s *On the Waterfront* screenplay can be summarised in a quick textual note:

The copy text for this edition of *On the Waterfront* is the ‘final shooting script’ provided by Budd Schulberg. Spelling, punctuation, and obvious typing errors have been corrected; and the camera directions have been regularized. No substantive emendations have been made in the dialogue.³⁴

In all these cases, decisions have been made, or can at least be deduced where no editorial apparatus exists, that reflect both the editors’ conception of the text, and the function of the edition. Many publications of more recent films, for example, include introductions by the screenplay’s ‘author’. Unfortunately, as is the case with the *On the Waterfront* screenplay, no discussion of this editorial decision is included in the text. Yet, it implies a certain conception of the text that privileges the contributions of the author over the changes made during production. In choosing to publish such a text, often in its pre-production state, and provide an author’s introduction, it is perhaps saying: here is a *screenplay*, a work of literature that has been merely realised on screen, but also exists independently. Indeed the very name ‘screenplay’ suggests this possibility. I have used the terms ‘screenplay’ and ‘script’

³³ The publication of Mike Figgis’s screenplay for *One Night Stand* (London: Faber, 1997), for example, contains only a note that ‘[t]he following text represents the state of the screenplay as pre-production was about to begin’ (xxxix). Whether this is an editorial decision that is meant to present the screenplay as an autonomous ‘work of art’ separate from its realisation in film is an interesting notion about which we can only guess, since there is no critical commentary or editorial apparatus.

³⁴ Budd Schulberg, *On the Waterfront*, ed. Matthew J Bruccoli (London: Faber and Faber, 1991), 2.

interchangeably, as, indeed, most editors seem to do, but a difference can certainly be implied in the way such a text is treated in an edition. An acknowledgement of the inevitable changes made to the dialogue and *mise-en-scène* as a result of the screenplay's realisation in film might push it more in the direction of a flexible and pluralistic 'script'. If however the screenplay is presented in its pre-production state, and with an author's introduction, it might ally it more with conventional notions of a stage play, of an 'autonomous' work of art realised through performance. Of course, the extent to which any play can be considered autonomous, or exists independently of institutional practices, raises the very same questions that we have been discussing in film music. Nevertheless, it could be to this way of thinking about a play that such screenplay editions allude. However, what would be the function of such a publication? Clearly, it could not be re-used for an, as yet, unmade film; nor, in the vast majority of cases, could it realistically form the basis of a theatrical production. If it does not present the dialogue as it is heard in the movie's most widely available cut either, it cannot serve to accompany the viewing experience. Perhaps such editions serve only to re-inscribe the author's authority. Other, more pluralistic, approaches to the screenplay edition at least acknowledge its realisation in film. Some, as in the Marx Bros. screenplays, are intended to function as a companion to the movies themselves, a way of revisiting the experience:

By experiencing these films in script form you will miss out on Harpo's contribution...; the musical interludes - no great loss on the whole; and, finally, Zeppo's acting - no loss at all. What you have is the chance to relive, in your own time, some of the most brilliantly inane puns, one-liners and comic exchanges in the history of the cinema.³⁵

³⁵ Karl French, *The Marx Brothers*, 4.

Others, as in the Wisconsin series, suggest more about the practices of screenplay writing and adaptation. These might legitimately function, therefore, as companions to historical studies. Not surprisingly, then, an awareness and acknowledgement of multiple sources seems to be more acute when older films are the subjects for discussion.³⁶

In functioning as a companion to historical film studies, certain published screenplays could therefore provide a useful model for the film score. Such editions are not intended for performance,³⁷ nor do they present the screenplay in an ‘autonomous’ state as the product of a single author.³⁸ Rather, they attempt to reflect (as accurately as is possible) the historical realities of the studio system, in all its collaborative glory, as it is revealed in the practice of screenwriting. Could we not do the same with music? Like the screenplay, the process of film score composition is often complex, encompassing various stages of textual change through orchestration and editing. And like the screenplay, film music of the studio system can be regarded as a flexible multi-authored text that was not necessarily intended for re-performance, though it could be re-used in other films. Assuming that we think this is the ‘best way’ of thinking about such a practice, and that its presentation in an edition should seek to re-inscribe rather than undercut this interpretation, could we find a way to

³⁶ This is no doubt helped when any authorial claims die along with the writers. Editions of screenplays by living screenwriters are understandably more aware of how the screenwriter’s role in the process should be presented.

³⁷ Indeed, I doubt the question is ever seriously considered in *any* publication of a screenplay. There seems to be a tacit acceptance that a ‘play’ destined for the screen cannot then be performed on the stage or re-performed on screen. Clearly, there are exceptions: remaking a film using the same screenplay has been tried, see *Psycho* (1998), though to almost universal condemnation. Why, then, do we naturally accept the convention of performing the film score on its own? Admittedly, it is a lot easier to re-perform a film score than re-create the dialogue and *mise-en-scène* of a movie screenplay effectively, yet this does not explain the convention entirely. Perhaps it is merely a result of years of doing the same with opera, extracting ‘bleeding chunks’ (in Tovey’s famous phrase) and presenting them in the concert hall.

³⁸ Having said that, in the Wisconsin screenplay for *To Have and Have Not*, Bruce Kawin claims that ‘...it is also that auteur critic’s dream, a film that clearly reveals the guiding influence and personal vision of a single artist, Howard Hawks’. Yet, because he is discussing the screenplay and not the *mise-en-scène*, Kawin maintains an approach that recognises the complexity of the question of authorship.

display the same multi-textuality and complexity of relationship with the film that some screenplay editions achieve? Can we not also suggest something of the process of film score production, of the various stages of composition, orchestration and editing in the same way that screenplay editions outline the history of the script? As might be expected, there are a number of problems that either prevent the complete realisation of this projected course of action, or complicate it beyond what may be feasible to present clearly, and a discussion of these follows.

As is the case with the screenplay, the score exists in many sources, all of which, in an ideal situation, should be presented in order to emphasise its multi-textuality. This is in stark contrast to many music editions that seek to present an authorial original by ignoring what Grier calls ‘variant reasonable readings’. Indeed, Grier remarks that

[t]his goal [determining the text of an authorial original] presupposes the existence of such an original, a text, resulting from the act of composition, that could be construed as carrying the authority of its creator. At this point of creation, the work, as an artistic entity, and the text, as its physical manifestation, are virtually identical, to the degree that the author has been able to transfer the work, in its psychological state, to its physical manifestation as a text.³⁹

Though primarily concerned with early music, Grier implies that he does not believe such an authorial original exists. Jeffrey Kallberg has discussed a similar problem in relation to the allowable variants in Chopin’s music,⁴⁰ and voices his concerns about editorial practice in this regard:

³⁹ Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music*, 67.

⁴⁰ Jeffrey Kallberg, ‘Are Variants a Problem? “Composer’s Intentions” in Editing Chopin’, Jim Samson (ed.), *Chopin Studies 3* (Warsaw: Frederick Chopin Society, 1990), 257-267.

I am more concerned about the invocation, in whatever form, of the notion of composer's intentions to resolve conflicting variants. What ideas of musical production and textual authority are implicit in such philosophies of editing?...To ground editorial choice in the concept of "composer's intentions" is to assume that the creative artists worked autonomously, uninfluenced by a public or by institutions such as publishing houses or concert halls.⁴¹

He concludes that in the case of Chopin's Nocturne Op. 62 No. 1, there are two equally authoritative versions, and that to print one without the other denies the other's validity. Clearly, this is not common practice among editors. Rather, as Grier implies, the task of the editor is, it is commonly assumed, to make *decisions*, to present only one preferred reading, though s/he may acknowledge the alternatives. In the case of the film score, where the original manuscript source may differ markedly from both the scoring session recordings and the eventual presentation of the music in any one of several versions of the film released, the problem is all too clear. Could it be possible, though, to display all the possible variant readings for a film score in a single 'multi-text'?

An editor might want to indicate changes made to the score by the orchestrators, and include scenes scored and subsequently excised from the 'final' cut of the film with an explanation of their original position. In fact, any variants indicated in the manuscript sources, such as changes made at the point of recording, will be easy to display, provided enough of these sources remain.⁴² Once we begin examining non-manuscript sources, however, we enter more murky waters. If the

⁴¹ Ibid., 258-9.

⁴² In dealing with manuscripts that have never been published, we are reliant on enough of these sources remaining. Fortunately many movie studios have excellent archives, but we face, to some extent, similar problems to the editors of medieval music in locating missing music. See H Stephen Wright, 'The Materials of Film Music: Their Nature and Accessibility', Clifford McCarty (ed.), *Film Music I* (New York: Garland, 1989), 3-17 for a discussion of film score archives.

recorded scoring sessions and the film itself constitute editorial sources, as I believe they must, we are plunged into a world of performance subjectivity. How, for instance, would we deal with dynamics? The manuscript might indicate that the cue should be played *fortissimo*, and the scoring session recordings might bear this out; if the cue is to be played under dialogue, however, the dynamic might be reduced artificially to the equivalent of *pianissimo*, or is it *pianisissimo*, or *piano*? Without the comfort of a manuscript source, we are forced to interpret a performance and commit that interpretation to paper. Other problems occur with the use of aural sources: if, for example, a line of music is simply inaudible in the context of the rest of the sound track, should this be indicated somehow? What happens if the film reveals a cue for which no corresponding manuscript source can be found: should the cue be aurally transcribed? There can be no guarantee that such a transcription would bear much resemblance to the original manuscript cue. In effect, presenting aural sources in a manuscript format is a problematic concept, and, as I have already acknowledged, the results will never fully satisfy. Yet, these ‘weaknesses’ can be embraced as evidence of the fluidity of film score identity and, as a result, I see no problem in trying to devise an imperfect solution to these problems.

If we are now clear on how we want our edition of a studio era film score to function (as a companion to historical studies rather than as a performance aid), it is now time to address some general questions of presentation and layout. Clearly, there is not much in the way of precedent to help us in this regard. The majority of film music books will either transcribe important themes or, in a few cases, print facsimile pages of a short score; it is very rare for extracts to be transcribed from the original full or short score manuscripts. Fred Karlin and Rayburn Wright’s book *On the Track* is one such rarity: their presentation of extracts includes both facsimile pages and

printed examples of short and full scores.⁴³ They also include items peculiar to film score recording such as click track markings, punches and streamers, and timings, all of which are useful to the conductor in trying to marry music and image at the proper point.⁴⁴ Similarly, most examples have bar numbers marked on every bar, with some even marking beat numbers. Clearly, these markings were designed to make the process of recording function as smoothly and efficiently as possible, and have been transcribed into print from the original manuscript.⁴⁵ Given that these markings are of historical interest to scholars studying the recording process, it would seem prudent to include them, where they exist, in any critical edition. Karlin and Wright also reproduce reel and cue numberings, and identify the composer and orchestrator, again presumably taking these from the manuscript.⁴⁶ In the case of multiple-authored scores where more than one composer or orchestrator is used, these items may be of particular interest in tracing the history of the score's composition.

It would also seem prudent to present both the piano short score and the orchestrated passages concomitantly, as I have done in the cues found in Appendix II. This gives equal weight to both sources as 'versions' of the film score, and also suggests something of process, since the orchestrated pages will necessarily post-date the short score. Despite the importance of gathering together as many sources as possible on the same page, the realisation of this 'multi-text' might at first seem to be impracticable. Though with a different function in mind, Deryck Cooke's performing

⁴³ Fred Karlin and Rayburn Wright, *On the Track: A Guide to Contemporary Film Scoring* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1990).

⁴⁴ See the glossary at the end of this chapter for a brief explanation of these terms. For a thorough explanation of these aids to recording, see Milton Lustig, *Music Editing for the Motion Pictures* (New York: Hastings House, 1980), especially Chapter 5 'What is a click?' and the discussion of the Newman system of flutter punches on pages 107-114.

⁴⁵ From the evidence of many short scores, it seems a common practice for the conductor to use the short rather than the full score for the recording sessions.

⁴⁶ As these extracts are merely supporting their text, Karlin and Wright make no editorial claims. There is, therefore, no statement of editorial procedure that might explain what decisions were made when preparing the extracts.

version of the draft for Mahler's Tenth Symphony proves useful in demonstrating what might be possible in this regard.⁴⁷ Since Cooke had to display Mahler's short score passages alongside the full score, in order to make clear what was written by the composer and what was added by the editors, he also had to grapple with this problem. His solution is outlined in the notes at the end of the edition:

Since Mahler wrote only a short score of the bulk of movement III and the whole of movements IV and V, this short score is reproduced at the foot of each system of the performing version...The reproduction of the short score is literal in that it includes all Mahler's shortcomings of notation, his corrections and alterations; and while it generally omits what he definitely deleted, it includes one or two of his deletions (clearly indicated as deletions) where they help in understanding the performing version.⁴⁸

Such a strategy would also show what instrumentation information was available to the orchestrators, allowing us to make tentative judgements about their creative input.⁴⁹ Where bars have been cut at various points in different versions of a score, it would seem sensible for a critical edition to restore them while at the same time making it perfectly obvious how to reconstruct the edit of the score used in the film. Edits of this sort could be indicated in the manner of the Verdi critical edition of *Stiffelio*, where several bars at the end of Lina's Act II aria, cut for a specific performance, are overwritten with the indication 'Vi-de'.⁵⁰ Any sections missing from a full score could also be reconstructed, perhaps along the lines of the Berlioz critical

⁴⁷ *Gustav Mahler: A Performing version of the draft for the Tenth Symphony* prepared by Deryck Cooke in collaboration with Berthold Goldschmidt, Colin Matthews, and David Matthews (London: Faber, 1989).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 165.

⁴⁹ Such judgements should be made with great circumspection since we cannot guarantee that the composer did not communicate information about his preferred orchestration to the orchestrator verbally, or in some other unavailable manner. This approach would, in any case, be able to demonstrate what, in all likelihood, *was not* a creative contribution by an orchestrator.

⁵⁰ Giuseppe Verdi, *Stiffelio. The Works of Giuseppe Verdi*, Series 1, vol. 16, ed. Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell (Chicago and Milan: University of Chicago Press/Ricordi, 2003), 268. The marking is discussed on page xxxviii.

edition of *Les Francs-Juges* where the editors display facsimiles of the autograph fragments on the opposite page from their partial reconstructions.⁵¹ A critical edition of *The Adventures of Robin Hood*, for example, might attempt to reconstruct the missing music using extracts from Korngold's *Robin Hood* Symphonic Suite and other extant portions of the score and parts, and adopt the Berlioz edition's practice of using small note heads to identify the reconstructed passages.⁵² Finally, the layout of the full score requires some thought. Given that, at Warner Bros. at least, orchestrators would use their own manuscript paper with a pre-printed layout, it may be of interest to display this information in the opening page of a cue.⁵³

In considering general principles of presentation, we might consider adopting the screenplay edition's practice of including photographic stills from the movie. Though their placement varies,⁵⁴ this represents an acknowledgement of the film's visuals, complementing the screenplay's descriptions of action and *mise-en-scène*. While a photographic 'story board' may be impracticable in a film score edition, a similar editorial attitude might make use of a 'cutting continuity' of visual description to place the score in its context, and a running commentary to give some indication of what occurs in the rest of the sound track. In terms of the placement of the editorial commentary and apparatus, which Grier advocates situating in a separate volume if at

⁵¹ Ric Graebner and Paul Banks (eds.), *Hector Berlioz New Edition of the Complete Works, vol 4 Incomplete Works* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2002), 134-171.

⁵² Although 8A's film ending had to be reconstructed in the cue found in Appendix II, it did not require small notes to distinguish it from the surrounding music, since it is presented after the original ending and a complete reconstruction was required. The small-note technique might be used where partial reconstruction is required i.e. where several orchestral parts survive for a cue.

⁵³ Both Milan Roder and Hugo Friedhofer, for example, seem to have used manuscript paper from the Kellaway-Ide Company in Los Angeles for their work on *The Adventures of Robin Hood*. Roder's choice of paper, however, differs slightly from Friedhofer's in the pre-printed layout (see Chapter 3). In my editing of the *Robin Hood* cues, I have chosen to indicate this layout in an editorial note.

⁵⁴ Some screenplay editions (*To Have and Have Not*, for example) place the photos in a separate section before or after the screenplay itself. In this context, these function more in the manner of 'eye candy' than as any useful indicator of the film's relation to the screenplay. Others (*On the Waterfront*), in distributing the photos throughout the screenplay at appropriate places, at least suggest something about the visual aspect of the film at that point.

all possible,⁵⁵ we do not have the same concerns as a normal ‘performing’ critical edition of music. In fact, if anything, our ‘critical edition’ should dissuade performers from attempting a spurious concert performance of the score in question. It therefore seems appropriate to display the editorial apparatus openly alongside the music, rather than hiding it away. Such a strategy would be more appropriate for our ‘companion to historical study’.

Ultimately, issues of presentation will be specific to the individual score. What we have set out, at least, is a strategy for dealing with the studio era film score in a traditional paper-based edition (the multimedia edition mentioned earlier would require extensive input from the studio and, as a result, would be far more difficult to accomplish). Such a strategy will attempt to emphasise the multiplicity of sources, identities, and authors inherent in the film score. The resulting edition, therefore, will not function as a companion to a viewing of the film; nor will it present the music in a way that facilitates performance. Instead, it will encourage critical contemplation alongside historical studies, challenging the notion of an ‘authorial original’ or a ‘work’. As I have acknowledged, the editorial presentation of a film score in this manner does, to a certain extent, objectify the music to the detriment of an overall appreciation of the audio-visual structure of the film. Yet, the editorial strategy proposed will at least allow closer inspection of this element, often under-discussed in film studies, and makes every effort to blur lines of identity and shake empirical securities. The existence of screenplay editions has long been considered essential for the study of screenwriting history and practice; it is surely time for the equivalent handicap in the study of film music to be removed.

⁵⁵ Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music*, 158.

Glossary

Click Track: A sharp click heard at a regular interval to help conductors and musicians coordinate the recording of music with the film image. 35 mm film runs at 90 feet per minute and, with 16 frames per foot, that equates to 24 frames per second or 1440 frames per minute. A '12-frame click' (12/0) would sound a click every 12 frames, or every half a second. The repeat rate of a click could be adjusted to the order of 1/192 of a second, so that the difference between a click track of 12/0 and 12/1 would be 1/192 of a second, or 1/8 of a frame.

Cue: A quantifiable section of film music. Cues are identified by their position in the reel of film to which they belong. The second music cue in reel 2 might be termed 1B or 1M2 or M12, and the fourth cue in reel 10, 10D, 10M4 or M104.

Diegetic Music: Music that belongs inside the narrative world of the film i.e. music that the characters, we assume, can hear. Often called 'Source Music' and distinguished from 'Non-diegetic Music' or 'Underscore' (music that is 'unheard' by the characters).

Newman System: A system developed by Alfred Newman at Twentieth Century-Fox that consists of a series of streamers and flutter punches designed to help the conductor coordinate music and image without the aid of a click track.

Punches: A hole punched in the film that will show up as a bright flash when the film is projected. 'Flutter punches' consist of a series of holes in alternate frames of film that appear to flutter when projected. Used in conjunction with 'streamers' in the 'Newman System'.

Streamers: 'A scribed line on the picture that starts on the left side of the screen and travels across to the right side through three feet of film. When this line reaches the end, it is the cue for the start of the music or warning clicks, or anything else it may be intended for.'⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Lustig, *Music Editing for the Motion Pictures*, 95.

Chapter 3: 'Composing' *The Adventures of Robin Hood*

While the ultimate aim of this chapter is to problematize Erich Wolfgang Korngold's role as the un-questioned 'author' of the music to *The Adventures of Robin Hood*, it will be necessary to concentrate on his considerable part in the act of composition, while also introducing evidence that complicates this view. This, in itself, reflects the intellectual journey undertaken in the writing of this thesis, from an initial aim to produce a critical edition of this film score and examine the way Korngold worked with his orchestrators, based on a relatively naïve conception of authorship, to a more complex view of the way film scores were 'authored' in the Hollywood studio system.

The Adventures of Robin Hood was one of Warner Bros.' finest achievements as a studio in the late 1930s and has often been lauded as a supreme example of the system working at its peak.¹ The most lavish and expensive film yet produced by Warners, it had the added prestige of being filmed in Technicolor. The origins and circumstances of its production are too well known to go into here, and are discussed in detail by Rudy Behlmer in the introduction to his edition of the screenplay, and in his book, *Behind the Scenes: The Making Of—*.² The music's production is, however, largely undocumented. My research in the Warner Bros. archives at the University of Southern California has uncovered extensive information concerning the early musical conception of the film, and its subsequent composition and recording.³

¹ Nick Roddick, *A New Deal: Warner Brothers in the 1930s* (London: British Film Institute, 1983), 241.

² Rudy Behlmer (ed.), *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1979); Rudy Behlmer, *Behind the Scenes: The Making Of—* (Hollywood: Samuel French, 1990), 61-86.

³ The source of all quoted correspondence, where not otherwise indicated, is the two boxes of material on *Robin Hood* found in the Warner Bros. archives at USC.

Pre-Production

Initial thoughts about the musical design of the film seem to date from the summer of 1937 with work carried out by the studio's research department. In an inter-office memo to the film's first director, William Keighley,⁴ dated 11 August 1937, they note that

[o]ne song of the period, or to be exact, composed in 1225 has been preserved and we have the music and words. It is evidently well known and while the words of our copy are in Old English the music is decipherable and there are instructions which will make it possible for it to be played. The title is "Summer is icumen in".

As will be seen later, Korngold also probably came across this song in his own research, and 'Summer is icumen in' did indeed find its way into *The Adventures of Robin Hood*.

Several communications between Leo Forbstein (the head of the music department) and Victor Blau, concerning the music, are dated 23 September.⁵ Forbstein asks Blau whether certain old English songs are in the public domain. These are listed as: 'Trairiri'; 'Shepherdess Slender'; 'Ye Morrisers'; 'Arthur a Bland'; 'The Barley Mow'; 'The Old Ewe with One Horn'; 'Ye Belles and Ye Flirts'; 'Summer is icumen in'; 'The Bailiff's Daughter of Islington'; and 'Barbara Allen'. Forbstein identifies the sources of these songs as *The Play of Robin and Marian* by Adam de la Halle, *The Minstrelsy of England* by E Duncan, and Stanford's *The National Song Book*, and mentions that '[s]ome of the songs above will be done vocally with Lute accompaniment and some will be done vocally without accompaniment'. Blau's response is as follows:

⁴ Keighley was later replaced during production by Michael Curtiz.

⁵ I cannot trace who Blau was, though he evidently had knowledge of copyright law, and may have been involved in music publishing.

ALL NUMBERS ROBIN HOOD YOUR LETTER SEPTEMBER 23 PUBLIC DOMAIN
EXCEPTING TRAIRIRI AND SHEPHERDESS SLENDER FOR WHICH ENGLISH
LYRIC PROTECTED STOP SUGGEST MAKING OWN TRANSLATION OF ORIGINAL
FRENCH LYRIC FOUND IN BIRCHARD BOOK.

Another letter, also of 23 September, asks specifically about two further songs, 'The Old Sow' and 'My Jenny', and mentions that '[w]e took down the music and lyrics from an old Englishman who is going to sing them in the picture'.⁶ Blau's response to this letter was far less positive: he could find no trace of 'My Jenny' and was therefore afraid to 'okay the number'; similarly, he advised against using 'The Old Sow' since

Rudy Vallee has recently re-written the lyric but retaining most of the thought behind the song and it has made this number quite popular...In view of this, I think it would be best that you refrain from using this number for the majority of people are under the impression that this is a current popular song.

In spite of the problems surrounding the copyright of these songs, one was evidently chosen. Recorded as 'prescoring', it would be played on the set during filming for the actor to mime to. However, Forbstein had clearly forgotten a contractual agreement of 15 May 1936 with MGM that forbade any singing in the film.⁷ Evidently some attempts were made to appeal to MGM on this point, since the studio also wanted a boys' choir to sing 'a latin song' during the coronation scene near the climax of the film. Nicholas Nayfack [of MGM], in a letter of 15 December 1937 to Roy J Obringer

⁶ The transcribed copy of the two songs is also found along with the correspondence in the archives.

⁷ Warners had acquired some earlier treatments of the Robin Hood story in 1936 from MGM (who were planning their own musical version based on the Reginald de Koven/Harry B Smith light opera, *Robin Hood*). The agreement stipulated that Warners must make a straight dramatic picture with no singing of any kind and release it before February 14 1938, though this was later extended to 1 June. Rudy Behlmer discusses this contractual obligation in detail in Behlmer (ed.), *The Adventures of Robin Hood*, 17-18, 33.

[general counsel at Warner Bros.] was firm on the matter: ‘The only point of differentiation between your picture and ours, in the public mind, will be the fact that yours has no musical numbers and ours is a musical picture.’ The rule of ‘no singing’ thus remained: the item recorded as ‘prescore’ was never used, Little John is forced to whistle ‘Summer is icumen in’ rather than sing it, and the boys’ choir never appeared in the coronation scene. Given these constraints, it is perhaps understandable that the producers were so anxious to secure Korngold’s services, since the score would define the film musically, and would need to carry the weight of the studio’s expectations.

Post-Production: Scoring

The Adventures of Robin Hood finished shooting officially at 3.10am on 15 January 1938, though as the production had gone vastly over budget and time it is perhaps unsurprising that yet another shooting day was required a week later. As executive producer Hal B Wallis continued to edit the picture, thought was given to its scoring. Korngold, already pencilled in to compose the music, was back in his native Vienna preparing his fifth opera, *Die Kathrin*, for performance when a cable arrived on 22 January from Wallis and producer Henry Blanke requesting he return to Hollywood:

Western Union

January 21 1938

ER KORNGOLD

35 STERNWARTESTR

VIENNA, AUSTRIA

CAN YOU BE HOLLYWOOD WITHIN TEN TO TWELVE DAYS FOR SCORING
ROBINHOOD STOP JACK WARNER OKAYED TWELVETHOUSAND FIVEHUNDRED
FOR JOB BUT WITHOUT PAYING TRAVELLING NOR LIVING EXPENSES STOP
STRONGLY ADVISE ACCEPTANCE CABLE ANSWER REGARDS

WALLIS BLANKE

CHARGE ROBIN HOOD

Korngold accepted the invitation and, once in Hollywood, attended a screening of the working edit.⁸ According to reports, the composer grew increasingly worried as the movie unfolded before him, and upon its completion wrote a carefully worded letter of rejection to Wallis:

February 11 1938

Dear Mr Wallis

I am sincerely sorry to have to bother you once more. I do appreciate deeply your kindness and courtesy toward me, and I am aware of the fact that you have made all concessions possible to facilitate my work.

But please believe a desperate man who has to be true to himself and to you, a man who knows what he can do and what he cannot do. Robin Hood is no picture for me. I have no relation to it and therefore, cannot produce any music for it. I am a musician of the heart, of passions and psychology; I am not a musical illustrator for a 90% action picture. Being a conscientious person, I cannot take the responsibility for a job which, as I already know, would leave me artistically completely dissatisfied and which, therefore, I would have to drop even after several weeks of work on it and therefore after several weeks of salary.

Therefore, let me say "no" definitely and let me say it today when no time has been lost for you as yet, since the work print will not be ready until tomorrow. And please do not try to

⁸ On 24 January, Wallis's cutting notes for the film addressed the title cards. Evidently confident that Korngold would accept, he writes: 'Also, take out the music card. We'll have to put in there Korngold's credit.'

make me change my mind; my resolve is unshakable.

I implore you not to be angry with me and not to deprive me of your friendship. For it is I who suffers mentally and financially. I ask you to weigh the pictures for which I composed the music, such as *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Captain Blood*, *Anthony Adverse*, *Prince and [the] Pauper*, against the one I could not make, *Robin Hood*. And if during the next few weeks you should have a job for me to do, you need not cable all the way to Vienna.

With my very best regards, I am,

Gratefully and sincerely yours,

Erich Wolfgang Korngold⁹

The following day (12 February), Forbstein visited the Korngold house to try to persuade the 'unshakable' composer to change his mind. Korngold had just received word of Austrian chancellor Schuschnigg's meeting with Hitler at Berchtesgaden,¹⁰ and finally realising the folly of returning to an Austria under immense pressure from her German neighbour, is said to have reluctantly agreed to attempt the task. The extent to which Korngold realized the significance of the 12 February meeting between Hitler and Schuschnigg, however, could be questioned. Even in Vienna, the desperate situation did not become clear, according to George Clare's account, until 16 February when Arthur von Seyss-Inquart's first act as Austrian Minister of the Interior was to visit Berlin.¹¹ If Jews living in Vienna could not see the danger, can we really believe Korngold, isolated in Los Angeles, possessed the political

⁹ Quoted in Rudy Behlmer, *Inside Warner Bros. (1935-51)* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1986), 52.

¹⁰ A communiqué was issued to the outside world on 12 February, dictated by Hitler himself: 'The Federal Chancellor, Dr Schuschnigg, accompanied by the Austrian State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Dr Guido Schmidt, and the German Ambassador, von Papen, paid a visit today to the Führer and Chancellor at the Obersalzberg, at the latter's invitation, in the presence of Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop. This unofficial meeting was the result of a mutual desire to talk over all questions pertaining to relations between the German Reich and Austria.' Quoted in Kurt von Schuschnigg, *The Brutal Takeover: The Austrian ex-Chancellor's account of the Anschluss of Austria by Hitler*, trans. Richard Barry (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), 199. Schuschnigg discusses the 12 February meeting in detail in pages 188-201.

¹¹ George Clare, *Last Waltz in Vienna* (London: Pan Books, 2002), 196-197.

clairvoyance to accurately assess the situation? In any case, as Luzi Korngold later recalled, Erich had but one proviso:

He didn't want a contract. His conditions were "work from week to week, paid from week to week." "If I find that it's not working out, I can give up with a clear conscience; the music I have written up until then will belong to you," he explained...¹²

With a new release date of 12 May, work began in earnest, with the picture and score receiving its first sneak preview in early April. The following discussion largely attempts to reconstruct what happened between Korngold's first involvement and the picture's premiere on 12 May; how the score changed over time, and what the contributions of the various creative collaborators were. In doing so, it examines all the extant musical sources for the film, including original manuscript and aural sources, and the existing musical material adapted for the score.

Part 1: The Manuscript Sources

Correspondence, oral histories, interviews and the like can tell us a great deal about the general process of film score composition in the studio era; however, for the specifics of any one score, an examination of the manuscript sources can reveal much that might not be apparent from memory or memorandum. For *The Adventures of Robin Hood* a number of these sources are extant, namely: some of Korngold's sketches; a number of the cue sheets; the piano short score; the piano-conductor scores; the full orchestrated score, including the trailer music; the orchestral parts; and the Symphonic Suite. Each of these sources can reveal much about the scoring

¹² Luzi Korngold, *Erich Wolfgang Korngold: Ein Lebensbild von Luzi Korngold* (Vienna: Verlag Elisabeth Lafite, 1967), 77-78. Translated and quoted in Carroll, *The Last Prodigy*, 271.

process, allowing us to paint a more realistic picture of film music practice than is suggested by the simplistic credit: ‘music composed by Erich Wolfgang Korngold’.

The Sketches

These are found at the Library of Congress in the Erich Korngold Collection (box 1 folder 8 Holograph sketches in pencil. 26 pages).¹³ According to Brendan Carroll, Korngold began sketching themes before he had seen a rough cut of the picture, though there are no dates on the sketches themselves to corroborate this statement.¹⁴

A summary and discussion of their contents follows.

Page 1: ‘The Adventures of Robin Hood’ in an unknown hand. ‘Skizzen [Sketches] und Timing’ in Korngold’s hand. At the bottom of the page, there is a single bar of music, labelled ‘Duell [sic]’, which was used at figure 23 in cue 11C.¹⁵

Page 2: A page of source material titled ‘Later Sixteenth Century Dance Tunes’ and ‘Dance Tunes 1609’. Two systems of melody plus accompaniment in short score, labelled ‘Robin Hood’, are followed by three lines of melody and words headed with a line of illegible German. See below for a discussion of these pages.

Page 3: Three systems of unidentified music headed with the numeral IV, suggesting that this was intended for reel four.

Page 4-5: Six systems of music, mostly just a melody. This is a sketch of material found in cue 5B at figure 8, though the material as it appeared later in the short score misses out a bar of repetition found in the sketch.

¹³ The description in the Library record is incorrect since there are 27 pages with music on (there is a fragment of music on the title page that was clearly not counted).

¹⁴ Carroll, *The Last Prodigy*, 266.

¹⁵ For a summary of the cue numbers and the corresponding narrative action see Appendix I.

Page 6: Four systems of melody and accompaniment. Seemingly entitled 'Thema', it consists of material that eventually found its way into cue 5B at figure 5. This sketch is in 4/4; the version found in the final cue is in 3/4. The last two systems contain music that is not found in the short score.

Page 7: Two bars of melody labelled 'Guy'. This is Sir Guy's theme.

Page 8: This consists of three musical fragments: five bars of melody used in cue 8B at figure 12; unidentifiable material; and music that was used in cue 1C at figure 9. The page concludes with more fragmentary scribbles.

Page 9: More fragments, including material found in 1C (two before figure 3) and, at the bottom of the page, an extended sketch covering two systems in short score of cue 3F beginning at figure 1.

Page 10: This continues the sketch of the 3F material with another four systems of music. The last two bars are separated by a double bar and constitute the beginning of what would be the following cue (4A).

Page 11-14: These are short score sketches for King Richard's theme. At the top right of page 11, Korngold has written 'I', an indication, perhaps, that he saw this material as appropriate for reel 1. The first section, which ends at the top of page 12, gives the theme a different ending to that used in the film. The rest of page 12 and pages 13 and 14 constitute an extended section of music that begins like cue 10C (though in E flat rather than F major) and ends in the manner of 1A's final fanfare (though longer). Interestingly, on page 13 there are some suitably regal fanfares used to fill out the theme that are not found in any later version of this music.

Page 15: A fragment that bears a close resemblance to material found at figure 5 in cue 1C.

Page 16-17: Perhaps the most interesting of the 26 pages are these sketches for the love scene (what became cue 8B). These two pages, for the most part, consist of an unaccompanied melody on a single stave, and correspond very closely with the version of the scene found in the piano short score. At the top of the page, Korngold writes in a typical mix of English and German: 'VIII/B Love scene', though the 'VIII/B' once read 'VIII/D'. As with the other pages, there is no date on this sketch, and no way to tell how much later the reel/cue identifier was added. The other sketches in the collection represent some of the other cues in much less finalised/complete versions, and include the England/King Richard theme found in the coda of the love scene in an earlier incarnation, so it is possible that this almost finished sketch post-dates the others. While Brendan Carroll's comments on the sketching of *The Adventures of Robin Hood* suggest that they were written in Vienna and on the trip over to America on board the *Normandie*, this evidence would seem to indicate that Korngold was still 'sketching' after he had seen the rough edit of the picture, since the appearance of the England theme roughly coincides with Robin and Marian's conversation about England in the scene. One intriguing, but probably unlikely, scenario remains: that Korngold completed this sketch before seeing the rough cut, knowing there would be a love scene, and influenced the cutting of the scene to fit the already composed music. The scene is certainly one of the most musically balanced in terms of formal structure, roughly fitting an 'introduction-A-B-A-C-coda' form, and Korngold himself notes down the bar structure in an accompanying note (my additions in square brackets):

31 [=intro and A]
 29 [B]
 31 [A]
 31 [C]
 8 [coda]

 130 total

This balance and pre-occupation with the lengths of the sections might indicate that Korngold was aware that some bars would need to be cut to fit the, as yet, unseen edit, or that he used this information to barter with Wallis to produce a final edit to fit the composed music. Although the Friedhofer oral history suggests this as a possibility for such a respected figure as Korngold,¹⁶ there is no direct evidence to support such a claim. In any case, whether it represents a substantially later sketch than the others in this collection or not, it seems safe to conclude that the love scene was one of the first of the cues to reach something like its final form.

Page 18: Contains material that is crossed out, yet bears a close resemblance to music used in the tournament scene (cues 6A-6E). The page is headed 'VIC' with an illegible piece of underlined text.

Page 19: Headed 'VI/D Robin starts to shoot'. These are more fragments of tournament material that have been crossed out. The bottom couple of lines are similar to the opening theme of Korngold's 1919 Symphonic Overture, *Sursum Corda* (see below for discussion of the use of this overture).

Pages 20-23: These are sketches of the duel between Robin and Sir Guy found in cue 11C; they mostly consist of a single melody line.

Page 24: This is a fragment of 3C in the key of C (rather than D major) labelled 'Little John'.

¹⁶ See Linda Danly (ed.), *Hugo Friedhofer: The Best Years of His Life: A Hollywood Master of Music for the Movies* (Lanham, Md: Scarecrow Press, 1999), 46.

Page 25: The page has the Roman numeral 'IV' written in the top right hand corner. The music of the first system is unidentifiable. The second system consists of material that is found in altered form at figure 13 in cue 2C, and is followed by a further unidentifiable fragment. At the bottom of the page, there is a fairly complete sketch of the opening of cue 3B, with a slightly altered counter-melody.

Page 26: This is material from cue 4A fig 9 or 4C.

Page 27: The first system is possibly a continuation of material from the previous page. The second and third systems are of material used in 6A at figure 1, though in a different key (the sketch is in E flat, 6A is in D major). The last two systems contain material used in the love scene (8B) and cue 5C.

The Cue Sheets

(Library of Congress, Erich Korngold Collection, box 1 folder 8 Holograph and typescript cue sheets. 9 pages.) Some of the cue sheets are typed, presumably by Warner Bros.' music department, while others appear to be in the composer's hand.¹⁷ Each gives information on the shot lengths in particular reels, sometimes grouped into musical cues. This information is either given in seconds only, or in both feet/frames and seconds. The cue sheet for reel 7 can be seen in Example 1, with the four numbered sections referring to the four cues found in the film.

Example 1. Cue Sheets, page 4

ADVENTURES OF ROBIN HOOD		
REEL 7		
#1 -	ROBIN TRIES TO ESCAPE TO HORSES - - - -	11 Seconds
	HORSES TO ROBIN ON GROUND - - - - -	16 "
	ROBIN ON GROUND TO SLAP ON FACE - - -	19 " '7 + 12' [handwritten]

¹⁷ This seems to contradict Tony Thomas's assertion that 'He [Korngold] never used timing sheets'. See Tony Thomas, *Music for the Movies*, 2nd edition (Los Angeles: Silman-James Press, 1997), 172.

#2 - "TAKE HIM AWAY" to FADE OUT -----	16	"
FADE IN TO DIALOG (TRIBUNAL) -----	16	"
#3 - END TRIBUNAL TO DISSOLVE -----	10	"
DISSOLVE TO PUSH -----	10	"
PUSH DOWN STAIRS TO CLOSEUP ON FLOOR	3	"
CLOSEUP TO 1 ST HAMMERING -----	11	"
FIRST HAMMERING TO FLOWERS ---	7	"
FLOWERS TO CLOSEUP MARIAN BEFORE SHE SAYS "BESS!" -----	33	"
#4 - FADE IN GALLOWS SEQUENCE TO END REEL - 2 minutes 28 seconds		

These timings correspond with the final cut of the film (though the gallows sequence to the end of the reel seems to be 2 minutes 24 seconds). Each of the four musical cues starts with the first event listed on the cue sheet; however, the music does not end with the last event. For instance, in 7C (#3) the music continues past Marian's close-up. The cue sheet, therefore, does not detail every start and stop of the music as might be expected; rather, it seems to function as an aid to the composer in preparing the short score. Table 1 gives a summary of the content of the cue sheets.

Table 1. Summary of cue sheets

Page	Reel	Contents	Comments
1	'1'	2 cues separated by a broken line: the 1 st cue lasts 58 seconds with 11 events listed; the 2 nd lasts 1:06 with 6 events listed.	Typed in English with breakdowns written by Korngold (EWK). The 1 st cue is actually only half a cue (from fig 5 in 1C); the 2 nd is cue 1D.
2	[11]	25 separate events are marked. Korngold divides these up into 3 numbered sections of 26, 24, and 67 seconds respectively, with an introduction of 14 seconds and concluding sections of 16.5, 2 and 9.5 seconds.	'Duell' handwritten (EWK). This is cue 11C.
3	'4'	22 events listed totalling 4 minutes 28 seconds.	Typed in English with a few handwritten marks (EWK). This became cue 4C.
4	'7'	4 cues	Typed in English (see Example 1)
5	'8'	7 events are listed with timings in seconds and feet/frames.	Handwritten in English (EWK). This is from figure 8 in cue 8A (see editorial introduction in Appendix II).
6	'X'	5 events are listed with timings in seconds and feet/frames.	Handwritten in English (virtually illegible EWK). This is 10E.
7	'2'	2 events lasting 13 and 11 seconds.	Handwritten in German (EWK): 'Robin Hood geht zum Tisch " " spricht bis er das Reh wirft am Tisch' [Robin Hood approaches the table

			Robin Hood speaks until he throws the deer on the table].
8		6 events listed.	Illegible.
9	'VI'	'VI/E' 4 events listed lasting total of 37 seconds.	Handwritten (EWK) in English, though largely illegible.

The handwritten cue sheet for the duel is particularly interesting as it reveals something of the musical structure of the cue: the first fourteen seconds do indeed function very much like an introductory section before the duel proper starts (in both picture and music). Also interesting is the cue sheet for 8A: Korngold does not appear to bother noting down the events that will be accompanied by *Sursum Corda* music at the start of the cue, but starts his cue sheet at the point where new material was composed (see the editorial introduction to 8A in Appendix II for further details).

The Short Score

(Library of Congress, Erich Korngold Collection, box 1 folder 7, 'Bound holograph short score in pencil'). This is mostly in Korngold's hand with a few pages in the hands of orchestrators Milan Roder and Hugo Friedhofer. Table 2 summarises the contents of the short score.

Table 2. Rundown of the Short Score

Cue	Hand ¹⁸	Titles/Comments
1A	EWK	
1B	EWK	'Palace'
1C	EWK – MR	MR's pages are entitled 'Piano Conductor'
1D	MR	'Sortie'. Page 4: last chord added in EWK's hand. After figure 15, EWK writes: 'Segue Roder Sortie'
	EWK	2 pages of sketches
1E	EWK	Pages seem out of order
1F	EWK	'Robin Outside'
2A	EWK	'Robin Entrance'
2B	EWK	'Fight'
2B	HWF	With alterations by EWK
2C	HWF	With additions and deletions by EWK (originally went on longer)

¹⁸ EWK = Erich Wolfgang Korngold; HWF = Hugo W Friedhofer; MR = Milan Roder

3A	EWK	'The Killed'
3B	EWK	'Meeting Robin - Little John'
3C	EWK	'Fight with Little John'
3D	EWK	'Gay Company'
3E	EWK	'The Oath and The Black Arrow' then 'see separate sheets'
3F	EWK	'The Fish'
4A	EWK?	'Fight with Friar Tuck'
4B	EWK	'A new companion'
4C	EWK	Shorthand refers back to 'IID'
5A	EWK	'Flirt'
5B	EWK	'Das Treasure'
5C	EWK	'Continuation'. Much of the cue is written in shorthand.
5D	EWK	'Gold'
5E	EWK	'Triste'
6A	EWK	'The Tournament'
6B	EWK	'Robin Hood appears'
	EWK	Page of sketches
6C	EWK	'Preparation to [Fi]ght'
6D	EWK	'Robin Hood starts to shoot'
6E	EWK	Shorthand at figure 1 – 'insert 15 bars of cue 6A'.
(7A)		Missing
7B	EWK	'The Trial'
7C	EWK	'The jail'
7D	EWK	'The gallows'
8A	EWK	'The Fight'
8B	EWK	
9A	EWK	'Arrest Marian'
9B	MR	'Much' End of 1 st page: 'Segue Reel A'
10A	MR	With additions by EWK
10B	EWK	
10C	EWK	'Continuation'. At end: 'Segue Roder'
		Page of sketches
10D	EWK	'nobile'
10E	EWK	
11A	EWK	'Guy John'
11B	EWK	
11C	EWK	'The Duell [sic i.e. a mixture of English and German]'
11D	EWK	'The Victory' Shorthand references to 11C
11E	EWK	'Epilogue' At end: 'Segue XIF Can't find'
(11F)		Missing

Perhaps the most interesting sections are those in the hand of the orchestrators. It might be conjectured that these represent interpolations from another source, namely a piano-conductor score prepared from some lost original pages. Yet, there is evidence to suggest that this is not always the case, and the possibility has to be entertained that the orchestrators were involved in the production process at an earlier stage than commonly accepted. Such examples include Korngold's indication at the end of cue

10C to ‘Segue Roder’ and, at the very end of 1D, ‘Segue Roder Sortie’. This ‘sortie’ music refers to the beginning of 1D; though there is a page of sketches for this music in Korngold’s hand bound with the rest of the short score, the only assembled version of the cue appears in Milan Roder’s handwriting. This is in contrast to the accepted wisdom that the orchestrator only becomes involved once the short score for a cue is finished and ‘handed over’. In any case, the fact that Korngold specifically mentions Roder’s name in connection with this music surely suggests some acknowledgement of ‘authorship’.

Korngold’s use of a compositional shorthand provides us with some initial clues to the order of the short score’s composition.¹⁹ For the most part, these shorthand markings indicate that material from an earlier cue should be inserted: cues 1D, 3E, and 9A, for example, all refer back to cue 1C. However, there are a few instances where the shorthand refers forward, to cues later in the sequence. At figure 10 in 1A, Korngold refers to ‘Reel X/’ for three bars (the bars reproduce the 2nd, 3rd and 4th bars of figure 2 in 10D) and in 5C, a shorthand note refers to 5D, suggesting that 10D and 5D were written before 1A and 5C.²⁰ Perhaps the most interesting example of this, given the evidence of the sketches as well, is the case of the love scene (8B). At figure 5 in cue 5E, there is a marking that reads ‘wie VIIIB’ and again at figure 11 of 7C, the indication ‘VIIIB’ has been added. Given that the sketches indicate the love scene music was conceived in its entirety from an early stage in the

¹⁹ Table 3 below provides the recording order. It seems likely that this mirrors, to a large extent, the rough order of composition, since that would seem to be the most efficient way of working given Korngold’s involvement with the recording sessions.

²⁰ The recording order of Table 3, however, clearly shows that 1A was recorded before 10D, though that does not prove that the cues were completed in that order. 5C and 5D were both recorded on 22 March.

production process, it seems likely that 8B was one of the first cues to be worked out. Korngold could then plunder sections for other cues in the film.²¹

The Piano-Conductor Scores and Cue Sheets

There are numerous copies of the piano-conductor score. One is apparently in the possession of Gloria Korngold (the composer's daughter-in-law), and is supposed to contain notes in Korngold's hand.²² It was unavailable to me as Mrs Korngold did not respond to communication. Other blue 'ditto' copies are found along with the orchestral parts at the Warner Bros. archives. The original is still kept at Warner Bros.' Burbank studios under the watchful eye of Danny Gould. It is an almost complete copy of the score, save for the main title, in unidentified hands, and contains a number of variants from both the full score and the short score. While the piano-conductor scores were normally used by the conductor during the recording sessions,²³ it seems only one cue, 11D, has any conducting markings on it, further supporting the theory outlined below that the full score was used by Korngold for the sessions. The score is littered with jottings, primarily a sequence of ascending numbers and letters that seem to refer to the recording take that was used to assemble the music track. Thus each cue has a list of serial numbers written throughout that not only specifies how each cue was recorded (whether in one take or in sections), but also provides us with the recording order. Table 3 summarises this information, along with date information gathered from the orchestral parts.²⁴ It seems likely that the piano-conductor score was used by Forbstein, or some other person in charge of the

²¹ Table 3 seems to confirm this: 7C was recorded on 18 March and 5E on 22 March; 8B, in contrast, was recorded sometime before 4 March.

²² Information comes from email communication with Brendan Carroll.

²³ Recording sessions are commonly referred to in the industry as 'scoring sessions'.

²⁴ Teddy Krise, a clarinettist/saxophone/oboist in the Warner Bros. orchestra helpfully noted down the date whenever a cue was recorded that featured his playing. I went through all the parts at the Warner Bros. archives making a record of these dates to compare with the recording serial numbers.

recording sessions; yet there are also dynamic markings in Korngold's own hand that suggest that he, too, saw a copy of this source. Cue 6E provides a possible answer to this riddle, as there are two copies of it at Burbank Studios. Both are identical in the appearance of the musical text and contain small emendations in Korngold's hand; however, only one of the copies contains the recording information and labels its themes for the benefit of the copyright clearing cue sheet, of which more below. This suggests that perhaps Korngold saw a copy of the score first, made any changes to dynamics that were necessary and then passed it back to persons unknown (possibly Forbstein) who then used it to make notes during the recording process. Certainly whoever was using it had the opportunity to doodle; on the first page of cue 8B, someone has shaded in the O's, D's and R's in the title. In the case of 6E, it appears that a new copy was taken of the score halfway through this two-stage process, leaving us two copies of this cue. It is possible that the other copy of the score that went to Korngold first, and contains his autograph markings, is the copy in the possession of Mrs Gloria Korngold.

Table 3. Summary of recording information

Serial number	Cue	Date (from Teddy Krise's parts except where indicated). All 1938.
YM 5325-9023-1	'Robin Hood prescore' [written sheet ²⁵]	
YM 5325-9024-1	'Robin Hood prescore' [written sheet]	
YM 5332-9885-3	1E	
YM 5333-9885-5	1E	
YM 5333-9886-1	1F	
YM 5333-9887-3	2A	
YM 5333-9888-3	1C	
YM 5385-9889-6	ID	
YM 5385-9890-2	9A	
YM 5385-9891-3	9B	
YM 5386-9892-1+4	1A	
YM 5386-9893-2+4	1B	
YM 5561-9923-7	8A 'bar before #8 to end'	

²⁵ 'Written sheet' refers to pages included in the piano-conductor score that contain no music.

YM 5659-9920-1-3	2B '#24 to end'	
YM 5659-9921-1 ²⁶	Original 10E	
YM 5660-9921-4 ²⁷	Original 10E	
YM 5660-9922-1	8A 'to bar before #8'	
YM 5662-9924-3	8B 'to #16'	
YM 5663-9925-3	8B '#16 to end'	
YM 5663-9926-1	Reel 2 timpani insert	
YM 5663-9927-1	'10E trumpets'	
YM 5798-9906-8	'1A Remake'	
YM 5799-9907-6	10B	
YM 5799-9908-1+4	10D	4 March
YM 5800-9909-1	10A	
YM 5800-9910-1	10C	
YM 5800-9911-1	2C 'beg to #13'	
YM 5800-9912-2+3	2C 'from #13'	
YM 5801-9913-2	2B 'beg to #23'	
YM 5806-9933-1	10E 'same with chimes'	
YM 5807-9933-2	10E 'same with chimes'	
YM 5831-9954-4	3A	
YM 5831-9955-4	3B	
YM 5831-9956-1	3B '#12'	
YM 5832-9957-2	3C	
YM 5832-9958[-]2	3B 'whistling'	
YM 5834-9959-6	3D	
YM 5834-9960-2	3E	17 March
YM 5834-9961-1	3F	17 March
YM 5834-9962-3	7A	17 March
YM 5835-9963-6	7B	17 March
YM 5837-9966-1	7C	18 March
YM 5838-9966-3	7C	18 March
YM 5838-9967-1	7D	
YM 5838-9968-1 ²⁸	Trailer Part 1	18 March
YM [5838]-9969-1	Trailer Part 2 [written sheet]	18 March
YM 5838-9969-2	Trailer Part 2	18 March
YM 5838-9970-1	Trailer Part 3	18 March
YM 5839-9971-2	Trailer Part 4	18 March
YM 5839-9972-1	7C 'Cymbal'	
YM 5839-9972-1	Trailer Part 2	
YM 5843-9973-2	5A	22 March
YM 5843-9974-2	5C	22 March
YM 5843-9975-3	5D	22 March
YM 5844-9976-2	5B 'Ends on down-beat of bar before #5'	22 March
YM 5844-9977-2	5B 'from 2 + 3 beats of bar before #5 to #13'	22 March
YM 5844-9978-3	5B '#13 to end'	22 March
YM 5845-9979-5	5E 'to #16'	22 March
YM 5846-9980-3	5E '#16 to end'	22 March
YM 5872-23-2+3	6A	
YM 5872-24-2+7	6B	
YM 5873-25-1	6C	
YM 5873-26-5	6D	
YM 5873-27-3+4	6E 'to #9'	
YM 5874-28-4	6E '#9 to #17'	

²⁶ Information comes from copy of piano conductor score stored with orchestral parts.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ This information, including the date, comes from the copy of the conductor score stored with the orchestral parts. Teddy Krise's parts for trailers 1, 3 and 4 also confirm the date information.

YM 5875-29-5	6E '#17 to end'	
YM 5875-30-2+3	4A	
YM 5875-31-1	4B	
YM 5876-32-5	4C 'Beginning to #23B'	
YM 5877-33-4	4C '#23B to 33'	
YM 5877-34-2	4C '#33 to end'	
YM 5877-37-1	6A 'Remake fanfare over 1 st 4 bars'	
YM 5877-38-2	6A 'Same [4 bars] cemitone [sic] lower (Made Wild)', ²⁹	
YM 5885-53-7	11A	3 April
YM 5886-54-3	11B	3 April
YM 5886-55-1	11F	3 April
YM 5886-56-3	11C 'to #15'	3 April
YM 5887-57-4	11C '#15 to #26'	3 April
YM 5887-58-4+5	11C '#26 to #33'	3 April
YM 5887-59-3	11C '#33 to end'	3 April
YM 5888-60-3	11D 'to #7'	3 April
YM 5888s-61-6	11D '#7 to end'	3 April
YM 5889-62-2	11E	Note on back of violin part: 'Finished 1 st Sunday in April 1938 12.00AM'
YM 5921-116-1	8A 'retake (end) Made Wild'	11 April
YM 5921-117-2	9A 'last two bars remade (held longer)'	
YM 5922-118-5	10A 'revise #1 to #4'	
YM 5922-119-3	10B '#8 to #9 remade'	
YM 5922-120-3	10C 'revise'	
YM 5922-121-2+4	10E '(Segue to #6 of 9921)'	11 April

Table 3 also gives some indication about the revisions made to the score, necessitating the 'remade' and 'retake' versions seen towards the end of the sequence. Of particular interest is the sheet marked '8A retake'. This consists of an alternative ending to cue 8A that never made it to the final cut, yet was evidently still recorded (see editorial introduction to 8A in Appendix II for further discussion). The actual ending heard in the film is not found in this, or any other extant manuscript source. Either the players failed to make a note of the change requested, or it must have been created artificially by shortening the retake made on 11 April (see below). Similarly interesting is the second version of cue 10A that re-orchestrates figures 1 to 4 as YM 5922-118-5, before the rest of the cue reverts to the original recorded 10A (YM 5800-9909-1). The number sequence as shown in Table 3 indicates that this change

²⁹ A recording 'made wild' was done without any reference to the image. Exact synchronization of music and image could not be guaranteed so the technique could only be used for short passages.

happened extremely late in the recording process; the changes have also been made in the full score in red ink with a note: ‘NB Red Notes Are New!’ Another change that is not notated in the full score can be found written on a piece of paper:

Robin Hood

Reel 2 -

Short (Tympani [sic]) for start of Reel

YM 5663-9926-1

This refers to a very short timpani/cymbal roll, lasting a second or so, that was inserted before the beginning of cue 2A (YM 5333-9887-3). It is not notated in either the full or piano-conductor score, is not found in the percussion part, and obviously postdates the recording of the rest of cue 2A. It occurs relatively early in the recording sequence, however, indicating that the decision to add it was taken not long after 2A was recorded.

Aside from the recording information, the score is also full of pencilled boxes that label individual themes with such descriptive titles as ‘Robin Hood Hero’ or ‘Richard the Lion Heart’. Though the themes are not always referred to consistently, the labels are used throughout the score and are reproduced in the cue sheet that is stored along with it at Burbank Studios. Dated 29 April 1938 and titled “‘Adventures of Robin Hood’ First National Production #8651-8661’, this cue sheet contains details of each cue’s composer and publisher, its timings, and how it is used in each reel (whether ‘partial’ or ‘entire’, used as ‘backing’ or ‘visual instrumental’). It seems to be a generic form that could be used for any source music, allowing it to be cleared for copyright purposes.³⁰ Interestingly, the music is not always split up in accordance

³⁰ The cue sheet thus ends with a note: ‘Music cleared for your territory unless otherwise instructed.’

with the cue numbers found in the other sources, but rather into numbers commonly described as ‘Medley consisting of:’ followed by a list of the labels found in the piano-conductor score.

Of crucial importance to reconstructing the process of film score composition, though, is the question of chronology. Was the piano-conductor score prepared directly from the full score? Are there changes made in one that are not reflected in the other? How does the piano-conductor score compare with the short score? Given that the music was only intended to be ‘performed’ once (for the sake of the recording takes), the manuscript sources may not always agree with each other, since to correct all copies for the benefit of future musicologists would not have been a priority. However, by examining these sources, we should be able to formulate some kind of answer to these questions. Although the layout of the piano-conductor score duplicates, by and large, that found in the short score (someone attempting to reduce an orchestrated score to short score format could not possibly come up with the same voicing), it seems more probable that it was prepared after the full score had been written (though with the short score to hand for voicing/layout), passed to Korngold to mark any changes that he had also made in the full score, and finally given to Forbstein or someone in charge of the recording process to work from.³¹ However, there is evidence to contradict this as well: in cue 1D, at the bar before figure 14, the piano-conductor shows a cymbal and side drum roll that is copied from the short score; in the full score at this point, there is only a cymbal roll. Had the piano-conductor been copied directly from the full score, this would not be the case.

³¹ John Morgan claims that ‘As was typical at Warners, the conductor book would be made from the full score and not the sketches. When Max Steiner worked at RKO, the conductor book was merely Max’s sketches copied neater, but Warner’s took a different tack.’ From email correspondence 31 July 2004.

Friedhofer also mentions in his oral history that as an orchestrator, he commonly worked from a copy of Korngold's sketch by Jaro Churain:

Jaro had, from the time that Korngold first hit Hollywood, in connection with *A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM*, been Korngold's amanuensis and copyist...I think he had probably known Jaro from Europe...Also, he [Churain] used to make the conductor parts from Korngold's sketches, because Korngold's handwriting, while it was perfectly legible, was very small...On Korngold films, with one exception, when we were in a terrible rush, and I had to work right from a sketch of Korngold's, I always worked from Churain's sketches.³²

Friedhofer confusingly seems to refer to Churain's 'sketches' and 'conductor parts' as if they were the same source. It would be possible to conjecture that the extant piano-conductor score was originally Churain's copy (though there is more than one hand in evidence) and that the orchestrators worked from it; however, there are a number of orchestration markings in the piano-conductor that could only have been made after the full score had been written, as they are absent from the short score.³³ Similarly an orchestration marking in the short score that is absent from the piano-conductor, yet then appears realised in the full score, would also suggest that the orchestrators worked from Korngold's short score, or a missing copy, rather than the piano-conductor.³⁴ The inconsistencies between the various sources means that the order of the scores' preparation is particularly difficult to establish, as the changes neither correspond exactly nor suggest a linear 'development' from one source to another. Indeed there are points where Korngold has made a change in the short score that is

³² Irene Kahn Atkins, *Oral History with Hugo Friedhofer*, American Film Institute/Louis B Mayer Foundation (unpublished), 57-58.

³³ An example of this can be found in cue 3B. 3 bars before figure 3, the piano-conductor marks harmonics for the solo violin's A's. This is not in Korngold's original and must have been obtained from the full score.

³⁴ At the beginning of cue 4B, for example, Korngold marks a line 'Cello' which Friedhofer then gives to a solo cello in the full score. The piano-conductor makes no mention of this, suggesting that Friedhofer acquired the information from the short score, not the piano-conductor.

also added to the full score, yet does not appear in the piano-conductor score.³⁵ In any case, I believe it to be most likely that the piano-conductor was prepared from both the full *and* short scores. A summary of this sequence of events can be found in section III below.

Stored with the piano-conductor score are a number of written sheets that contain information used to prepare both the original 1938 trailer and the 1948 re-release trailer for the film. Sheets detailing the latter also include the serial numbers of the recorded cues to use, thus avoiding any re-recording of the music.

The Full Score

This is to be found in the Warner Bros. archives at the University of Southern California, box numbers 15-17, folder number 1243. It consists of 541 pages, yet certain parts of the score are missing, most notably the first two cues and the majority of cue no. 18 (4C).³⁶ Each cue was bound individually into a book, though the delicate state of the pages and the age of the tape mean that many of these ‘books’ have since fallen apart; some have been rebound with white tape. A summary of the extant full score with master page numbers and orchestrators can be seen in Table 4. For the most part, each cue is stamped with a cue number in black and a maroon reel identifier (with the number referring to the reel of film to which it belongs, and the letter to its position within the reel), and has its own sequence of page numbers.

³⁵ Such an example can be found in cue 2B at figure 37. Woodwind runs have been added in the short score version of the cue that was copied out by Hugo Friedhofer from Korngold’s original short score (see 2B’s editorial introduction in Appendix II), and also the full score. They do not appear however in the piano-conductor score. Thus it seems as though *either*: 1) the full score was prepared from Friedhofer’s short score copy, with the piano-conductor score prepared from this, and then Korngold added the runs in both short score copy and full score without adding them to the piano-conductor; *or* 2) the piano-conductor was prepared from Friedhofer’s short score copy, and the full score prepared from this, and then Korngold added the runs in the short score and full score without adding them to the piano-conductor.

³⁶ The score is divided into two large folders with folder one containing pages 1-260, and folder two, 261-541. The folders, however, list the total number of pages as 561, so it is possible that some of these pages disappeared after the scores were catalogued. See below for a discussion of the missing pages.

Table 4: Full score rundown.

Cue number/reel identifier	Master page numbers (added later in biro)	Orchestrators	Comments
1/1A			Missing
2/1B			Missing
3/1C	1-19	HWF/MR	Roder's pages are coloured yellow and are much narrower than Friedhofer's manuscript paper.
4/1D	20-32	HWF/MR	
5/1E	33-39	HWF	Pages 1-4 and 12 are missing. The whole cue is taped together with sheets folding out at various points. A blank sheet has been taped in, suggesting that these alterations were carried out for the Radio version (see below).
6/1F	40-44	HWF	Strangely numbered 5-9 in pencil at bottom of pages.
7/2A	45-48	HWF	
8/2B	49-81	HWF/MR	
9/2C	82-108	HWF	
10/3A	109-111	HWF	
11/3B	112-126	HWF	
12/3C	127-134	HWF	
13/3D	135-142	HWF	
14/3E	143-158	HWF/MR	Has a separate title page.
15/3F	159-168	HWF	
16/4A	169-184	HWF	
17/4B	185-188	HWF	
18/4C	189-194	HWF	First six pages only (c50 seconds of a 4.5 minute cue)
19/5A	195-205	HWF	
20/5B	206-223	HWF	
21/5C	224-232	HWF	
22/5D	233-241	HWF	
23/5E	242-260	HWF	
24/6A	261-273	MR	
25/6B	274-284	MR	
26/6C	285-288	MR	Xerox
27/6D	289-296	MR	
28/6E	297-325	MR	
29/7A	326-340	MR	Pages 329-334 are written on smaller manuscript of a green colour.
30/7B	341-345	MR	
31/7C	346-354	MR/HWF	
32/7D	355-367	HWF	Page 1 is a Xerox
33/8A	368-394	HWF	
Liebesszene/8B	-	HWF	Not counted in master page sequence. The cue has no number.
35/9A	395-398	HWF	
36/9B	400-404	MR	
37/10A	405-414	MR	
38/10B	415-425	HWF	
39/10C	426-440	HWF/MR	
40/10D	441-443	HWF	
/10E	444-447	HWF	Original version

41/10E	448-466	HWF	
42/11A	467-478	MR	
43/11B	479-490	MR/HWF	
44/11C	491-504	HWF	Missing pages 1-4, 11-19, 25-28
45/11D	505-509	MR 'The Victory'	Missing after figure 7.
46/11E			Missing
47/11F	510-513	HWF	Xerox
48/Trailer I	514-515	MR	'Announcement' written on back of second page.
49/Trailer II	516-524	MR	
50/Trailer III	525-532	MR	
51/Trailer part 4	533-541	MR	

At this point, it may be pertinent to mention the identity of the orchestrators. Though Hugo W Friedhofer is the only orchestrator to be mentioned in the film's credits, Milan Roder also contributed a substantial number of pages. In addition, Brendan Carroll mentions another figure, Reginald Bassett, in his Korngold biography:

The release date was moved to 12 May 1938, but even so Korngold had only seven weeks to write [the score], supervise the orchestration (by Hugo Friedhofer, Milan Roder, and Reginald Basset [sic]), and then record the finished score.³⁷

Again, in the liner notes for the Marco Polo CD, Carroll mentions Bassett, expanding the claim:

The release date was moved to 12th May, but even so, Korngold had only seven weeks to write it, supervise the orchestration (by Hugo Friedhofer, Milan Roder and - for two short sequences - an assistant, Reginald Basset [sic]) and then record the finished score to the film.³⁸

The claim has its origins in a letter that Friedhofer wrote to Rudy Behlmer. Carroll has speculated that Bassett was a lowly figure at Warner Bros. in 1938 and may have

³⁷ Carroll, *The Last Prodigy*, 272.

³⁸ Marco Polo 8.225268 liner notes, 12.

worked on the score without credit.³⁹ Certainly, I have found no written evidence in the manuscript sources to support this claim. Nor have I managed to identify a third hand in the full score, though there are passages where I cannot be entirely certain.⁴⁰ Admittedly, there are also pages missing from the full score that could conceivably have been penned by Bassett, but Friedhofer's letter to Behlmer must postdate the event by quite a number of years, and the possibility must be entertained that he remembered wrongly. In any event, Friedhofer talks at length about Bassett in his oral history, mentioning the scores on which he worked with him (including *Intermezzo* and *Gone With the Wind*) and Bassett's association with Forbstein's predecessor at Warner Bros., Lou Silvers.⁴¹ At no point does he mention Bassett's involvement with *The Adventures of Robin Hood*.

The manuscript paper used for each cue depends on the orchestrator. Both Roder and Friedhofer used paper manufactured by the Kellaway-Ide Co. of Los Angeles, yet they each opted for a different printed layout. Friedhofer's layout (generally with a serial number at the bottom of the page of either '2500-6-37-K-I Co.' or '5M-2-38-K-I-Co.') includes printed instrumentation as follows: Flutes (2 staves); Oboes (2 staves); Clarinets (2 staves); Bass Clarinet; Bassoons (2 staves); Horns (2 staves); Trumpets (2 staves); Trombones (2 staves); Tuba; Timpani etc (2 staves); Vibraphone; Harp; Piano and Celeste [sic]; blank stave; Violin (2 staves); Viola (2 staves); Cello (2 staves); Bass. Roder's printed instrumentation differs slightly: Flutes (2 staves); Oboes (2 staves); Clarinets (2 staves); Bassoons (2 staves); Horns (2 staves); Trumpets (2 staves); Trombones and Tuba (2 staves); Timpani, etc.

³⁹ Email correspondence with Brendan Carroll, 26 August 2004.

⁴⁰ The inserted section in cue 7A is written on a green manuscript paper of a different type than is used by Friedhofer or Roder. Though the handwriting is similar to Roder's, it could be Bassett's. Nevertheless, this section does not orchestrate any new music, as Roder's note indicates ('copy 24 bars of no. 2-B from [figures] 1 to 6'), but merely copies out a few lines for the conductor. It is just as likely, therefore, that this is the hand of one of the copyists.

⁴¹ Atkins, *Oral History with Hugo Friedhofer*, 42-45, 136, 148.

(1 stave); Drums, etc (1 line); Harp; Piano or Celeste [sic]; Violin (2 staves); Viola (2 staves); Cello (2 staves); Bass. Roder's pages are much narrower than Friedhofer's and are coloured a banana yellow.⁴²

As both orchestrators use their own paper consistently, this suggests a certain independence from a common source of paper in the music department and, indeed, from each other. There is no suggestion, therefore, that the two orchestrators collaborated at all, a factor borne out by noting that both orchestrated the same passage in cue no. 8 (2B) (see 2B's editorial introduction in Appendix II for a full discussion of this). Both appear to have been given particular sections to work on: Roder's main contribution, for example, was the central archery tournament. Of the cues where both have contributed, there are no pages that contain both hands.⁴³ While Friedhofer in his oral history gives tantalising glimpses of his working relationship with Korngold, there are no corresponding passages to suggest he enjoyed any extended contact with Roder at all:

ATKINS: What was Roder's function? Was he on the lot?

FRIEDHOFER: No, he wasn't on the lot permanently, but he used to be called in. He was a sort of free lance orchestrator around town.⁴⁴

Yet passages of music had to flow seamlessly from one orchestrator's style to the other, and the degree to which this was achieved perhaps suggests something of the compatibility of their styles.

Among the most interesting cues textually are the four that I have chosen to edit (see Appendix II), and a full discussion of sources and problems can be found in

⁴² Both orchestrators amend the instrument names as required.

⁴³ Roder writes 'XI-B' and 'page 2' at the top of one of Friedhofer's pages in 11B, but there are no pages where both have contributed music.

⁴⁴ Atkins, *Oral History with Hugo Friedhofer*, 125.

the editorial introductions to each. Aside from these, the love scene (Liebes-Szene) presents the most questions. Why, for instance, does it not have a cue number or a stamped reel identifier? It is possible, of course, that we are simply missing a title page for the cue. Presumably, though, it was not stored with the rest of the score when the master page numbers were written, as it is not included in the sequence. A logical assumption might be to assume that it was written before the rest of the score, or had a separate existence. I initially wondered whether it had been part of a separate Symphonic Suite manuscript that had been interpolated to replace the missing cue in the full score, especially as it bears the title and number of the Symphonic Suite movement. Yet the version of the love scene in the manuscript of the Symphonic Suite differs, and appears to have been prepared from the full score manuscript: there are bars that have been cut in the full score that do not appear in the Symphonic Suite manuscript, and yet are plainly in the version of the cue recorded for the film.⁴⁵ In addition, certain alternative instrumentations for the Suite have been added to the full score in a different ink: at figure 7, for example, the alto saxophone line has been doubled in cor anglais with a note in Korngold's hand that reads 'if no Sxph'[Saxophone]; similarly at figure 13, 'EH [English Horn] if [no] Sxph [Saxophones]'; later at figure 26, 'Cl1 [1st Clarinet] if no Sxph'; and finally, at the 4th of figure 27, the trumpet takes the Saxophone part. The hand of this last addition is a little unclear, though it seems to be Korngold's own.

⁴⁵ The third and fourth bars of figure 10 are cut for the Symphonic Suite, but appear in the film. Other interesting differences include some miscopies from the full score. At figure 29 in the Symphonic Suite, the cello part reads FE-CB-BA in quavers; in the full score this reads FE-DC-BA. Similarly, at the bar before figure 23, the dynamic marking *pp* in bass clarinet and bassoons has been misread as *fp*. Perhaps the most blatant mistake occurs in the second bar of figure 1 where the direction of the second violin arpeggio has been copied incorrectly; there are thus two ascending arpeggios in a row, resulting in a jump over three strings. The cello pizzicato in bars 1-4 misreads the beam of the triplet as an accent. Two bars before figure 6, the last crotchet in the harp part should be a D natural (to fit in with the E7 chord) not a D sharp; similarly in that bar, the last quaver in the 2nd violins should be A natural, not A sharp. Finally, in the second bar of figure 13 and the second bar of figure 14, the vibraphone part is missing a chord.

At certain points in its archival history, though, 8B has not been bound with the rest of the full score, adding to the mystery. Bill Wrobel told me that when researching the score in the early 1990s, the love scene was unavailable to him. Considered alongside the sketch evidence, the tantalising prospect emerges that the love scene does indeed have a separate existence; that it was perhaps prepared independently of the rest of the score. The evidence of the short score, though, might seem to quash this: the love scene appears in its proper place, along with its reel/cue identifier (8B). Far more likely, then, is that the cue is simply missing a title page with its cue number and stamped reel/cue identifier and was temporarily absent from the score when the master page numbers were added.

Finally, mention must be made of the fact that the score was re-used after the initial scoring sessions, and that some of the markings may be associated with other 'performances'. These include not only the Symphonic Suite and the 'Robin Hood Radio Show' (discussed below), but also the recording made by Charles Gerhardt in 1974 for RCA, in which he arranged a short suite from the film.⁴⁶ Numerous markings exist in both the full score and the parts that refer to the '1974 session' and correspond with this recording. Therefore, a certain amount of caution is necessary when interpreting the markings contained within the full score.

⁴⁶ This suite consists of sections entitled 'The Archery Tournament', 'Escape from Gallows', 'Robin and Lady Marian', and 'Coronation Procession'. The LP was entitled *Captain Blood: Classic Film Scores for Errol Flynn* and had the catalogue number RCA 0912. It was re-mastered and released on Compact Disc in 1989.

Trailer Music

Each section of the trailer music is included in the stamped cue number sequence and can therefore be considered part of the full score.⁴⁷ It was prepared by Milan Roder, recorded contemporaneously along with the other cues, and was presumably used to accompany the trailer as it appeared in theatres. The first section, cue number 48, does not appear in the trailer included on the recently released DVD—though it does appear to turn up in the trailer for *Dodge City*—and, apart from the latter half of 51 (from figure 6 onwards), much of the music is inaudible in the sound mix. The source for the trailer music is summarised in Table 5.

Table 5. Trailer music sources

Section	Source
48/Trailer I	G major fanfare from cue 1E re-orchestrated with less percussion.
49/Trailer II	Opens with an original fanfare by Roder and 2 bars of re-orchestrated material from 10D; instruction to copy from 10D bar 2-bar 9; transposed material from figures 26-31 in 8B.
50/Trailer III	8B from figure 21 to figure 24; 8B from bar 2 of figure 5 to bar before fig 7; 4 original chords.
51/Trailer part 4	Copied from 1D, figure 7 to figure 9; re-orchestrated from 1D, figure 10 to the bar before figure 14; 'new bar'; first 3 bars from cue 2B; 33 bars copied from 8A, figures 2 to 8 (using 'old parts'); re-orchestrated section of <i>Sursum Corda</i> from 8 before figure 3 to figure 3; copied from 2B figure 1 for 5 bars; copied from 11B for 2 bars (5 before end of cue); last 3 bars presumably taken from missing cue 11D.

Trailer part 4 is particularly interesting in its construction. Though certainly not in his hand, it uses Friedhofer's paper for the first two pages.⁴⁸ The content was originally summarised in a text indication on the fourth page of the cue (on Roder's paper and in his hand) that reads:

⁴⁷ Though the trailer music is not included in the Korngold-penned short score, it is incorporated into the piano-conductor score, along with a number of written notes explaining the structure of the 1948 re-release trailer.

⁴⁸ The hand may be Roder's or, perhaps more likely, a copyist's.

Copy from 1-D at 7 - 6 bars, then 2 bars out the next 10 bars are good

then comes the new bar (see Korngold Score)

then copy first 3 bars of 2-B

This written information was presumably then crossed out when the section was notated. The other written instruction on the fourth page was left untouched: 'hereafter copy 33 bars of 8-A (at 2 to 8); (no pause in last bar) then: turn'.
Completing the cue are new sections from *Sursum Corda* and 2B in Roder's hand.⁴⁹

Orchestral Parts

These are held at the Warner Bros. archives. The parts for each cue are bound separately using tape in such a way so as to create as few turns as possible, and each cue is accompanied by a single pre-printed matrix on a narrow piece of ditto paper that could be filled in with the exact numbers of parts. For cue 8A this is as follows:

Black and White	Ditto	Parts	Pages
1	-	Score	26
-	3	Conductor	12
3	-	Flute	8
2	-	Oboe	4
		Eng Horn	
3	-	Clarinet	9
1	-	Bass Clarinet	3
2	-	Bassoon	6
		Contrabassoon	
		Tenor Sax	
		Alto Sax	
		Baritone Sax	
2/4	-	Horn	8
3	-	Trumpet	6
3	-	Trombone	6
1	-	Tuba	2
	6	Percussion	5
1		Piano	5
1		Celeste	2
		Harmonium	

⁴⁹ Eight bars are taken from *Sursum Corda* at eight bars before figure 3; these bars are not heard in the version of the score heard in the film, though they do turn up in the radio version (see below). Five bars are taken from 2B at figure 1. See the edited cue in Appendix II.

		Organ	
2		Harp	9
		Guitarre	
[Torn]	9	Violins ⁵⁰	5 [torn]
2		Viole	8
2		Cello	10
2		Bass	6
30	18/48	Total	12+10/92

There is also a large matrix at the beginning of the first folder of parts summarising these totals for all the cues, but this appears to have been created by the archive as some cues are listed as: 'from [symphonic] suite'. Most of the paper has 'Warner Brothers Studio' printed at the bottom, itself an unusual legend since the studio was known consistently as the shortened 'Warner Bros.'. The bored session musicians of the Warner Bros. orchestra had covered many of these parts with various doodles and word games, and in the double bass part for cue 10E a player had evidently tried to keep spirits up with a practical joke which he noted down for posterity: 'Note: put mute in mouth, appear to choke'. Especially useful for Part IV below, however, were the dates that Teddy Krise added to his part in pencil when the cue was recorded. Krise, it appears, was a clarinettist (generally 2nd or 3rd clarinet) who also played alto saxophone and, on one occasion (cue 3E), oboe/cor anglais.

The parts do have their problems as a source in that they seem to have been re-used, like the full score, on later occasions. Thus the parts to 8A have cuts marked that do not correspond to any contemporary version of the score, and are accompanied by written notes referring to 'the 1974 session'. This appears to correspond to the recording made by Charles Gerhardt for RCA. Similarly, the parts must also have been used for the radio version discussed below. It is therefore difficult to accurately assess when changes were made.

⁵⁰ Both violin parts were written on the same page, though on a few occasions, such as cue 1E, they are split onto two separate sheets as Violins A and Violins B.

The Symphonic Suite

This consists of four movements: *Alt England* ('Old England'); *Robin Hood und Seine Fröhliche Schar* ('Robin Hood and his Merry Men'); *Liebes-Szene* ('Love Scene'); and *Kampf, Sieg und Epilog* ('The Fight, Victory and Epilogue'). It was prepared for a concert on 24 June 1938 in Oakland, California that Korngold conducted with the Bay Region Symphony Orchestra.⁵¹ This was little more than a month after the film's premiere on 12 May. A photocopy of the Suite was deposited in the Warner Bros. archives by George Korngold, the composer's son, to replace those parts of the score that were missing.

The greatest question concerns the hand in which the manuscript is written. The legibility of Korngold's own handwriting varies drastically in the short score and the sketches, so it perhaps cannot be discounted completely from the list of possible candidates. It seems unlikely, though, that Korngold himself would have gone to the trouble of copying out a 'legible' version, when the differences between the Suite and the cues in the full score are relatively small. It seems far more likely, given that the titles are given in German as well as English, that Korngold's regular copyist, Jaro Churain, prepared the manuscript.

Whoever was responsible for the manuscript, the preparation of the Symphonic Suite seems to account for the material missing from the full score. In other words, the Symphonic Suite was clearly prepared directly from the relevant pages of the full score, pages that, in most cases, were never restored to the manuscript. I can only speculate about the location of these missing pages, but the correlation between the two sections of music at least allows us to confirm that the Symphonic Suite was prepared from the full score manuscript rather than any other

⁵¹ Carroll, *The Last Prodigy*, 404.

source. John Morgan has claimed that the Symphonic Suite was re-orchestrated, eliminating extra woodwind and brass, reducing the percussion from five to three players, combining piano and celesta parts, and integrating two harp parts into one.⁵² Without the missing sections of the score, though, this statement seems difficult to support. Of the sections that can be compared, no differences in the orchestration can be found, aside from the alternative instrumentations in the *Liebes-Szene* referred to above.

The first movement ('Old England') opens with the fanfare from figure 6 in cue 1E orchestrated more fully, contrary to Morgan's statement.⁵³ The movement continues with material taken from the start of cue 1E. 1E is only partially extant in the full score, and the two versions of this music can only be compared between figures 5 and 8. The comparison shows only minor changes (a change of voicing in a harp part, and an added *piano* dynamic and hairpin), suggesting that the rest of the movement must correspond quite closely in terms of orchestration with the missing full score material. As the Symphonic Suite moves the middle fanfare to the beginning of the movement, the section between figures 5 to 7 in the full score is cut; otherwise, the material is identical. 'Old England' concludes with a reprise of the opening fanfare, again departing from 1E.

The second movement ('Robin Hood and his Merry Men') seems to be based on two sources, both of which are differently orchestrated versions of similar music, namely the 'March of the Merry Men'. Thus the beginning of the movement appears to be taken from 1A (the opening title music), missing from the full score.⁵⁴ From the

⁵² See the liner notes of Marco Polo 8.225268, 24.

⁵³ The fanfare occurs in 1E after one of the knights says: 'Hail Prince John'.

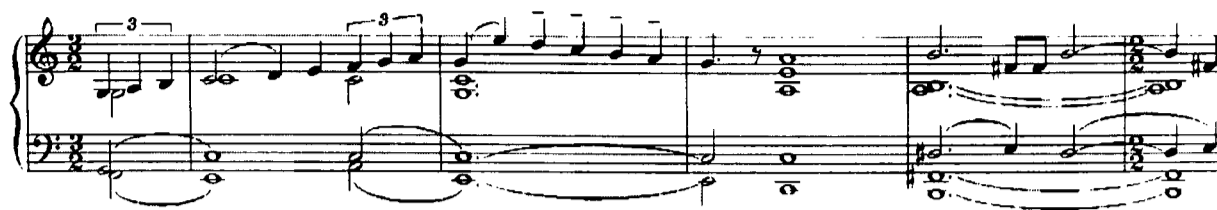
⁵⁴ The original 'violins' part for the Main Title (1A) is extant so can be compared with the beginning of this movement. The only change I can detect is in the 2nd bar of figure 3 where a run up to the A flat has been inserted. This run does appear, however, in the orchestration used in 4C. As discussed below

second bar of figure 7 onwards, the material seems to be an exact copy of material from cue 4C. Again, all but the first six pages of cue 4C are missing from the full score, so, aside from an aural analysis, it is impossible to compare the sections for possible changes. Clearly, in order that the movement makes musical sense without the accompanying visuals and dialogue, some bars have been excised from cue 4C; these changes have been made around figures 19 and 23.

The third movement ('Love Scene') has been discussed above. The fourth movement ('The Fight, Victory and Epilogue') follows the pattern set out above: it seems to be based on the sections of the manuscript missing from the full score, namely parts of cue 11C, 11D from figure 5, and 11E. However, one difference can be discerned in order to effect a smoother transition between the material taken from cues 11D and 11E. Instead of cadencing on C, an A minor chord is inserted to smooth the 'modulation' to B major for the start of 11E. See examples 2 and 2a.

Example 2. End of 11D and beginning of 11E from piano conductor score

in the 'Chronology of the Score's Changes', this run was part of the changes made to 1A for the radio version.

Example 2a. Fight, Victory and Epilogue fig 23-24**Part II: The audio-visual sources**

Film is an audio-visual medium, and film music is arguably also inherently audio-visual. For a fuller understanding of the process of film score production, we must therefore investigate the recording process and the marriage between music and image. For *The Adventures of Robin Hood*, this involves examining not only a selection of the original recording session masters (available in Europe on Tsunami TSU0139) and the film itself (available on DVD Region 1, 65131), but also the ‘Robin Hood Radio Show’, a version narrated by Basil Rathbone that was broadcast the night before the film’s premiere to showcase the score.

Recording Masters

While I have not been able to examine the original tapes (my requests were denied by Warner Bros. as a matter of policy for fear of copyright infringement), the ‘bootleg’ CD that is commercially available in Europe provides valuable information about the recording process. Its twenty tracks encompass the vast majority of the score, as can be seen in Table 6.

Table 6. CD contents

CD track number and title	Cue number contained within
1 ‘Main Title’	1(1A)
2 ‘New Taxes/The Poaching Miller’	3(1C); 4(1D)

3 'Nottingham Castle'	5(1E)
4 'The Confrontation/Fight and Chase'	6(1F); 7(2A); 8(2B); 9(2C)
5 'Little John and Robin Hood'	11(3B); 12(3C); 13(3D)
6 'The Pledge'	14(3E)
7 'Friar Tuck and Robin Hood'	15(3F); 16(4A); 17(4B)
8 'Capturing Sir Guy'	18(4C)
9 'Romantic Theme/The Feast'	19(5A); 20(5B); 21(5C)
10 'Lady Marian/Love Theme'	22(5D); 23(5E)
11 'The Tournament'	24(6A); 25(6B); 27(6D); part of 28(6E)
12 'The Capture/Robin Hood in Chains'	29(7A); 30(7B); 31(7C)
13 'The Escape'	32(7D); 33(8A)
14 'Robin Hood visits Marian'	Liebesszene (8B)
15 'Marian Caught/King Richard and Robin Hood'	35(9A); 36(9B); 37(10A); 38(10B); 39(10C) up to figure 10
16 'The Procession'	40(10D); (10E) original version
17 'The Fight'	42(11A); 43(11B); 44(11C)
18 'Victory/The End'	45(11D); 46(11E); 47(11F)
19 'King Richard's Theme'	10C original version
20 'The Procession (reconstructed)'	41(10E)

Track 20 attempts to reconstruct the version of the procession found in the film, complete with dubbed brass fanfares (see the editorial introduction to cue 10E for a full discussion of these fanfares). Unfortunately, it makes several errors in its re-dubbing of the existing track, inserting the fanfares at the wrong points. However, as a 'source', albeit a modern one, it provides yet another alternative version of this cue (though one that I have chosen not to include in the edition found in Appendix II).

The Film

The film itself is, of course, a valuable source in considering the music; but has there been just one version; can we talk about 'the film' as a singular source? The evidence seems to suggest that once the picture was released on 12 May 1938 it remained in the same cut of 102 minutes in its subsequent release for commercial video, DVD and television (for the PAL colour system, this equates to 98 minutes as the film runs at 25 rather than 24 frames per second). This is in stark contrast to many pictures of this

era that were trimmed for TV presentation.⁵⁵ Nor is there any suggestion of any further editing when *The Adventures of Robin Hood* was re-released in 1948 with a new Technicolor print, nor when it was re-issued in black and white in the mid 1950s before being sold to television.⁵⁶

Although the edit of *Robin Hood* remains consistent (we assume), there are a number of ways in which this released edit of the film differs from the version of the cues recorded in the studio and notated in the manuscript sources. As discussed in part III below, there are a number of cuts made to the music track after the recording sessions had taken place, cuts that are not indicated in the full score. These must have occurred at a relatively late stage in post-production and are perhaps indicative of some last minute tinkering by Hal Wallis, possibly in response to ‘sneak preview’ showings.

The Robin Hood Radio Show

This was broadcast by radio station K.E.C.A and the N.B.C. Blue Network at 7.30pm on 11 May 1938⁵⁷ and was a presentation of certain extracted parts of the score, played by the Warner Bros. orchestra conducted by Korngold, with accompanying narration by the actor Basil Rathbone. Warner Bros. intended to release it commercially but these plans were abandoned.⁵⁸

Eight pressings were made by KFWB on four records for Korngold and a number of studio executives. Writing in 1997, Brendan Carroll claimed that of the

⁵⁵ *Captain Blood*, available in a double bill with *The Adventures of Robin Hood* on VHS S035589, is significantly cut.

⁵⁶ See Behlmer (ed.), *The Adventures of Robin Hood*, 38-39. However, how we see *The Adventures of Robin Hood* can make quite a difference to the way we perceive its music. The quality of the sound in a 1938 cinema print, or a VHS copy of the film, must surely differ from that experienced in a ‘cleaned-up’ DVD release. Previously un-heard nuances in orchestrational detail, for example, may suddenly become clear.

⁵⁷ Information comes from a memo from Robert Taplinger to Walter McEwan sent on 11 May, found in the ‘Story - Memos & Correspondence 1 of 8 2/11/38-11/3/38’ folder in the Warner Bros. archives.

⁵⁸ Carroll, *The Last Prodigy*, 273.

eight sets made, only three were known to have survived: one was in the Korngold estate; one was in the possession of copyist Albert Glasser; and the third was in Carroll's own collection, a gift from Teddy Krise who had purchased a set of the discs from Tenny Wright, Warner's studio production manager.⁵⁹ I learned in 2003, however, that John Newton of the 'Vitaphone Project' also has an incomplete set. Warner Bros. themselves have a poor-quality tape recording of the broadcast, but according to Newton it was his set of three records that were used as the basis of the recent DVD release of the Radio Show, augmented by the rest of the broadcast on the tape. Newton's description of the records is as follows:

The records are 12-inch shellac pressings, with light blue labels with information printed in dark blue. Each disc has "78 R.P.M. / Outside Start" rubber-stamped on the labels. Also rubber stamped is "#1", "#2", "#3" and so on, indicating the progressing parts of the recording(s) of the broadcast.

At the top of each label is "KFWB" in larger lettering, after which is printed the following information:

recorded in the studios of
 Warner Bros. Broadcasting Corporation
 KFWB - Hollywood, Calif.

33-1/3 R.P.M. Inside Start

Musical Score
 Warner Bros. Technicolor Picture
 THE ADVENTURES OF ROBIN HOOD

⁵⁹ Ibid.

Played by its Composer

ERIC [sic] WOLFGANG KORNGOLD

and

65-Piece Vitaphone Orchestra

with Basil Rathbone as Narrator

- - - - -

The printed information of "33-1/3 R.P.M. Inside Start" indicates that similar labels were used for other unrelated recordings... that information was "stock" on the labels, with the other specific information printed on the labels at a later point. This also explains why the correct speed (78) was rubber stamped onto the labels, as well as the "Outside Start" indicator.

There is also identifying "matrix" information engraved into the shellac on each side, as follows for the respective Parts 1 through 6:

"Robin Hood 1A AM 68"

"Robin Hood 1B AM 69"

"Robin Hood 1C AM 70"

"Robin Hood 1D AM 71"

"Robin Hood 2A AM 72"

"Robin Hood 2B AM 73"⁶⁰

Although Brendan Carroll claims that the music constitutes 'virtually the entire score',⁶¹ there is much that is missing, and of the cues that are present, nearly all have been subjected to alteration. There is also evidence to indicate that the full score manuscript was prepared carefully for Korngold in advance of the broadcast, and Carroll notes that copyist Albert Glasser was on hand, presumably at the rehearsal, to

⁶⁰ Email correspondence with John Newton, 9 August 2003.

⁶¹ Carroll, *The Last Prodigy*, 273.

iron out any problems with the parts. Of interest, too, is the close resemblance between versions of some of the cues and the Symphonic Suite. As the Symphonic Suite's first performance post-dates the radio show, it seems likely that either Korngold used the radio show as the basis of his suite, or that the two versions were prepared almost simultaneously.

The show begins with Ken Niles announcing 'The Adventures of Robin Hood', followed by the fanfare from cue 1E at figure 6. Niles continues with his introductory preamble, before passing over to Basil Rathbone. Rathbone talks a little about the score, the 'brilliant, descriptive music Professor Korngold has composed for *The Adventures of Robin Hood*', and continues:

Those of us who have had the good fortune to watch Professor Korngold work with his orchestra during the filming and recording of this picture, realise that he has introduced something new; something different; something *unusual* to the world of motion picture music. By his clever weaving of strings, reeds, brass and percussion, the Korngold music lets you hear such as: the snap of an archer's bow; the zing of an arrow in flight; the marching of soldiers; the stretch of a gallows' rope; yes, even the romantic flutter of a fair maid's heart. However, since we've come here tonight to hear rather than to talk about this superb composition, let us begin.

Rathbone then introduces 'the theme of the merry men', what he calls 'the music of the prologue'. This is the main title music (cue 1A), followed by a curtailed version of the already brief cue 1B under more Rathbone narration, and seems to correspond closely with the soundtrack of the film (the full score of 1A and 1B is missing so only an aural comparison can be made).⁶² Each of the subsequent musical extracts follows a section of narration, with the first extract 'which pictures the banquet at

⁶² See part IV below for a detailed discussion of the possible orchestration changes.

Nottingham' taken from cue 1E. Though cue 1E is also largely missing from the full score, the radio version can be compared with the Symphonic Suite. It appears to be a shortened version of *Alt England*—minus the opening and closing fanfares, and with the bars between figure 5 and 6 removed—but otherwise appears to be identical with the Symphonic Suite's first movement.

The next musical cue is Robin's entrance to the castle and consists of cue 1F in its entirety, followed by a section of 2C beginning at figure 7. As Rathbone was also required to insert some narration over the end of 1F, more care than usual was needed when selecting the music for this extract. Interestingly, after the end of cue 1F in the full score, there are faint pencil marks notating the first few bars of the 2C section accompanied by a boxed '9' (2C is also cue number 9). This appears to support the premise that the full score was used to prepare the radio show. Also of interest is the 2nd bar of figure 16 in 2C: this bar has been cut in the version of the cue heard in the film, but is present in this radio edit. The rest of this cue continues to the end of 2C, cutting figures 23 to 27.

Rathbone's next musical extract is of Robin's meeting with Little John. This 'fanciful piece of Korngold description' is taken from cues 3B and 3C but is heavily cut. The cue starts with the opening of 3B, continues until figure 3, and then cuts to figure 9. At figure 11, the cue cuts to the opening of 3C but appears to revise the opening pizzicato rhythm, as illustrated in Example 3:

Example 3a Opening rhythm of 3C (short score, full score, piano conductor score, film)



Example 3b Opening rhythm of 3C (radio version)

The music continues with the remainder of 3C as notated in the full score, preserving the cut between figures 3 and 4 observed in the film. Robin's meeting with Friar Tuck follows, starting at figure 1 in 3F and continuing to the end of the cue while incorporating a slightly shortened last bar.

The attack on Sir Guy, taken from cue 4C, is the next musical extract in the story. Again, as much of 4C is missing from the full score, I can only compare the radio version with the second movement of the Symphonic Suite, *Robin Hood und Seine Fröhliche Schar* ('Robin Hood and his Merry Men'). As noted, the Symphonic Suite movement in question is a shortened version of the cue and excises much of the underscoring that accompanies the film's dialogue. Though the radio version begins half way through the cue (at figure 8 in the Suite movement), it corresponds remarkably closely with the Symphonic Suite, again suggesting a close relationship between these two incarnations of the score. The only variation between the two versions occurs at the third bar of figure 18 where the dotted rhythm of the Symphonic Suite is played as straight quavers with a sizable *ritardando*.

The 'feast, and then the flirtation' follows. This extract is taken from cues 5B and 5C, beginning at the opening of cue 5B and cutting at figure 8 to the opening of 5C. There is a small scrap of tape remaining at figure 8 in the full score where 5C was presumably attached, either to assist whoever worked out the content of the radio show, or to help Korngold in conducting the broadcast. At the end of 5C, an extra bar was added to the full score and labelled 'new' in pencil. It does not appear in either

the recorded tapes or the cut used in the film, again lending weight to the theory that the full score was freely used and altered in the preparation of the radio show.

Rathbone's next extract (from 7D and 8A) is discussed in detail in Appendix II and in part IV below, and is one of the more complex of the adaptations. It is followed by a section of the Liebesszene (cue 8B) that starts at figure 7 in the full score and continues to the end of the cue, cutting the final two bars and the third and fourth bars of figure 10. This is referred to by Rathbone as 'the tenderly romantic theme which Professor Korngold chooses to call "Lady Marian's Heartsong"'.⁶³

More narration follows before we hear the penultimate extract, a version of the duel (cue 11C). Again, 11C is largely missing in the full score, but the extract is closely related to material found in the Symphonic Suite's fourth movement, *Kampf, Sieg und Epilog* ('The Fight, Victory and Epilogue'). Aside from cutting the first two bars of figure 4, the music is identical with the fourth movement until figure 22. At this point, the Symphonic Suite continues with material from 11E; however, the radio version was required to stop for more narration. Therefore, the original full score ending of 11D was used (see example 2 above) to cadence in C.⁶⁴

The final extract, introduced by Rathbone with 'and so, the legend of Robin Hood lives on forever', comes from cue 11E. Again, cue 11E is missing from the full score so I can only compare it with the end of the fourth movement of the Suite. In this regard it matches exactly, from figure 26 to the end of the movement. A summary of the music sources for the radio show can be seen in Table 6.

⁶³ I can find no reference to this 'title' in any manuscript source.

⁶⁴ The material used from 11D therefore consists of Figure 7 to the end, with figures 12 to 13 cut.

Table 6. Summary of Radio Show sources.

Extract	Musical source
Opening fanfare	1E fanfare at figure 6
The Theme of the Merry Men	1A (main title)
Banquet at Nottingham	1E (shortened) / Symphonic Suite 1 st movement without fanfares and figures 5 to 6
Robin's Entrance	1F; 2C figures 7 to 23, figure 27 to the end
Little John's Meeting	3B opening to figure 3, figures 9 to 11; 3C with altered opening
Friar Tuck	3F fig 1 to (slightly altered) end
Attack on Sir Guy	Part of 4C / Symphonic Suite 2 nd movement beginning at figure 8
Feast and the Flirtation	5B, opening until figure 8; 5C with extra bar added at end
The Gallows and Escape	7D opening to figure 5; Trailer 4 figure 6, bar 2 until end (itself adapted from 8A, 2B, 11B and 11E)
Lady Marian's Heartsong	8B figure 7 until end (cutting the 3 rd and 4 th bars of figure 10)
'It is victory!'	11C / Symphonic Suite 4 th movement opening to figure 22 (with cut at figure 4); 11D figure 7 to end (cutting figures 12 to 13)
'and so, the legend of Robin Hood lives on forever'	11E / Symphonic Suite 4 th movement figure 26 to the end

As the broadcast finishes, Ken Niles announces that Korngold would like to thank the orchestra and express his gratitude for the 'co-operation' of Forbstein, Friedhofer, and Roder.

Part III: Intertextual Grafts

The term 'intertextual graft' is used in Peter Brunette and David Willis's 1989 book, *Screen/Play: Derrida and Film Theory* in connection with the appearance of the same actor in different films, and its resulting effect on meaning.⁶⁵ The term seems an appropriate one to use for instances in *The Adventures of Robin Hood* where the score quotes or resembles another piece of music and, in so doing, brings its meanings into the text of the film score. All music contains intertextual grafts to some degree, by dint of common harmonic and rhythmic languages, and the term could therefore cover

⁶⁵ Peter Brunette and David Willis, *Screen/Play: Derrida and Film Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 88.

a multitude of relationships, a network of meanings accrued over a lifetime of musical interactions. Indeed, the use of the term ‘intertextuality’ in music (and thus, by implication, the use of the related term ‘intertextual graft’), as conceptualised by Michael L Klein, is unhampered by any chronological concern or authorial agency, and therefore encompasses and subsumes the more specific terms of ‘borrowing’, ‘quotation’, and ‘influence’, which rely on establishing chronological connections or intention.⁶⁶ As the following discussion is largely concerned with the composition process, though, I will pay particular attention to those instances of intertextual grafting that are especially ‘strong’ and that approach ‘quotation’, or at least have been claimed to by other writers, as well as giving some broader consideration to those moments where the graft is less intended, thus revealing the score’s wide cultural footprint. Ultimately, my concern with issues of intertextuality and the use of the term ‘intertextual graft’ becomes properly relevant in the theorisation of cinematic musical meaning offered in Chapter 4, for which terms like ‘borrowing’ or ‘quotation’—in seeming to foreground the composer’s role in the process rather than the reader’s—are inappropriate.

1) *Symphonic Overture, Sursum Corda*

The strongest candidate for intertextual graft is the score’s prominent use of the *Symphonic Overture, Sursum Corda*, which was suggested by Korngold’s father, Julius, in a letter to his son just before the Korngolds left Le Havre: ‘[d]on’t forget my idea to use *Sursum Corda* for the chief theme of the Captain of the Brigands!’⁶⁷ This concert overture, written in 1919 was published by B. Schott’s Söhne, Mainz in 1921

⁶⁶ See Chapter 1 ‘Eco, Chopin, and the Limits of Intertextuality’, Michael L Klein, *Intertextuality in Western Art Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 1-21.

⁶⁷ Carroll, *The Last Prodigy*, 269. Korngold had already accepted his father’s advice in earlier letters and had obtained permission from Schott to use extracts from the score.

under the title *Sinfonische Ouvertüre ("Sursum Corda!") für grosses Orchester* as Korngold's Op. 13. It was a rare flop for Korngold when first performed by the Vienna Symphony Orchestra under the composer's baton, and met with a hostile audience reception.⁶⁸ A few years later, while in Rome, Korngold signed the guest book at a restaurant with themes from *Sursum Corda* and *Much Ado About Nothing*. Next to the first he wrote 'Hissed'; next to the second, 'Applauded'; and underneath, 'In a hundred years, may be the other way around'.⁶⁹

Sursum Corda was also performed by Arthur Nikisch and Wilhelm Furtwängler, but according to Brendan Carroll never achieved lasting success.⁷⁰ So when Julius suggested using it in *Robin Hood*, it offered Korngold a chance to introduce the music to the largest audience possible. As Korngold used *Sursum Corda*'s opening fanfare as the theme for Robin himself, the overture pervades the whole score. Robin's fanfare theme is heard in numerous guises (some merely the opening notes) in the following cues: 1C; 1D; 1F; 2A; 2B; 2C; 3D; 3E; 3F; 6D; 7A; 7B; 7C; 7D; 8A; 8B; 10B; 11A; 11C; 11E. In addition, the theme associated with Little John begins with the same opening motif, a falling/rising fourth. Therefore to the list above can be added: 3B; 3C; 4A; 4C; and 10A.

The score also makes use of extended sections of the overture, a fact commented on by Brendan Carroll:

Robin's escape from Nottingham Castle early in the film was almost entirely underscored by the development section of *Sursum Corda*, and how well this concert music fitted the action

⁶⁸ Ibid., 134.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 168.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 380, fn 10.

on the screen is fascinating to observe. Korngold had the clout to influence the cutting of his films to fit his scoring, and this must certainly have been the case here.⁷¹

While Carroll may be correct in estimating Korngold's 'clout', the evidence of the score suggests that he had little control of the cutting of this scene (see the Chronology of the Score's Changes for 2B below). In his liner notes for the Marco Polo 'first complete digital recording' of the score, Carroll expands his explanation to indicate the other parts of the score that make use of extended parts of the overture.⁷² These include Robin's arrest after the archery tournament, his escape from the gallows (see the editorial introduction to cue 8A), the final battle in Nottingham castle (see the editorial introduction to 11B), and the theme associated with Robin and Marian's love (see Example 4).

Example 4. Love Theme (taken from cue 8B fig 3-5. See *Sursum Corda* figs 17-18)



Though this theme gets closest to a quotation from *Sursum Corda* in cue 5E and in the love scene (8B), it can also be found varied and developed in cue 11D.

While Robin's theme and, to some extent, the love theme are subjected to a degree of development and re-orchestration, the other grafts are closer to actual

⁷¹ Ibid., 273.

⁷² Marco Polo 8.225268 liner notes, 15-19.

quotation. The published score of the overture, for example, was certainly in the hands of orchestrator Hugo Friedhofer when he adapted the sections used in the battle sequences (see the editorial introductions to cues 2B, 8A, and 11B in Appendix II for evidence to support this statement). Indeed given Korngold's unwillingness to score battle scenes (see his letter to Wallis above), it is perhaps unsurprising that such large 'grafts' were made. The score to *The Adventures of Robin Hood* is therefore heavily saturated with material that had its origin in *Sursum Corda*: Robin's theme is used throughout, pervading the music with the flavour of the earlier overture; the love theme is one of the score's most memorable motifs; and the major battle scenes establish a close link between the two scores.

2) Rosen aus Florida

Brendan Carroll points out in *The Last Prodigy*, that the 'March of the Merry Men' is an adaptation of a section from Leo Fall's operetta *Rosen aus Florida*, which Korngold had arranged and revised for a 1929 production at the Theater an der Wien.⁷³ The section in question is a seventeen bar waltz entitled 'Miß Austria [sic]' (see Example 5) and forms part of a 'Schönheitskonkurrenz der Nationen' or 'beauty contest of nations' in the Act II finale.⁷⁴

⁷³ Fall had left the operetta unfinished at his death in 1925, but Korngold was given the sketches by Fall's widow and asked to finish the work by Hubert Marischka for a production at the Theater an der Wien on 22 February 1929. According to Brendan Carroll, Korngold composed most of the second act himself, adapting his style to that of Fall (Carroll, *The Last Prodigy*, 205).

⁷⁴ The rather unusual pseudo German/English title of the waltz also holds true for the other sections in the 'beauty contest of nations': Miß Britannia; Miß Slavia; Miß Honolulu; Miß Germania; Miß Italia, Hispania, France; Miß Scandinavia; Miß America.

Example 5. Miß Austria.

Langsamer, wiegender Walzer

p espress.

espress.

9

The image shows a two-staff musical score for piano. The top staff is in treble clef and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The key signature has one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The tempo/mood is 'Langsamer, wiegender Walzer'. The first system includes the instruction 'p espress.' and the second system includes 'espress.' and a measure number '9'. The music features a slow, waltz-like melody with a steady bass accompaniment.

(Reproduced by kind permission of Schott & Co Limited, London)

It seems more sensible, however, to describe the 'March of the Merry Men', as an adaptation and extension of the waltz heard in the banquet scene (see Example 6). This waltz is, on the other hand, almost a direct melodic quotation from 'Miß Austria', albeit in a different key.

Example 6. Banquet Waltz

gliss.

gliss.

5

The image shows a two-staff musical score for piano. The top staff is in treble clef and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The key signature has one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The music features a waltz-like melody with a steady bass accompaniment. There are two instances of 'gliss.' (glissando) markings in the bass line. The first system includes a measure number '5'. The music is characterized by a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes in the bass line.

Example 6a. March of the Merry Men

The image displays a musical score for 'March of the Merry Men' in 3/4 time, marked *ff*. The score is written for piano and consists of two systems of three staves each. The first system includes a treble clef staff with a melodic line featuring a sixteenth-note run and a trill, a middle staff with a sustained chord, and a bass clef staff with a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes. The second system continues the piece, showing a trill in the treble staff and a triplet of eighth notes in the bass staff. The key signature has one flat (B-flat).

The 'March of the Merry Men' can be found throughout the score in various forms, and makes an appearance in the following cues: 1A; 3D; 4B; 4C; 5B (in waltz form); 5C (waltz); 5D (waltz); 6B; 6D; 10E; 11D; 11F. Thus, considered along with *Sursum Corda*, most of the material used for *Robin Hood* was already extant in some form.

3) Anthony Adverse

It is claimed by Brendan Carroll in the liner notes to the Marco Polo CD that the opening texture of cue 7D, as Robin is led to the gallows, is an adapted and re-orchestrated version of a passage from Korngold's 1936 oscar-winning score to *Anthony Adverse*.⁷⁵ The passage in question occurs near the end of the film as Anthony is attempting to reach Paris ahead of Don Luis. As his coach proceeds along a mountain path, unknowingly headed for Don Luis's ambush, the score features a number of runs followed by flute trills, over high *tremolando* violins. This does

⁷⁵ Marco Polo 8.225268 liner notes, 13.

indeed bear a close resemblance to the following texture in *The Adventures of Robin Hood*, which also has a sense of foreboding:

Example 7. Opening of cue 7D.

However, I do not believe this is a case of actual quotation, or of Korngold deliberately adapting a cue from a previous score. There are many moments in Korngold scores that sound ‘familiar’ and can perhaps be considered as similar solutions to the same dramatic problems, or indeed evidence of a consistent harmonic language. That is not to say, however, that the observation is irrelevant. If, as it indeed it is the case, the two passages sound similar enough to invite comment, we can still regard the phrase as an intertextual graft rather than a ‘quotation’. With its links to a scene of danger in *Anthony Adverse*, the graft brings not only music, but meaning, into the score. For an audience familiar with the Warner Bros. output, the tension and foreboding of the ambush scene are thus referenced by the texture heard in *Robin Hood*.

4) 16th/17th Century Songs

As mentioned above, among the sketch material for *The Adventures of Robin Hood* is a page of what Korngold calls ‘Late Sixteenth Century Dance Tunes’, though the only date recorded is 1609. This consists of one harmonised melody, and a ballad with words on the subject of Robin Hood. The words are: ‘Robin Hood, Robin Hood said little John, Come dance be-fore the Queen a! In a redde Pet-ti-cote and a greene Jacket, a white hose and a greene a!’ The melody and words are the tenor part of ‘A Round of Three Country Dances in One,’ found in Thomas Ravenscroft’s 1609 collection *Pammelia*.⁷⁶ The harmonised melody is a version of ‘Robin Hood and the Stranger’ from Cambridge University MS D.d.9.33 fol. 81^v.⁷⁷ However, Korngold appears to have copied both musical examples directly from a single page of a secondary text, William Chappell’s *Old English Popular Music*.⁷⁸ The page in question contains both examples under the title ‘Robin Hood’, and is part of the chapter entitled ‘Dance Tunes’, and the sub-chapter ‘Later Sixteenth Century Dance Tunes’. This corresponds exactly with the titles Korngold copied. The musical texts also match exactly, though the text of the *Pammelia* example in the 1893 edition does not contain the exclamation marks that are in Korngold’s sketch. There seems little doubt, though, that Chappell’s book was the source of the sketch.⁷⁹ Brendan Carroll notes that Korngold was aware as early as May 1937 that his next assignment after *The Prince and the Pauper* would be *The Adventures of Robin Hood* and, as a result,

⁷⁶ For a facsimile of the original four-part round see *Pammelia* 74 in Thomas Ravenscroft, *Pammelia, Deutromelia, Melismata* ed. MacEdward Leach (Philadelphia: The American Folklore Society, Inc, 1961). A modern edition can be found in Jill Vlasto, ‘An Elizabethan Anthology of Rounds’, *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 40 no. 2 (April 1954), 222-234.

⁷⁷ For a discussion of the sources of this ballad tune, see Claude H Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1966), no. 608.

⁷⁸ William Chappell, *Old English Popular Music vol 1*, ed. H Ellis Wooldridge (London: Chappell, 1893), 273.

⁷⁹ The harmonisation of the first tune appears to be new for the 1893 edition by H Ellis Wooldridge, as he mentions in the editor’s preface: ‘Sir George Macfarren’s accompaniments are distinguished in the present edition by the initial M at the head...; mine are marked with a star’ (page xix). ‘Robin Hood’ is so marked; therefore, Korngold must also have copied the *Pammelia* example from the 1893 edition.

he and his father began researching the Robin Hood legend in Vienna's public libraries.⁸⁰ It seems likely that these tunes, reproduced in Example 8, were copied on one of these research visits.

Example 8 'Robin Hood' (tune harmonised by H Ellis Wooldridge)

* Korngold copies this as a quaver

Example 8a. 'Robin Hood' (from 'A Round of Three Country Dances in One')

Ro - bin Hood Rob - in Hood said litt - le John, Come dance be - fore the Queen a[!]
In a redde Pet - ti - cote and a greene Jack - et, a white hose and - a greene a[!]

[!] - additions in Korngold's sketch

What is perhaps most striking about both these melodies, however, is their rhythmic and syntactical resemblance to Maid Marian's theme (Example 9):

⁸⁰ Carroll, *The Last Prodigy*, 266.

Example 9. Marian's Theme (taken from cue 1E, figure 9)

Whether done consciously or unconsciously, this can be considered an intertextual graft of a stylistic kind. Korngold may have intended to make use of the words as well, but the contractual obligation to MGM forbade any vocal music in the Warner Bros. version of the film.

There is also an instance of quotation in cue 3B in the scene where Robin Hood first meets Little John. Little John is heard whistling the first phrase of an old English tune 'Summer is icumen in', which is thought to date back to c1250.⁸¹ Though this is one of the tunes mentioned in Warner Bros' research of September 1937, the idea of using this tune can also be traced to Chappell's *Old English Popular Music*. The chapter from which Korngold copied the ballad tunes mentions 'Summer is icumen in' in its first paragraph.⁸² Though no mention is made of this tune in the sketches, it seems possible that Korngold's decision to use it in cue 3B was a consequence of following up this reference. However, equally possible is the tantalising proposition that Forbstein suggested the idea to Korngold as a result of the studio's research.

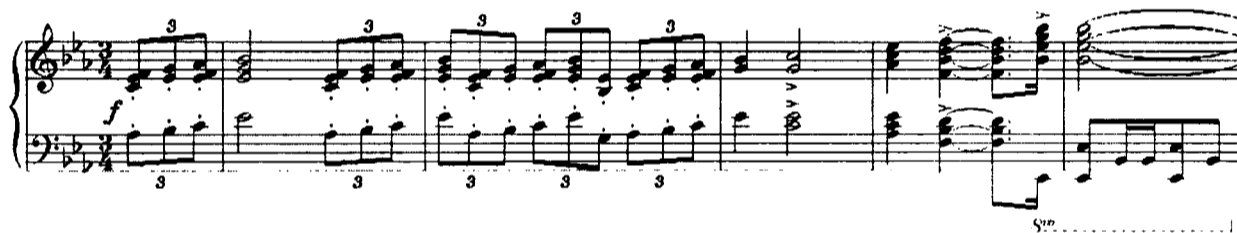
⁸¹ Ernest H. Saunders, 'Summer is icumen in', *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd Edition ed. Stanley Sadie, exec ed. John Tyrrell, vol. 24 'Sources of instrumental ensemble music to Tait' (London: Macmillan, 2001), 707-708.

⁸² On page 215 the editor, H Ellis Wooldridge, writes of the tune under discussion 'The notation of the tune is of exactly the same character as that employed in *Summer is icumen in*'.

5) Die Kathrin

In addition to the ‘elaborate rescoring’ from *Anthony Adverse*, similar claims have been made by Brendan Carroll for an adaptation from a section of Korngold’s opera *Die Kathrin*, composed almost contemporaneously with *The Adventures of Robin Hood*.⁸³ The fanfare heard at the end of the main title in *Robin Hood* (Example 10) is indeed similar to the fanfares heard at figures 13 and 18 in Act 1 Scene 1 of *Die Kathrin*. Again, I doubt whether this was a conscious ‘adaptation’. I would suggest that, like the intertextual graft from *Anthony Adverse*, it merely represents a consistent musical language. Indeed there are fanfares in the score for *The Prince and the Pauper* that also sound similar to Example 10.

Example 10. Fanfare (cue 1A figure 11)



Part IV: Towards a Reconstruction of ‘Process’

It is now possible to draw together the threads of the above discussion and attempt to reconstruct the process of composition followed in the case of *The Adventures of Robin Hood*. This will allow us to highlight the complexities of both the task and the resulting object. Though we miss many of the exact dates, we can chart the composition process from Korngold’s initial sketching work and research in Vienna, through the writing of the short and full scores, to the music’s recording and editing. Once this ‘story’ of persons and events is told, we can also reconstruct the ‘story’ of

⁸³ liner notes of Marco Polo 8.225268, 13.

the score—not in terms of its evolution, but of its network-like spread of possibilities—in a *Chronology of the Score's Changes*.

The Chronology of the Score's 'Composition': A Summary

1919

Sursum Corda composed.

1929

Korngold completes Leo Fall's operetta *Rosen aus Florida*, composing a beauty contest sequence that includes the cue 'Miß Austria'.

Summer 1937

Korngold, aware that his next assignment will be *The Adventures of Robin Hood*, researches the Robin Hood legend in Vienna's public libraries with the help of his father. He likely copies out a page from Chappell's *Old English Popular Music*, considers using 'Summer is icumen in', and completes some sketching for the project.

11 August 1937

Warner Bros.' Research Department send a memo to the film's first director, William Keighley, suggesting that it would be possible to use 'Summer is icumen in' as a song of the period.

23 September 1937

Correspondence between Leo Forbstein (head of Warner Bros.' music department) and Victor Blau discusses the use of old English songs were being considered for inclusion in the film as sung items. It is probable that the first tracks listed along with the piano-conductor score (see Table 3) labelled 'Robin Hood prescore' come from this time; they have identifying numbers of YM 5325-9023-1 and YM 5325-9024-1.

27 September 1937

Principal photography begins.

22 January 1938

While preparing *Die Kathrin* for performance, Korngold is requested to return to Hollywood by executive producer Hal Wallis and producer Henry Blanke in a telegram sent on 21 January. Korngold replies:

ACCEPT IN PRINCIPLE HOPING THAT ONE FURTHER PICTURE POSSIBLE STOP
POSSIBLE TAKE NORMANDIE TWENTYNINTH TO BE HOLLYWOOD FEBRUARY
SEVENTH CABLE IF PICTURE ALREADY CUT AND HOW MANY WEEKS
AVAILABLE FOR SCORING CONFIRM CONTRACT.

KORNGOLD

24 January 1938

Cutting notes by Wallis are extant with this date, suggesting that he is actively editing the film at this time. Wallis notes that the old music card for the titles sequence will have to be removed in order to put in Korngold's credit. The contents of the original music card are unknown. Blanke also writes to Jacob Wilk (a studio story editor) in New York informing him of Korngold's plans to leave Europe aboard the *Normandie* on 29 January. He asks that someone meet him on arrival in New York and pass on the copy of the script that Blanke is mailing to Wilk. A letter is also sent to Korngold. Though the only copy in the archives is an unsigned top copy, this was possibly written by the film's editor, Ralph Dawson:⁸⁴

Mein lieber Erich,

Erstmals herzlich Willkommen, und freut es mich sehr, dass gerade Du fuer "Robin Hood" die Musik machen wirst. Der Film ist glaube ich sehr gut geworden and kann durch Deine Musik sehr, sehr gewinnen.

Wallis hat sofort eingestimmt and daher der telegraphische Wechsel zwischen uns, der schliesslich zum Resultat gefuehrt hat. Ich habe Dir durch Wilk ein Manuskript gesandt, das dem Film ziemlich nahe kommt and aus welchem Du genug ersehen wirst um was es sich in dem Film handelt.

⁸⁴ A further memo refers to the fact that Dawson had written Korngold a letter.

“Prinz John” und “Sir Guy” sind die Schurken “Robin Hood” und seine Leute natuerlich die Helden. Das Liebesthema und die Verwandtschaft zwischen “Lady Marian” und “Robin Hood” ist dem des “Captain Blood” sehr aehnlich.

Bei der Zeit wo Du hier ankommen wirst, wird der Film fertig geschnitten sein, wie ich Dir schon telegraphierte.

In Eile alles Gute and auf Wiedersehen in Hollywood.

Immer Dein

25 January 1938

More Wallis cutting notes are dated thus. The Korngolds leave for Le Havre by car. Korngold arrives to find a letter from his father reminding him of his idea to use *Sursum Corda*.

29 January-3 February 1938

Korngold sails to New York on board the *Normandie*, probably continuing to sketch.

2 February 1938

Wallis wires Wilk to confirm that it is satisfactory for Korngold to leave for California on the Friday (4 February); he suggests Wilk book enough space on the train for Korngold's family in case the composer brings them.

3 February 1938

The Korngolds arrive in New York.

4 February 1938

The Korngolds board the *Santa Fe Chief* and head for the West Coast.

7 February 1938

The Korngolds arrive in Pasadena.

10 February 1938

Wallis continues to edit the picture.

11 February 1938

Korngold sees a rough edit of the picture and writes a letter of rejection to Wallis.

12 February 1938

Korngold, visited by Leo Forbstein, agrees to attempt the composition of the score.

14 February 1938

Memo from Walter MacEwan to 'Mr Pease' that 'Korngold is now definitely set to do the music on Robin Hood'.⁸⁵

February - April 1938

The following stages no doubt took place concurrently, with pages of the short score probably passed immediately to the orchestrators while Korngold began work on the next sequence:

- 1) Korngold completes the piano short score. A few conclusions can be tentatively proposed, namely: that 10D was completed before 1A; 5D was completed before 5C; and 8B was completed before 5E and 7C. The 'Sortie' music of 1C and 1D seems to have been prepared by Milan Roder, based on a Korngold sketch.
- 2) The short score is passed to orchestrators Hugo W Friedhofer and Milan Roder, presumably with some discussion between Korngold and Friedhofer.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Behlmer reproduces the same memo but ascribes it to Blanke and has it addressed to 'all concerned'. See Behlmer, *Inside Warner Bros.*, 53.

⁸⁶ It seems Friedhofer and Roder worked entirely separately on their cues, though 11B is a particularly interesting, and unusual, example of how the two men appeared to collaborate. The cue is fragmentary in the short score with only the 'new material' (that which was not taken from *Sursum Corda* and which was subsequently orchestrated by Milan Roder) written out. There are no indications in the short score to suggest that *Sursum Corda* should comprise the rest of the cue, so it seems as though some other method was used to communicate this information to Friedhofer. Interestingly, the fact that Roder prepared the orchestration of the passage in the short score might suggest that Friedhofer's *Sursum Corda* orchestration was already extant. This is supported by a note in Roder's hand at the top of the first Friedhofer page reading 'XI-B page 2'. Perhaps Friedhofer had already prepared this section of *Sursum Corda* at the request of Korngold, knowing it would be used at some point. Roder, responsible for cue 11B, then assembled the cue from his orchestration of the 'new' bars in the short score and Friedhofer's existing pages.

Friedhofer evidently had the published score of *Sursum Corda* to hand when preparing his orchestrations of the corresponding sections in cues 2B, 8A, 11B etc. Thus in 8A Friedhofer copies directly from the score where possible, even copying a slur that makes no sense in the context of the cue. At figure 11 in 8A, the start of the second section of *Sursum Corda* material, Friedhofer copied slurs in 1st clarinet and Bass clarinet. While these make perfect sense in the context of *Sursum Corda*, they are clearly erroneous coming after the newly composed material in 8A. The mistake undoubtedly happened because there is a page turn in both scores at this point.

3) With a release date of 12 May looming, the trailer music is prepared by Roder and the orchestral parts are prepared by copyists working at the Music Department, including Albert Glasser, Art Grier⁸⁷ and someone named 'Vito'.⁸⁸ A piano-conductor score is prepared for the recording, based on the format of the short score but incorporating changes made during orchestration.

4) Korngold uses the full score to conduct and recorded the music with the Warner Bros. orchestra. The earliest date for a scoring session extant in the parts is 4 March, but by this date twenty-three tracks had already been recorded. It seems likely, therefore, that recording started in late February. See Table 3 for the recording, and likely composition, order of the score. Numerous changes are made to the cues at the point of recording and through later editorial manipulation of recorded cues. It is unknown how many of the changes were motivated by extra editing of the picture, and how many may have been the result of miscalculations; the former reason seems more likely. The piano-conductor score is used to document the recording process and list the takes to be used in the final dubbing.

31 March 1938

Memo from Wallis to Forbstein:

It is important that you score the complete last reel of "ROBIN HOOD" on Sunday [3 April], and don't let any part of it ride over until Monday. We want to rush this through and have Levinson begin duping as quickly as possible, as we want this picture completed by next Friday [8 April] --a week from tomorrow, and the only way in which we can do that is by scoring the last reel on Sunday [3 April] and by finishing the duping by Tuesday night [5 April].

Cc Major Levinson, Henry Blanke [producer]

Only one date is present in the full score. This is in Roder's hand midway through cue 6E and reads 'up to 24 March'. However, 6E was one of the last cues to be recorded (after 22 March) and it therefore seems more than likely that cues were orchestrated and recorded straight away.

⁸⁷ See liner notes of Marco Polo 8.225268, 14.

⁸⁸ There are references to someone named 'Vito' in the comments written in the full score.

1 April 1938

Gradwell L Sears (General Sales Manager, New York) telegraphs W G Van Schmus (General Manager at Radio City Music Hall), having just seen the picture, calling it 'unquestionably the perfection of mass entertainment'. No mention is made of the music. In any case, the last reel had not been recorded, and it is probable that this was just a private showing.

3 April 1938

The day is spent recording the music for the last reel, finishing at midnight, in order to meet Wallis's target.

7 April 1938⁸⁹

Pomona sneak preview. Sneak previews would no doubt have been done using interlocked projectors (a so-called 'double system' projection) so that the film could be shown without having to make a composite print with the picture and sound combined on the same piece of film. This would make it easy for any changes to be made to the sound track.

11 April 1938

Another recording session takes place. The following changes were definitely made to the score on this date: the end of cue 8A is altered; the last two bars of 9A are held longer; the openings of 10A and 10E are revised; 10B figures 8 to 9 is changed; and 10C is revised. There is no extant evidence to suggest on whose authority these changes were sanctioned, or why they were deemed necessary. It is unclear whether the Pomona sneak preview contained music or not; certainly the version that Gradwell Sears saw on 1 April could not have contained the music from the last reel. In any case, none of the retakes required come from reel 11. Rudy Behlmer has always maintained, however, that the picture previewed with its music and that no changes were made to the score.⁹⁰ Clearly, part of this statement is wrong,

⁸⁹ At 0.49:31 in the documentary on the region 1 DVD of *The Adventures of Robin Hood*, a photographed cable mentions that the Pomona sneak preview was on a Thursday. 7 April was the only Thursday between completion of the initial scoring sessions on 3 April and the second sneak preview at Warner Bros.' downtown theatre in Los Angeles on 11 April.

⁹⁰ See Behlmer (ed.), *The Adventures of Robin Hood*, 35. Behlmer wrote to me in an email: 'There is nothing in the Warner files to note any changes made to the score after the previews. There were obviously adjustments made along the way and on the scoring stage but there is no documentation as to any modifications made as the result of the previews. In fact, from all evidence, it seems as though

unless Behlmer is talking about the 'open' previews rather than the 'sneak' previews. Either the picture sneak previewed with all or most of its score in Pomona on 7 April, and changes were ordered as a result; or, the picture sneak previewed without its score and changes were made as a natural part of the post-production process. The first of these explanations seems by far the more likely. As is clear above, Wallis wanted the scoring finished on the 3 April and the musicians worked until midnight to achieve this aim; why then would cues be revised cues on the 11 April unless something happened in the meantime? It seems safe to conclude that the Pomona sneak preview did have music and negative reactions (probably Wallis's own) forced changes to the score. No doubt, the changes were made to the dubbed master using the new units prepared after this scoring session on 11 April. A final composite print could then be prepared for the open previews.

11 April 1938

On the same day that the retakes were done, there was a second sneak preview at Warner Bros.' downtown theatre in Los Angeles. Wallis wires S Charles Einfeld (Director of Advertising and Publicity) to say:

EXPECT HAVE OPEN PREVIEW ROBIN HOOD END THIS WEEK OR FIRST NEXT
WEEK STOP HAD SECOND SNEAK PREVIEW WARNER BROTHERS DOWNTOWN
THEATRE AND WENT EVEN BETTER THAN AT POMONA WHICH IS HARD TO
BELIEVE STOP

It seems unlikely that the re-dubbing could have been done for the three reels that included changes, so this is probably not the version of the score heard in the final composite print.

12 April 1938

Wallis sends a memo to McCord in which he mentions the open preview at the Hollywood Theatre 'next Monday night [18 April]'.

nothing -- or perhaps very little -- was changed on the film after the previews. And, as you know, Warner policy was to preview *with* the actual score rather than temp tracks.' (1 October 2003).

13 April 1938

1) Memo to C H Wilder (comptroller) from Roy J Obringer (general counsel) cc'd to Mr Booth:

'ERIC KORNGOLD' [sic] has completed all services required of him in connection with the picture "ADVENTURES OF ROBINHOOD" [sic] and he therefore is entitled to the unpaid balance of his guaranteed compensation of \$12,500.00 at this time.⁹¹

2) A memo from Wallis to Harold McCord (editorial supervisor) gives details of the first eight Technicolor prints to be made. This could only be ordered once the dubbing was finished; it therefore seems reasonable to conclude, in the light of Obringer's memo about Korngold, that 13 April marks the date when dubbing was completed.

18 April 1938

8.20pm. Open preview showing at Warner Bros.' Hollywood Theatre. Memos discuss another preview planned for Monday 25 April with invited guests to include Max Reinhardt and the director Ernst Lubitsch.

25 April 1938

Second 'open preview' held. Numerous letters of congratulations are found in the Warner Bros. archives dated 26 April. Rufus LeMaire from rival studio RKO puts as a postscript to his 27 April letter: 'The musical score was superb.'

29 April 1938

Music cleared for copyright purposes.

Late April or early May 1938?

The full score is adapted for the 'Robin Hood Radio Show'.

⁹¹ This amount matches the figure quoted by Wallis and Blanke in their cable of 21 January; despite the agreement about being paid weekly, then, Jack Warner's original monetary offer was honoured.

11 May 1938

Broadcast of 'Robin Hood Radio Show' with Korngold conducting and Basil Rathbone narrating. Albert Glasser is on hand to make any necessary changes in the parts, and Robert Taplinger (director of studio publicity) writes a reminder memo to Walter McEwan (executive assistant to Hal Wallis):

Dear Walter:

Just to remind you about the coast to coast broadcast of the musical score from "The Adventures of Robin Hood" tonight over radio station K.E.C.A., and the N.B.C. Blue Network, at 7.30.

Eric [sic] Wolfgang Korngold will conduct a 50 piece orchestra, and Basil Rathbone has graciously consented to act as commentator.

12 May 1938

Picture premieres.

May/June 1938?

The Symphonic Suite is prepared from the full score.

24 June 1938

The first performance of the *Robin Hood* Symphonic Suite is given in Oakland, California by the Bay Region Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Korngold.

1948

A new trailer is prepared from the existing optical recordings for a ten-year anniversary re-release of the picture.

Chronology of the Score's Changes

Having examined all the sources, we are now in a position to document the changes to the score as it moved through the various processes of composition, orchestration, recording, editing and adaptation; in short, how the score fragmented from a near unified identity into a bewildering number of potential alternatives. We can

characterise these moments as points of divergence, points where a choice that pertains to which version of ‘the score’ we follow is required. As the composition process continues, these points of divergence mount up, and the ‘score’ to *The Adventures of Robin Hood* becomes ever more complex. While this is certainly a procedure that moves along chronologically, even if we cannot always specify dates, it would be a mistake to regard it as an organic development, or as an improvement process. Rather, it can be regarded as a slowly expanding network of possibilities. We will examine each cue in turn and attempt to plot the totality of its possible versions. As Korngold frequently seems to have made alterations to the dynamics in the full score—either before, or at, the recording stage—only the most significant of these changes will be mentioned. In addition, I have not included details in this section of how the score changed for the Symphonic Suite as this perhaps counts as a separate ‘work’ based on the score rather than a version of the score itself.

1. 1A⁹²

This cue is missing from both the full and the piano-conductor scores. It is replaced in the studio’s copy of the latter with the ‘violins’ part. The strings originally doubled the timpani in the last three bars, but these bars appear to have been revised as we only hear timpani in the film. As this is the only alteration marked in the parts that is heard in the film, it is likely that this was the change that necessitated the remake during recording seen in Table 3. For the radio version of this cue, a number of changes appear to have been marked in the orchestral parts: the second trumpet now plays the initial march rhythm, the whole of the opening melody, and the melody at figure 5 (though this is not audible in the recording of the broadcast); in the second

⁹² Each cue is given its official number, reel/cue identifier, and any title to which it is referred in the various sources.

bar of figure 3, a run up to the top A flat has been added in the violins and violas; and, finally, in the second bar of figure 8, the 2nd violins are given a bar of counter-melody in preference to doubling the 1st violins an octave lower.

2. 1B - 'Muted Fanfare'/'Palace'

This very short cue is also missing from the full score. The first minim in horns, though it appears in the film, was cut in the parts for the radio version.

3. 1C - 'Sir Guy and Robin Hood'

There are a number of minor additions to the full score in Korngold's hand made during the recording process; these include *fortepiano* markings at figures 3 and 10. The second bar of figure 9 was also removed at the recording sessions, and so marked in both the full and piano-conductor scores. Similarly, the first two bars of figure 15 were cut at the recording session, though the piano-conductor score does not reflect this.

4. 1D - 'The Meeting'

The second bar of figure 3 was orchestrated from the short score but was cut from the full and piano-conductor scores during the recording sessions. Also cut was the third bar of figure 14 and the first two bars of figure 18 (though only the second bar is cut in the piano-conductor score, suggesting that this bar was omitted first). The very end of the cue has two bars tied together in the full score; in the piano-conductor, the penultimate bar (the fifth of figure 18) has been cut, thus shortening this final chord. The only other variant concerns the bar before figure 14: it is notated in the short score with cymbal and side drum, but was orchestrated with cymbal only.

5. 1E - 'The Banquet'

This cue is rather disorganised in the short score and the material shows signs of extensive reorganisation. It is difficult to assess how it was orchestrated as pages 1-4 and 12 are missing in the full score, which also shows signs of reorganisation: pages have been taped together to fold out, and a blank sheet of paper has been taped in to cover an existing page (though this was probably for the radio version). One bar in the piano-conductor score is cut, two bars before figure 6, corresponding with the final cut of the film. The version of this cue used for the radio broadcast corresponds closely with the film version, but misses out the fanfare in the middle of the cue—after 'Hail Prince John' in the dialogue—and one of the melodic strophes.

6. 1F - 'Robin Hood Outside'/'Robin Outside'

The only change in this cue concerns the bar before figure 5: in the piano-conductor score, the pause has been removed; though the pause is still present in the full score, it seems likely that it was removed during the recording session. No trace of this pause is evident in the final cut of the film but it is in some of the orchestral parts in pencil, though it has been rubbed out of the 2nd Flute part. No changes were made when the cue appeared in the radio version.

7. 2A - 'Robin Hood's Entrance'/'Robin's Entrance'

A *fortepiano* mark was added in Korngold's hand to the full score two bars before figure 1, probably at the recording stage. At figure 2, four crotchet beats have been cut from both the full and piano-conductor scores and two 3/2 bars conflated as one 4/2 bar. After the cue had been recorded as YM 5333-9887-3, an extra timpani roll was

later recorded as YM 5663-9926-1 to start the cue. No evidence of this can be found notated in the manuscript sources.

8. 2B - 'The Fight (Robin at the Hall)'/ 'Fight'

This cue exists in two versions in the short score: one is in Korngold's hand, but is fragmentary and directs the orchestrator to the sections of *Sursum Corda* to be used (figures 3 to 5, and 3rd of figure 25 to figure 33); the second is in Hugo Friedhofer's hand and copies out the cue in longhand, including the sections from the overture. The earliest changes occur at this stage. In the third bar of this Friedhofer version, Korngold's original two bars of Common Time have been collapsed into one bar of 3/2, and at figure 12, Friedhofer adds a run in his own hand that appears in his subsequent orchestration.

For changes to the orchestration that occurred during recording, the section from figure 24 to 26 throws up the most interesting problems. This section seems to have been originally orchestrated by Hugo Friedhofer, based on the orchestration of *Sursum Corda* from which the section is taken; however, at some point the section was re-orchestrated by Milan Roder with much heavier instrumentation. The full score rejoins Friedhofer's orchestration at figure 26. The piano-conductor score seems to correspond to Friedhofer's orchestration throughout, suggesting that this change was a late one; indeed the orchestral parts have the new Roder orchestration pasted in over the top of the Friedhofer original, indicating that the change postdates the initial copying of the parts. The tuba part is also a later addition to the full score, and appears at the bottom of the page throughout, though at what stage this occurred can only be guessed.


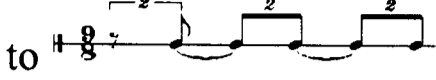
At the time of recording, the section between figures 23 and 24 was subjected to heavy cuts, as can be seen by indications in the full score. Eventually these bars were cut altogether with the preferred recordings noted as: 'YM 5801-9913-2 Beginning to #23 1:15'; and 'YM 5659-9920-1-3 From #24 to end 1:23'. The runs at figure 37 are obviously a late addition since they do not appear in the piano-conductor score. They have, however, been added to the Friedhofer short score copy and the full score in Korngold's hand. The following note in Milan Roder's hand is also found in the full score, confirming the late change: 'copyist! 26 to 37 as is (parts already written out) from 37 on all corrections in red ink are OK and please cue them in'. The repeat mark found in the full score at the third of figure 39 and the cutting of two bars before figure 14 are both missing from the piano-conductor score, though the latter is found in the parts.

The two bars at figure 5 in the full score were also cut for the film, though there is no indication of this in the manuscript; they have, however, been scribbled out in the orchestral parts. The bar four bars before 28 is cut only in the piano-conductor score, not the full score, yet it is certainly cut in the aural sources and scribbled out in the parts. In addition, this cue is one that was edited further for the film once it had been recorded. On one occasion this results in quite a crude cut around figure 17 where four bars have been excised from the recording, probably the result of a very late change to the visuals. Other post-recording changes include the cutting of the section between figures 19 and 20, and the beat before 22 to figure 23.

9.2C - 'The Chase of Robin Hood'

This was originally longer in Korngold's short score but was reduced in length at, or before, the time of orchestration, with a number of four bar phrases crossed out in the

manuscript. The rhythm at figure 26 was also changed between the short score and its

orchestration, from  to . Changes made at the recording session include the cutting of the second bar of figure 16 and the addition of an extra chord at the end of the cue. A portion of the cue features in the radio broadcast as part of 'Robin's entrance', namely figures 7 to 23 and 27 to the end of the cue; interestingly, it includes the bar cut at figure 16 in the full score.

10. 3A - 'The Victims'/'The Killed'

No changes.

11. 3B - 'Robin Hood Meet Little John'/'Meeting Robin - Little John'

Little John's whistling was recorded on a separate track (YM 5832-9958-2) and dubbed over the track used in the film (YM 5831-9955-4). The only change was made at figure 12, where another recording was 'made wild' (YM 5831-9956-1) for 4 seconds. It is not clear what was changed at this point. This cue appears in the radio broadcast as part of 'Little John's meeting' (opening to figure 3, and figures 9-11) with no apparent changes save the edit.

12. 3C - 'Robin Hood Fight With Little John'/'Fight with Little John'

The only change that appears to have been made on the recording stage was the cutting of figure 3 to figure 4, a phrase of four bars. This cue also appears in its entirety in the radio broadcast as part of 'Little John's meeting' and follows straight after the end of 3B; the only change seems to be an altered rhythmic opening that is not notated in any of the manuscript sources (see Example 3 above). This is unusual as all the evidence suggests that the orchestral parts were also used for the radio

broadcast; I could not find any alterations to this rhythm, however, in any of the parts. Perhaps it constitutes a mistake made by the players during the broadcast.

13. 3D - 'Jolly Friendship'/'Gay Company'

No changes.

14. 3E - 'The Oath and the Black Arrow'

No apparent changes, though the end of the cue is missing in the short score, making it impossible to compare with the other sources. The second bar of figure 7 seems to have changed at some point in the full score, with parts added for 3rd and 4th trumpets (a change also recorded in the piano-conductor score) and the G sharp minim trill in wind and lower violins reduced to a crotchet followed by an F sharp crotchet trill (a change *not* recorded in the piano-conductor score).

15. 3F - 'Friar Tuck'/'The Fish'

In the bar before figure 3, in both the piano-conductor and full score, the second beat has been removed, presumably at the recording session. This 9/4 bar was altered in the parts, with the '9' scratched out and replaced with a '6'. The cue appears in the radio version starting at figure 1 (missing out the first four bars) and has a slightly shortened last bar.

16. 4A - 'Robin Hood Fight With Friar Tuck'/'Fight with Friar Tuck'

The only change appears to be the removal of half a bar at the second bar of figure 12. This is marked in both the piano-conductor and full scores, and the parts, and presumably occurred at the recording session.

17. 4B - 'A New Companion (Friar Tuck)'/ 'A New Companion'

No Changes.

18. 4C - 'Robin Hood Attacks Sir Guy's Party'

It is difficult to track changes in this cue as only the first six pages are extant in the full score. No trace of the Harp glissando at figure 26 can be found in the short score; it appears, though, in the piano-conductor score, but seems to be a later addition, and was probably changed at the scoring sessions.⁹³ Most of the markings in the piano-conductor score concern cuts for the radio version and the Symphonic Suite. The only cuts for the film seem to be the removal of half a bar, one bar before 31; the bar, two before 37; and the second bar of figure 38. In the last case, the cut bar seems to have been restored for both the Symphonic Suite and the radio version ('good' has been pencilled above it). For the radio version, the cue starts at figure 8 of the Symphonic Suite.

19. 5A - 'Flirt'

The penultimate bar of the cue was cut in both the full and piano conductor scores, and the fifth bar of figure 1 was cut in the full score only. Both these changes were made on the recording stage and are marked in pencil in the orchestral parts.

20. 5B - 'Feast'/ 'Das Treasure'

The upper system of the third bar of figure 4 in the short score is crossed out, yet oddly these quavers are orchestrated and appear in the film. A bar's worth of rests,

⁹³ The harp (and most of the wind) parts are missing for this cue so I could not check whether this glissando was added in pencil or was in ink.

two and one bars before figure 14, was removed from the full score during recording. This cue features in the radio broadcast until figure 8.

21. 5C - 'Poor People Feast (Cont)'/ 'Continuation'

No changes seem to have been made to this cue for the film recording; however, for the radio version, an extra bar at the end has been added in the full score to bring the cue to a more satisfactory end.

22. 5D - 'Gold'

The only change concerns the very end of the cue where Korngold has added a violin glissando from a" to a'. This appears in Korngold's hand in *both* the full and piano-conductor scores, perhaps suggesting that it predates the recording session but postdates the writing of the full score and the preparation of the piano-conductor score.

23. 5E - 'The Poor People - Scene With R.H. And Marian And Epilogue'/ 'Triste'

No changes, though the piano-conductor score has copied a note incorrectly from the (ambiguous) short score at figure 20.

24. 6A - 'The Tournament'

Originally in the short score there was an extra bar, three before figure 8. This seems to have been crossed out, though, before Roder orchestrated the cue. The other changes that occurred at recording were cuts that removed the last beat of a bar. This occurs in the bar two bars before figure 8 and in the penultimate bar. As these were repeated figurations, this could easily be accomplished. In addition, the fanfare of the

first four bars was later remade as YM 5877-37-1. This was to accommodate changes made to the orchestration that gave 1st and 2nd Horns the fanfares of the first bars (marked in the parts, but not in the full score).⁹⁴ These were then remade again a semitone lower as YM 5877-38-2, for reasons unknown. The only other change occurs in the percussion parts, where cymbal strokes have been added in pencil at places like the 2nd of figure 1, the 4th of figure 1, and the bar before figure 3. These are absent from the full score, though they are certainly audible in the film.

25. 6B - 'Robin Hood's Appearance At The Archery Field'/'Robin Hood appears'

No changes.

26. 6C - 'Preparation for the Archery Contest'/'Preparation to [Fi]ght'

No changes.

27. 6D - 'Robin Hood starts to Shoot'

No changes.

28. 6E - ('Finale of the Archery Contest')

One cut is marked in both the full and piano-conductor scores, suggesting that it occurred at the point of recording, namely the removal of the last beat of bar 3; this is confirmed by the orchestral parts. The bar of figure 11 appears to be cut in the full score yet can be heard in the film. When the first part of this cue was recorded (YM 5873-27-3+4 from the beginning to figure 9) the first bar was, in all likelihood,

⁹⁴ The version of 6A heard on the Tsunami CD is evidently the original YM 5872-23-2+3 since no Horns can be heard in these first four bars.

complete. In the film, however, this cue follows immediately from 6D, and in splicing together the two tracks only the last quaver of this first bar remains.

29. 7A - 'The Arrest of Robin Hood'

This cue is missing in the short score. Changes were made at the recording and documented in both the full and piano-conductor score, namely the cutting of the second bar of figure 4, and the removal of two bars at figure 8. The latter matches the change made to the same *Sursum Corda* section in cue 2B.

30. 7B - 'The Tribunal'/'The Trial'

No changes.

31. 7C - 'The Jail'

At figure 9 Korngold put the 1st flute part an octave higher in the full score. This seems to be a change made at the recording session, since it is not reflected in any of the other scores.⁹⁵ When the cue was recorded, one of the tracks was documented as 'YM 5839-9972-1 Cymbal'. There is no cymbal marked in either the full score or the orchestral percussion part. A gong has been added in pencil to the percussion part, however, with strokes on the first beat of bar 1, the bars of figure 2, figure 4, figure 5, and the third of figure 5. It is possible this was recorded separately and overlaid over the existing track, but perhaps the word 'Cymbal' was merely added to identify 'YM 5839-9972-1' as a version of the complete cue recorded later in the day that included the added gong part. A timpani dotted rhythm, absent from the full score, has also been added at figure 5 to the percussion part.

⁹⁵ The 1st Flute part is missing in the archives, so I could not check this.

32. 7D - 'The Gallows'

Both the bar before, and the bar after, figure 12 in the piano-conductor and full score contain notes that are not present in the short score, suggesting that they have been added at orchestration. The only other change seems to be the removal of the bar four bars before the end of the cue; it has been crossed out in the full score and lightly crossed out in the short score, but it must have been excised before the piano-conductor score was prepared since there is no evidence of it in this later source; nor is it in the orchestral parts. The chord sequence from five bars before the end would therefore originally have been: C—B—B flat—A flat—G; the sequence in the piano-conductor and heard in the film is: C—B flat—A flat—G. None of the chords have a third. In the radio version of the cue, only the opening to figure 5 is played, before segueing to the second bar of Trailer 4 (itself adapted from 8A, 2B, 11B and 11E).

33. 8A - 'The Flight of Robin Hood'/'The Fight'

At the third bar of figure 8 there were originally two bars of 3/2 in the short score. This was altered at some stage before orchestration and collapsed into one bar of 4/2. The only other change before the cue reached the recording stage seems to be the removal of a bar in the full score (three bars before figure 7). Unusually, it has been cut out of the manuscript itself and must have been done before the piano-conductor score was prepared as it does not appear in that version. The possible reasons for this cut are discussed in the editorial introduction to the cue found in Appendix II.

When the cue reached the scoring stage it was subjected to a number of changes, not all of which were documented in the full score. The changes that are clearly documented are as follows. The bar before figure 2 appears to have been cut at one stage (it is scribbled out in the full score) and then restored for the version used in

the film ('IN' is written above it). At figure 20, for ease of conducting perhaps, extra bar lines were inserted changing the metre from 4/2 to 2/2 for three bars. The other documented changes concern the end of the cue, which evidently caused problems. Part two of the cue was originally recorded as YM 5561-9923-7 around the same time as part one (YM 5660-9922-1), sometime before 4 March. This evidently had the original end found in the short score, the piano-conductor score, and the full score. At some point, however, an alternative ending, designed to replace the last three bars, was composed. This alternative exists in the full score and the piano-conductor score, and was recorded much later (on 11 April) as YM 5921-116-1 (8A retake 'made wild'). As discussed above in the chronology of the score's composition, I believe this to be a consequence of the sneak preview showing in Pomona on 7 April.

We now come to the largely undocumented changes and start with that problematic ending. The actual ending used in the film replaced only the last bar of the original ending, not the last three as in the retake, and is marked by a small cross in the piano-conductor score. There is, however, no documentation of a new recording serial number for this ending, which is a shortened version of the retake. It is possible, perhaps, that it could have been adapted from YM 5921-116-1 by artificially lengthening the chord at the beginning of bar 2.⁹⁶ In any case, there are no indications in the orchestral parts to suggest this shortened version. The other undocumented additions include a harp glissando in the third bar of figure 8. Though there is nothing in the full score or parts to indicate this, the piano-conductor score does have both a

⁹⁶ Milton Lustig, *Music Editing for the Motion Pictures* (New York: Hastings House, 1980), 160-163. This technique requires the chord to be sustained in the first place so that a loop can be made. Leonid Sabaneev, writing in 1935, also discusses the lengthening of music: 'If the music is continuous and has no pauses, it may be lengthened by pasting new frames (countertypes of those adjoining) into the sustained passages...in music of any kind we usually have moments in which the change of sounds is retarded, and here we can always find a so-called stable frame, i.e. one in which the figure of vibrations is constant throughout. A skilled *montagist* can detect this with the naked eye, or by means of a magnifying glass. From a frame of this kind a countertype or countertypes are prepared and pasted in, thereby prolonging the passage.' Leonid Sabaneev, *Music for the Films: A Handbook for Composers and Conductors*, trans. S W Pring (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons Ltd, 1935), 110-111.

vertical and a wiggly descending line at this point. The cue was certainly recorded without the harp glissando (as can be heard on the audio-only track of the DVD), but I do not know whether YM 5561-9923-7 (which starts one bar before figure 8) contained the glissando or not. There is no suggestion that the harp was recorded separately and dubbed over, but there is equally no suggestion of any change in the harp parts.⁹⁷ Similarly, the cue was recorded without a series of extra chords to parallel Robin's on-screen 'hacks' at the rope holding the portcullis of Nottingham gate. Four of these sword chops were in place in the full score and recorded normally (as again can be heard in the audio-only track of the DVD). However, at some point, two extra musical chops were added. Again I cannot tell whether YM 5561-9923-7 included them or not, though it seems unlikely. The piano-conductor score has some vague markings around this point (figure 15) and it has to be a distinct possibility that the two previous recorded bars were dubbed over the existing YM 5561-9923-7 in an example of 'sweetening'. This change could therefore be achieved without recalling the orchestra. As no changes have been made in the full score at this point, and it appears from listening to the film that the rest of the orchestra is playing 'underneath' these extra chops, this seems the most likely explanation. As cue 8A was revised following the preview performance in Pomona, it seems likely that these other changes were also made at this point on 11 April or before 13 April when dubbing was completed.

A version of this cue appears in the radio broadcast, though it bears an almost exact resemblance to part of Trailer 4; specifically, figure 6 onwards (which is itself,

⁹⁷ Sabaneev discusses the mixing of two musical records, which may have occurred here. 'This permits of a certain amount of retouching in the orchestration; for instance, percussion instruments previously omitted may be added. Then the percussion background is filmed separately, and afterwards mixed.' (Sabaneev, *Music for the Films*, 120).

in part, a version of 8A - see Table 5 above). Instead of using all three bars of the 2B extract, though, the radio version misses out the first bar to smooth the join.

34. 8B - 'Love Scene (Lady Marian and Robin Hood)'/ 'Liebesszene'/'Love Szene'

As noted above, this cue reached virtually its final form when sketched. The only differences between sketching and the short score are: the reduction of the first section from 31 to 30 bars, as a result of a diminution of rhythm two before figure 3; the addition of an extra bar between figures 23 and 24; and some slight changes between figure 17 and the bar before figure 20. The only change made during recording was the addition of a pause at figure 29, marked in the full score but missing from the piano-conductor score. The ending was also modified at some point after the piano-conductor score was copied, with an extra two bars taped into the manuscript, and is also altered in the full score.

When the cue was used in the radio broadcast, it began at figure 7 and continued to the end, cutting the last two bars and restoring the cue to its original ending. It also cuts the third and fourth bars of figure 10, in the manner of the Symphonic Suite.

35. 9A - 'Arrest of Lady Marian'/'Arrest Marian'

The bar before figure 4 was cut in the full score during recording, with the original cue lasting 34 seconds (YM 5385-9890-2). However, the last two bars were later remade as 'YM 5921-117-2 (Held Longer)', with the last chord of the cue simply sustained for much longer, effectively lengthening the cue by 26 seconds. This could

be done artificially by taking the chord, copying it several times, and splicing the results together.⁹⁸

36. 9B - 'Much'

No changes.

37. 10A - 'The Knife Fight'

When this cue was orchestrated, an extra bar was inserted at the second bar of figure 9. The cue was originally recorded as YM 5800-9909-1; however, a later change was made to the orchestration, necessitating a retake of figures 1 to 4 on 11 April. The revised orchestration is only slightly different; the extra parts have been added to the full score in red pen and a new page of piano-conductor score was prepared and labelled as '10A Revise'. This new section was recorded as YM 5922-118-5 with an instruction to 'Segue #4 of YM 5800-9909-1'.

38. 10B - 'Richard Meet Robin Hood'

The run three bars before figure 5 was originally a sextuplet in the short score; in the full score, it has been changed to a septuplet. Like the previous cue, changes were made in the orchestration after the cue had been initially recorded as YM 5799-9907-6. Extra parts for piccolo, trumpets, harp, xylophone, and piano were added to the full score in red by Friedhofer between figures 8 and 9 with a note at the start of the cue reading 'copyist see #8-9 for changes'. This section was remade as YM 5922-119-3.

⁹⁸ See Lustig, *Music Editing for the Motion Pictures*, 160-163.

39. 10C - 'Richard Meet Robin Hood (continuation)'/ 'Continuation'

In addition to gaining extra parts for saxophones and trumpet, this cue was heavily revised some time after it was originally recorded as YM 5800-9910-1. There are two copies of this cue in the piano-conductor score, preserving the original version in one, and showing the new sections taped over in the other. The short score is extant only up to the point where the revision was made. The new sections occur from the bar before figure 8 to figure 10, and again from figure 12 to the end, and are in Hugo Friedhofer's hand in the full score. The reason behind this late change is not obvious; however, it appears that the original version of the scene included film of the disguised King Richard fighting with Friar Tuck and the change in the music could conceivably have been a result of the change in editing.⁹⁹ This seems unlikely, though, as the length of the cue does not appear to have changed greatly.

40. 10D - 'Richard the Lion Heart'/'nobile'

No changes.

41. 10E - 'The Procession'

Like 10B and 10C, this cue was also revised at a late stage (11 April). The original beginning of the cue exists in the full score, the short score, and the version of the piano conductor score held with the parts.¹⁰⁰ The piano conductor score, however, indicates voice parts: 8 basses hum a low F, with an upper octave in brackets, from the beginning until figure 2. These voice parts are *not* found in the full score or the Korngold short score. The original 10E was recorded as YM 5659-9921-1 and YM 5660-9921-4, with the cue re-recorded a few days later 'with chimes' as YM 5806-

⁹⁹ See Rudy Behlmer's audio commentary on the region 1 DVD (Chapter 24 01:27:34).

¹⁰⁰ It is not included, however, in the Burbank copy of the piano conductor score.

9933-1 and YM 5806-9933-2. The extra brass parts for 3 Trumpets and 2 Trombones were recorded separately ‘on the stage’ as YM 5663-9927-1. The brass fanfares are in the short score from figures 15 to 23 but only appear in the full score and orchestral brass parts between figures 19 and 21; the rest of the fanfares therefore needed to be recorded separately and dubbed over the rest of the cue.

At a late stage in the recording process though, the decision was made to revise the opening.¹⁰¹ A new opening thus also appears in the full score in Friedhofer’s hand, and a new piano-conductor version was made. This was recorded as YM 5922-121-2+4 with an indication to ‘segue to #6 of 9921’.

42. 11A - ‘Prince John’/‘Guy John’

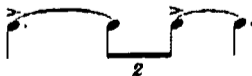

The only change in this cue occurs two bars before figure 6: during recording, first the second beat was removed, and then the whole bar was cut. The former is documented in both the piano-conductor and full scores; the latter is only in the full score.

43. 11B - ‘The Battle’

At figure 8A, half a bar was removed during recording, as was the bar before figure 9.

44. 11C - ‘The Duel’/ ‘The Duell’

Two changes were made at the point of orchestration: in the bar before figure 13, a downward run was added in violins, violas, and harp, whereas the short score only has the upward run given to woodwind; and in the second bar of figure 36 the rhythm was

changed from a 9/8 bar:  to a 6/8 bar: 

¹⁰¹ If the original 10E really did have voices (though I cannot understand why this would not have been notated in the full score), the MGM contract agreement would demand their removal. Perhaps someone realised in time and removed them just in case they were spotted.

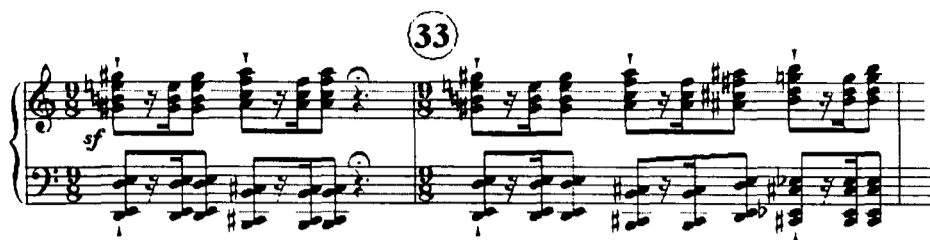
Tracking the changes in this cue is complicated by the gaps in the full score, which is only extant from figures 5 to 14 (inclusive), 3 before 26 to 29 (inclusive), and 2 before 36 to the end. Of the sections that are extant, the following changes were made at recording: the bar before figure 6 cuts out the second half of the bar; the bar before figure 27 was changed from a 4/8 to a 3/8 bar; the second bar of figure 29 was cut; and the last beat of the bar of figure 37 was removed. Other changes are documented in the piano-conductor score. These include the cutting of figures 20 to 21 (2 bars); the removal of the bar before figure 25; and the cutting of the second bar of figure 30.

The cue was recorded in four sections. Where the third section begins at figure 26, the new take (YM 5887-58-4+5) overlaps slightly with the previous section (YM-5887-57-4), so the B—D flat—F—G chord is still audible as figure 26's C major begins. Two other changes are not recorded in any of the scores: the bar before figure 2 is shortened from a 9/8 to a 6/8 bar; and at figure 33, as a result of joining the new take YM 5887-59-3 to YM 5887-58-4+5, the bar becomes almost a 9/8 bar that repeats part of the previous bar. This is difficult to hear in the film as there is a drop in volume as the two tracks overlap, but the change appears to equate roughly to Example 11.

Example 11 figure 33 in 11C



becomes



This cue features in the radio broadcast, though in a shortened form that corresponds closely to the Symphonic Suite movement. Thus comparing it with the piano-conductor score of 11C, it cuts from figure 4 to the third bar of figure 16, then from figure 25 to two bars before 31, and finishes at figure 35.

45. 11D - 'The Victory'

The bar before figure 1 was truncated from a 9/8 to a 6/8 bar, and the third and fourth bars of figure 12 were cut. This cue is extant in the full score only until figure 7. It appeared in the radio broadcast from figure 7 to the end (cutting figures 12 and 13).

46. 11E - 'Epilogue'

The only change in this cue was to cut the bar two bars before figure 11. This cue is missing in the full score, but the cut is marked in the orchestral parts, so it was clearly made on the recording stage. It is also marked in the piano-conductor score. This was the final cue to have been recorded in the last of the original series of scoring sessions on 3 April.

47. 11F - 'End Cast'

This is missing from the short score, but is unlikely to have changed. No changes are marked in the full or piano-conductor scores.

48. Trailer I

No changes.

49. Trailer II

No changes.

50. Trailer III

No changes.

51. Trailer part 4

The bar before figure 5 was cut, in both the piano-conductor and full scores, and does not appear in the final trailer.

The evidence presented above suggests that the task of identifying the ‘film score’ is indeed a difficult one. The radio show, for instance, purports to present Korngold’s ‘score’, yet it restores some bars left out in the final cut of the movie, while simultaneously cutting large sections. Composing a film score, then, cannot be characterised as a straightforward act of composition in the way that most music in the Western classical tradition is presented: it appears to be a fluid, multi-stage process, that involves numerous creative personas and depends, for a large part, on changes made to the film’s visuals. While there are undoubtedly precedents for this kind of composition in opera and ballet, the realities of studio era film score production are a far cry from the romanticised view of authorship that many

commentators, and even film composers themselves,¹⁰² have tried to invoke. In the specific case of *The Adventures of Robin Hood*, much of the material ‘composed’ existed in some form before the film was even conceived, though it had never been used in another film score; the music thus already carried a wealth of accrued cultural associations with Viennese operetta, the concert music of a child prodigy, and the rhythms and phraseology of Elizabethan balladry, before it was ever tied to a Warner Bros. swashbuckler. Though all music carries a degree of this cultural baggage around openly, the score to *The Adventures of Robin Hood* has a remarkably wide cultural footprint for a score that is frequently held up by defenders of a romantic aesthetic of composition as one of the great movie scores (presumably in contrast to the hack work of ‘assembly-line’ composers at Universal for example).¹⁰³ Its qualities are not in doubt, yet in tying them to the received picture of Korngold (as the great and, until recently, undervalued composer), these romantics do a disservice both to the wide-ranging circumstances of the score’s origins, and to those creative figures who lent a hand to bring the score to the viewing public.

¹⁰² See Caryl Flinn, *Strains of Utopia: Gender, Nostalgia, and Hollywood Film Music* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 33.

¹⁰³ Christopher Palmer, for instance, waxes lyrical about the score in *The Composer in Hollywood* (London: Marion Boyars, 1990), 54-58, and Tony Thomas calls the film ‘probably the pluperfect example to that time of the blending of film image and music’, *Music for the Movies*, 176.

Chapter 4: 'Reading' *The Adventures of Robin Hood*

How does the reading of a film, or a film score, correspond with other reading activities? To what extent are we 'reading' an existing and inflexible given, or 'rereading' a continually changing text, rich with its interplay of signifiers and signifieds? And can the latter really be described as 'reading'? The act of reading a film, or a film score, can perhaps be thought of, in common with the poststructuralist approach to literature, as a kind of writing; thus, Roland Barthes can claim that '[t]he more plural the text, the less it is written before I read it'.¹ This is not a radical or new statement, nor is it any less relevant to ask these questions, or to attempt to apply this kind of literary theory to film, despite efforts to discredit the poststructuralist agenda in the last ten to fifteen years. Indeed, in embracing an interdisciplinary and pluralistic approach to theory, this kind of activity arguably remains true to the spirit of poststructuralism, while avoiding any monologic claim of authority. In 1989, for instance, Barbara Klinger discussed the idea of cinematic 'digressions', audible responses to filmic moments that have little to do with their function in the narrative, in terms of Barthes and Umberto Eco, as well as the Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School.² These digressions could include a variety of reactions to stars, anecdotes about the making of the film or its production staff, and even 'the teen who recited lines from *The Terminator* during *The Golden Child*'.³ She argued that digression assumes a central place in Barthes's *S/Z* and that 'here, digression is that dynamic that realizes the post-structural concept of the text as a volatile productivity actualised

¹ Roland Barthes, *S/Z: An Essay*, trans. Richard Miller (New York: Hill & Wang, 1974), 10.

² Barbara Klinger, 'Digressions at the Cinema: Reception and Mass Culture', *Cinema Journal*, vol. 28 no. 4 (Summer 1989), 3-19.

³ *Ibid.*, 3.

only during the process of its reading'.⁴ The links between the type of reading activity theorised by Barthes and the cinema are thus already in play. Others, too, have recently returned to Barthes and re-assessed his significance for disciplines other than literature. In 2001, for instance, Michael North attempted to situate the death of the author as an existing historical discourse to which Barthes merely added:

Barthes essay ['The Death of the Author'] seems less the lonely intervention it appears in most literary histories and more a mild philosophical restatement of an anti-intentionalism then affecting its second or third generation of avant-garde artists and musicians.⁵

North argues that Barthes's attacks on authorship are strongly linked to his interest in photography and, more broadly, that changes in notions of authorship, for Barthes, come to literary study from outside influences.⁶ For Peter Brunette and David Willis, it was another poststructuralist, Derrida, and his concept of deconstruction that provided the theoretical background to their readings of film; in applying his ideas, they acknowledged the inherent differences between film and literature:

We do not mean by the terms "grafting" and "anagrammatically" to return to a naïve conception of images as somehow equivalent to words nor to propose a taxonomy of rhetorical figures for the cinema.⁷

Yet they also recognised the similarities in the act of literary reading/writing that allowed the application of literary theory to the cinema. This is equally true for all aspects of the film. While Brunette and Willis talk of the 'words and images', the

⁴ Ibid., 6.

⁵ Michael North, 'Authorship and Autography', *PLMA*, vol. 116 no. 5 (October 2001), 1377-1385.

⁶ Ibid., 1379.

⁷ Peter Brunette and David Willis, *Screen/Play: Derrida and Film Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 88.

relationship between music and image, or music and words, is equally complex, and has a rich discursive history. While I would not wish to ‘propose a taxonomy of rhetorical figures’ for the film score either, there is arguably still scope here to illuminate the act of reading one through the application of literary theory. For instance, the quotation above continues: ‘On the other hand, one might investigate such examples as the intertextual graft produced by the appearance of an actor in different films and its attendant effects on meaning.’⁸ The idea of ‘intertextual graft’ is of no less relevance to music or the soundtrack than it is to the visuals of a film, as mentioned in Chapter 3. Admittedly, music has traditionally been regarded as a far more ‘open’ system of meaning than the signifiers of language, though that has not stopped it from acquiring various rhetorical associations at different points in its history.⁹ Yet music’s very flexibility should alert us to the fact that it is ripe for a re-exploration of meaning, as indeed Lawrence Kramer has recently proposed.¹⁰

The film score is perhaps an especially rich text upon which the play of signifiers can weave their magic, interacting with visual and auditory components and the ‘ultimate’ pluralistic text that is the ‘I’ of the viewing subject. The act of ‘reading’ a film score is thus not only bound up with the other elements of the film, but with the

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Much recent literature on musical meaning has examined these associations, with particular reference to musical topics. See Chapter 3 of Michael L Klein, *Intertextuality in Western Art Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 51-76; Raymond Monelle, *The Sense of Music: Semiotic Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); and Robert S Hatten, *Interpreting Musical Gestures, Topics, and Tropes: Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004). Hatten is, however, still interested in understanding what a composer *wanted* to mean, rather than reducing him to ‘a pawn of cultural forces’ (33).

¹⁰ Lawrence Kramer, *Musical Meaning: Toward a Critical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002). In the film music literature, Anahid Kassabian has also explored this question, arguing that just because music may be non-representational, it does not follow that music does not ‘mean’. Indeed she argues that ‘[f]ilm music has always depended on communicating meaning’ (16) and that ‘[m]ost film music scholars assume that classical Hollywood film music is a communicative system that can be “read” by listeners’ (17). Anahid Kassabian, *Hearing Film: Tracking Identifications in Contemporary Hollywood Film Music* (New York: Routledge, 2001). David Cooper has applied a more theoretical approach by identifying a number of ways in which musical meaning can be established and grouping them under the following terms: Context-Derived Associations; Cultural Referents; Intracultural Semantics; Isomorphism; and Intertextuality. David Cooper, *Bernard Herrmann’s Vertigo: A Film Score Handbook* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001), 61-66.

elements of other films and other musics. As suggested in Chapter 1, the rhythm of this 'reading' cannot be predicted either; for Barthes, the 'Pleasure of the Text' lies partly in what is 'read and not read' in a classical narrative.¹¹ This 'tmesis' is never the same on each reading; what the reader chooses to gloss over, the rhythm of his reading, is unpredictable. The film score, thanks to the advances in home entertainment, can now be the subject of repeated rereadings with no degradation in viewing quality. Indeed the DVD revolution has provided us with a text that is closer to the written literary text than anything that the cinema can manage: we can pause, fast forward, rewind, skip to a different chapter, dip in and out in a way that encourages Barthes's rereading of a text. Yet, while the image can be arrested and studied frame by frame, the music cannot. Its status as the glue that binds together a montage of moving images is well documented, yet it could not be commonly experienced in anything other than time. However, with the editorial project undertaken as part of this dissertation, we now have, at least in part, a musical text that can be 'paused' and dissected like the literary text. That is not to say that I am advocating any cold structural analysis of the score separated from its context, but rather to say that we now have the ability to freeze the film and still 'see' a representation of the music. Though we can still undertake a reading of the film without this physical score, it arguably grounds our reading in specifics that can be easily referenced. This is, I would argue, of vital importance to the film score's status as re-readable text, and is a necessary step before attempting to apply the poststructural models of reading/writing that are the subject for this chapter.

¹¹ Roland Barthes, *The Pleasure of the Text*, trans. Richard Miller (New York: Hill and Wang, 1975), 10-12.

The chosen model is sometimes considered ‘the work of the break’¹² between structuralism and poststructuralism: Barthes’s *S/Z*. Though written over thirty years ago, in its exploration of what it means to read a work of literature it offers a valuable parallel to our present task,¹³ and has continued to attract a great deal of critical attention. Martine Reid, for example, writing in a special edition of the *Yale Journal of Criticism* devoted to the twentieth anniversary of Barthes’s death in 1980, revisits *S/Z* and examines the attempt in 1998 by Thomas Pavel and Claude Bremond to ‘finish Barthes off’ with their book *De Barthes à Balzac: fictions d’un critique, critiques d’une fiction*.¹⁴ Their aim, a belated indication, she argues, of a certain hostility towards Barthes, was to ‘free’ *Sarrasine* from the Barthesian embrace and effect a return to Balzac. Ironically, though, the indifference with which their essay was greeted, argues Reid, somewhat diffuses their attack: in demonstrating that Barthes has not joined the distinguished pantheon of great authors, this critical indifference to the act of destroying the Barthesian ‘illusion’ merely confirms that Barthes, as he is revealed in *S/Z*, is not so limiting an authorial figure after all. Balzac does not require his freedom from the Barthesian embrace because the authorial arms of Barthes do not bind so tightly.

Barthes’s chosen work of literature to ‘read’ is what he terms a ‘readerly’ or ‘classic’ text, Balzac’s short story *Sarrasine*. For Barthes, a classic, ‘readerly’ text is one that is only moderately plural, one that cannot be ‘re-written’, and as such exists as a product: a novel; a book of poetry. This he contrasts with the ‘writerly’ text, a ‘perpetual present’ that cannot be found in any bookstore, ‘the novelistic without the novel, poetry without the poem, the essay without the dissertation, writing without

¹² Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory: An Introduction*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 119.

¹³ *S/Z* was first published in French in 1970. Its ideas, the result of two years of seminars at the l’Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes, are contemporaneous with Barthes’s essay ‘The Death of the Author’.

¹⁴ Martine Reid, ‘*S/Z* Revisited’, *Yale Journal of Criticism*, vol. 14 no. 2 (Fall 2001), 447–452.

style, production without product, structuration without structure'.¹⁵ It is the writerly that stands as the goal of literature; about the writerly texts, Barthes contends, there may be nothing to say. Readerly texts, however, are subject to interpretation: 'To interpret a text is not to give it a (more or less justified, more or less free) meaning, but on the contrary to appreciate what plural constitutes it.'¹⁶ The aim of this chapter is thus to de-mystify the act of reading a film score, without removing any of the mystery of the text; to show how it can be theorised without imposing a single all-encompassing meaning, to identify what 'plural' constitutes it. It may be regarded as a 'readerly' text in the same way as Barthes's classic text; that is, it is *moderately* plural, open to a limited variety of interpretive strategies. Of course, one may contend that Barthes's methodology cannot be applied to music, since language, by comparison, is a far more stable semiotic system. In response to this, Lawrence Kramer's argument can be invoked: 'Language cannot capture musical experience because it cannot capture any experience whatever, including the experience of language itself.'¹⁷ If Barthes's critique of *Sarrasine* perhaps comes closest to capturing the experience of language itself, in doing so it offers a way forward for music too, towards Kramer's 'musicology of the future'. Indeed, John Ellis has recently attempted to coordinate Barthes's ideas, including the five narrative codes of *S/Z*, with contemporary modes of music analysis.¹⁸ He, in turn, cites Patrick McCreless's call for a 'post-structuralist, enforced slow reading of a musical text, in the manner of Barthes'¹⁹ and, though he does not present such a reading, nevertheless discusses the interaction between the application of Barthes's ideas and musical

¹⁵ Barthes, *S/Z*, 5.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Lawrence Kramer, 'The Musicology of the Future', *Repercussions*, vol. I (1992), 10.

¹⁸ John S. Ellis, 'Breaking the "Codes": The Ideas of Roland Barthes in Music Theory', Gino Stefani, Eero Tarasti, Luca Marconi (eds.), *Musical Signification, between rhetoric and pragmatics/La significazione musicale, tra retorica umana* (Bologna: CLUEB, 1998), 202-211.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 202.

performance. Though Ellis's discussion of the possible musical equivalents to Barthes's codes—in the context of Schumann's 'Ich grolle nicht' from *Dichterliebe*, Op. 48—differs somewhat from my own adaptation, it demonstrates a certain methodological precedent.

Necessarily, this will be, to a large degree, a personal reading exercise. In many ways, I am freely adapting Barthes methodology to allow the sort of reading and discussion of musical meaning that has traditionally been frowned upon. Though there is much that can be justified by claiming that my reading is a purely subjective exercise, reliant on my own engagement with other musical and cinematic texts, there are moments nonetheless where I believe my reaction to the music is perhaps a common one. This certainly has implications for how we discuss musical meaning in musicology as a whole, questions that I will postpone addressing until this dissertation's epilogue. What the marriage of film music and my adaptation of Barthes's methodology does is give us the opportunity to explore these questions with a genre of music that has other representational elements attached, and provides an approach that allows us to ground our musings in identifiable terms. In any case, I do not intend to repeat Barthes's discussion of the readerly/writerly any more than I have done already. Indeed, as Seán Burke points out: 'The best commentary on *S/Z* would...be its reproduction; it belongs to that class of writing that precludes any sort of faithful summary.'²⁰ Rather, I would like to set out the adaptation of Barthes's model that I will use, then apply it to a reading of a single cue in *The Adventures of Robin Hood*.

Barthes's method is to firstly divide his text (the short story *Sarrasine* by Balzac) into lexias, short 'units of reading' that are chosen entirely arbitrarily yet have

²⁰ Seán Burke, *The Death and Return of the Author: Criticism and Subjectivity in Barthes, Foucault and Derrida* (Edinburgh University Press, 1992), 47.

only three or four meanings to be enumerated. Barthes characterises these lexias as ‘blocks of signification of which reading grasps only the smooth surface’.²¹ The lexias are then subject to a number of different criticisms, each of which might or might not come into play:

We shall not set forth the criticism of a text, or a criticism of *this* text; we shall propose the semantic substance (divided but not distributed) of several kinds of criticism (psychological, psychoanalytical, thematic, historical, structural); it will then be up to each kind of criticism (if it should so desire) to come into play, to make its voice heard, which is the hearing of one of the voices of the text.²²

The result is a fantastically rich meditation on the act of reading that, in its plurality, fulfils the poststructuralist aims of the essay. Numerous meanings for each lexia are suggested, some of which cut across the linear narrative flow and make sense only in retrospect; they are meanings that can only be gained through the act of rereading. Indeed, Barthes ascribes particular importance to this act: ‘rereading...saves the text from repetition (those who fail to reread are obliged to read the same story everywhere).’²³ I will attempt to do the same with the film score, cutting it arbitrarily into lexias, and subjecting it to a number of criticisms. While the film *score* is the focus of the reading task, it is only a *film* score because of the film. Therefore, the act of reading it cannot ignore other cinematic elements. At the same time, however, I freely acknowledge that this reading is undertaken by one who is more concerned with the score than might otherwise be the case.

The subject of what constitutes the text of the film score is one that is constantly addressed in this dissertation. In this instance, however, we require a

²¹ Barthes, *S/Z*, 13.

²² *Ibid.*, 14-15.

²³ *Ibid.*, 16.

‘manifestation’ to read, and that being the case, the cut of the film available on DVD shall constitute the text. Furthermore, it shall be the cut available in the NTSC playback format, with practically the same speed and pitch as a theatrical print. Of course, there are points during the text at which the issue of alternative versions will necessarily come to the fore. It is not my intention to ignore these ‘points of juncture’ as I have termed them; quite the contrary, the knowledge of these special moments, pregnant with possibilities for alternative versions, is an integral part of my reading. Nevertheless, the text to be broken into lexias will be the version of cue 8A found on the DVD, amplified by the editorial version of 8A found in Appendix II. While it may appear odd to dip into the middle of the film and extract a single cue, this is not only justified by the fact that DVD allows this to happen, but is also motivated by the already accepted impracticalities of preparing a critical edition of the whole film score.

Barthes’s categories of criticism divide into five codes—each labelled with a three-letter abbreviation—under which he can group all the textual signifiers. The hermeneutic code (HER) articulates a question or enigma and the various ways in which it can be ‘distinguished, suggested, formulated, held in suspense, and finally disclosed’.²⁴ In Balzac’s short story, Barthes therefore terms the mystery of the Lanty family’s fortune a hermeneutism; furthermore, it is an enigma that has several stages, since the object or subject of the enigma (wealth) is introduced in *Sarrasine* before the enigma itself is formulated (the source of the fortune). The semes (SEM), units of the signifier, are indicated without trying to link them to a character, place, or object; they are a special type of signifier and include themes like femininity, wealth, excess. The unit of the symbolic is represented by the three letters SYM; Barthes uses it, for

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 19.

example, to link symbolically the description of La Zambinella as soulless, as ‘a being without life, or a life without action’ to the neutral gender of a castrato,²⁵ and to link Sarrasine’s love for La Zambinella with a love for the castrato’s voice and castration itself.²⁶ The code of actions or proairetic code, the signifiers that form the ‘main armature of the readerly text’, is designated ACT.²⁷ These ACTs include verbs such as ‘to laugh’ and ‘to touch’, in addition to data amassed ‘under some generic titles for actions (*stroll, murder, rendezvous*)’.²⁸ Barthes also notes the effect of each of these actions, numbering each term that constitutes it, for example: ‘ACT. “To enter”: 1: to announce oneself by a sound 2: the entrance itself’.²⁹ Finally, we have the cultural codes that are references to a ‘science or body of knowledge’; Barthes merely draws attention to the type of knowledge invoked, i.e. physiological, medical, literary, historical etc. Thus the adulterous ambiance of the Lanty’s mansion makes reference to an ‘ethnic psychology’ that sees Paris as an immoral city,³⁰ and La Zambinella’s claim that Sarrasine’s feelings will pass because he is French references an ‘[a]morous typology of nationalities: the fickle French’.³¹ The cultural codes are indicated by the abbreviation REF. Each of these five codes (HER, SEM, SYM, ACT, REF) ‘creates a kind of network...through which the entire text passes’³² and each has its attendant voice: the Voice of Truth (the hermeneutisms); the Voice of the Person (the semes); the Voice of the Symbolic; the Voice of Empirics (the proairetisms); and the Voice of Science (the cultural codes). It is the interaction of the five codes and their five voices that creates writing.

²⁵ Ibid., 54.

²⁶ Ibid., 130.

²⁷ Barthes is referring here to Aristotelian *proairesis*, the ‘ability rationally to determine the result of an action’ (18).

²⁸ Barthes, *S/Z*, 19

²⁹ Ibid., 78.

³⁰ Ibid., 25.

³¹ Ibid., 161.

³² Ibid., 20.

For our purposes in reading a film score, we can adapt Barthes's five codes and their attendant voices. These categories can be used to group the signifiers of the film score as it exists in its filmic context, in addition to those signifiers suggested by the image and the rest of the sound track. In music, Ellis saw the hermeneutic code, for example, operating at the level of the Schenkerian Fundamental Structure, the deepest of all musical enigmas in tonal music.³³ For us, the hermeneutic code can be used to articulate questions of representation in a score, of musical motifs and their subversion or disclosure; how a character can gradually become associated with a musical motif, and how its use can cause us to question the status or future of that character. Thus, 'Robin's theme' and 'Robin's fate', the subject of much of the escape from the gallows sequence (cue 8A), can both be classed as hermeneutisms, the former being a purely musical question whose presence points towards the latter. While Ellis bemoans Barthes's 'rather vague and unsatisfying definition of the [Symbolic] code' and chooses to concentrate on symbols of the body,³⁴ for our purposes the symbolic code is quite useful. It can be used to group moments of 'mickey-mousing' or the apparently close synchronization of music and image, and moments where subject position is created by the score (how music symbolises), in addition to the symbolism found in the image. The cultural codes can articulate points at which the music makes reference to other musical texts, or to its own history; the score's intertextual grafts from *Sursum Corda*, for example, would come under this category, as would those moments of intertextuality that are less 'intentional'. Ellis, too, refers to "frame[s] of reference" whose existence enables the author to address

³³ Ellis, 'Breaking the "Codes"', 203. Ellis further remarks that he sees the hermeneutic code often functioning in tandem with the proairetic code: the deeper level enigmas of the Fundamental Structure (the hermeneutic) determine the surface musical grammar and voice leading (the proairetic).

³⁴ Ibid. Ellis's concentration on the symbols of the body is motivated by Barthes's own views on the performance of Romantic music.

his Model Listener'.³⁵ In doing so, he mentions military-style trumpet calls and remarks that 'the culture has created a musical sign which, through association, immediately evokes military images'.³⁶ The proairetic code, in having some empirical basis in Barthes's formulation, can be used to group aspects of musical structure: sequence, repetition, cadence, modulation etc. As such, the proairetic code makes closer reference to the 'musical text' found on the page. The semes, in contrast, are for the most part associated with non-musical elements (either in the sound track or in the visuals), though they arguably gain added inflection by the music at these points.

Barthes's method is to split up Balzac's *Sarrasine* into its lexias and to 'star' each meaning as each kind of criticism makes its voice heard. I shall do likewise, splitting the cue into lexias that I will refer to by an approximate timing from the beginning of the film, and by bar number.

(1) *bar 1 (67:06-67:08)* ★ Beginning with a drum roll suggests expectation, tension, of the possibility of a (literally) death-defying stunt (SEM. Expectation) ★★ Drum rolls also bring to mind the musical traditions of the circus, of a drum roll followed by a celebratory fanfare to indicate the successful conclusion of a stunt, and also perhaps the drum roll before the fall of the guillotine (REF. Circus).

(2) *bars 2-3 (67:08-67:11)* ★ The sound of an arrow in flight is synchronised by the rapid grace notes of the strings and woodwind, suggestive of movement; the harmonic rhythm also suggests something spatial, an outlining of space, and also of sequence – the hangmen must be shot one after another (SYM. Synchronization: spatial). ★★
The fragment of Robin's theme heard in these bars also makes it clear that something

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 204.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

is happening, or about to happen, to him. What this might be, though, is not yet clear and thus constitutes an example of the hermeneutic code. The fact that this fragment is associated with the character of Robin himself has been established on many occasions earlier in the film. This lexia serves to reinforce that association, thus continuing to answer the enigma of what this musical motif might represent (HER. Robin's fate/Robin's theme). ★★★ We see the arrows bury themselves into the backs of the hangmen, and it is clear that the characters are dead, in recompense for the life of our 'hero' (SEM. Death). ★★★ Finally, the fragment is fanfare-like and therefore completes the cultural reference of the circus begun by the drum roll. It also implies that the 'death-defying' stunt was, or is soon to be, successful. The fanfare nature of Robin's theme also makes reference to military traditions of music: Robin is portrayed in the manner of a commanding officer whose ability is rewarded by the loyalty of his men; throughout the film, he is unquestioningly a master tactician (until undone by love for Marian) and a fighter (REF. Circus. Military).

(3) *bars 4-5 (67:11-67:14)* ★ The scream heard on the sound track indicates terror or violence (SEM. Terror). ★★ The scream also serves as a structural device, separating the fanfares of (2) from a series of block chords (ACT. Separation). ★★★ These chords have violent overtones, partly because of their similarity to the opening of cue 2B in which Robin escapes from Nottingham castle amid scenes of violence (REF. Cue 2B). ★★★ The fall of the hangman symbolises the eventual failure of Norman authority (SYM. Fate of Normans).

(4) *bar 5³-6¹ (67:14-67:15)* ★ Perfect Cadence in C (ACT. Cadence). ★★ The cadence with its sense of resolution provides a temporary answer to the question of Robin's fate (HER. Robin's fate: question temporarily answered).

(5) *bars 6-10 (67:15-67:19)* ★ The presence of Robin's theme along with the visuals of his escape further reinforces the connection between this musical motif and the heroic side of Robin's character (HER. Robin's theme). ★★ The music is taken from the opening of Korngold's Symphonic Overture *Sursum Corda* and thus represents a deliberate Intertextual Graft (IG) that draws attention to the constructed nature of the score, in addition to referencing the positive feeling of the earlier work's translated title 'lift up your hearts' (REF. IG - *Sursum Corda*). ★★★ Robin makes an heroic leap to his horse (SEM. Heroism).

(6) *bars 11-14³ (67:19-67:24)* ★ Sir Guy of Gisbourne's cry of 'Stop him' highlights his lack of authority; he is powerless to stop Robin (or his music). Similarly the Sheriff of Nottingham's open-mouthed expression perfectly encapsulates his 'effeminate' incompetence (he is portrayed throughout as a cowardly, bumbling buffoon) in contrast to Sir Guy's more obvious masculinity, through which he becomes a worthy adversary for Robin (SEM. Authority (and its denial)). ★★ This articulates a question that has long-term implications for the film: how will Sir Guy stop Robin from achieving his aims? Who will win? We may already know the answer through the conventions of Hollywood film and the legend of Robin Hood; however, we might wonder about Robin's short-term success. He has, after all, already been captured in the film when we might not expect him to have been, and was accompanied by the same heroic theme. Success is therefore not guaranteed.

(HER. Robin's Fate). ★★★ The activity of the scene is matched by the rhythmic activity of the score (SYM. Synchronization: rhythm).

(7) *bars 15⁴-17 (67:24-67:27)* ★ The shot of Maid Marian and her concerned look (HER. Robin's Fate) also contributes to the questions surrounding Marian's feelings for Robin; a smile also plays on the corners of her mouth, suggesting a repressed joy that is checked by both her concern for Robin's safety and her own delicate position in the 'enemy camp'. We know she has helped to arrange his escape, yet we do not know how deep her feelings run, though again the conventions of Hollywood's swashbuckler genre dictate that they must run deep (HER. Marian's love). ★★ The shot coincides with a turn flatwards in the harmony, to a German Augmented 6th chord (ACT. Flat Harmony) ★★★ The momentary turn to A flat harmony and nervous repetition suggest a deviation from the simple, uncomplicated heroism of the C major main theme, and thus symbolise Marian's concern and uncertainty. The leaping 7th interval to the top D in violins, violas, oboes and clarinets is also indicative of her hope (SYM. Subject Position).

(8) *bars 18-20 (67:27-67:29)* ★ Shot of the people. Their joy at Robin's escape reminds us of his commitment to their cause, and their loyalty to him (In the previous cue, as Robin is led to the gallows, one of them cries: 'We won't forget you Robin Hood') (SEM. The People). ★★ Marian's concern is answered by this shot of the crowd; their celebration provides the answer to her question (HER. Robin's Fate).

(9) *bars 21-26 (67:29-67:36)* ★ Pursuing Normans emerge from crowd on horses articulating an antithesis between Man and Nature that reoccurs throughout the film.

The Normans are portrayed as violators of Nature: they are associated with the town and are threatened by the natural world; their clothes are bright and are not easily camouflaged; and they are forced to travel in convoy through Sherwood as if it is enemy territory. Robin, on the other hand, is associated with the countryside and is a defender of 'England'; he and his men wear earth colours, and jump out of trees. Thus to see the Normans on horseback suggests their attempts to subjugate nature. (SEM. Man and nature) ★★ Robin's theme is given a 'minor' twist in bar 22² with the accompaniment moving from a C major to C minor triad (ACT. Minor inflection). ★★★ This minor version coincides with shots of the Normans, and thus the evil purposes of Sir Guy and Prince John, and is suggestive of a typical major equals good/minor equals bad dichotomy, though the musical material, taken as it is from *Sursum Corda*, was already in existence (SYM. Synchronization: harmony).

(10) bars 27-30² (67:36-67:40) ★ Modulation to E major (ACT. Modulation). ★★ Robin is not in the shot, and has not been seen for a number of seconds - where is he? (HER. Robin's Fate). ★★★ HER. Point of Juncture.

I. POINT OF JUNCTURE (bars '28' and '30')

It is at this point that one of many points of juncture occurs, a term that I have devised to describe the moments where 'the score' is required to make a decision about which path to follow. While it could be argued that a point of juncture could occur at any point in the music, since the language of music has given it the capacity to move off in any direction at any time, these particular points of juncture are very specific examples that arise from the different versions of the cue found in the manuscript and aural sources.

This might seem to suggest that the reader, at these points, is passive in the process, unable to control the course of the film; however, it is arguably only with the presence of the reader that a decision is made. Until the film is ‘observed’, the possibility that the music may take another path remains in the mind of the reader (even though we know that the actual course is inscribed on the celluloid). How this affects a reading of the cue depends on the reader’s awareness of these points of juncture. In this case, at the equivalent point to bar 28 in *Sursum Corda* there was an extra bar that does not appear in 8A. The presence of this bar in another source of the music leaves us with the possibility that the music might follow a different path, since there is a sense in which the music follows *all* its possible paths at this point until it is observed. While this bar appears never to have been intended for 8A (see the editorial introduction in Appendix II for a fuller discussion), its absence draws attention to this phenomenon in the mind of the reader familiar with *Sursum Corda*, for whom the question thus arises: will the score restore the ‘missing’ bar or not; how will the music continue? At these points, the reader is at the mercy of the score. The question cannot help but be articulated in the reader’s mind, even though the decision is beyond his/her power to make. This question or enigma, therefore, can be classed as an example of the hermeneutic code, or a hermeneutism as Barthes would call it. The missing bar 30 is perhaps a more extreme case of this phenomenon. It functions in the same way as missing bar 28 in *Sursum Corda*, merely repeating the previous bar and thus lengthening the phrase; however, there is evidence that the missing bar 30 was originally orchestrated and excised (literally cut) from 8A’s manuscript (see the editorial introduction). As such there is the suggestion that at some point the orchestrator believed the music *would*, rather than *might* follow a different path at this point in the film.

The reader's awareness of these points of juncture perhaps aligns him/her with both Korngold and Friedhofer (the orchestrator of the cue), since they would undoubtedly experience a similar reaction. This may be one instance, therefore, where a deep knowledge of the score does indeed align us more closely with the score's 'creators' in a traditional musicological way. As such, at these points of juncture, the reader's status as author of meaning gives way to a shared experience with Korngold and Friedhofer. In a curiously positivist-sounding statement, it is the score at these points that authors meaning by 'deciding' which of the possible versions to follow, though it is only in the presence of the reader that the theoretical possibilities collapse into actuality and meaning becomes grounded in one of the paths available. The reader's presence thus plays a role in the shaping of meaning at these points of juncture, even though s/he is, in some senses, at the mercy of the score.

(11) *bars 30³-31 (67:40-67:41)* ★ Cadence and stable E major tonality (ACT. Cadence). ★★ Robin is back in shot (HER. Robin's Fate). ★★★ The re-establishment of stable E major harmony following the harmonic uncertainty of the previous bars synchronises with the questions surrounding Robin's location (SYM. Synchronization: harmony). ★★★★ We see Robin and his merry men together, united in a common purpose (SEM. Comradeship).

(12) *bars 32-36 (67:41-67:47)* ★ Sequential repetition of fragment of Robin's theme, firstly in E major (with added 7th) then in C major (with added 7th) (ACT. Sequence). ★★ Friar Tuck appears in shot but is not with the others, having allowed them to pass through before moving his cart. What is he doing? (HER. Tuck's task) ★★★ SEM Comradeship.

(13) *bars 37-38 (67:47-67:51)* ★ The horses of the pursuing Normans crash into Friar Tuck's cart. The question of Tuck's task is answered: he is there to provide a mobile barrier (HER. Tuck's task). ★★ The rhythmic movement lengthens from crotchets (bar 36) to triplet minims (bar 37) to a semibreve with a pause (ACT. Stasis). ★★★ This coincides with the slowing of the Norman's progress; the sound of splintering wood is also blended with the cymbal roll and harp glissando (SYM. Mickey Mousing). ★★★★★ HER. Point of Juncture.

II. POINT OF JUNCTURE (II)

It is at this point that another point of juncture occurs. In the radio version of the cue, the trailer music, and in *Sursum Corda* (from which the material is taken) an alternative section follows bar 38. Again, with our presence as readers forcing its hand, the music makes a choice and chooses a particular path to follow, and we are aligned with Korngold and Friedhofer once more as 'helpless' observers of this phenomenon. The question, or the anticipation, that it produces in our mind can be classed as a hermeneutism.

(14) *bars 39-40 (67:51-67:54)* ★ Bar 39 with its nervous syncopations is repeated as bar 40 (ACT. Repetition). ★★ The guard on the gate shouts: 'Stop! Guards!' (SEM. Authority (and its denial)). ★★★ The portcullis of Nottingham gate is in shot and open, symbolising the freedom that awaits Robin and his men (SYM. Freedom). ★★★★★ The melody in Bassoons, Violas, and Cellos is a quicker version of the opening to cue 2A, Robin's entrance to Nottingham castle (REF. Cue 2A).

(15) *bar 41 (67:54-67:55)* ★ The advancing guard is surprised by a disguised member of Robin's band who throws a bucket of water over him (SEM. Surprise. Deceit) ★★ The music contains a harp 'splash' that synchronises with the throwing of the bucket (SYM. Mickey Mousing).

(16) *bar 42-47² (67:55-68:03)* ★ The sequence shifts in bar 42 via a syncopated chromatic line so that bar 43 begins a minor third higher than bar 39 (B flat rather than G). The sequence shifts again using the same device over two bars, until at bar 47 we have reached a relatively stable F tonal area (the major third is only heard in grace notes in bass clarinet and cello) (ACT. Modulation. Sequence). ★★ The guards are attacked and subdued by members of Robin's band (SEM. Violence).

(17) *bar 47³-62 (68:03-68:15)* ★ The freedom represented by the open gate in shot beckons and we hear celebratory bell-like tones in the music (piccolo, flute, piano and strings in bar 49) (SYM. Freedom). ★★ At bar 49, the music is again taken from *Sursum Corda* (REF. IG - *Sursum Corda*). ★★★ The question of the success of Robin's escape now seems assured. Where there might have been doubt before (he is captured at the Tournament, even when we hear his heroic theme, much to our surprise), the open gate seems to answer the question (HER. Robin's Fate). ★★★★★ The dialogue tells us much of the hierarchy in Robin's band of men; they respond instantly to his hails with: 'Here we are master! Safe and sound'. This not only shows something of Robin's authority, but also his implicit fatherly concern for their safety (SEM. Fatherly Authority).

(18) *bars 62-65 (68:15-68:18)* ★ The musical movement slows down as the harmonic rhythms lengthen; there is a fall in the bass line from F to E flat (SYM. Stasis). ★★ Robin halts his horse and stays the camera's side of the gate. Why is he doing this? Will he be captured? (HER. Robin's Fate).

(19) *bars 66-68 (68:18-68:20)* ★ Robin's chopping of the rope holding the portcullis is synchronised with syncopated chords in the music (SYM. Mickey Mousing). ★★ Robin's face is perhaps determined rather than angry, yet he requires considerable force to sever the rope (SEM. Violence). ★★★ What is Robin doing? Why doesn't he escape through the open gate? What will cutting the rope achieve? (HER. Robin's task)

(20) *bars 69-71 (68:20-68:22)* ★ The last two rope chops were later additions to the score, and were probably dubbed over after the recording sessions were finished. Thus there are aural sources of the cue that do not contain these last two rope chops, characterising this moment as a point of juncture in the mind of the reader familiar with those sources (REF. Constructed nature of the score/HER. Point of Juncture). ★★ The music returns to *Sursum Corda* material (REF. IG - *Sursum Corda*).

(21) *bars 72-74 (68:22-68:25)* ★ The rising melodic figure in clarinets, completed by flutes and piccolo, coincides with Robin's ascent as he holds on to the rope (SYM. Mickey Mousing) ★★ This is obviously a headline 'stunt', as knowledge of the circumstances of the movie's production tells us, an example of one of Barbara

Klinger's 'digressions'.³⁷ We are therefore particularly aware of the constructed nature of the movie at this point (REF. Stunt actor).

(22) *bars 75-76 (68:25-68:26)* ★ The contrast between the descending portcullis and the ascending Robin reflects the antithesis between good and evil. The portcullis, symbol of Norman oppression, contrasts with Robin's heroic status as defender and liberator of the people (SYM. Antithesis) ★★ What is Robin doing? Why has he deliberately trapped himself? (HER. Robin's Fate) ★★★ The descent of the portcullis and the diegetic crash as it reaches the ground is synchronised by glissandi in harps, and a downward movement in clarinets and violas. The two flutes, meanwhile, begin an upward ascent, matching Robin (SYM. Mickey Mousing). ★★★★★ The weight of the portcullis compared with Robin allows him to be hoisted up in a believable manner (REF. Scientific - Weight balance).

(23) *bars 77-84 (68:26-68:33)* ★ Fragments of Robin's theme are heard along with the rising motif heard as he makes his ascent. Robin is seen scrambling over the battlements on the gate, with no obvious way of descending (HER. Robin's Fate).

(24) *bars 85-90 (68:33-68:38)* ★ Little John appears at the now-closed portcullis; evidently confused at Robin's absence, and concerned for his safety, he asks 'Robin, where are you?' (SEM. Confusion. Comradeship). ★★ Alan Hale (Little John) is a constant companion of Errol Flynn (Robin Hood) in many Warner Bros. films of the period. Their temporary separation seems to be given added poignancy by this intertextual graft (REF. IG - Alan Hale/Errol Flynn). ★★★ The music's stasis and

³⁷ Klinger, 'Digressions at the Cinema: Reception and Mass Culture', 3.

repetition seems to echo the stasis in the narrative: Little John has had to stop and return to find out where Robin is. His concern is synchronised by the syncopation and swells in bars 86, and 88-90, and the subject of his concern by the fragments of Robin's theme in the bass (SYM. Subject Position).

(25) *bars 91-93 (68:38-68:41)* ★ Robin asserts his authority by the order in his reply: 'Here I am....Stand by' (SEM. Authority (and its denial)). ★★ The music is a sequential repetition of the previous lexia and ascends in pitch as the camera pans up, reflecting Robin's loftier position physically and authoritatively (ACT. Sequence).

(26) *bars 94-95 (68:41-68:43)* ★ The appearance of Normans on horses is synchronised by the music's galloping character. This compound metre galloping rhythm has been recognised by many as a musical topic, with Raymond Monelle identifying its use in a variety of nineteenth century pieces including 'The Ride of the Valkyries' from *Die Walküre*.³⁸ (SYM. Synchronization: rhythm). ★★ Its upward character allows the musical descent evident in the next three bars (ACT. Ascent).

(27) *bars 96-98 (68:43-68:47)* ★ Robin's descent of the rope is matched by the descent of the violin and celesta line. 1st trumpet and trombones also provide small fanfare fragments that are part of Robin's theme (SYM. Mickey Mousing). ★★ The harmony consists of a series of unrelated chords strung together in a descending repeated sequence of roots: C major—G flat major (down an augmented 4th)—E major (down a tone)—D major (down a tone)—E minor—B flat major (down an

³⁸ See Monelle, *The Sense of Music*, 45-65. Monelle argues that the topic is largely confined to music of the period after about 1800, though he cites earlier appearances in Monteverdi. He also points out that the use of an equestrian topic in music also makes reference to the past, to 'medieval, legendary, or fictional times' (49) and carries noble (52) and military associations (53).

augmented 4th)—A flat major (down a tone)—G flat major (down a tone)—A major—E flat major (down an augmented 4th)—D flat major (down a tone)—B major (down a tone), with the bass line: E—D flat—B—A—G—F—E flat—D flat—C sharp—B flat—A flat—F sharp. The top line of the triads almost results in a descending whole tone scale and therefore feels tonally unstable. (ACT. Ungrounded Harmony). ★★ Reference might be made to the descent of the rope in Prokofiev's *Peter and the Wolf* (1936) (REF. Peter and the Wolf).

(28) bars 99-107 (68:47-68:55) ★ Robin, dropping from the rope, hits the ground. After the ungrounded harmony of the previous two bars, the bass line settles on an A to which it returns in at the beginning of each of bars 99-104. There is repetition and diminution of phrase, and in bars 105-107, a sequence (ACT. Repetition. Diminution. Sequence). ★★ The references to Robin's theme continue with the fanfare fragments. It is clear that the vast majority of the cue is centred on Robin, further cementing the link between motif and character (HER. Robin's theme).

(29) bars 108-112¹ (68:55-69:00) ★ The closed gate is in shot; however, this time the camera is on the other side (SEM. Barrier). ★★ The approaching horses of the Normans can be heard in the galloping character of the music and in the sound effects, even though it is difficult to see through the closed gate (SYM. Synchronization: rhythm). ★★ Success for Robin appears to be guaranteed as there is now a clear barrier separating him from his pursuers (HER. Robin's fate).

(30) bars 112²-114 (69:00-69:04) ★ Robin and his men appear in shot, and their success is confirmed (HER. Robin's fate). ★★ The rising trajectory of the music

synchronises with the horses climbing the hill, and the music retains the galloping character of the previous lexia. The orchestration is reduced and the music becomes quieter in line with the disappearing horses over the horizon (SYM. Synchronisation: spatial). ★★★ HER. Point of Juncture.

III POINT OF JUNCTURE (III)

This is the second major point of juncture in the cue, with three possible endings available to the reader. As before, the course of the film is known and the decision is out of our hands, yet an anticipation of the phenomenon provides a hermeneutism in my reading. The original ending consisted of two dry *pianissimo* chords as the horses disappeared over the horizon; the alternative ending, recorded but also not used in the film, consisted of a brash and bombastic fanfare with conclusive cadence. The latter was designed to replace the last three bars (from bars 113-115). The ending used in the film combines aspects of the two other endings.

31) bars 115-116 (69:04-69:07) ★ The fanfare fragment of Robin's theme in B major concludes the cue, yet there is no perfect cadence, merely an alternation between B major and G sharp minor chords that feels almost like a plagal cadence (with a missing root). This, along with the diminuendo of the last chord and the fade to black, avoids any definitive conclusion and aids the link into the next scene, while maintaining a suitably final end to the sequence (SYM. Synchronization: denial of conclusion). ★★ The fanfare in brass also properly answers the drum roll from the beginning of the cue. The death-defying stunt is over and was successful, Robin's military authority is restored (REF. Circus. Military). ★★★ The sound of Robin's horses galloping on grass contrasts with the clattering of Norman horses on

cobblestones. It is clear that Robin and his men have been reunited with the natural world and escaped the threat to 'England' that exists in the town (SEM Man and Nature). ★★☆☆ In common with discussions of intertextuality that stress its ability to disrupt the linear flow of history, we can make reference to a text that post-dates 1938,³⁹ namely the score to the 1969 film *Battle of Britain*.⁴⁰ The theme for the Royal Air Force in this film is fanfaric and therefore resembles Robin's theme, drawing on the same heroic associations; however, there is one point where the combination of rhythm, melody, and harmony is similar, in gestural terms at least, to the material found in this lexia. It is found at 1.45:43-1.45:47 on the region 2 DVD of the film. An even closer reference might also be found in bars 195-197 of Wagner's overture to *Der fliegende Holländer* where there is an almost identical fanfare (REF. Battle of Britain. Wagner).

A Summary of Signifiers identified in Cue 8A

ACT

Separation (3); Cadence (4) (11); Flat Harmony (7); Minor inflection (9); Modulation (10) (16); Sequence (12) (16) (25) (28); Stasis (13); Repetition (14) (28); Ascent (26); Ungrounded Harmony (27); Diminution (28)

The musical events listed above, each followed by the lexia(s) in which they appear, have been selected for their interest. It would be possible to list every musical event, every act of the proairetic code that forms the armature of the readerly text, as indeed Barthes does with *Sarrasine*; however, to list *all* the musical events would arguably entail a second reproduction of the score itself. The edition of this cue can therefore function as a summary of the code of actions. The ACTs chosen above merely reflect the tmesis of my reading; as such, I freely acknowledge that I am stepping outside of Barthes's model by not acknowledging all possible signifiers that constitute the plural of the text.

³⁹ See Klein, *Intertextuality in Western Art Music*, 4-5.

⁴⁰ I am referring to the Ron Goodwin score rather than Sir William Walton's.

It is clear from the list that *my* reading of this cue relies heavily on both the periodization of the phraseology, and the contrast between stability and instability. Thus I am more interested in cadence, sequence, and functional harmony than in aspects of musical structure like orchestration, timbre, or even rhythm.

REF

Circus (1) (2) (31); Cue 2B (3); IG - *Sursum Corda* (5) (17) (20); Cue 2A (14); Constructed nature of score (20); Stunt actor (21); Scientific - Weight balance (22); IG – Alan Hale/Errol Flynn (24); Peter and the Wolf (27); Battle of Britain (31); Wagner (31)

The signifiers of the cultural code used in the reading are largely concerned with the construction of the score, especially the references to *Sursum Corda* and cues 2A and 2B. The cultural importance of the circus trick is also particularly important; in articulating both the beginning and end of the cue, it neatly encapsulates the constructed reality of the situation. The ‘escape’ is a set-piece in the film and, as such, is almost a requisite part of the swashbuckler genre; its details have little to do with the narrative in this particular film. Its successful conclusion is both expected by the reader (though Robin’s earlier capture plays with these expectations) and demanded by the drum roll that begins the cue.

SEM

Expectation (1); Death (2); Terror (3); Heroism (5); Authority (and its denial) (14) (25); The People (8); Man and Nature (9) (31); Comradeship (11) (12) (24); Confusion (24); Surprise (15); Deceit (15); Violence (16) (19); Fatherly Authority (17); Barrier (29)

The semes retain their ungrounded character and are therefore left untied to any single element in the audio-visual text. Their themes articulate many of the recurring signifiers in the movie: authority and its denial, including fatherly/guardian relationships (between Robin and his men, and Prince John and Maid Marian); the conflict between man and nature, and the taming of the countryside; the comradeship of shared resistance to an excluded ‘other’, and so on.

SYM

Synchronization: spatial (2) (30); Fate of Normans (3); Synchronization: rhythm (6) (26) (29); Subject Position (7) (24); Synchronization: harmony (11); Mickey Mousing (13) (15) (19) (21) (22) (29); Freedom (14) (17); Stasis (18); Antithesis (22); Synchronization: denial of conclusion (31)

Music's role in symbolising is largely one of synchronization; 'Mickey Mousing' is considered a very specific, overt, and literal form of this, though it also occurs in subtler ways. Unusually, there appear to be numerous examples of 'Mickey Mousing' in this cue, a technique more commonly associated with Korngold's contemporary, Max Steiner. Visual imagery in the sequence can also be highly symbolic, such as the static shot of an open/closed portcullis or the dynamic sequence of the rising figure of Robin and the falling portcullis.

HER

Robin's theme (2) (5) (28); Robin's Fate (2) (4) (6) (7) (8) (10) (11) (17) (18) (22) (23) (29) (30); Marian's love (7); Point of Juncture (10) (13) (20) (30); Tuck's task (12) (13); Robin's task (19)

The Points of Juncture are discussed in detail above. Of the other hermeneutisms in this escape scene, the overwhelming majority concern Robin's fate, and the temporary answer to a question articulated by his capture scene; the enigma is perhaps only finally disclosed when Robin dispatches Sir Guy at the conclusion of the film. This hermeneutism is, in turn, closely related to the one surrounding Robin's theme; when we have 'recognised' the association between character and theme, its presence in the score brings to mind the character, even when he is not in shot: in reel 3, for example, where summary justice is being dealt out to offending Normans with a 'black arrow', Robin's responsibility is clearly suggested by the presence of his theme. The two hermeneutisms are linked to the degree that the presence of Robin's theme now causes us to question Robin's fate. The hermeneutism surrounding Marian's feelings for Robin is likewise given a temporary answer in the next scene, when love is declared and we hear their love theme in its entirety; its final disclosure also occurs at the end of the film with the King's blessing of their proposed marriage.

IV A KORNGOLDIAN/WARNER BROS.-IAN TEXT?

In his book, *The Death and Return of the Author: Criticism and Subjectivity in Barthes, Foucault and Derrida*, Seán Burke argues that *S/Z*, far from announcing the Death of the Author, as we might expect from the roughly contemporaneous essay of the same name, achieves the death of representation. It is Barthes's ongoing task to challenge the ethics of representation, and this he does supremely in *S/Z*. Once that has been achieved, 'when a text no longer speaks the language of representation, the death of the author becomes gratuitous'.⁴¹ This allows Balzac to make his appearance after all, in section ninety of Barthes's essay, as 'The Balzacian Text'; when the illusion of reality has been dispelled, when the 'war of attrition' against the 'reality effect' has been won, the author can return as the guest of the reader. This, argues Burke, happens continuously in Barthes, in *The Pleasure of the Text* and, particularly, in *Sade Fourier Loyala*.⁴² Yet, as Burke acknowledges: 'The return of the author...does not re-open the closed-casket case of his death. The author can be at once both dead and alive.'⁴³ Where then does our 'author' re-appear, and do we want him to? Is there a Korngoldian text? Or a Warner Bros.-ian text?

Of course, Barthes, in working with literature, was working against an establishment that accepted unquestioningly the representative status of language, and the need to attack the author was arguably therefore more pressing. With musicology, the opposite is almost the case. While the 'intentions' of author figures are constantly invoked, or alluded to, by positivist musicologists, music's ability to represent is

⁴¹ Burke, *The Death and Return of the Author*, 47.

⁴² Barthes argues that 'The pleasure of the Text also includes the amicable return of the author. Of course the author who returns is not the one identified by our institutions...he is not even the biographical hero' (Roland Barthes, *Sade, Fourier, Loyala*, trans. Richard Miller (London: Jonathan Cape, 1977), 8). In reading *Sade*, he argues that the society that bans him, does so because it reads him on the level of the referent rather than on the level of the meaning: 'The legal condemnation brought against *Sade* is therefore based on a certain system of literature, and this system is that of realism...' (Ibid., 37).

⁴³ Burke, *The Death and Return of the Author*, 33.

traditionally rejected. What I have shown in this reading, and what interests many postmodernist musicologists, is music's undoubted power to aid a form of representation, to create meaning; yet, crucially (and this is where I align myself with Barthes), it is not a power granted by any author figure, but one that is created through the play of intertextual signifiers between music, image, and the reader. In that sense, we can allow a Korngoldian text to appear as 'the guest of the reader'. Yet the Korngoldian text I would invite back is not the creation of a single authorial voice, but a rich tapestry of authorial *voices* that includes a certain amount of mimicry: Korngold mimicking (to a degree) the voices of Elizabethan England; Korngold speaking through the orchestrators who mimic his style; and Korngold mimicking the compositional voices of 1919 (*Sursum Corda*) and 1929 (*Rosen aus Florida*). Similarly, we might also invite in a Warner Bros.-ian text to our interpretation: the scene in question belongs to the genre of the swashbuckler, and more specifically to the escape scene and its musical accompaniments. Thus my reading of it is also conditioned by similar 'escape' scenes, or moments of concern for the hero, in those other Warner Bros. swashbucklers, *The Sea Hawk* (1940) and *Captain Blood* (1935). This interest in the Warner Bros.-ian or Korngoldian text is no different, however, from acknowledging the presence of other 'texts', be they musical, cultural, or cinematic; I do not assign special significance to either the 'Warner Bros.-ian text' or the 'Korngoldian text' as originators of meaning in the musical score. As Michael L Klein puts it:

When authors, texts, and readers become intertexts, they all participate in the scattering of meaning...the moment we ask what that work means, we cease our dealings with it as a work and commence our struggle with it as a text...And as another text to be interpreted in the

intertext around a work, the author has no transcendental power to close interpretation and fix meaning in place.⁴⁴

Focussing on any single 'text' would thus threaten to 'drown the intertext in a monologic reading that closes interpretation.'⁴⁵ If the poststructuralist or, more broadly, postmodernist agenda has stressed anything, it is the negation of all-encompassing theories or monologism; the studio as author therefore has as little, or as much, power to close interpretation as the composer.

⁴⁴ Klein, *Intertextuality in Western Art Music*, 111.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 135.

Epilogue: On the Nature of Collaboration

How, then, should we respond to the Prologue's initial statement? Is Korngold the 'author' of a discrete musical object, namely the 'score to *The Adventures of Robin Hood*', and was it 'composed' in 1938? As the dissertation has shown, the notion of 'authorship' is very much more complicated than has generally been understood in film music discourse. While Korngold may remain as a powerful authorial presence, particularly with respect to the score's genesis and production process, his contributions are not confined to the Korngold of 1938: his authorial 'voice' consists partly of a series of historically distanced *voices* that bring with them their own contexts and associations, and constitute a 'Korngoldian text' that has as little authority to close meaning as any other textual element that impacts on our reading of *The Adventures of Robin Hood*. Nor can the score to *The Adventures of Robin Hood* be adequately described as a discrete musical object; while it may be manifested in a work-like state on occasions, it is more properly regarded as a multivalent text-like object that has blurred boundaries and extends its associative powers over a wide cultural footprint. 'Composition', too, in the historical context of the Hollywood studio system, has been revealed as a very much more complicated and *collaborative* process than might be thought; the extent to which Korngold and others believed he maintained control over that process in *The Adventures of Robin Hood* is, in some senses, irrelevant to an account of the actual complexities of the score's production, no matter how small other contributions were. We can therefore perhaps find ourselves agreeing with Robert Carringer's assessment of *Citizen Kane*, with a small substitution:

[T]he collaborative process provides the best framework for understanding the remarkable achievement that *Citizen Kane* [read: the music for *The Adventures of Robin Hood*] represents.¹

It is this notion of ‘collaboration’, and its relevance for the wider aims of the dissertation, to which I wish to turn finally in conclusion.

In his discussion of the interaction between music and mixed media in the book *Musical Meaning: Toward a Critical History*, Lawrence Kramer notes the following:

musical hermeneutics[’]...primary role in social life is to make music a medium of alliance: to promote collaboration, establish a socially resonant interplay of consensus and contention, and form or enrich intimacy or group identity.²

Collaboration, it seems, can inform acts of reception as much as production. In a sense, a discussion of music and authorship in the Hollywood Studio System is properly concluded, then, at the site of reception. Along the way, the notion of the originating authorial figure has been jettisoned, in favour of a collaborative view of production that recognises the composer as just one voice, or set of voices, in a polyphonous text. And in getting from ‘writer to reader’, a visual representation of that text, in the form of a critical edition, has been proposed. What is the next step, though? In tracing both a productive and receptive path, with Chapter 3 informing the former and Chapter 4 the latter, have we too neatly sewn up the ‘text’ of the film score? Is there no more collaboration to be had? If, as must be the case, we see film

¹ Robert L Carringer, *The Making of Citizen Kane* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), x.

² Lawrence Kramer, *Musical Meaning: Toward a Critical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 162.

musicology as a part of musicology as a whole, what effect does this path have on the discourse of musicology?

Studies of opera and ballet are already recognising the importance of institutional ‘authors’ as productive forces, and releasing their grip on the individual composer. The recognition of ‘productive’ (as opposed to ‘receptive’) authorial complexity is perhaps already underway in musicology, despite Gorbman’s implied criticisms of the discipline.³ For film musicology, however, discussions of productive authorship tend to be avoided; the hermeneuticists are happy to read their texts without probing too much into the circumstances of their ‘production’. Revealing the collaborative productive practices of the Hollywood music departments of the 1930s and ’40s, then, has a more local impact on the specific, and relatively young, discipline of film musicology. Its next step is surely an institutional history of a studio music department. A discussion of ‘receptive’ authorship in film music, on the other hand, in describing the interaction between a film score text and the receiver, and the construction of identity and meaning, has the potential to have a tangible impact on the rest of musicology. Here, then, we have another type of collaboration, between a sub-discipline (film musicology) and its larger parent discipline. As Kramer has argued in his discussion of music and mixed media, the collaboration can go both ways: he asks both what can be learned about musical meaning from mixed media, and conversely, what can be learned about mixed media from the phenomenon of musical meaning?⁴ I would like to suggest that the Barthesian reading offered in Chapter 4, in its methodologically justified combination of different critical approaches, might prove useful for musicology as a whole in finding a way to

³ Claudia Gorbman, ‘Film Music’, John Hill and Pamela Church Gibson (eds.), *The Oxford Guide to Film Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 43-44.

⁴ Kramer, *Musical Meaning*, 145.

facilitate the simultaneous presence of the sometimes antagonistic approaches of hermeneutics and formalist analysis in an exploration of musical meaning.

What of the visual element, though? A large amount of my reading in Chapter 4 is arguably centred on the representational information contained in the film's image. This is obviously what makes film, and other musical multi/mixed-media combinations, safe territory in which to address musical meaning, since the presence of representational elements alongside the music always provides us with a starting point. Can the methodology espoused really be applied to so-called autonomous musical works? Leaving aside the fact that, as Kramer argues, a large percentage of musical works are 'mixed media' anyway through their association with written texts, there are numerous visual elements to music that also could come into play. These include the direct visual stimuli of live concert performance and music's resultant corporeality, the visual representation found in opera and ballet (though admittedly these are far less stable texts than the mechanically reproducible film image), and the visual associations that music has built through its interactions in film and television. It is this last category that is perhaps of most interest. Of the music that is commonly discussed by musicology, much has been appropriated in some form in an advertisement, film, or corporate video. As Kramer notes of Wagner's 'Ride of the Valkyries':

[t]he process can even leapfrog from one imagetext to another: a listener to *Die Walküre* who knows *Apocalypse Now* might well find Wagner's scene assuming or revealing the deluded brutality evoked by Coppola's.⁵

⁵ Ibid., 153.

I would argue that this process is not confined to traditionally defined ‘imagetexts’ like opera, but can also occur with imagined ‘imagetexts’. When hearing Korngold’s Symphonic Overture *Sursum Corda* in the concert hall, for example, who familiar with *The Adventures of Robin Hood* can avoid mapping images of heroic deeds in glorious bright-as-a-button Technicolor to the experience? Or, to use one of Nicholas Cook’s examples, who could avoid seeing (back in 1992) a Citroën car when listening to (or even watching?) a performance of Mozart’s overture to *The Marriage of Figaro*?⁶ Indeed, one interesting avenue for further research would therefore be a ‘Barthesian reading’ of other works by Korngold such as *Sursum Corda* or even Liszt’s *Prometheus*, which with its connections to the score for *Captain Blood* is also part of the ‘Korngoldian text’. Most of the post-war concert works by Korngold also share large amounts of material with the film scores: the network of image associations would make for fascinating readings of so-called autonomous works of music. Evidently, these associations depend on a shared cultural experience—as indeed did Barthes’s demystification of the act of reading, Klein’s discussion of intertextuality, or Monelle’s discussion of musical topics—and they therefore have a great deal to say about the thorny issue of subjectivity. While Kramer may contend that hermeneutics has the capacity to make music a ‘medium of alliance’, for example, the overarching impression of his book is of a personal baring of the soul, that includes not only references to a painful familial history,⁷ but also the author’s own composition, which he includes as a compact disc appendix.⁸ Clearly, then, there is much more to say about the role of subjectivity in the construction of musical

⁶ See ‘Introduction: Music and Meaning in the Commercials’, Nicholas Cook, *Analysing Musical Multimedia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 3-23.

⁷ Kramer, *Musical Meaning*, 284-86.

⁸ Kramer’s writing style in *Musical Meaning* is also stridently personal. On page 266, for example, he writes: ‘I would like to bury the concept of a constitutive originality, an originality synonymous with seriousness and “greatness” in art. If I could have my way, I would bury it so deep it could never return.’

meaning. Whether film music's highly codified discursive nature is based on culturally shared values, or is perceived substantially differently by each individual subject, is a question that has relevance for all musical genres.

So, the perceived absence of a visual or overtly representational aspect in 'autonomous' music is not necessarily a barrier to applying the Barthesian model. Indeed, if the Barthesian model stresses anything, it is the plurality of critical approaches allowable and *necessary* to cover all the bases of meaning implied in a text. In its application to a symphony, for example, why *not* include a formalist analysis? 'Meaning' is surely not confined to ekphrasistic description; and while I would strongly reject the suggestion that meaning can only be found in so-called 'ineffable' qualities of music, one cannot deny that some of the plurality of musical meaning *could* be found in those very qualities that are revealed through an in-depth study of the score on the page. What we mean by 'meaning' is, of course, subject to considerable debate: Nicholas Cook differentiates it from 'effect' by claiming that it is predicated on communication, on human agency;⁹ yet if we embrace poststructuralism's separation of the sign from the signifier, the communicative act is surely questionable as the only arbiter of the creation of 'meaning'. In addition, poststructuralism does not allow us to ascribe absolute authority to any model or critical methodology; there is no reason why a discussion of music's meaning cannot embrace all possible critical strategies for receiving music and expressing it in some other form, as linguistic ekphrasis, or even Schenkerian diagram. What the Barthesian model allows us to do is to display these critical strategies openly and concurrently, without fear of reprisal. Nor do we need to claim a universality for our readings; some will, in all likely hood, be more personal than others, but the question of subjectivity

⁹ Cook, *Analysing Musical Multimedia*, 4.

is not one that necessarily needs to be answered conclusively in order to write interesting musicology. While this might all suggest a critical ‘anything goes’ attitude to musicology, it is anything but. The crux of what I am suggesting is that formalist analysis and culturally situated hermeneutic readings might be presented side by side, each informing the other, each opening a critical window and helping to articulate ‘what plural constitutes’ the musical text. In that regard, we can add another type of collaboration to our list, one between critical musicologists and analysts. As Robert Carringer said of *Citizen Kane* ‘[t]he quality of a film is partly a measure of the quality of its collaborative talent’.¹⁰ Another substitution is perhaps in order here: the quality of a *discipline* is partly a measure of the quality of its collaborative talent. There is no reason why musicology cannot embrace seemingly opposed critical models as evidence of the plurality of musical meaning; the real challenge is perhaps in the presentation, in creating convincing arguments without resorting to a monologic approach. Perhaps it will only be through a productive collaboration between musicologists specialised in different areas of the discipline that this dream of a truly inclusive, postmodernist musicology might be realised. ‘Autonomous’ musical objects might then be ‘understood’ (surely the logical outcome of an appreciation of ‘meaning’)—as culturally situated texts, *and* as ineffable structure-revealing works; as reflections of a personal subjectivity, *and* as the articulation of a cultural identity—with the same sense of youthful confidence and plurality of approach evidenced in the discussion of meaning in film and other multimedia.

¹⁰ Carringer, *The Making of Citizen Kane*, x.

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Appendix I: List of all cues from *The Adventures of Robin Hood* with corresponding narrative action

Cue	Narrative action
1. 1A	Main title.
2. 1B	Dissolve to the interior of Nottingham Castle. Sir Guy and Prince John are introduced.
3. 1C	The oppression of the Saxons, and the introduction of Robin Hood and Will Scarlett. Sir Guy attempts to arrest Much the Miller's Son.
4. 1D	Robin confronts Sir Guy and rescues Much.
5. 1E	The feast in Nottingham Castle. Introduces Maid Marian.
6. 1F	Robin enters through the castle doors with a dead deer on his shoulders.
7. 2A	Robin approaches Prince John and throws the deer onto the table.
8. 2B	Robin escapes from the castle.
9. 2C	Sir Guy's men chase Robin, Will, and Much on horseback.
10. 3A	Much rides off to spread the word of a meeting in Sherwood. The dead Normans are laid out in the castle.
11. 3B	Robin and Will meet Little John.
12. 3C	Robin and Little John's fight with quarterstaffs intensifies.
13. 3D	Robin, Little John, and Will introduce themselves. Word of the meeting in Sherwood is spread.
14. 3E	The Saxons swear an oath to fight for a free England. The oppression of the Saxons continues while Robin meets out justice with his black arrows.
15. 3F	A black arrow is fired into Nottingham Castle. Robin and his band come across Friar Tuck sleeping.
16. 4A	Robin forces Tuck to carry him across the stream. Robin fights Tuck.
17. 4B	Friar Tuck becomes a member of Robin's band. Will brings news of the treasure caravan.
18. 4C	Preparation for the attack on Sir Guy's treasure caravan, and the attack itself.
19. 5A	Robin's men escort the captured Sir Guy and Maid Marian to their camp.
20. 5B	Preparation for the feast.
21. 5C	The feast is announced. Robin and Marian eat.
22. 5D	Robin reveals the captured gold.
23. 5E	Robin shows Marian the poor people and bids farewell.
24. 6A	The archery tournament. Sir Guy, Prince John, and the Sheriff of Nottingham discuss their plan.
25. 6B	The tournament starts. Robin and his men appear in disguise.
26. 6C	Marian, Prince John, and Sir Guy converse.
27. 6D	Robin prepares to compete and fires his first arrow.
28. 6E	The tournament continues. Robin is recognised and the guards close in. Robin wins the archery tournament.
29. 7A	Robin attempts to flee but is arrested.
30. 7B	Robin is led away to his tribunal.
31. 7C	Robin is taken to the jail. Marian wonders how she can help.

32. 7D	Robin is led to the gallows.
33. 8A	Robin escapes from the gallows with the help of his men.
34. 8B	Robin visits Marian in the castle. Love is declared.
35. 9A	Marian is arrested for trying to warn King Richard of the treasonous plans of Prince John, Sir Guy and the Bishop of the Black Canons, and is brought before a tribunal.
36. 9B	Much waits to intercept Dickon.
37. 10A	Much and Dickon fight.
38. 10B	A disguised King Richard rides through Sherwood and meets Robin.
39. 10C	Richard and his men accompany Robin and his men to their camp. Will finds Much who informs Robin of the plan against Richard.
40. 10D	Richard reveals himself.
41. 10E	The coronation procession to Nottingham Castle.
42. 11A	Prince John processes to the throne. The Bishop challenges Prince John. Both Richard and Robin throw off their disguises.
43. 11B	Battle ensues.
44. 11C	The duel between Robin and Sir Guy.
45. 11D	Robin, having dispatched Sir Guy, races to free Marian. The battle ends.
46. 11E	Robin asks Richard for a pardon for his men and for Marian's hand. Robin and Marian take their leave.
47. 11F	End title.

Appendix II: Four Cues from *The Adventures of Robin Hood*

Editorial Note:

Two types of manuscript paper with two different pre-printed layouts were used by the orchestrators Hugo W. Friedhofer and Milan Roder, though both types were manufactured by the Kellaway-Ide Co. of Los Angeles. Hugo W. Friedhofer's layout (generally with a serial number at the bottom of the page of either '2500-6-37-K-I Co.' or '5M-2-38-K-I-Co.') includes printed instrumentation as follows: Flutes (2 staves); Oboes (2 staves); Clarinets (2 staves); Bass Clarinet; Bassoons (2 staves); Horns (2 staves); Trumpets (2 staves); Trombones (2 staves); Tuba; Timpani etc (2 staves); Vibraphone; Harp; Piano and Celeste [sic]; blank stave; Violin (2 staves); Viola (2 staves); Cello (2 staves); Bass. Milan Roder's printed instrumentation differs slightly: Flutes (2 staves); Oboes (2 staves); Clarinets (2 staves); Bassoons (2 staves); Horns (2 staves); Trumpets (2 staves); Trombones and Tuba (2 staves); Timpani, etc. (1 stave); Drums, etc (1 line); Harp; Piano or Celeste [sic]; Violin (2 staves); Viola (2 staves); Cello (2 staves); Bass. Both orchestrators amend the layout as required. Roder's pages are much narrower than Friedhofer's and are coloured a banana yellow.

The Adventures of Robin Hood
No. 8
Cue 2B
Music by Erich Wolfgang Korngold
Orchestrations by Hugo W. Friedhofer
and Milan Roder

This cue, entitled 'Fight' in the short score, accompanies Robin's escape from Nottingham Castle's Great Hall. It begins as Prince John signals for Dickon to attempt Robin's murder and ends as Robin exits on horseback pursued by Sir Guy's men. There are several variants and the cue appears to have had a particularly complicated history. It makes extensive use of material from the Symphonic Overture *Sursum Corda* and was recorded sometime before 4 March 1938 in two sections: YM 5659-9920-1-3 (figure 24 to the end); and YM 5801-9913-2 (beginning to figure 23). The reason for the missing section figures 23-24 is discussed below.

Instrumentation:

3 Flutes (3rd doubling Piccolo)
 2 Oboes
 3 Clarinets in B flat
 Bass Clarinet
 2 Bassoons
 4 Horns in F
 3 Trumpets in B flat
 3 Trombones
 Tuba
 Timpani
 Bass Drum
 Cymbals
 Tam Tam
 Side Drum
 Xylophone
 Glockenspiel
 Triangle
 2 Harps
 Piano
 Strings (12-4-4-3)

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Manuscript Sources

As most of the material in 2B derives from *Sursum Corda*, no sketches exist. There is, however, a cue sheet in Korngold's hand:

<u>2 Reel</u>		
Robin Hood geht zum Tisch		13 sec
"	"	spricht bis er das Reh
	wirft am <u>Tisch</u>	<u>11 sec</u>
	zusam.	24 sec

The two piano short scores

Two copies of this cue can be found in the extant piano short score, held in the Korngold collection at the Library of Congress.

Version 1: 2 staves throughout. This is in Korngold's hand and contains very little material, stopping after the first 4 bars and directing the orchestrator to *Sursum Corda* from figure 3 onwards. Interestingly, though, there is nothing to indicate how much material to extract. There is also new material in the full score between figs 6 and 12, but no trace of this is found in this version of the short score; an isolated section before figure 12 links the new material to the next section to be taken from the overture. It seems likely, therefore, that pages are missing from this version of the short score, especially as the page numbers jump from zero to page 5. This version of the short score is reproduced along with the full score in the edition.

Version 2: Mostly 3 staves. This is in Hugo Friedhofer's hand, though at some stage someone clearly suspected the input of Jaro Churain, Korngold's copyist. 'CHURAIN?' has been written on the pages and subsequently erased. Still, the suspicion is a valid one, as this version appears to copy out the Korngold short score with the required sections of *Sursum Corda* written out in their entirety. As such it could function as a conducting score, though a separate piano-conductor score for this cue was also prepared. Although written in Friedhofer's hand, there are numerous additions to this piano short score in what looks like Korngold's handwriting, such as the runs found around figure 37, that were then incorporated into the full score. Clearly some of these runs were very late additions, inserted after the parts for the players had initially been copied out. Hence we find a note in Roder's hand in the full score that reads: 'copyist! 26 to 37 as is (parts already written out) from 37 on all corrections in red ink are OK and please cue them in'. The run before figure 12 also appears to be a new addition to this second version of the short score, but interestingly it is in Friedhofer's hand, not Korngold's. It subsequently appears in Friedhofer's orchestration. I have reproduced this version separately before the main full score edition.

The full score

The full score is mostly in the hand of principal orchestrator Hugo Friedhofer, but with some replacement pages in secondary orchestrator Milan Roder's hand.

The alternative orchestrations

Perhaps the most interesting section in the full score is the section from figs. 24-26. Not only does this exist (partly at least) in two versions, orchestrated by both Hugo Friedhofer and Milan Roder, but it is the section most subject to changes in the final cut of the film. Clearly, this section caused a number of problems for the music department.

This is one of the sections taken from *Sursum Corda* and is not therefore notated in Korngold's original piano short score. It is, however, in Friedhofer's version of the short score and appears to reflect exactly the corresponding section of the overture. Clearly, Friedhofer worked from the published score of the overture when preparing the original orchestration, yet he seems to have stopped at the end of original bar 99. Friedhofer's extant orchestration starts again at figure 26. Meanwhile Milan Roder's pages of orchestration have been inserted to the full score. They were done on different paper¹ and, indeed, Roder numbers his pages from page 1 to 4. Though bearing some resemblance in terms of notes to the short score and, therefore, to *Sursum Corda*, these bars differ markedly in their orchestration, suggesting that Roder did not have a copy of the published *Sursum Corda* score to hand. Roder's orchestration of this passage is a great deal heavier than Friedhofer's adaptation. The opening bar of Roder's passage at figure 24 with its *ff* first two beats also differs markedly from the Friedhofer/*Sursum Corda* equivalent (see examples 1 and 1a).

Perhaps Friedhofer's orchestration was felt to be too subtle to accompany this moment of high action, and maybe Roder was the only orchestrator with time spare to re-work the passage. In any case, the Tsunami released recording (TSU0139) indicates that the Friedhofer version was recorded up until figure 24 at least, though the final track used in the film cut off the Friedhofer orchestration at figure 23. The process of editing the section is evident in the full score after figure 23 where several bars are surrounded by a box with 'OUT' written over the top. However, the passage was edited further for the final cut of the film, with the music jumping from just before figure 22 to Roder's figure 24. Clearly some editorial changes in the visuals had been made that necessitated this cut. On the DVD release of the film (Warner Home Video, Region 1, 65131) there are some deleted/alternate camera shots from this scene of the film that might have been in the earlier cut that the music department worked from.

The end of the cue from figure 37 also includes interpolations for Horns, Oboes, and Strings in Roder's hand, indicating that this section was also edited heavily.

¹ Roder's paper is tall, thin, and coloured yellow. The Roder orchestrated section was pasted in to the orchestral parts over the original Friedhofer music.

Further cuts and other mysteries

Yet more changes in the visuals were evidently made in addition to the ones outlined above. Around figure 17 for example, four bars were cut from the final picture. These bars had been recorded in the sessions, so the decision was obviously a late one and there was clearly no time to re-record or re-jig the music. As a consequence the jump in the music is clearly audible on the soundtrack, perhaps the only example of poor music editing in the entire picture. The two bars before figure 14 (bars 53 and 54), have been crossed out in the full score and parts, perhaps reflecting yet further editorial changes to the visuals. In contrast, bars 25, 26 and 115 appear never to have ever been recorded in the session; though there is nothing in the full score, as at figure 23, to confirm this, these bars have been crossed out in the orchestral parts.

Other mysteries include an empty bar between bars 57 and 58 in the full score, for which there seems no logical reason, and a pasted over page at figure 39 (the last page of the cue). The word 'out' can clearly be seen underneath the taped section with the violin parts divided into three. This perhaps suggests the original ending was later rejected.

The Tuba seems to be a later addition, since it is added to the bottom of the page on the Double Bass stave.

The piano-conductor score

The piano-conductor score is written in an unknown hand. It was prepared after the full score, using both the full and short scores as a reference.

Editorial Emendations

The majority of editorial changes have been made to add uniformity to the articulation and to 'correct' notes copied incorrectly, or articulation marks missed from *Sursum Corda*. Obvious mistakes have also been corrected. The only other editorial emendations are as follows:

Bar 10 - In the full score, 1st trumpet is instructed to be muted along with 2nd. This has been copied from *Sursum Corda*, with 3rd trumpet left un-muted to play the solo. However, in cue 2B it is the 1st trumpet that plays the solo (bars 15-19) and this marking should therefore read 2nd and 3rd trumpets *con sordini*.

Bar 116 trumpets - *senza sord.* This has been added to avoid any confusion between the Friedhofer and Roder orchestrations. Roder marks his trumpets *con sordini* in the interpolated section; Friedhofer's were still unmuted.

The Adventures of Robin Hood
No. 33
Cue 8A
Music by Erich Wolfgang Korngold
Orchestration: Hugo W. Friedhofer

This cue begins as Robin makes his escape from the gallows, and ends as Robin and his band ride away to freedom. It makes extensive use of Korngold's earlier concert work, the Symphonic Overture *Sursum Corda*, and exists in several versions, each with minor alterations or additions. It was initially recorded sometime before 4 March 1938 in two sections as YM 5561-9923-7 (figure 8 to the end) and YM 5660-9922-1 (beginning to bar before figure 8), but the ending was revised and a retake 'made wild' (i.e without the picture running for synchronization) on 11 April as YM 5921-116-1.

Instrumentation:

3 Flutes (3rd doubling Piccolo)
 2 Oboes
 3 Clarinets in B flat
 Bass Clarinet
 2 Bassoons
 4 Horns in F
 3 Trumpets in B flat
 3 Trombones
 Tuba
 Timpani
 Bass Drum
 Cymbals
 Gong
 Side Drum
 Xylophone
 Glockenspiel
 Wood Blocks
 2 Harps
 Celesta
 Piano
 Strings

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Manuscript Sources

As most of the material derives from *Sursum Corda*, no sketches for this cue exist. There is, however, a handwritten cue sheet in Korngold's hand with timing information for the end of the cue where it departs from the *Sursum Corda* material at figure 8:

R-8 [Reel 8]

Guards - 18 feet 4[frames] - 12 sec
 Flynn to cuts rope 22⁶ - 15 sec
 Cuts rope to soldiers - 33¹³ - 22 sec
 Soldiers - 3⁴ - 2 sec
 Soldiers to hit ground - 7⁰ - 5 sec
 Flynn hits ground to soldiers - 11⁹ - 7^{1/2} sec
 Soldiers to F.O [Fade out] - 18² - 12 sec

The piano short score is in Korngold's hand in two or three staves. It is broken into sections marked with circled figures from 1 to 25.

The 'Piano Conductor' score is written in an unknown hand. It was prepared after the full score, using both the full and short scores as a reference.

The full score is in the hand of principal orchestrator, Hugo Friedhofer, with a number of additions/alterations in Korngold's hand, and a few in the hand of secondary orchestrator, Milan Roder. It is also littered with Korngold's conducting notations, indicating that it was used in the recording sessions, contrary to the usual Warner Bros. practice of using the piano-conductor score.

The relationship with *Sursum Corda*

Fifty percent of 8A is taken directly from *Sursum Corda*, but the relationship between the two scores is complex, with the sections from the earlier work manipulated and surrounded by newly composed music. Particularly interesting, however, is the way Korngold notates these sections in the piano short score, choosing to refer the orchestrator to the original score rather than writing out the music. After the initial five bars of the piano score, for example, Korngold indicates that 33 bars should be taken from the beginning until page 6 of the published Schott edition of *Sursum Corda*. Aside from the first bar, therefore, no music from the opening of *Sursum* is written out. There then follows a 'New' section of music, before a piece of text again indicates that the next section should be taken from the overture (this time, 17 bars, though with no obvious indication of the start point). Again this is only a written instruction; Korngold chooses not to write out the music, or even sketch in bar-lines. Following four bars of 'New' material at figure 14, Korngold writes 'Sursum pag[e] 34' but this time underneath a written out melody line. While it might seem odd that Korngold should choose to write out this final section of *Sursum* music when previously he had been content to include a written instruction, it does provide a solution to a puzzle, outlined below, suggested by the full, orchestrated score.

When we look at the full score we do indeed find that after the first five bars, there are 33 bars that have been taken from the beginning of *Sursum Corda* as per

Korngold's first written instruction. However, from the beginning of *Sursum* until the point on page 6 where the orchestrators stop was originally a passage of some 36 bars, not 33. Three bars of *Sursum Corda*, namely bars 23, 26 and 33 are absent from cue 8A. What happened to these bars? All three 'missing' bars function similarly in the overture: they extend the melody by an extra bar and, being harmonically static, can therefore be easily removed without threatening the musical coherence of the passage. They might be termed 'extension bars' and two examples can be seen below in Ex. 1:

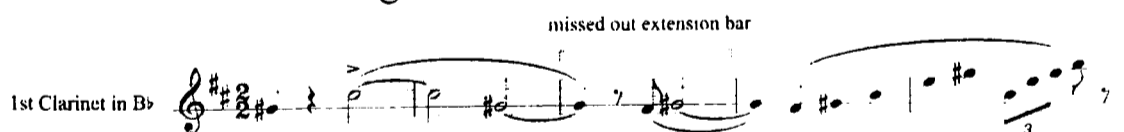
Ex. 1 *Sursum Corda* bs22-27 violin I



While bars 23 and 33 appear never to have been orchestrated by Friedhofer, the second extension bar (bar 26 of *Sursum*) appears to have been originally included in the full score, and literally cut out of the page. This perhaps indicates a mistake on Friedhofer's part, or is evidence of a new picture edit requiring the excision of a bar. As this bar doesn't feature in any of the session masters, or in the piano conductor score, it seems safe to conclude that it was removed at some point before the recording process. The question remains, though: how did Friedhofer know which bars of the 36 to cut to bring it down to the total of 33? Was this information provided verbally by Korngold, or recorded in writing somewhere else?

One possible answer seems to be provided by Korngold's written out *Sursum* section in the piano score referred to above. This section derives from a passage on pages 34-35 of *Sursum Corda* that includes a reiterated melody with an extension bar of the same rhythm as the ones cut by Friedhofer. Crucially, though, when Korngold writes out the melody in the piano short score, he misses out a bar with the extension bar rhythm on both occasions, in effect setting a precedent for Friedhofer to follow in the earlier sections (Ex. 2).

Ex. 2 *Sursum Corda* after fig 22



The other 17 bar section of *Sursum Corda* (found between figures 11 and 14 in the full score) also proves somewhat mysterious. The relevant section in *Sursum Corda* (found on pages 32-33 in the Schott edition) is actually 16 bars long. Friedhofer's version in the full score augments the last bar, stretching it to fill two bars instead of one. Whether this was agreed verbally between Korngold and Friedhofer as an alternative to the 'poco rit' indication in *Sursum Corda*, or represents some sort of miscounting can only be speculated.

Ex. 3 - Augmentation of harmonic rhythm

Sursum Corda lower strings 3 before fig 22

Viola I

Violoncello I

Violoncello II

Contrabass

Robin Hood lower strings bs 62-65

Viola I

Viola II

Violoncello I

Violoncello II

Double Bass

Re-orchestrating *Sursum Corda*

When it came to re-orchestrating the *Sursum Corda* sections of 8A, Friedhofer clearly had a copy of the published score to hand. Where possible, he seems to have copied directly from the score, even copying in a slur that makes no sense in the context of the cue. At figure 11 in 8A, the start of the second section of *Sursum Corda* material, Friedhofer copied slurs in 1st Clarinet and Bass clarinet. While these make perfect sense in the context of *Sursum Corda*, they are clearly erroneous coming after the newly composed material in 8A. The mistake undoubtedly happened because there is a page turn in both scores at this point:

Ex. 4 *Sursum Corda*

Page turn

21

Clarinet I in Bb

Bass Clarinet in Bb

Ex. 4a. Errant slur copied into *Robin Hood*

Page Turn in Robin Hood full score

11 (21 in *Sursum Corda*)

Clarinet in Bb

Bass Clarinet in Bb

However, Friedhofer's role was much more than just a copyist; the orchestration of 8A required a good deal of re-scoring to fit the available forces of the Warner Bros. orchestra. *Sursum Corda* is scored for a large orchestra with three violin parts and instruments such as the Bass Trumpet, and to fit the smaller string section and compensate for missing instruments, Friedhofer was forced to re-orchestrate practically every bar, albeit only subtly. The major differences between the two versions, however, seem to have been added later in Korngold's hand, with some changes in what looks like Milan Roder's hand.

The alternative endings

Two endings exist in the manuscript sources. The original ending corresponds with Korngold's short score and was both orchestrated by Friedhofer and recorded, although it was not used in the final cut of the film. An alternative ending exists in the full score only, and was designed to replace the last three bars of the original. This ending was recorded as YM 5921-116-1 '8A retake (end) Made Wild' on 11 April but is not used in the film either. Whether it was penned by Friedhofer himself, or written first in short score by Korngold and subsequently orchestrated, is unclear. There is no extant short score version of this ending in any case. Interestingly, the actual ending used in the film is a shortened variant of the alternative ending, and does not exist in any extant manuscript source; it is possible that it was prepared artificially from the existing takes sometime on April 11. It replaces the last bar of the original cue. All three endings are reproduced, with the variant ending reconstructed.

Audio Sources

The radio broadcast and trailer, a fourth ending to the cue, and the double numbering of 8A

A fourth version of the cue can be found in two sources with only minor differences: in the music for the original theatrical trailer (specifically figure 6 onwards in 'trailer part 4'), assembled by Milan Roder; and in the Basil Rathbone narrated radio broadcast of the score. In both the radio and trailer versions, the beginning borrows the opening of an earlier cue (2B) to smooth the join with the music that immediately precedes it (in the case of the radio broadcast, 9 bars of cue 7D). The only difference between the trailer and radio versions is that the latter cuts out the first bar of this 2B opening. The other big difference between the film version and the radio/trailer version occurs at figure 8. Instead of the change to the new material at figure 8, the cue continues with 8 extra bars of *Sursum Corda* before segueing into five bars from 2B at figure 1 (which also contains modified *Sursum* material) and substituting a

resplendent C major ending in the manner of 11E's conclusion. This gives yet another alternative ending to the cue, though in missing out a large amount of the cue's primary material, it is debatable whether this radio/trailer version warrants inclusion with the rest of 8A.

The double numbering of figures in the full score of 8A perhaps indicates that the full score was used by the studio to prepare the trailer music and/or the radio broadcast. Like the short score, the full score is numbered from 1 to 25; figures 2 to 7, though, are also labelled as figures 7 to 12. Interestingly, this is the very section used in the radio broadcast; the double numbering stops at the point where the film version of 8A diverges from its radio equivalent. Further support to this theory is found in cue 7D where a note reads 'to 8A' after 9 bars and an indication of tam-tam, side drum and bass drum is written in.¹ Furthermore, at the beginning of cue 7D there is a note reading '14 [boxed] for 9 bars', suggesting that the combined 7D/8A cue was to be the fourteenth in the radio broadcast (though it actually seems to be the ninth). The ninth bar of 7D finishes in E flat major, and the fanfares at the beginning of cue 8A obviously did not follow, since the proper ending of 7D finishes with a G major chord. This explains why the radio version misses out the first bar of trailer 4/2B. It also seems reasonable to claim that the trailer music was assembled first, and the radio version of this cue adapted from the trailer music.

The indication in the full score of 8A to 'cut to 17' at the point where the radio/trailer version diverges from the film (figure 8) seems to be a reference to the Charles Gerhardt assembled suite recorded on RCA in 1974. This is supported by the orchestral parts where notes abound that read '1974 cut to 17' or 'cut 1974'. Both the original full score and parts were therefore used for this recording.

Both the radio and trailer versions of cue 8A can be reconstructed from the material presented.

The Final Cut

The dubbed sections

There are two instances in the final cut of the film of 'mickey mousing' (where the music imitates the action in the manner of a cartoon) that appear to have been over-dubbed onto the recorded soundtrack at a later stage. The first is a downward harp glissando that is used to accompany a bucket of water thrown at an advancing guard. The second is heard shortly after as Robin chops the rope holding the portcullis of Nottingham gate. Four 'chops' were written into the piano short score originally, and subsequently orchestrated by Friedhofer. It was obviously felt, however, that two extra musical chops were needed to imitate the total of six chops seen in the picture. As the original music continues, two of the recorded chops appear to have been dubbed over the existing soundtrack to create the total number required, though the fifth does not synchronise with the picture. Neither of these changes are notated in either the full score or the orchestral parts. As the extra rope chops are an example of 'sweetening' (using existing material in a new position) and could be accomplished without needing to recall the musicians, it is possible that they were inserted in

¹ This could have been written in by Charles Gerhardt, though, when preparing his 1974 suite for the RCA LP entitled *Captain Blood: Classic Film Scores for Errol Flynn* (RCA 0912). The suite consists of sections entitled 'The Archery Tournament', 'Escape from Gallows', 'Robin and Lady Marian', and 'Coronation Procession'. It was recorded on 18-19 November 1974 and remastered and released on CD in 1989.

response to a request from executive producer, Hal Wallis after the film sneak previewed in Pomona in early April. Changes were made to 8A on 11 April, and it is possible that these subtle changes were made on this date, though no record of these survives. In any case, it is quite possible that Korngold had little or no say in the change.

Editorial Emendations

The majority of editorial changes have been made to add uniformity to the articulation and to 'correct' notes copied incorrectly or articulation marks missed from *Sursum Corda*. Obvious mistakes have also been corrected. The only other editorial emendations are as follows:

Bar 31 - Glockenspiel part added to continue entry in bar 30 (see bar before figure 2 in *Sursum Corda*).

Bar 96 - 'Bells' indication in score taken to mean Glockenspiel. This passage would be too high for Tubular Bells, and elsewhere in the full score passages of transcribed Glockenspiel from *Sursum Corda* are marked 'Bells'.

The Adventures of Robin Hood
No. 41
Cue 10E and 10E Revised
Music by Erich Wolfgang Korngold
Orchestrations by Hugo W. Friedhofer

This cue accompanies the procession to Nottingham Castle and ends as the merry men reach their position. The original version of 10E was recorded as YM 5659-9921-1 and YM 5659-9921-4 sometime before 4 March 1938, with added brass fanfares recorded separately as YM 5663-9927-1. Two other tracks were recorded between 4 and 17 March, and labelled '10E same with chimes' (YM 5806-9933-1 and YM 5807-9933-2). The beginning section of 10E was then revised, with a new version written in the full score from the beginning to figure 6. This was recorded on April 11, the day set aside for revisions to the score following the sneak previews, as YM 5922-121-2+4 with a note to 'segue #6 of 9921'.

Instrumentation:

3 Flutes
 Oboe
 Cor anglais
 2 Clarinets in B flat
 Bass Clarinet
 2 Bassoons (2nd doubling Contra)
 4 Horns in F
 4 Trumpets in B flat
 4 Trombones
 Tuba
 [3 dubbed Trumpets in C
 2 dubbed Trombones]
 Timpani
 Bass Drum
 Cymbals
 Side Drum
 Tam Tam
 Chimes (Tubular Bells)
 Marimba
 2 Vibraphones
 2 Harps
 Piano
 Celesta
 Strings

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Manuscript Sources

No sketches or cue sheets are extant for this cue. The piano short score is written in Korngold's hand on two to five staves. The full score is in the hand of principal orchestrator, Hugo Friedhofer, with a number of small emendations in Korngold's hand, and includes both the original beginning of the cue and the revised section. The piano conductor score also includes the original and revised beginnings.

The two versions, the brass fanfares, and the voices

The opening of this cue was substantially revised, probably in early April after the first sneak preview performance of the film in Pomona. In revising the opening to figure 6, a minor variant of the 'March of the Merry Men' was added while preserving much of the original's harmonic structure. New pages were added to the full score with instructions to carry on from figure 6 in the original version.

The brass fanfares for 3 trumpets and 2 trombones, indicated in the short score from figure 15 to figure 23, are particularly interesting. These are present in the orchestrated full score between figures 19 and 21 *only*. They were assigned to extra brass parts, recorded separately 'on the stage' (according to the actual parts) and dubbed over the existing recording of the cue. Quite why Friedhofer chose to ignore most of them in the orchestration is a bit of a mystery: he surely could have designed the orchestration to leave the trumpets and trombones free for these fanfares. Perhaps they were always conceived by Korngold to be recorded as a dubbed track: they are, after all, quasi-diegetic (we see the trumpeters at court raise their instruments though the actors are clearly not playing anything). This, though, would not explain why Friedhofer includes those fanfares between figs 19 and 21 in his orchestration.

Finally, the original version of the piano conductor score contains an indication of voices. Eight basses hum a low F, with an upper octave in brackets, from the beginning until figure 2. These voice parts are *not* found in the full score or the Korngold short score and the source of this marking is therefore something of a mystery; nevertheless, they have been included in the edited text of the original 10E.

Editorial Emendations

The majority of editorial changes have been made to add uniformity to the articulation and dynamics. It is somewhat unclear in Friedhofer's orchestrations, though, quite how the cello parts work. As is customary, he splits the cello part into two, assigning each its own staff. However, for large parts of the cue (and all of the original 10E beginning section), he leaves the lower staff completely blank. In the beginning of the original version (up until the end of figure 5) I have assumed there is only cello part and have continued this policy for the revised version, as the score is clear that the lower part should double the upper at least until figure 4.

From figure 4 to 6 in the revised version it is unclear what is required: I have therefore chosen to continue with the doubling. Figure 6 reverts to the original version of the cue and I have assumed that doubling is also required from figure 6 to 10, as I believe Friedhofer would have inserted rests in the lower part if otherwise.

The only other editorial emendations are as follows:

Bars 7 to 8 both versions: 2 bars of vibraphone 2 have been added, doubling bass clarinet

Bar 12⁴ revised version: added a natural sign to the grace note D (flat) in clarinets, bassoons, and piano.

Bar 17 revised version: vibraphone parts added for 8 bars to match original version.

Bar 17 revised version: added *con sord.* marking for 1st Horn.

The Adventures of Robin Hood
No. 43
Cue 11B
Music by Erich Wolfgang Korngold
Orchestrations by Hugo W. Friedhofer and Milan Roder

This cue, entitled 'The Battle' in the piano-conductor score, accompanies the fight scene in Nottingham Castle at the end of the film. It begins with Sir Guy's shout of 'Kill him, seize him' and ends as Robin pins Sir Guy to the wall by his cloak, segueing into the next cue. The cue makes use of a sizeable portion of *Sursum Corda*. It was recorded in one take as YM 5886-54-3 on 3 April 1938 (the last day of the scheduled scoring sessions).

Instrumentation:

Piccolo
 2 Flutes
 2 Oboes
 3 Clarinets in B flat
 Bass Clarinet in B flat doubling 4th clarinet
 2 Bassoons
 4 Horns in F
 3 Trumpets in B flat
 3 Trombones
 Tuba
 Timpani
 Bass Drum
 Cymbals
 Triangle
 Glockenspiel
 Piano
 2 Harps
 Strings

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Manuscript Sources

As most of the material in 11B derives from *Sursum Corda*, no sketches exist. There is no cue sheet either.

Full Score

Interestingly, this is one of the few cues to have a title page in the full score. The page includes the cue's number (43), the title of the film, the caption 'Music by Erich Wolfgang Korngold', and the cue's reel and letter (11B), though it appears the letter has been altered. Given that there is no corresponding change in the '11B' stamped on the first page of manuscript, there is likely no great significance to this change.

Short Score

Very little of the cue exists in the piano short score as only the new material was written out (the opening bars, and the first and second time bars). No written indications are extant detailing the rest of the cue's material. This suggests that some discussion or other communication took place to establish the cue's content. The sections in the piano short score correspond with the pages that were orchestrated by Milan Roder, while the *Sursum Corda* extract that makes up the rest of the cue was re-orchestrated by Hugo Friedhofer.

The process of composition

The second page of the full score manuscript perhaps provides a clue to understanding this cue's composition process. It is in Friedhofer's hand and is an orchestration of a section of *Sursum Corda* (namely 'Festes Zeitmaß' after figure 46 to figure 49). However, Roder writes XI-B and 'page 2' at the top, perhaps indicating that Friedhofer's orchestration of this passage was already extant when Roder prepared the first page, first/second time bars, and ending from Korngold's short score. Perhaps it had been decided that this section of *Sursum Corda* would be used in the film, before establishing where.

Editorial Emendations

The majority of editorial changes have been made to add uniformity to the articulation and to 'correct' notes copied incorrectly or articulation marks missed from *Sursum Corda*. Obvious mistakes have also been corrected. The only other editorial emendations are as follows:

Bar 6 – accents added to triangle part