

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

Contextualising Music at a Cinematic Tudor Court

being a Thesis submitted for the Degree of Ph.D.

in the University of Hull

by

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September 2014

For my parents, Manfred and Gisela Schwark,

my husband Timothy

and daughter Leonora

ABSTRACT

Contextualising Music at the Cinematic Tudor Court

Music plays an important function in the production of meaning in sound films. In particular, its role in the construction of historical sensibilities and musico-historical identities in film narratives is significant, capitalising on the underscore's dependency on dominant referential clichés and generic categories. Taking this stance as the point of departure, this thesis examines the deployment of sixteenth-century music in film with the aim of developing both an enriched theory of film music, but also a theory that involves the idea of musico-historical constructs as a crucial ideological property.

The five chapters centralise the three components in this construct – film, history and music – as well as their textual interplay. By critically engaging with film music literature on the subject of music and anteriority in history films, issues of musico-historical awareness in film soundtracks are examined and inconsistencies revealed. History is presented as a dialogical construct of narrative and nostalgia and by drawing on hermeneutics and psychoanalysis the notion of the musico-historical feel is deconstructed. The functional and categorical status of sixteenth-century music and the idea of early music in mass-entertainment period films form the focus of investigation together with a critical consideration of early music's relation to media in order to understand the cinematic representation of Tudor history in a twenty-first century context.

The central theoretical premise of this thesis draws on interdisciplinary approaches proposed by, among others, Butt (2002); Flinn (1992); Gadamer (1960); Gorbman (1987); Kassabian (2001) and Clarke (2005). Among other history films, this thesis focuses on the following in more detail to demonstrate the theoretical approach adopted by this thesis: *Young Bess* (1953); *A Man For All Seasons* (1963); *Anne of the Thousand Days* (1969) and *Elizabeth* (1998).

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my thanks to my supervisor Dr. Alexander Binns for his support, understanding and thought-provoking ideas and my second supervisor Dr. Lee tsang for a long meeting that initiated a breakthrough in more structural concerns. I would also like to thank the Music Department for the opportunity to prepare and deliver some lectures as well as provide undergraduate teaching and support in my time of study.

Special thanks go to Jacob Heringman, who read a chapter of this thesis, answered my questions and provided behind-the-scenes knowledge about the lute and performing for films. I owe particular gratitude to Janine Kopp and Professor Marina Mozzon-McPherson who encourage and provided me with the necessary part-time jobs that only initiated and developed my academic teaching experience but also helped to fund life and this Phd project. Further thanks include Dr. Iris Kleinecke-Bates, Dr. Marion Joassin and Lewis Kennedy for their academic support and Hannah Lees for being a good friend and for providing a flexible and most rewarding childminding service.

Thanks to my daughter Leonora who demonstrated a lot of patience for a three year old to allow mummy to 'do her writing' and Grandmum Shirley for stepping in when nobody else could entertain a little girl.

Last but not least, I owe heartfelt gratitude to my husband Timothy, who suffered the most yet offered the most valuable support and critique at every stage of the research and writing process.

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1.1; 1.2; 1.3:

King: "Margret, do you like music?"

Margret: "Yes, your grace."

King: "They'll play for you."

Blockbuster history films, mini-series, documentaries, docu-dramas – all these genres are increasingly important in our relationship to the past and to our understanding of history. To leave them out of the equation when we think of the meaning of the past is to condemn ourselves to ignore the way a huge segment of the population has come to understand the events and people that comprise history.
(Rosenstone, 2006, p. 4)

The experience of film becomes in some sense 'organic' because style is tied to the story with natural, thoughtful, humanistic terms of intention that make film forms dramatic rather than technical.
(Frampton, 2010, p. 8)

INTRODUCTION

A Tudor Court scene: period costumes, a group of women and men exchanging formal courtesies and picking up a period group dance; musicians depicted with lute, recorder, tambourine and sackbuts and from an elevated position this colourful ado is looked upon by the monarch - what music can be heard? If period appropriate mannerisms are reflected in the scene's accompanying score it would be most likely a galliard or pavane – the most common courtly dances in the sixteenth century according to Renaissance dance scholar Mabel Dolmetsch (1916). What elements of this visual description of an arbitrary, yet stylistically representative, film scene nurture the assumption that a particular type of period music is needed to complete the historical picture or historical impression of this scene? The described onscreen event exploits a number of widely accepted distinct symbols that trigger the illusion of a would-be Tudor world. Apart from the predominant visual cues of costume design and local setting, there are certain archaic musical symbols that seem to connect with an expectation of a particular world of sound, first and foremost identified by the musical instruments depicted. The instigation of a group dance seems to further enhance the impression that music is acted out in a particularly stylistic manner. Emerging from the interdependent conglomeration of visuals and sound is a film world that allegedly suggests: this is a moment in history.

This scene describes a stereotypical setting for the genre (also utilised in similar ways for a common representation of the medieval according to Haines (2014)). Onscreen events of this nature are the most obvious channels of transmission for what will be called 'musico-historical feel' in this study. This study explores the complex construct and synergy of intertextual, hermeneutic and psychoanalytic claims that yield a definition of this particular feel. Common historical knowledge, emotional affiliation in the sense of nostalgia and romanticism as well as the alleged 'other', a

utopian aura, work together as an interactive unity. However, it is heuristically beneficial to separate these elements and see their independent operations before discussing interdependency and interaction as well as the music's role within.

It may be said from the vibrant literature around the subject that film music studies have moved on considerably from having been described as a 'neglected art' (Prendergast, 1994) and therefore film music study itself no longer requires justification. Indeed Mervyn Cooke observes in his preface to *A History of Film Music* that film music studies have become 'a rich growth area in both academic and popular circles' (Cooke, 2008, p. XV). The present thesis presupposes and acknowledges critical studies on the history and functions of film music that have been present for nearly as long as the medium itself has been around and therefore refrains from providing a defence for the field in itself. The multi-faceted content and mechanisms of film have prompted scholars from a variety of fields to become involved in the interpretation of effect, perception and reception of this medium and *vice versa* in that the medium lends itself to be addressed from various angles. Consequently film studies as a discipline has emerged as an interdisciplinary field (Rosar, 2009, p. 100). Arguably methodologies vary and reference of theoretical premises from other domains, for example psychology, philosophy, literary criticism and cultural studies, may seem like an incoherent attempt to marry domains that have nothing in common, borrowing their schools of thought to describe subject inherent phenomena (Rosar, 2009, p. 104). In *Film Music – A History* (2009) American film scholar James Wierzbicki comments on interdisciplinary influences on film music studies:

If we follow the lead of a great many of today's literary critics and borrow ideas formulated by such (mostly French) theorists as Roland Barthes, Jacques Lacan, Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, Jean Baudrillard, Julia Kristeva, and Gilles Deleuze, we can wonder if we know anything at all – or if anything can ever be known – about how film music works.
(Wierzbicki, 2009, p. 6)

These theories offer invaluable support for film music's latent effects and affects and this thesis is no exception in terms of drawing on some of the ideas put forward by those literary critics. Their theories become particularly useful in the process of contextualising the experience of a musico-historical feel or musical otherness; an alien realm of sound that is suggested by early instruments and conveyed audio-visually in film. They address indeterminate ways of interpreting a dynamic process

which defines multiple approaches to how film music works. Within this diversity a definite 'how' seems impossible to extract. Film music scholars will continue to combine ideas from multiple subjects because of the multi-level nature of film. Though separate reception processes take place, it is the collaboration between the various factors that yields the synergetic experience. The complex nature of the filmic experience will lead to differing perspectives all of which may ultimately be valid as they represent the dynamic and dialectic nature of the medium. These approaches are widely recognised and in this thesis I follow the idea that the marriage of notions from different domains is useful in analysing the impact of sixteenth-century music on film and the sensibilities it carries.

This thesis aims to encourage and further thinking about music history and how it is portrayed in film. Weinstein asks some relevant questions that highlight the critical issues at stake when dealing with history in film:

Does it capture the feel of the period? Does it present a convincing portrait of times past? Does it make you feel as though you are experiencing history?
(Weinstein, 2001, p. 30)

These questions directly relate to some of the issues regarding sixteenth-century music in film that this study will investigate: to what extent do the musical sounds induce a period feel? How convincing are onscreen presentations of musical practices? How convincing is period music orchestration if applicable? Does all of this contribute, from a perceiver's point of view, to the experience of a 'musico-historical feel'?

A major pursuit of this thesis will be the discovery and deconstruction of a 'musico-historical feel' which is inextricably linked to how viewers perceive and experience the 'historical' through music in film. One contributor in the creation of this 'historical' feel is the film's musical underscore, which via its sound world and musical patterns as well as its specific employment in a scene supports the first and foremost visually established impression of the film's historical world. There is an air of 'otherness' in the sound world of period music, especially in the kind of pieces and musical patterns from pre-baroque that tend not to be publicly known in the same way as classical or romantic pieces. By exploiting this otherness, film music may be able to facilitate the viewer's experience of a certain period in history, drawing on generic

categories and clichés yet revealing more meaningful attributes of period music than hitherto expressed in the literature.

History, film and popular culture

What is the concept of history behind this thesis and perhaps at the same time behind history in popular culture? On the one hand history manifests itself as collection and sequence of names, events, facts and figures resulting in historical knowledge being publicly presented in this way, for example in television quiz shows, pub quiz nights or board games (de Groot, 2009, p. 8). On the other hand history comprises a narrative and nostalgic aura that manifests itself particularly in history films and historical novels. History may be perceived as a dialogical construct, which is best exemplified in the philosophical writings of Hans Georg Gadamer (1960). By using his theory as a backdrop, it allows for the discussion of various approaches to history as celebrated in history films, which is perhaps best expressed by the German phrase *Auseinandersetzung mit Geschichte*. The plurality in the dynamic dialogical structures that Gadamer proposes defines the status of history in film as well as period music, if at all, in film.

The German philosophical tradition which includes the writings on hermeneutics by Gadamer quite often suffers from problems in the translation of relevant terms. For the present thesis, the terms *Wirkungsgeschichte* and *Geschichtsbewusstsein* require further explanation, as a literal translation would not yield an appropriate circumspect of the meaning. Both terms repeatedly appear in Gadamer's writing. Whilst *Wirkungsgeschichte* is 'reception history' as well as the history of the influence and impact that texts have exerted since their origination, *Geschichtsbewusstsein*, translated as 'historical consciousness' or 'historical awareness', has further interpretative impact than the English translation may suggest (see also remarks of the translator Robinson in the foreword to Dahlhaus (1983)). The Germanic tradition has been my personal backdrop and influence which is probably the reason and one motivation for this study, as contexts – *Zusammenhänge* – are an integral element to these philosophical underpinnings. How human beings regard themselves in the discourse with history is as much part of *Geschichtsbewusstsein* as *wirkungsgeschichtlicher Zusammenhang* and the exploration of these concepts can

produce synergetic effects that help situate the debate within the critical issues of discussing history in popular culture. The hermeneutical approach is new to film music theory and has so far only been addressed by Johnny Wingstedt (2006). He highlights the different functions, the mutual interactions and interdependencies of music in film and defines their parameters and interpretative potential. Within musicology Dahlhaus (1983) and Savage (2010) critique and draw on Gadamer's theories, which, as both agree, invite considerations of the dynamic and mutually beneficial interplay (*Wechselspiel*) of positive and negative agents (Savage, 2010, p. X). Perception and experience are considered key contributors within hermeneutics. Music as intermediary and communicator can participate in this interplay of perception and experience, further it may add a critical stance that further deepens the meaning (Savage, 2010, p. 12 and 13). 'Musico-historical feel', it will emerge, requires empathy with a historicist's and nostalgic strand.

Reels of constructed past realities as projected on the large screen have certainly added to the common experience and people's engagement with the past (Rosenstone, 2006, p. 4). Moreover films have shaped overall understandings and widely accepted images of historical events in more than one hundred years since the silent film era. The historical setting of the Tudor period has been subjected to abundant interpretations and representations not least because of documented individual achievements of the two most prominent monarchs, be it positive or negative, personal or political (Parrill and Robison, 2013, p. 3). However, despite a large amount of historical evidence, five hundred years between then and now has offered enough room for re-evaluation, re-interpretation and imaginative gap-filling that the actual history revolving around these two monarchs has reached mere symbolic status. Robison (2013) refers to this clearly in the foreword to the Tudor filmography by pointing out the premise for the filmography as evaluating each film on the Tudors for its entertaining and artistic, historical and educational impact. Historical inaccuracies are juxtaposed with entertainment value in the then following annotation for the films.

Film has certainly contributed to King Henry VIII's and Queen Elizabeth I's image, (Freeman and Doran, 2003, p. 1) though both monarchs have left a remarkable legacy of tales, myths and impressions that established the iconic position even before

cinema and television picked up the stories, dressed them up and disseminated them even further (Freeman and Doran, 2003, p. 2). King Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth I have forced their way into people's minds by means of the movies even if one might not be so acquainted with England (Freeman and Doran, 2003, p. 2).

Within the twentieth and beginning twenty-first centuries film and television laid their hands on exploring the world of the Tudors and exploiting their assets for the media. Early evidence of this can be found in numerous silent films. Particularly dealing with the Tudor period were for example *The Execution of Mary Queen of Scots* (1895) with a running time of eighteen seconds; succeeded by more or less silent feature films *Henry VIII and Catherine Howard* (1911); *Queen Elizabeth* (1912); *Anne Boleyn* (1912) and *The Virgin Queen* (1923), to present but only a few.¹ The movies continue to contribute to a vivid engagement with periods gone by and historical figures by re-inventing, reconstructing and re-telling, even unearthing, a history with previously perhaps underestimated intensity and palpability. The increasing multi-media presence of the Elizabethan time in films and documentaries emphasises the general awareness of this period and raised public interest, proven by numerous film and television productions between 1998 and 2007, representing a new stance to an old story particularly in the film *Elizabeth* (1998) and the Showtime-series *The Tudors* (2007).

Jerome de Groot (2009) in his appeal to academic historians to review popular culture's involvement with history asserts that 'the key form for visualised engagement with an imagined constructed past is film' (de Groot, 2009, p. 1). 'Constructed' and 'imagined' is here of crucial importance as the cinematic Tudor Court featured in this study is inherently fictional, albeit created purportedly authentic and certainly informed by archaeological and historical artefacts. In the past twenty-five years a quickly increasing amount of media containing 'history' and the 'historical', instigated and driven by technological and sociological factors, may be observed in various parts of society – from film and television to board and video games. History is 'sold, presented, transmitted and experienced' (de Groot, 2009, p. 2) in modern day popular culture and therefore it forms a vital building block of the current cultural identity. The

¹ For an exhaustive filmography *The Tudors on Film and Television*, including films on the Tudors until and including 2008, consult Sue Parrill and William B. Robison (2013).

following statement by historian Paul Weinstein is paramount when dealing with historical films meant for large scale international cinema screens:

Films made for commercial release and popular consumption have no obligation to present a true portrait of the past. The bottom line in the film business is not accuracy but profit.
(Weinstein, 2001, p. 28)

Awareness of these conditions is helpful to develop a critical understanding for the ways films utilise period music in particular and to prevent falling into the trap of 'authenticity' or purist expectations. The interesting point for this thesis emerging from this is how films with such a commercial backdrop have related to and employed period music at all.

In light of the vast cultural changes expressed by de Groot regarding public awareness and involvement with history, focusing on films alone appears almost old fashioned. It needs to be acknowledged that access and participation with history is significantly more diverse and transparent than it used to be. One only needs to skim through internet sources, DVD features, Making-Of programmes, video games and re-enactments to develop an appreciation for the engagement with history on offer (de Groot, 2009, p. 2). The films in this study only moderately participate in and exploit these new channels. Their merchandising and franchising is much less pronounced than in films explicitly targeted at young audiences, for example *A Knight's Tale* (2001)² or even more explicitly the *Harry Potter* (2001 – 2010) series.

The term 'public' in this thesis refers to a broad audience of film goers who may or may not actively engage with the plot of the film or the contents of history and music in the films they watch and who may or may not share the knowledge they have gained from the film with other people who have not seen the film. This public is broad and malleable and largely subject to trends and fashions.

The discourse of and the response to history in today's mass-media is diverse and complex (de Groot, 2009, p. 4). Contributions such as in the form of this thesis make an invaluable contribution to the ongoing problematic issues with popular culture in academia. History engages with representational practice in the context of

² Haines explains the merchandising attached to this film: 'The film's advertising campaign included a promotional short film, 'The Making Of *A Knight's Tale*', aired on HBO; a soundtrack CD; marketing on the internet, a still relatively unexploited medium at the time; and a dedicated website (aknightstale.com) featured prominently on posters for the film' (Haines, 2014, p. 60).

mass-entertainment history films. Additionally, it is the perceptual, constantly evolving hermeneutic element in the construction of meaning that fuels a 'historical imaginary' (de Groot, 2009, p. 8) or, as this study will refer to more specifically and narrow in its application, a 'musico-historical feel'.

The introduction's preceding argument by Robert Rosenstone (2006, p. 4) that history films influence common understanding and perceptions of history offers clues for the intensity of a film's perceptual impact. This view is shared by de Groot who asserts that historical films among other media strongly influence the public's sense of history (de Groot, 2009, p. 2). Raphael Samuel expresses a similar point by making television the unofficial well for historical intelligence (Samuel, 1994). Therefore it is worthwhile adding what impact the deployment of a particular musical style could have on wide spread ideas of a musical period. Notably, as early as 1915, according to silent film scholar Charles M. Berg, it emerged that 'music lends insidious aid to emphasize the teaching of the screen' (Berg, 1976, p. 140). In other words, music may participate in conveying moral messages together with the visuals, the manipulative feature of this being clearly exploited in television commercials (Hoesterey, 2001, p. 105).

A history film's educational or moral function is increasingly reviewed and evaluated in the literature for usefulness in the classroom or university seminars. History scholar Eric Josef Carlson emphasises the usefulness of films in the history classroom:

Addressing them [the films] only as bad representations of historical reality overcompensates and denies students the right and pleasure of encountering them as creative expression.
(Carlson, 2007, p. 420)

Carlson encourages the approach to history in the form of constructive deconstruction of the material presented, the way films deal with the history involved and what circumstances might have had an impact on the production (Carlson, 2007, p.421). Questions of historical accuracy should not interfere with generally stimulated thoughts on the Tudors, Queen Elizabeth and thereafter interpretations (Carlson, 2007, p. 422). To put it simply, it is about interpreting Elizabeth – not facts and figures (Carlson, 2007, p. 421). The discursive, constructed and imagined nature of the medium prompted some strongly articulated responses (Carnes (ed.), 1996;

Rosenstone, 2006; Burgoyne, 2008 and Parrill and Robison, 2013). Weinstein (2001) and Rosenstone (1995) both acknowledge film as 'chief carrier of historical messages in our culture' (Rosenstone, 1995, p. 3). Ultimately, there is no 'right or wrong'; responses to this field thrive in their multiplicity of meanings. Therefore this study explores possible ways of understanding history through music in the movies as well as popular manifestations of period music.

The Methodology

The following study seeks to contribute to the critical and interdisciplinary discourse by exploring musico-historical (to borrow a term used by Cooke, 2008) sensibilities in a selection of history films featuring events from the English Tudor Court. Other popular terms for this genre are costume drama, epic or period drama. These films were made for a broad and global audience.

The choice of films may appear peculiar: why choose films aimed at this type of diverse audience, films that, despite recent efforts to boost their status, continue to be regarded as 'trivial' and 'unimportant' in academic circles? Parrill and Robison (2013) make a case for academics not to ignore the potential of history films for critical engagement. In film studies, several more recent articles feature the Tudor films and they all start out with an appeal to engage with these films, be it for their historical or entertainment value. From assessing the literature, it appears that there is a reluctance prevailing in academia to include these artefacts of popular culture. Over the past decade this picture, however, seems to crumble, most notably in two comprehensive works on film music history: Cooke (2008) and Wierzbicki (2009). Soundtracks for this type of mass-entertainment are believed to have the tendency to employ referential and non-referential musical clichés in order to meet wide-spread culturally grown expectations. Russell Lack (1997) identifies that music employed to convey a sense of period has the tendency to derive from uncritical sources. An analysis and contextualisation with this in mind may help to understand how the past in music may be manifested in society.

The films chosen for this study are 'iconic', major releases aimed at mass audiences in the cinemas world-wide and were subject to prolific awards. Whilst the

number of films on the Tudors is large, only a few have made it to the 'big screen', most are television mini-series (Parrill and Robison, 2013, p. 3). I have decided to exclude television series in this study in order to emphasise on the 'big screen' and its uniquely solitary status and impact, which will be addressed in more detail under the subheading 'Cinematic'. Whilst music in television feature films and shows largely operates via similar parameters than in cinematic film, there is a closer intimacy on the one hand and a stronger perceptual distance to music evident on the other (Deaville, ed., 2011, p. IX). Music on television is more strongly perceived as background music and as thus is virtually omnipresent, but brief and often over-commercialised (Deaville, ed., 2011, p. 7). Furthermore the various places television programmes can be enjoyed dilute the perceptual focus that the cinematic environment offers. This being said, in this thesis there are brief references to the most recent Showtime series *The Tudors* (2007) (incidentally written by the same script-writer also responsible for the script for *Elizabeth* (1998), Michael Hirst) and David Munrow's involvement in the two 1970s BBC productions: *Henry VIII and His Six Wives* (1971) and *Elizabeth R* (1972) – there is certainly scope for more research regarding the music in this area. The selected films in this study may also be among the films people immediately associate with the Tudors. Therefore this study sets out to enquire what may be a part of the mass audience's idea of sixteenth-century music as conveyed through these grand films with a lasting legacy. Their arbitrary approach to historical 'facts', driven by dramatic concerns and entertainment values due to the fact they were made for the cinema, is equally as important for this study as incorporated gestures towards purported historical accuracy in several ways – one of which being the music.

The films this study primarily includes and therefore engages with are *The Private Lives of Elizabeth and Essex* (1939) as the earliest example with a traditional classical Hollywood score by Erich Wolfgang Korngold; *Young Bess* (1953) with a score by Miklós Rózsa; *A Man For All Seasons* (1963) and *Anne of the Thousand Days* (1969), both scored by Georges Delerue, and *Elizabeth* (1998) with a score by David Hirschfelder, its sequel *Elizabeth – The Golden Age* (2007), scored by Craig Armstrong and A.R. Rahman and as the most recent example there will be references to *The Other Boleyn Girl* (2008) with a score by Paul Cantelon. *Shakespeare in Love* (1998) will also find acknowledgement.

The selected films are all subject to comparable parameters: their time of production and release which presupposes a certain socio-cultural stance; further the films all feature a major cast with, at the time, well-known actors; they also feature mainly named composers. Although in more recent films the music can be a product of a composing and arranging team whose supervisor is often acknowledged in the end credits. This seems to have become normal practice in film production in the past decade. All the films presented here are representatives of their time of origin and therefore they display and incorporate a particular stance on the early music performance movement of the twentieth century which is manifested for example in the use of period instruments in the film score. Of all of the films in this study *Young Bess* (1953) is probably the most neglected, though the involvement of prolific composer Miklós Rózsa entitles it to be a suitable and important player in the field of history films.

This study focuses on King Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth I because they continue to be regarded as being the most iconic and influential political and socio-cultural figures of the sixteenth century. This impression is particularly elevated through their media coverage.³ Both monarchs were particularly supportive towards music and the arts and were also competent musicians themselves (Ellis, 2012), therefore focusing on the widely spread picture of the 'musical' in films surrounding these monarchs appears logical and relevant. This study aims to bring together knowledge about sixteenth-century musical idioms, period instruments and Historically Informed Performance (HIP) with film scores, narrative dependency and commercial appeal; asking throughout where is the historical and how can it be felt. This experience results in what is referred to as the 'musico-historical feel'.

Because of film's inherent intertextuality and the critical references to it in the sources of related disciplines, this study will engage with diverse and intertextual sources that are at the heart of film. For this reason this study centralises critical readings of literature. It is concerned with, and suggestive of ideas surrounding, the negotiation of broader referential clichés and period desire of which this thesis is enquiring of the resulting tension. Seeking an ideological application of a theory the

³ Parrill and Robison (2013, p. 4) also agree that these two monarchs received most attention in film and television, whereas, although very successful as king, Henry VII, for example, barely receives any coverage.

result is expected to provide a more detailed picture of the current formations of systems of meaning through music in film, with particular emphasis on synergy and aesthetic value.

Context

The notion of context here needs to be clarified. For the purpose of this thesis, it refers to the identification of relevant scenes and settings; places within the film world where a display of musical practices occurs, visually or aurally or both. Employments of pre-existent music are exposed and juxtaposed with original music imitating a period style. Both techniques are perceived as separate entities throughout this thesis. This particular distinction has not been addressed so explicitly in existing literature before.

A further important endeavour of this thesis is the recognition and identification of typical musical icons that evoke the Renaissance. These icons will be related to their music-historical and music-technical background to support and situate the examination of their roles within the film narratives. It will be examined, if and how sixteenth-century music can interact with plot, screen and audience. A philosophical depth is added by relating the subject to hermeneutics and meaning construction. In this process ideological constraints and discussions of the phenomenon 'history' will be taken into account.

The relationship between audience perception and cinematic output contributes to a wider understanding and contextualisation of multi-media interaction, which will feature throughout this thesis. The tri-part context of audience-film-music as an ecological and interdependent relationship exposes some interesting synergies. Furthermore the profound human ability to adapt to the surroundings – an ecological prerequisite as explored in detail in Eric Clarke's *Ways of Listening* (2005), provides important clues as to how a cinematic audience adapts to period music sonority and how it engages in the process that Clarke calls 'perceptual action' (Clarke, 2005, p. 19 and 41). Clarke uses the ecological model to illustrate how perceivers relate and respond to their surroundings (Clarke, 2005, p. 5). Essential to the present thesis is the coherence and integrity of the ecological approach that serves as an analogy for the

cinematic environment, which includes the manifestations of music within narrative space and how the audience perceives musical presence in this context.

Scenes in history films, that purportedly depict 'authentic' situations in which music has been used, require a degree of 'authenticity' in their respective music to enhance the historical reality within which the film's plot is situated. This thesis will enquire why this is and what may trigger this desire to experience the purported 'historical reality' to that extent. In the process of developing an understanding of the incentives of a 'historical feel', this study will engage with issues of semiotics and *signifiante*. Charles S. Peirce's (1996, 1998) linear perception of the construction of signs offers a logical sequence that may serve as an analogy as to why certain period instruments and their sonority act as signs for the Renaissance in cinema. The result is a cinematic *mimesis*, an imitative representation of a sixteenth-century world in which music played an active part.⁴ Following on from the actual trigger point – the sign – is the experience of the 'historical feel' and in order to understand the bodily ramifications involved, Julia Kristeva's idea of *signifiante* is called upon. Therefore this study will investigate whether nostalgic and historical feel are conciliated by means of attracting some of a human being's primal experiences.

Music

Music is at the heart of this study, yet music as functional commodity – as *Gebrauchsmusik* – for the medium of film. The music of the sixteenth century in particular will feature in all its forms and functions, including its unique character and instruments and its narrative employments. In order to emphasise the importance of sonority and musical colour in creating an audio-visual picture of a period this study distinguishes between symphonic and period music orchestration. Ultimately this study will offer possible meanings of sixteenth-century music in today's popular culture.

Central to the argument are forms of staging music and resulting cinematic manifestations. Is it perhaps a form of historical 'musicking' in the sense Haynes (2009) and Small (1998) use the term? What do mass-entertainment history feature films

⁴ *Mimesis* was known as 'iconic representation' in the sixteenth century (Savage, 2010, p. 39).

convey about sixteenth-century music? How does sixteenth-century music in films invoke the past and when is this perceived historical identification perhaps unsuccessful and why? This includes references to audience's expectations and composer's commitment to musicological research. The distinct sonority of period instruments may emerge as being the key component in triggering a relationship with the depicted period much in the sense of Arnold Dolmetsch's legacy. Dolmetsch believed in the myth that he was directly connecting with the composer by unearthing old instruments and performance practices (Haskell, 1988, p. 43; Campbell, 1975). Haskell writes that Dolmetsch understood and made public the notion that

a piece of music could not be fully understood without reference to sonorities of the instruments on which it was originally played and the performance practice of the period in which it was written.
(Haskell, 1988, p. 43).

As musical performer on the classical guitar I encountered many transcriptions of lute and baroque guitar repertoire, which only presented themselves more comprehensively, transparently and meaningfully when played on a period instrument. The music unfolded in different ways: musical phrases moved into focus that on the modern guitar seemed ordinary, uneventful and would have never caught my attention. The music had something intimate that could not be captured to the same extent by the sonority and tuning of the modern instrument.

As the popular, generic and somewhat controversial term 'early music' inevitably will be used where general reference to the larger body of this type of music is intended, then for the purposes of this study a working definition of the term should be provided. When used in this thesis or referred to as collective term, 'early music' suggests a looser context, roughly denoting any sacred or secular polyphonic music composed and performed between 1500 and 1780. Recent approaches to performances in early music include the consideration of improvisation in early works by Mozart and the composer's pandering towards adapting music to certain singer's abilities (Taruskin, 1995, as well as performance accounts by Pinnock and Harnoncourt include thoughts on this matter).

Alternatively the open term 'period music' defines a similarly loose context. As the main premise of this study is concerned with music from the sixteenth century, this study refers to period music by using the chronological term, or, where appropriate

either English Renaissance or Tudor Music, which defines all potential music that could have been played, chronologically, at the courts of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, Mary Tudor and Queen Elizabeth I, including contemporaneous continental European pieces. To set a marker for the subject of investigation, however, this thesis defines the period between 1509 – King Henry VIII ascension to the throne – and 1603 – Queen Elizabeth I's death as relevant for the musicological enquiry.

For films or cinema music is strongly regarded as functional music and therefore receives a large amount of editing and cutting to fit the needs of the drama. Quite interestingly with regard to the present thesis, this is nothing new in the case of early music. The treatment of baroque operas allowed for 'some editorial licence' being 'permissible' (Haskell, 1988, p. 150). Renaissance music in the aforementioned films might therefore be regarded as part of this music's most recent heritage, unlike pieces of the classical and romantic eras, whose atypical tampering with for the film score was not well received by critics initially and provoked a number of defences (Adorno/ Eisler, 1947; London, 1936).

Where and when can period music unfold its meaning in the context of film? The most obvious answer to this question is: as soon as attention is drawn to the music by means of camera shots that centralise musicians or by withdrawal of dialogue in favour of the music. However, this thesis will show that there are more opportunities within the film for period music to contribute to meaning. Those opportunities may be found in the music's narrative employment and how the music acts in narrative space. Is this different for sixteenth-century musical idioms and orchestration compared with the traditional employment of the symphonic score? Furthermore, the music may act as mediator with the past as well as producer of an 'authentic' feeling. It may also participate in the construction of the scene. By means of its reflective employment the music also acts as a bridge between the sixteenth and the twenty-first centuries.

Cinematic

The term cinematic here emphasises the constructed nature of the medium of cinema and the unique experience of the 'big screen'. This unique experience is characterised in a technical way by the exposure to larger than life moving images and

a large and darkened room. Further the cinematic environment directs attention to the screen only – the viewer is supposed to become absorbed in the film experience. Before video cassettes, DVDs and home cinema equipment were available, this experience resulted in a one-off encounter. Entertainment and a good story are what can be expected of the cinematic experience in a broad sense. The cinema screen presents a reality that is perceived as tangible yet is complete fiction. As film scholar Daniel Frampton asserts, '[cinema] has never been, and is definitely becoming less and less, a simple and direct reproduction of reality' (Frampton, 2006, p. 1). Cinema is a two-dimensional construct with an individual order (Frampton, 2006, p. 2). The films in this study evoke a purported 'historical reality', an illusion of the Tudor Court, suggestive of period mannerisms and décor. To borrow Frampton's recently developed terminology, it could be argued that the audience is engaged with the products of the filmind, lost in a constructed world, subjected to film thinking (Frampton, 2006, p. 2). This thesis neither deals with the surreal black and white flickering of early films nor with extremely digitally manipulated examples of more recent years, although, admittedly the sea battle scenes of *Elizabeth – The Golden Age* (2007) were digitally enhanced.⁵ The fantastic and all-encompassing experience in the darkness of the cinema exposes the audience to a unique world with transfigurative potential. By distorting time and space within nearly two-hour-long narratives, yet presenting a recognisable reality and forcing the audience by means of the dark surroundings to solely focus on what is presented, the cinematic experience is exceptional and continues to fascinate the young and the old. In Kassabian's words,

[Film] exists for perceivers within a web of textuality that includes experiences of sound, music, and visuals that begins long before a specific film experience and continues long thereafter.
(Kassabian, 2001, p. 49)

The film experience in the cinema has a lasting effect, as Kassabian asserts and Frampton (2006, p. 2) confirms. The cinematic Tudor Court and by means of the films, transmitted images of King Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth I have brought the sixteenth century back to wide-spread consciousness in reflective, beautiful and nostalgic fashion with more lively than ever vitality and reality. Henry VIII has risen to more than a picture on the 'big screen'; he is a person with a character, a voice and

⁵ In the 'Making-Of' feature on the film's DVD they show how the Spanish Armada received more ships by digital duplication on the computer screen.

very familiar demeanour. This 'better than real' impression has transported this historical figure into present day reality, all due to cinema's powers. The impact of the cinematic experience on the viewer encouraged the present study which enquires whether the exposure to period music sounds may produce a lasting effect and if the cinema contributes to transporting sixteenth-century music into modern day society.

Tudor Court

The period of investigation encompasses the sixteenth century in England and the representation of the Tudor Court. This then encompasses historical figures such as King Henry VIII, Anne Boleyn and Elizabeth I, the period's musical history and respective scenes and icons. The overall picture conveyed in cinematic representations is completed by including a sixteenth-century musical spirit not least expressed in the group dances that form part of general entertainment at court.

A new way of thinking dominated the sixteenth century through the rediscovery of ancient Greek theories by Plato and Aristotle. The invention of the printing press contributed massively to the prevalence of books, written music and informative leaflets with the result that those who were privileged to know how to read entered an intellectual revolution. The gradual break away from a ubiquitous power of one church towards protestant and catholic faith distinctions was one tumultuous result of this newly found awareness. This took place whilst music at the court of King Henry VIII prospered. Technological advancements in the quality of instrument making contributed to the increasing interest in composing instrumental music with more complex, though more logical constructs. In the short period of King Edward VI and Queen Mary I's reign, musical development continued albeit without the sovereign's particular encouragement. This, however, changed when Elizabeth was crowned Queen of England in 1558. The daughter of King Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn was young and intelligent, raised in the state of mind of humanism and somehow capable of uniting King Henry VIII's vanity with Henry VII's political wisdom and caution (De Sola Pinto, 1938, p. 50). During Queen Elizabeth I's reign and due to her encouragement, music and poetry reached an artistic peak (Ellis, 2012). Though most of the population in the sixteenth century was illiterate, they were surrounded by

music in their every-day life: the market with merchants and pedlars, identifying their wares by shouting and singing tunes similar to jingles of advertisements and radios that can be found in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries; church bells indicating the weather and time; or the 'City Waits', a group of musicians, instrumentalists and singers, performing by night in larger cities like London (Wulstan, 1983, p. 41). The Elizabethan society was fruitful for comparison and rivalry out of which emerged a strong competition and public awareness giving high quality results in music and poetry. The Tudor Court onscreen celebrates and relishes the purportedly colourful image of the period in music and dance, as well as its darkest political moments of war, execution, conspiracy and intrigue.

In chapter 1 of this thesis the focus is on relevant film music literature with the intention to provide a critical overview of current ideas but also misconceptions of the subject of period music in Hollywood mainstream film. The reliance on textbook statements on the one hand and literature from other film music domains that may be adapted to suit the case on the other, further illustrate that no comprehensive effort has been made so far to address this issue – perhaps with the exception of a very recently published book by John Haines (2014), who investigates music and the medieval in film. In doing so he discovers popular modes that identify the medieval musically in film and describes how these modes have been treated. This treatment may be manifested in rock music as well as early music. Haines makes references to the early music performance movement in America of the twentieth century and how this has impacted on films featuring the Middle Ages. This point in particular is very interesting as the present thesis investigates how the Historical Informed Performance movement may have had an influence on scoring practices for films featuring the Renaissance. Anahid Kassabian (2001) and Miguel Mera (2001) both investigate baroque music and its cinematic functions in the 1984 Lorimar film *Dangerous Liaisons* and Caryl Flinn (1992) incorporates some ideas regarding nostalgic functions of music in film, which will be considered. This first chapter will illustrate the landscape of film music literature with reference to the 'historical' in film as well as sources that draw on the issue of classical music in film, mostly referring to the treatment of canonical works.

Chapter 2 explores narrative and nostalgic strains that fuel the perception of history in the context of the cinematic environment. History's various moments of perception are addressed through ideas expressed by Higson (2011) and Wallace (2009). The chapter's aspiration of critically incorporating hermeneutic ideas as expressed by Hans Georg Gadamer (1960) highlights the need to regard history as a constantly evolving and dynamic construct whose discursive qualities and dialogical paradigm invite multiple interpretations and an open mind to engage critically with what is presented. Gadamer's 'fusion of horizons' also emphasises the synergies of a dialogical approach to history. Furthermore, in the logical considerations of semiotics presented by Peirce and the psycho-analytical approach of Kristeva, deeper bodily ramifications of a 'musico-historical feel' become apparent.

Chapter 3 engages illustratively and critically with aspects of sixteenth-century music and its employment in a selected number of mass-entertainment films depicting Tudor history, among others in particular are *Anne of the Thousand Days* (1969) and *Elizabeth* (1998). In due course of the investigation the four characters for the musical invocation of the Renaissance will be identified and illustrated with examples from the films. This chapter also features a critical consideration of the 'Greensleeves' phenomenon, the odd assumption (not least expressed by students in lectures on this matter) that the music in a film about the Tudors is based entirely around this popular traditional tune.

Chapter 4 investigates the relationship between early music and the media in the twentieth century and parallels are drawn to the early music movement. Further, the effects, purposes and functions of sixteenth-century music are investigated on narrative levels in order to provide the various contexts that sixteenth-century music and its derivatives appear in. The chapter draws heavily on theories that centralise and critically evaluate the Historical Informed Performance movement, notably works by Haines (2014), Haynes (2009), Butt (2002), Taruskin (1995) and Haskell (1988).

Music emerges within the *Zeitgeist* and it is inexorably tied to intellectual movements and technological developments (Butt, 2002). Historical films are one way of dealing with a particular *Zeitgeist* in a modern context, and even this modern context in some films, is becoming antiquated. This issue is part of a discourse between notions by notable contemporary early music critics: Richard Taruskin, John

Butt, Nikolaus Harnoncourt and Bruce Haynes and their application to performances of sixteenth-century music in film. Five crucial questions emerge from their arguments that directly address the premise of this study; What is early music? What does it have to do with history? What does this music mean for and in contemporary society? Is it the 'exotic charm' of this music or is there a direct connectivity? How does the performance of early music onscreen fit in with cultural concerns? This chapter endeavours to answer these. However, there is a minor concern in that Taruskin, Butt, Harnoncourt and Haynes deal predominantly with works of the extended classical musical canon and their critical reflection reaches as early as Bach or Monteverdi (in the case of Harnoncourt). Music of the sixteenth century, although all three named scholars above have performed this type actively, does not seem to render an issue of critical enquiry in their writings. A large number of performance practice related literature is primarily concerned with Bach and his baroque contemporaries, whereas the critical discussion on music before 1650, mainly including musical works of the Renaissance, is included in only a small number of volumes. The ideas expressed in the writings of Taruskin, Butt, Harnoncourt and Haynes therefore would need to be transferred and compared with caution. Nevertheless, they offer highly supportive thoughts on this thesis' issue of contextualising sixteenth-century music in film. The chapter is concluded by demonstrating sixteenth-century music's narrative potential.

Chapter 5 contains an application of the developed ideas in two detailed film readings: *Young Bess* (1953) and *A Man for All Seasons* (1963). All the film examples cited and the case studies in this chapter pay tribute to sixteenth-century music by either including pre-existent pieces or by making use of period musical styles in informed pastiches. A composer's choice of orchestration, whether period or symphonic, is identified as having an impact on the musico-historical effect of the soundtrack. Whilst musico-historical sensibility is hidden when symphonic orchestration is deployed, it stands out predominantly with the use of period instruments in the soundtrack.

This thesis identifies four musical archetypes in film that evoke the renaissance aurally and visually. By contextualising music-historical and music-theoretical knowledge with cinematic representation and involvement in narrative structures, this thesis provides a new stance on the manifestations of period music in popular culture

and enhances the discussion of early music's relation to media. There is useful and thought provoking insight into films that have not received much critical attention previously and some surprisingly close to what is believed to be 'authentic' period imitations may be found.

In the appendix, the reader will discover a few additional materials, mainly to support some claims made in the main body of the text. The complete lyrics for 'A Passionate Sheppard with His Love' from *The Private Lives of Elizabeth and Essex* are included for further consideration of the piece's involvement in creating the experience of nostalgia for the film's character of Queen Elizabeth I, which is addressed in the section on nostalgia in chapter 2. A short informal e-mail interview with lutenist Jacob Heringman, who has appeared on several film soundtracks, is attached to provide an authentic, yet subjective, account from a performer directly involved in film and his attitudes about involvement in scoring practices. Finally, a French transcript with English translation of an excerpt of an interview with film composer Georges Delerue⁶ provides insight into some interesting composer attitudes towards film scoring. The notation examples are my own transcriptions from the films.

⁶ Available on Dupont (2012) <http://www.georges-delerue.com/en/special/interview>, *du film historique*, accessed 14th January 2014.

CHAPTER 1

Music is the voice of the past, of memory, of an idealized state, of a lost moment frozen in time and left behind by its inexorable advancement.
(Martin Rubin, 1932, in Flinn, 1992, p. 253)

EXAMINING ISSUES OF FILM, MUSIC AND THE 'MUSICO-HISTORICAL FEEL'

The tendency to romanticise the past is a key aspect of all the films and soundtracks that will be discussed in this thesis. The main question this chapter attends to is: why has music's apparent ability to authenticate a period become a natural expectation, as frequently quoted in literature on film music? This expectation may derive from the assumption that music acts parallel to the moving image. This is mentioned as a particular ideological notion in Flinn's *Strains of Utopia* (1992, p. 17, pp. 34). Flinn poses the question as to what the film score is running parallel and asserts that it must be the narrative that the music supposedly complements. Consider the following observation (extra-diegetic music here refers to a film's overall underscore after Gorbman, 1987):

Despite the fact that the connection between extra-diegetic music and historical verisimilitude is more apparent than real, so naturalized has the music's ability to authenticate a period become that we assume an immediacy exists between them.
(Flinn, 1992, p. 110)

This assertion however, neglects to explain sufficiently how the concurrence between music and the historical period in question emerged and in what way audiences' perceptions have been shaped. If it is indeed that 'natural', although Flinn is not being specific in her account, it must be assumed that the music corresponds with what is known in musicological terms of a historical period, otherwise how can this be deemed 'naturally' the past? Does this naturalisation postulate a generally romanticised or postmodernist stance?

Taking as example the widely recognised images of King Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth I in classical Hollywood films together with their popularity, pomp and lifestyle at court (Doran and Freeman, eds., 2003; Parrill and Robison, eds., 2013); deliberate, nostalgic and romantically transfigured attitudes appear to be directly suggested by costumes, setting and music in history film. Music in particular seems to lend its powers to the reconstruction of 'lost beauty' (Flinn, 1990). That this happens

mainly by means of late romantic musical idioms and grand orchestration shows how little music and period have to have in common on screen, making any assumed natural expectation of a particular music's period identification abilities all the more peculiar within film.

This chapter interrogates existing literature and theories preoccupied with music's role in expressing anteriority in relation to specific historical periods in film scores. In order to understand the status and critical position of pre-existent music in film, this study draws on the works of scholars who have made strong theoretical contributions to the use of classical (to adopt the catch-all term described by Cooke (2008) and Brown (1994)) music in films with particular historical references. Theories and books addressed in this chapter include Caryl Flinn's interdisciplinary, albeit Marxist and feminist orientated, approach which engages most usefully with some of the issues examined in this study, consequently, parallels to her theories will be drawn; Mervyn Cooke's *A History of Film Music* (2008), despite being of textbook character, presents a valuable sample selection of potentially relevant films as well as offering crucial critical comments that provoked some of the issues unfolding later in the chapter; further Adorno and Eisler serve as examples of more traditional yet radical views on the subject matter in order to illustrate some of the most profound issues of film music's functions and criticism. Of more direct value to the subject of period music in film are Miguel Mera's attempts at defining a specific role for baroque scores in film and Dean Duncan's (2003), Jeongwon Joe's (2006) and Nicholas Cook's (2007) engagement with the use of pre-existent classical music in film. Their ideas serve to establish a critical stance towards sixteenth-century music and respective quasi-manifestations, described as pastiche, in the specific selection of history films which feature in chapters 3, 4 and 5.

The Classical Hollywood Paradigm and Thoughts on Film Realism

The musical soundtracks of history films make use of referential clichés and established stereotypical paradigms. These clichés and stereotypes derive from silent film accompaniment as much as theatrical music's heritage (Wierzbicki, 2009). Flinn identifies the most common musical expectations for a traditional film soundtrack as 'film music's rich harmonies and orchestral colour [as well as] its reliance on large

symphonic forms and instrumentation' (Flinn, 1992, p. 35). These attributes are a testimony of the late romantic heritage¹ of film music in Hollywood's Golden Age. Fanfares for announcing royalty or bugles for hunting scenes as well as strings for romance are among these clichés, which is imposingly demonstrated in Flinn's (1992) and Brown's (1994) analysis of *The Sea Hawk* and Ben Winter's (2007) analysis of *The Adventures of Robin Hood*. Haines identifies these as responsible for initiating period expectations in films on the medieval (Haines, 2014, p. 23). On this note, Wierzbicki emphasises that

Extra-diegetic music in the referential category establishes such things as locale or time period or ethnic stereotypes by making reference to pre-existing and fairly well-known music that an audience would likely associate with whatever is being depicted.
(Wierzbicki, 2009, p. 142)

Wierzbicki makes a crucial point: use of pre-existent music for the film's music track inevitably brings with it a set of pre-existent meanings into the fabric of the film score. Therefore it may unwittingly or deliberately entice or even challenge aspects of the drama. Original music on the other hand might not transmit the 'authenticity' required to fulfil the function of period identification (Mera, 2001, p. 4). As history films, especially in the postmodern era, tend to employ both in form of mixed scores, the tension arising from these issues of locale or temporal identification through music is worth exploring for the purpose of this thesis.

The characteristics of the traditional film score offer a reliable set of continuous and stable compositional practices (Flinn, 1992, p. 108). However, experimentations with period music other than the traditional romantically influenced score may put this stability to the test. The traditional score engages multiple narrative and emotive functions, which in turn a predominantly period music employing score might not. Among the parameters to be examined are the music's interrelations within a film's narrative world as well as perceptual interrelations with the audience and, if any, the identification of potential differences between the traditional method and a more period reflective approach.

¹ Flinn's *Strains of Utopia* (1992) in particular links film music with late romanticism; however, it is a classical notion among scholars from London (1935) to Kassabian (2001).

Each of these parameters requires individual critical attention, heuristically. However, their effects are experienced in intertextual unison, meaning that the perception of these effects happens simultaneously whilst watching the film in the cinema. The unique environment of the cinema excludes the possibility of personal interference by means of 'stopping and starting' – unlike the home DVD player – thus allowing the film to flow as a whole with all its parameters of impression delivered at once. Unlike television, a film in the cinema is akin to a theatrical performance, perceived in a purpose-built hall and building, where the only reason for being there is in order to watch the film or performance. The viewer is exposed to audio-visual impressions as a whole and is inevitably subjected to whatever parameter one personally drew attention to (Clarke, 2005).

Richly orchestrated film scores became established as aesthetic and ideological attributes in the classical Hollywood era. By means of their deployment and functions within film these scores helped to retain, revive and in some cases further compositional advances of the late nineteenth century (Buhler and Neumeyer, 1994, p. 384). This development occurred alongside the contemporary modernist music scene of America and Europe in the 1930s and 1940s, though its chosen romantic symphonic style seemed to oppose the modernist aesthetics of music (Flinn, 1992, p. 14 and 36; Buhler and Neumeyer, 1994, p. 384; Adorno and Eisler, 1947). The romantic character of these orchestrated scores running throughout the film is still a common and popular film scoring practice today, though diminished as the pre-dominant feature in the 1950s, coinciding with the precipitous decline of 'the movies'.

By 1946 audience numbers reached an absolute box-office peak, after that interest was dwindling rapidly, which was partly due to the fact that television took over the function of entertainment. By 1956 cinema attendance in the United States of America had decreased fifty percent from its peak, likewise the number of commercial television stations jumped from 56 up to more than 200 parallel to the ascent of the manufacture and sale of television sets. Hollywood was aware of the destructive effect on movie attendance caused by television but the scale of this factor remained unclear at the time (Wierzbicki, 2009, p. 160).

Wierzbicki describes that

When the labour issues between Hollywood musicians and both the major independent studios were finally resolved late in 1958, "Hollywood music" as it had come to be known and often disparaged would largely be a thing of the past. This is not to say that an end had come to scores that were at the same time consistently symphonic in both sound and idiom and in terms of function firmly aligned with the "obvious" narrative goals of the so-called classical style film. Throughout the 1960s plenty such scores were used [...] and they have continued to be used right up to the present day. [...] Since the 1950s, however, this type of score has shared spotlight, so to speak, with film music that is either in whole or in part sound not at all symphonic.
(Wierzbicki, 2009, p. 189)

The full orchestral score found a fleeting but grand resurgence with John Williams' scores for *Star Wars* in the 1970s (Cooke, 2008, p. 457) before it joined the increasingly diverse approach to film scoring as one among many compositional and arranging styles. Despite this, John Williams' scores continue to utilise traditional orchestration enhanced by voice arrangements and compilation mostly 'eschewing electronics', though, for example William's music track for *War of the worlds* (2005) includes some electronically generated sounds (Cooke, 2008, pp. 463, 464). Because of their alleged nostalgic power of restoring 'lost beauty' and constructing a mythic, shared remembered past, traditional orchestral scores tend to have survived in fantasy and history films in particular within which the music acts partially as an obvious means of refuge.² In the current diverse scene of film soundtracks, orchestral scores continue to rely on the musical heritage of late Romanticism and its subsequent development within Classical Hollywood film, therefore it has almost retained a timeless transcendence which is yet to be academically examined and established.

History films, as the name suggests, contain plots based around known historical events and personalities. Fantasy films on the other hand, use references to anteriority or non-specific historical period to establish the impression of a bygone time. There is a tendency in both genres to set their plots hundreds of years back in time and therefore, due to temporal distance to allow for generous dramatic adaptations regardless of historical accuracy. For fantasy films this is of marginal importance, as they are by nature purely fictional. History films, however, purport an

² *Lord of the rings* (2001), scored by Howard Shore; *Harry Potter* (2001- 2010), partially scored by John Williams; *The Chronicles of Narnia* (2005, 2008), music by Harry Gregson-Williams; *Schindler's list* (1993), score by John Williams; *Braveheart* (1995) with music by James Horner, to list only a few.

alleged claim to period 'authenticity' (Haines, 2014, p. 1) or at the very least a claim for close period resemblance.

It is generally acknowledged that all dramatic films on history are fiction³ and that films, as demonstrated later in this thesis, exploit history filtered through a generic, socio-cultural and clichéd prism (Rosenstone, 2006; Higson, 2011). One wonders then why history as presented in the movies feels so tangible, vivid, believable, in short: so 'real' (Gorbman, 1987; Flinn, 1992 and Frampton, 2010). Indeed, films can feel so 'real' that they sometimes remove the audience from their present reality and leave members of the audience in a moment of disorientation after having watched a film (Frampton, 2010, p. 10). One important contributor to this mind transforming experience can be found in the film's musical score and the auditory sensations it provides in conglomeration with the visuals. Particularly the sonority of 'unusual', 'historic' or 'foreign' instruments and their specific musical patterns, depending on from whichever musical heritage they derive, provides a necessary tool in order to enhance this auditory experience. This includes world music, like African or Asian music that seem alien to westerly educated musical minds (Bithell, 2006). Exposure to these perceptibly 'different' or 'alternative' sounds increases the likelihood of being more strongly connected and increasingly absorbed into the world of the film. It promotes and facilitates a kind of bodily engagement with a specific historical world or culture. The bodily experience of history and a resulting understanding of parts of history is particularly evident in re-enactments. 'Re-enacting re-inscribes the self in relation to both the 'past' and to a set of tropes associated with a previous event or artefact' (de Groot, 2009, p. 104). In historical film, this bodily experience is restricted to a more passive participation (watching and listening), yet still arguably a bodily experience.

Furthermore, music in the cinema 'performs a specific function in theoretically equipping the apparatus with a sense of lost realism' (Flinn, 1992, p. 42) – a function thought necessary to overcome the obstacles of technology involved in the cinematic apparatus and add a human element. This issue can be found in every general history of film music (Wierzbicki, 2009; Cooke, 2008 and Kalinak, 2010) and already in the

³ Compare with an article by Comolli (1977) in *Cahiers du Cinema* called 'Un corps en trop' and *Retrovisions: Reinventing the past in film and fiction* (2001) by Cartmell, Hunter and Whelehan (eds.), in particular the introduction and chapters 2 and 3 on Queen Elizabeth I and Shakespeare.

writings of Kurt London (1935) and in the thesis of silent film scholar Charles Berg (1976). The mere idea of a projection on a screen without 'real' people (as for example in the theatre) seemed to cause considerable resistance – a notion that appears considerably outdated in the twenty-first century where culture has adapted to the removal of a living contact by increasingly engaging with virtual realities.

This 'sense of lost realism', despite its mere technical origins, has far reaching consequences for the historical realism this thesis is investigating. For if music is employed to restore reality, could it be assumed that period music can restore period reality or at any rate tamper with closer historical 'precision'? Providing that the film offers a possible reconstruction of historical events that pay attention to period detail, the setting's historical accuracy tends to receive more attention than the period's respective music, as can be experienced in the scores for *The Other Boleyn Girl* (2008) and *Elizabeth – The Golden Age* (2007).

The question of film's relation to reality has occupied film and film music criticism ever since the beginning of the medium, which is evident in general discussions of silent film music and early talkies (Thiel, 1981, Wierzbicki, 2009, Cooke, 2008, Kalinak 2010 as well as in Buhler and Neumeyer, 1994). Adorno and Eisler's *Composing for the films* (1947)⁴ subliminally assumes that film should depict reality (Winters, 2010). However, as Eisler and Adorno admit, films are shot with 'pretense to immediacy' constructing a false consciousness of reality through

A strategy designed to prevent the spectator from understanding the extent of his/her alienated condition [which] obscures the contradictions inherent in film (its administrative remoteness, its technological nature).
(Gorbman, 1987, p. 106)

In this context music enhances the often called 'filmic illusion' (Gorbman, 1987 p. 106; Buhler and Neumeyer, 1994). This filmic illusion can be achieved through high synchronisation of image and music and thus reducing the music's autonomy, making it a servant to the drama. In the early years of film criticism, particularly in the 1930s

⁴ Adorno and Eisler merged their views on classical film music and launched an attack on standard composing practices. In their view, music is subordinating itself to a narrative textual system and with this opposes the author's aesthetic standard of generating musical meaning. In Adorno's view, film music demonstrates an extreme case of the degradation of musical listening. Comprehensive critiques on *Composing for the film* can be found, among others, in Gorbman (1987) and Winters (2010).

and 1940s, a dialectic between realists and Marxists emerged, one trying to preserve the filmic illusion, the other attempting to expose it:

Only by disrupting the filmic illusion at times can the spectator be made an active participant in the production of filmic meaning.
(Buhler and Neumeyer, 1994, p. 372)

For Eisler, influenced by Marxist and Brechtian thought, film music should reveal the image's mediated nature instead of masking it. Both Adorno and Eisler criticise most insistently the use of culturally familiar musical language to create emotional proximity and the subject's immediate identification with the unity of sound and image. Adorno's idea of an edenic state of music opposes the idea of film music and renders his point of departure in the argument rather problematic (Gorbman, 1987, pp. 106 – 108), as the narrative supporting function of film music, positively and negatively, opposes these aesthetic claims. If film is not depicting reality, then what else?

Most recently, film scholar Daniel Frampton offered a new approach to this matter. He has coined the term 'film mind' or 'filmind' – a world of thought and imagination that is the 'reality' of the film and with this the film achieves plausibility and realistic credibility (Frampton, 2011, p. 3). By perceiving the film within the film mind theory, discussions about its relation to the 'real' world become irrelevant because anything converts *de facto* into the realm of thought. However, the film mind theory works particularly well for a digital age, where reliance on filming actual settings and backdrops in form of buildings and landscapes as well as acted out scenes with humans occupies the smaller part of productions (such as animation films, computer generated backdrops, multiplying of participants in a battle scene as deployed in Walden Media's *The Chronicles of Narnia – The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* (2005)). On the other hand the notion of film's parallelism to reality cannot easily be denied and shows a certain public need for plausible and often historically accurate correspondence of the logical sequence of events in history films. The problematic nature of this circumstance is increasingly displayed in critical literature of history films and popular culture (de Groot, 2009; Doran and Freeman, eds, 2003; Rosenstone, 2001 and Comolli, 1977), as Frampton observes:

They [philosophers and film theorists] have realised that how we engage with film informs and reflects how we engage with reality – and that the nature of aesthetic experience as a form of knowledge is as valid as rational thought.
(Frampton, 2006, p. 1)

The educational ‘History and film’ projects conducted by Weinstein (2001) and Carlson (2007) demonstrate, how this observation may be turned into fruitful action for students of history, however, elements of this may also be applicable to a wider public.

The Problem of the Use of Pre-existent Music

Caryl Flinn’s book *Strains of Utopia – Gender, Nostalgia, and Hollywood Film Music* (1992) features a majority of the theories considered particularly influential for the present study whilst providing an informative overview of the political and historical environment for film composers in the Classical Hollywood era. Her work is both interesting yet limited to an early 1990s outlook and may be perhaps by now considered a little dated in film music theory. These temporal shortcomings notwithstanding, Flinn’s idea of utopia, although never summarised as such, emerges as a dynamic, dialectical construct of nostalgia, romanticism, subjectivity and interpretation contributing to a considerable framework of interrelations in this thesis’ quest for the ‘historical feel’, which considers similar parameters.

However, Flinn’s critical approach is defined by an ideological conflict (Buhler and Neumeyer, 1994, p. 375). Buhler and Neumeyer argue, that

the absence of a fully articulated theoretical account of the material dimension leaves Flinn without a mechanism for resolving the conflict between her politics (which espouses the central importance of a feminist perspective) and her relativist epistemology (which makes any such claims to centrality problematic).
(Buhler and Neumeyer, 1994, p. 375)

Flinn refers mainly to Marxism, especially the work of Ernst Bloch, to develop her theory of utopia, though she does not take up a particular position. By basing her model of utopia in the realm of thought and interpretation she leaves it within the diffuse realm of subjectivity (Buhler and Neumeyer, 1994, p. 372). Whilst Buhler and Neumeyer appear to be extremely critical about this supposed non-committal idea, it may be said that in recent years more scholars have explored the realms of

interpretation and subjectivity if not for film music then certainly for musicology.⁵ The present thesis is also inclined to regard this thoughtful approach not as hindering but as beneficial in its breadth of interpretation, albeit including further refinements. Buhler and Neumeyer in their 1994 review of Flinn's book remain sceptical about this stance.

In her quest for musical utopias in film Flinn follows the widely reiterated view of linking Hollywood's scoring practices of the 1930s and 1940s with the musical heritage of late Romanticism (Flinn, 1992, p. 14). Flinn attempts at defining the reason for Hollywood's turn to Romanticism in the way orchestral scores express the grand and the emotional, repercussions of which have an impact on the stylistic approach to sixteenth-century music in the films of later decades, as this thesis is intending to show in due course. Flinn further discovers the cradle for musical utopias, which are idealistic realms constructed by music often including a historical reference, within classical Hollywood. In her approach she reviews psychoanalytic theories expressed by Barthes and Kristeva as well as Marxism theories and couples these with references to gender issues in scoring practices. Whilst the present study will make use of and further Barthes and Kristeva's contributions as they are discussed in *Strains of Utopia*, it will draw on hermeneutic theory by Hans-Georg Gadamer for further clarification on the construction of the 'historical' and investigate the film examples from a musico-historically informed performance perspective.⁶

Buhler and Neumeyer use the purpose of their review of Flinn's book⁷ to develop their own re-evaluation of issues of film reality, narrative and synchronisation. Whilst their discussion is defined within the boundaries of 1990s pre-dominant topics in the field, in particular the dialectic within the narrative status of music in film,⁸ they discover an element of film music that has so far not found any more critical involvement. The most crucial point with regards to the present study emerges towards the end of their review article, when the authors instigate that film has used

⁵ Savage (2010) and Clarke (2005) provide a particularly hermeneutical and even ecological stance on the matter.

⁶ An aspect Flinn as scholar of English could not provide. She admits herself that she leaves the musicological discussion to others (Flinn, 1992, p.12).

⁷ Within this review they also include Kalinak's *Settling the Score* (1992).

⁸ For the purpose of this study the terms diegesis and non-diegesis have been eschewed in favour of a more flexible understanding and case sensitive description.

and developed styles of music that were either long forgotten or rebelled against, as in the case of the restrictions that Modernism imposed on Romanticism, and enabled this style to find a new life within film (Buhler and Neumeyer, 1994, p. 385). This thought in particular will find further consideration throughout this thesis.

Returning to Flinn's *Strains of Utopia* and besides the theoretical account and ideological conflict that seemed to be featured predominantly in the Buhler and Neumeyer review, Flinn provides a comprehensive list of film examples of the classical Hollywood period which feature music in connection with particular period film settings. This list provides an initial collection of historical films for the present enquiry as the films included situate the referential clichés involved. Whilst some of these are evident in the film examples later, sixteenth-century music exposes further qualities. Among the films listed in Flinn's book are *Gone with the wind* (1939), *The Sea Hawk* (1940) and *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (1938) whose 'heavily orchestrated music helps evoke the grandeur of dramatically epic earlier times' (Flinn, 1992, p. 108). Key feelings such as 'assuring regality' and 'stability' are supposedly transmitted through this particular type of music in a Western European and American cultural context. Key feelings, though this term is not made explicitly clear in Flinn's writing either, are supposed to refer to the music's intended effects on the audience. The term 'feelings' is used very broadly. These key feelings are accredited to Flinn's idea of the utopian function of film music soundtracks and to the notion that films present a nostalgic refuge from present reality – a crucial point for the present study as well as her structure of utopias, which is presented rather dialectical, constructed and mutually influenced within the cultural environment (see chapter 2 of this thesis).

In Flinn's prolonged investigation of musical utopias onscreen and the quest for nostalgia she cannot pass by the following point:

Other connections between film scores and the past are made through the use of already existing compositions.
(Flinn, 1992, p. 109)

What could have been developed into a more detailed analysis of these connections remains only on the surface by stating an example from the American Western, which incorporated folk music and *Gone with the wind*'s use of 'Dixie'. Folk music, through its innate correlation with tradition, is often regarded as a nation's direct link with the

past (Bithell, 2006, p. 5). The music in its subjective emotional dimension, ideologically-tinged position, timbre and style as well as lyrics, if applicable, reveals identities of a bygone era. Quite often the time period is also mentioned alongside locale, and both time and locale, are assumed to perform similar symptomatic functions (Cooke, 2008, p. 437).

It should be added that quoting, referencing and using music from previous musical periods to illustrate the moving picture was general practice and anticipated by the audience throughout the silent film era (Brown, 1994, p. 51). In the advent of individual film scoring, mostly from the 1930s onwards, these practices became generally dismissed – also for costume dramas or history films. On the one hand this was due to financial and organisational issues: studios struggled to gain copyright and reproduction permissions for pre-existent music, hence the prospect of individually composed pieces copyrighted by the film studios⁹ suddenly seemed very appealing. On the other hand, individual film scoring offered more flexibility in terms of serving the needs of the drama. Miguel Mera remarks:

Authentic music, though historically accurate in aspiration, may not be able to provide a film with the dramatic force that the narrative requires.

(Mera, 2001, p. 4)

Contemporary film critics, first and foremost Adorno and Eisler, advance even further in their adoration of the original and individual score by categorically abolishing the previous use of any pre-existent compositions:

The absurdity of such 'applied art' arrangements is glaring in contrast with the technique of the film which is of necessity modern. If costume pictures must be they might be better served by the free use of advanced musical resources.

(Adorno, Eisler, 1947, 1994, p. 15)

They also dismiss the use of the compilation technique by calling it 'barbaric mischief' (Adorno and Eisler, 1947, 1994, p. 22). However, they agreed that pre-existent music can have a significant effect in certain scenes. This point reveals some contradictions and inconsistencies in this remarkable and important work for film music theory.¹⁰

⁹ Note: not the composer's! (Flinn, 1992, pp.27) Wierzbicki (2009) and Cooke (2008) also comment on this.

¹⁰ Film composer Waxman engaged in a similar dialectic when he stated: 'Original compositions, not adaptation of other's works, is the answer to film music. An original score can be fitted much better to

Nevertheless, it needs to be addressed that *Composing for the film* deals with the ideological situation of standard film music way before film music theory advanced to this point in discussing the cinematic apparatus (Gorbman, 1987, p. 108). The contradiction in this matter is that film scores of the classical Hollywood era display applied musical styles of the nineteenth century and with this they are opposing contemporary modernity – an intriguing relationship that finds some discussion in Flinn’s writing. She relates late romantic scoring practices to Hollywood’s film scores and juxtaposes this with the existent American music scene in the 1930s and 1940s. Although this particular time period is only marginally the concern of the present study, as only two of the films in discussion can be counted within this mind-set, the dialectic between current musical trends and how they are absorbed or opposed in the film score will receive attention in chapter 4 of this thesis. For now it should be noted that films with historically referenced content continue to include pre-existent compositions and it appears that these compositions have somehow found their role in the set of composing techniques for the film. Yet what this role entails remains to be analysed. Predominant in the literature on this subject is still the discussion of its benefits for the film.

Furthering the point of alleged inappropriateness in using pre-existent compositions in film scores from a moral perspective (pre-supposing there is an ‘appropriate use’ in form of, for example, a depicted concert scene where the musical excerpt features in its entirety) is the supposition or fear that well-known pieces of music might distract the viewer from the drama.¹¹ Flinn briefly explains how the familiarity of the music can draw attention to the music in itself, allowing personal and individual affiliations of the viewer to create potentially disruptive effects for the perception of the story line. The degree of familiarity with the soundtrack music is of

film needs, except in cases where a musical production is being transferred bodily to the screen, [...]. In “Mutiny of the Bounty” we used adaptations of old English songs, because the picture deals with a particular period in English History and the songs were particularly appropriate’ (cited in Wierzbicki, 2009, p. 150).

¹¹ Consider Max Steiner’s justification of using original music (Flinn 1992, p. 36/37); quoted comments by Lindgren and composer Ernest Gold; Brill describes: ‘In a series of lectures on the craft of the film composition at the University of California at Los Angeles in the early 1960s, Leith Stevens advocated a period-specific approach in all situations apart from films containing ‘a dramatic problem of such universality that it is greater than the time and the place’, in which eventuality he considered a contemporary or even serial idiom to be justified regardless of the apparent expressive dictates of the diegetic milieu (Brill 2006, 347-8 cited in Cooke, 2008, p. 190).

importance in this respect, as more familiar pieces of music bring their meaningful baggage into the film score and are therefore more likely to distract the viewer from the action. This is a particularly crucial point for the present thesis, as it matters greatly for the perceptual experience of music. Sixteenth-century music's effects in film also benefit from not being so well known to a majority of the cinema audience. This circumstance consequently intensifies the music's purported 'otherness' and impact of sonority. Flinn refrains from engaging with this issue in more detail, particularly the element of subjectivity involved in this perceptual process is not further explored. Instead she moves the argument towards issues of attention levels, which shall be explored later, by plainly stating a traditional view: 'bad cinema music is noticed; good scores are not' (Flinn, 1992, p. 37). There has been considerable refinement of this view in the past twenty years of film music criticism, including soundtrack mismatch-theories (Dickinson, 2008 and Ireland, 2012). However, this chapter will linger a little longer on the subject of pre-existent compositions that indeed cause further problems for the film.

Throughout the twentieth century there was a tendency among classical musicians to object to the chopping and cropping of pre-existent pieces for the film score. As Cooke notes, this

elitist view of the classical composer's art [...] has significantly impeded audio-visual experimentation based on the classics.
(Cooke, 2008, p. 425)

Particularly in the early twentieth century these views were still prevalent. Even as late as 2006 Jeongwon Joe felt the need to defend the treatment of Mozart's, Salieri's and Pergolesi's music for the film *Amadeus* (1984) against elitist critics. Unlike pop and rock music, quoting classical pieces in film did not happen so naturally, mainly down to classical music's apparent superior status and the importance of the classical music piece as a whole experience in itself.¹² Adorno and Eisler's reservations mentioned earlier were echoed by many composers and critiques alike. Though notably, film producer Stanley Kubrick, among others, exploited the classical music repertoire for his films, for example *Barry Lyndon* (1975) and *A Clockwork Orange* (1971), and there is evidence that Johann Sebastian Bach became posthumously the most cited (film)

¹² This is expressed in the autonymous state of the Sonata form and other factors, for example addressed in Taruskin's 2007 essay *The Musical Mystique: Defending Classical Music against its Devotees*.

composer (Cooke, 2008, p. 448).¹³ Cooke, like Flinn, briefly acknowledges that pre-existent music brings forth a trail of connotations and hence failed to be as popular as the later jazz and pop-music for the use in film soundtracks (Cooke, 2008, pp. 422). However, once again, the subject of personal affiliation with the music is dropped too quickly and leaves the reader wondering what it might entail.

Cooke paid considerable attention to classical music quotations in film soundtracks, including examples for its diverse uses and functions within the film's narrative worlds, in his book *A History of Film Music* (2008). His extensive list of film examples with historical content in the chapters 'The epic and the intimate' and 'Classical music in the cinema' offers considerable proof for the scope of available filmic resources with historically motivated plots. Therefore his findings find further and more detailed considerations at several points throughout this chapter.

To promote the idea of pre-existent classical music in film, which this thesis is addressing, the following three authors, Dean Duncan, Jeongwon Joe and Nicholas Cook provide useful critical applications from the world of film. Duncan describes the meaning and function of quoted themes in film music in *Classical Music on Screen* (2002). He relates these to the use of classical music in film scores, carefully claiming a flexibility of film composer and film music listener and a generally more opened approach to excerpts or allusions as well as substantial quotations of classical music in film. Duncan's argument shows its weaknesses in its perhaps unclear claims and intentions, as Christine Lee Gengaro in her review confirms:

The resulting prose often obfuscates the author's line of argument. Duncan's aim is to discuss the ways in which music and film have worked towards similar ends, but it remains unclear why this discussion is truly important to his ultimate point that classical music is not harmed through its association with film.
(Gengaro, 2003, p. 268)

Duncan defends the 'ruination' of classical music pieces for films by saying that they 'are also instructive and a true reflection of some historical/theoretical reality' (Duncan, 2002, p. 171). The use of the broadly interpreted term 'true' is a little misleading in this context, as a reflection is based on interpretation, which in itself is in

¹³ Cooke (2008) dedicates a whole section to the uses of Bach's music in film and states that there are 'over 300 uses of Bach's music in the movies' (p. 448), see also Carlo Cenciarelli's articles on representations of Bach in film in *Music and Letters* (2013), *Twentieth-Century Music* (2012) and *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* (2012).

constant dialectic motion, as will be demonstrated in the chapter on hermeneutics in this thesis, and therefore far from being true.

Comparing this stance with Richard Taruskin's views on classical music it appears obvious that there can be no truth involved and anything is a matter of current 'tastes', as Taruskin frankly declared in a conference paper in 1981 (Taruskin, 2008, p.2). Taruskin was a candid critic of in the 1980s prevailing straight performances of early music claiming to be 'true' and 'authentic'. He challenged this approach in provocative fashion and thereby contributed strongly to the debate on 'modernism' and historically informed performance. Taruskin was not the only one in this debate; Joseph Kerman actively discussed the issue in a 1990 symposium on 'Music and History' in Berkeley, California (Kerman *et al*, 1992). Further, Nikolaus Harnoncourt also expressed strong criticism of the authenticity movement. An overall assessment of these claims emphasises the notion that even if a facsimile is used, the performance is always subject to personal interpretation. However, this debate on 'modernism and early music' can be considered as a matter of importance for previous decades, though it still crops up every so often. Nevertheless, classical music pieces can reflect a plausible image of historical reality, with regard to the socio-cultural context. The importance of including socio-cultural context and personal interpretation in the reflection is also described in Cooke (2008), Kramer (2002) and Kassabian (2001), emphasising that the use of the word 'true' seems almost too narrow for the subject's flexibility.

Reinforcing Duncan's claims in a more specific way is an article by Jeongwon Joe (2006): 'Reconsidering Amadeus'. Joe argues that pre-existent music in films, however compiled or mutilated, can be utterly effective for the narrative as well as the screenplay and therefore should be encouraged. Joe's defence for the use of pre-existent music in film is a welcome example of the dramatic depths pre-existent pieces can lend to a film and one against which the examples later discussed in this thesis can be evaluated. Despite the general argument, that in *Amadeus* the music of Mozart and Salieri has been juxtaposed and inappropriately used, Joe demonstrates, that, from looking at the film in the context of the film's purpose and function, Mozart's and

Salieri's music have been effectively compiled and woven into the scenes and story-line. Joe points out, that

music is indeed an important 'character' in *Amadeus* not only because of its extensive appearance but more importantly because of its intriguing role as a narrative and structural element.
(Joe, 2006, p. 59)

The combination of music, image and other cinematic components in this film demonstrates, according to Joe, that the much debated alteration (Brown, 1994) of original music in *Amadeus* does not lower its importance. The use of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's 'Lacrimosa' from Requiem in D-Minor (K. 626) throughout the funeral scene, and the fact that it accompanies this scene undisturbed, shows, that music can

take[...] priority over image in the sense that music exists first and image is created as a visual support or metaphor for music.
(Joe, 2006, p. 60)

The film shows to what extent pre-existent music can be compiled and still be effectively used, without losing its musical structure and importance (Joe, 2006). Similar elements can be found in the films that will be discussed later in this thesis; therefore Joe's argument offers some valuable support for viewing and analysing pre-existent classical music together with other elements, for example screen-play and dramatic requirements, in the filmic interplay.

Another example of a film deploying pre-existent compositions is the Beethoven biopic *Eroica* (2003), which features the story of the creation of the eponymous piece of music. For Nicholas Cook the film is a good example of a presentation that

serve[s] the more modest but still significant role of showing how old music may be newly experienced, and contribute to the classical's tradition's continuing search for a viable presence in today's society.
(Cook, 2007, p. 44)

This new experience of old music is an interesting aspect. It is the visualisation of old virtues and sounds, creating a multi-layered representation of the former musical material. In doing so, it can only add to the music's significance and beauty, if done with respect to the original musical score. The film *Amadeus* caused controversial reactions, whereas Cook lists some very positive responses to *Eroica* and therefore

attempts a prediction that there might be chances for earlier music to receive public attention by appearing in a new context like the film, to wipe the dust away from the sterile concert music image (Cook, 2007, pp.27-47).

Pre-existent or Pastiche? The Problem with Musico-historical Awareness, Misconceptions and Inconsistencies

The previous subchapter addressed pre-existent classical music only. More often than not, however, film scores for historical films utilise compositions 'in-the-style-of' a respective period to avoid either criticism for having 'mutilated' or adapted Beethoven or, more importantly, to accommodate the needs of the drama and the film more suitably and in a less restricted manner. The question of pre-existent music or style copy in film scores exposes a critical issue that so far has been overlooked in the literature. Whilst both in the context of the whole film score may be classed as 'pastiche' in the broadest sense, this subchapter interrogates the different uses of pre-existent period music and style copy in the film score and the shortcomings in making this distinction clear in existing literature. In due course of the discussion, it will transpire that the term 'pastiche' is employed in this thesis in a very specific way, namely referring to film scores that are entirely original for the respective film yet 'imitate' a period style rather than 'borrow' pre-existent musical material.

In the wake of postmodernism and intertextuality compiled scores with pre-existent material became classed and sometimes critically dismissed as pastiche, indeed, as Frederic Jameson identified: 'one of the most significant features or practices in postmodernism today is pastiche' (Jameson, 1988, p. 194). Jameson expressed a negative position towards pastiche in favour of parody which, unlike pastiche, through mockery shows a knowing and critical distance to the subject which makes use of fragments of the past or pre-existent material, as Jameson believes, in a less critical way. An article in the *Critical Dictionary of Film and Television* (2005) by Shepherdson describes:

Pastiche, in re-articulating the source text in an affectionate or nostalgic manner, has thus elicited criticism as an ineffectual, non-subversive and non-oppositional sub-form of parody.

(Shepherdson, 2005, p. 448)

This statement reflects Jameson's view that pastiche is a 'blank parody, parody that has lost its sense of humour' (Jameson, 1988, p. 195). On the whole Jameson clearly dismisses pastiche as meaningless, which has prompted another scholar Ingeborg Hoesterey (2001), to take to its defence.

Hoesterey traces 'pastiche' back to its roots in eighteenth-century opera where borrowing and imitating was common compositional practice, particularly in creating accessible and entertaining programmes for a growing 'mass' audience (Hutcheon, 2005, p. 323 and Hoesterey, 2001). The origins of the 'pastiche' lie in the Italian term 'pasticcio', which in music theatre history acquired a certain status as a respected form of 'mass-entertainment' opera in the eighteenth-century. Merging and adapting pre-existent librettos and contemporary arias and other known musical material to create a 'new' opera with elements of different composers was common practice for Handel in London and his contemporaries in Italy, Germany, France and the Netherlands. Mozart is also known for having 'borrowed' musical material from other composers (Price, 2007; Traubner, 2003; King, 1998 and Walker, 1952). Today's practices in programmes of early music ensembles often display a compilation of works of different composers to create a mass or a suite. This exposes, on a side-note, an intriguing link between film (and theatrical) scores and early music practices: the former being the continuation of a common technique throughout music history, only temporarily diminished to a 'low' status in the hierarchical and authorial perception of late nineteenth-century romanticism (Hoesterey, 2001).

Hutcheon, Hoesterey and Shepherdson point out that pastiche has moved into more recent critical focus with its pre-dominance in modern mass-media. It is therefore an aesthetic cultural symbol that deserves attention in this thesis because of, as Hutcheon describes, its 'inherently dialogic and intertextual form' (Hutcheon, 2005, p. 324). Additionally, Hoesterey emphasises that pastiche purposefully refrains from entering a kind of mockery of the material imitated. Instead the approach is motivated by honouring and celebrating the material in the process (Hoesterey, 2001). Shepherdson reiterates this view by stating:

Pastiche is generally regarded as a mixing of styles and achieves its effect through intertextual reference, [...] whereby a text borrows style, tone or

form from another text or texts. In this sense, the concept shares a relationship with parody, but without the latter's connotations of ironic mimicry or negative allegiance.
(Shepherdson, 2005, p. 448)

Shepherdson's and Hoesterey's justifications for an omnipresent style in today's mass-media show how different pastiche is from judgemental forms such as parody and satire, but also how it can make use of ideological and historical knowledge in effective ways.

One particular aspect of pastiche is of crucial importance for this thesis and should provide a working definition for this term's use throughout the present work. From Shepherdson's definition it may be deduced that 'pastiche' includes the imitation of former musical styles and tones and Hoesterey enhances this by adding a culturally critical yet honouring quality to this employment. Thus, this thesis intends to use the term 'pastiche' for indicating a 'style-copy' of sixteenth-century music and its inherent sonority with implicit and deliberate dramatic values. In addition to exhibiting sixteenth-century musical idioms and period sonority 'pastiche' as used in this study displays the crucial status as commodity in channelling the psychological through informative and emotive functions, yet with a looser connection to the cultural baggage of a particular musical piece's pre-film-history than pre-existent pieces within a compiled score. Pastiche in this thesis is not a 'mindless construction' as suggested by Jameson but an active and informed tool of working with and honouring a specific musical heritage. Pastiche could act as critically informed comment or enhanced 'copy' with regards to the film's dramatic needs in a harmonic and organic way. The term 'pastiche' therefore suggests more than simply 'style-copy' and sets this form of film composition apart from compiled scores with pre-existent material, which will be explained in the following.

Quite often, though, authors forget in their critiques to signal when pre-existent or pastiche is used, leading to slight obfuscation in their arguments. Whilst pre-existent classical music has an external component, meaning its connotations outside of the film and from previous history, pastiche is entirely film inherent and could only gain further or external meaning after the film's release. Pre-existent music has a before, during and after, whilst pastiche only exists during and, if at all and so intended through soundtrack sales or these days DVDs, after. This point is deliberately

glossed over and 'classical music' is used in the same breath as 'music whose idiom reflects a period style'. Flinn and Cooke offer some relevant examples on musico-historical awareness in film soundtracks, presupposing that by 'classical' music they probably mean pastiche. After listing examples of non- and meta-diegetic deployments of pre-existent classical music quotes, Cooke remarks that

One of the most common and least creative uses of classical music in film is as an agent for establishing appropriate period [...], a device common to all national cinemas in the West and increasingly widespread since the 1950s when Rózsa's epic assignments had demonstrated the dramatic usefulness of musico-historical awareness in film soundtracks. (Cooke, 2008, p. 437)

By connecting this argument with Rózsa, Cooke makes no distinction between pre-existent, as he says, 'classical' music and pastiche. Rózsa's scores were entirely original compositions, yet occasionally with 'borrowed' and amended musical extracts from historical sources, which gave Rózsa his reputation of being a 'historically mindful' composer. However, Cooke writes about Rózsa that he was merely trying to be himself at different periods of history (Cooke, 2008, p. 189). On this note, chapters 3, 4 and 5 of this thesis, including a film reading of *Young Bess* (1953) with a score by Rózsa, will show that compositional practices that establish the period are more creative than it may initially seem. Cooke's declaration also overlooks further potential narrative employment and meaning of 'classical' music in the same manner. The powerful combination that time, place, setting, music and character identification in a movie can create is only marginally addressed in Cooke's description of the employment of Mahler's Fifth Symphony in Visconti's *Death in Venice* (1971) in the same paragraph.

Cooke as well as Flinn select Rózsa as the most 'historically' minded composer. Cooke remarks that after 1950 a change in scoring practices for historical films can be observed. He states that

Perhaps the most significant aspect of music for historical epics in the 1950s was not its scale, which was in essence no different from that of earlier extravaganzas such as *Gone with the Wind*, but a new 'Authenticity' that required nondiegetic music to reflect to some degree the musical characteristics of the historical period in which a film was set. (Cooke, 2008, p. 187)

Thanks to Rózsa's pertinent interest in creating a kind of historical 'authenticity' with his music in support of filmic realism involving an incredible amount of research into

historical instrumentation, sounds and musical styles, 'most subsequent composers made obvious attempts to relate the idiom of their scores to considerations of historical period and geographical locale' (Cooke, 2008, p. 189). That this was not entirely possible in the world of film-making is demonstrated by the following paragraph by Flinn:

The formal styles of historical film scores, for instance, do not necessarily correspond to the time and setting of their diegetic worlds (Miklós Rózsa recounts how his score for *Ivanhoe* [1952] did not use music of Jacobean England and he selected Elizabethan and not Roman music in his score for *Julius Caesar*), Korngold's work for *The Sea Hawk*, a film that tells the story of the beginnings of the Royal Navy in Elizabethan England, intermittently makes efforts at period instrumentation, but beyond that it is largely (if unsurprisingly) based on the romantic style.
(Flinn, 1992, p. 110)

The story of *Ivanhoe* in Flinn's list is allegedly set in Jacobean England though the story's actual plot is set in medieval, late twelfth century, England (compare the eponymous novel by Sir Walter Scott (1820) and the film (1952)). The soundtrack of this film displays a fanfare and brass dominated orchestral score, with harmonic hints at medievalism in the underscore and occasionally employing minstrel singers with lutes.¹⁴

In a chronologically later musical analysis of *The Sea Hawk* by Royal S. Brown (1994, pp. 97-118) there is no verification of any attempt at period instrumentation. Instead Brown comments on the various colouration and textures in the orchestration, creating another vibrant example for the classic Hollywood romantic style. Flinn, two years before Brown's analysis, provides the reader with no evidence for her assumption and so far nothing seems to confirm any efforts in period instrumentation made for this film. Evident through this comparison is an obvious mismatch and open assumption in the field of musico-historical awareness, which this thesis attempts to address. This is, among other more complicated issues, exemplified in a scene in *The Private Lives of Elizabeth and Essex* (1939 in which the actress playing a renaissance lute was unaware of an 'appropriate' playing technique by simply 'strumming' the instrument in folk guitar-like fashion. Cooke (2008, p. 437) identifies 'an often hilariously inept miming in Golden Age music films.'

¹⁴ Mervyn Cooke claims: '[Rózsa] reconstructed twelfth-century idioms from the Norman sources that antedate the relevant Saxon culture' (Cooke, 2008, p. 188), meaning initial elaborate forms of polyphony in the Notre Dame School.

As well as musico-historical awareness, the distinction between pre-existent sixteenth-century music and pastiche will be considered in the film case studies later, in order to present different forms of constructed meaning.

Issues of Identification and Levels of Attention

‘Film music conditions identification processes in powerful ways’ (Kassabian, 2001, p. 60) which is achieved by employing recognisable and unusual musical parameters that evoke various degrees of engagement. The music acts as an agent for activating and nurturing sympathy and empathy with characters as the dramatic elements of the film evolve. ‘Empathy’ here is defined as one’s emotional participation in and involvement with another character or story world. For the purposes of this thesis, this shall be referred to as dramatic or historical empathy, because it refers to a viewer’s engagement with the drama and with the historical events and period in the plot. There are several ways this empathy can be induced in historical films: for example by experiencing some sort of individual emotional attachment or affiliation with the depicted period’s specific musical sounds and structure or by means of romanticisation or identification.

As well as characters, identification processes with time and place of the story’s setting are equally transmitted through a particular choice of music. However, the audience’s response to and perception of these choices of music may vary, because ‘for different perceivers specific music will evoke different things’ (Kassabian, 2001, p. 56).¹⁵ This element of subjectivity should not be underestimated, yet it only finds limited consideration in Anahid Kassabian’s otherwise very insightful book *Hearing Film* (2001). For the purpose of this book, Kassabian concentrates on two particular strands of identification in film scores which she has named ‘affiliating’ and ‘assimilating’ identification. Her main concern is the way film makers try to coerce the audience into a particular way of thinking by their choice of music for the underscore. Assimilating identifications in her theory offer restricted perspectives with the aim to

¹⁵ For a more detailed analysis and comprehensive ecological approach of perceptual responses see Clarke, E. (2005). Clarke states that ‘every spectator has a unique perspective on a film resulting from the individual’s particular circumstances, experience, background, and aesthetic attitudes, as well as the specific viewing occasion’ (Clarke, 2005, p. 92).

(unconsciously) manipulate the audience as much as possible towards a particular subject position, more or less regardless of the perceiver's relationship to this position. This is also expressed in Eric Clarke's work on *Ways of Listening*:

In film, the manner in which formal devices may solicit or demand a certain kind of attitude to the events depicted results from the separation between the narrative content of the film and the manner in which viewers are allowed, or invited, to know about that narrative. (Clarke, 2005, p. 93)

For Kassabian most individually composed scores of the classical Hollywood era perform this kind of identification (Kassabian, 2001, p. 2). As these scores correspond directly with the film's narrative and have no previous existence outside the film that could provide a potentially different context of connotations - therefore violate film specific musical intentions – their sole purpose is to activate emotional response for and with particular characters as well as settings. An original underscore for a film may demonstrate a keen interest in including the audience in the setting. The perceiver in the audience therefore is, to express it in Roland Barthes' words, remote-controlled 'towards a meaning chosen in advance' (Barthes, 1977, p. 40). Referring back to the issue of pre-existent classical music and pastiche discussed earlier in this chapter, it might be argued that an underscore composed as pastiche of a particular period's musical style can fulfil a similar function. After all, pastiche is original and composed entirely for the required film. One might even go as far as to say the scores of classical Hollywood films resemble an informed and developed pastiche of late nineteenth-century scoring practices and in this case act as any other pastiche score. Hence, the identification processes encouraged, to employ Kassabian's theory, are pre-determined by film specific intentions and may include identification with improbable situations or characters. Kassabian states, referring to *Indiana Jones – The Temple of Doom* (1984), *The Hunt for Red October* (1990) and *The Mask of Zorro* (1998), that

when an offer of assimilating identification is (unconsciously) accepted, perceivers can easily find themselves positioned anywhere – sledding down the Himalayas, for instance – and with anyone- a Lithuanian sub captain, perhaps, or as swashbuckling Mexican orphan peasant. (Kassabian, 2001, p. 2)

Affiliating identifications on the other hand invite multiple ways of participation and occur mostly in compiled scores, according to Kassabian. In these compiled scores a large amount of music derives from pre-existent sources. Be they rock, pop or

classical, the musical pieces or extracts bring external associations to the filmtext (Kassabian, 2001, p. 3). One's former relationship with the piece of music plays a role in understanding its function for the filmic narrative in the event of re-experiencing these known pieces of music within the film. Here the supposition or fear expressed earlier that pre-existing music might distract from the drama should be considered. Certainly, familiarity with a piece of music or with a musical genre will contribute to the personal impact a particularly underscored scene may have.¹⁶ This is often the point where filmgoers become emotionally involved and start to critically judge the music's relationship with the film scene. 'If offers of assimilating identifications try to narrow the psychic field, then offers of affiliating identifications open it wide' (Kassabian, 2001, p. 2). However, by exposing elements of the film score in this way, the exposed elements also become more vulnerable.

Musical anachronisms may become unmasked as well as 'bad choices' revealed when the external history of a song or classical piece of music is considered inappropriate or simply does not seem to fit with the scene (Dickinson, 2008; Ireland, 2012). Nevertheless, the familiarity of pre-existent pieces can be a positive enhancement to the experience of a scene as well. A situation might seem more romantic, because one's own associations with the chosen piece of music in the underscore are of romantic nature, or a scene might appeal by activating a fond reminiscence of another experience. Admittedly, all of these identification processes happen quickly, in passing, and often unnoticed by the viewer, who is left with a 'certain' feeling at the end of the entire film, whilst the brain digests and applies these new perspectives on a former well-known piece of music. As Kassabian writes:

Identification processes through film music cannot be understood in a single way – not all scores offer similar paths to identifications.
(Kassabian, 2001, p. 2)

Even though Kassabian admits the crucial point above quite readily in her introduction, her dichotomy of affiliating and assimilating identifications shows its limitations at exactly this point. As often, the distinctions are not as clear cut in real terms and limiting the assessment of the various identification processes in a dualistic way omits the many scores where what may be called mixed identification is possible.

¹⁶ More on music and familiarity can be found in King and Prior (2013) and also consider the ecological considerations in Clarke (2005).

One film that seems to highlight a number of possible identification processes is *Dangerous Liaisons* (1988) with a score by George Fenton.¹⁷ In this film, set in eighteenth-century aristocratic France, the two main characters Vicomte de Valmont, a man known for successfully seducing women, and the Marquis de Merteuil, a woman with a bitter sense of revenge and power, engage in a strategic endeavour of allurement. Unlike the majority of period dramas, this film's score is composed of pre-existent baroque music and baroque pastiche elements that create the film's own internal musical language outside classical Hollywood Romanticism.¹⁸ In order to achieve this dual-sonority effect, Fenton employed a modern symphony orchestra together with a baroque orchestra. This begs the question whether he is romanticising the Baroque in order to express 'real' emotion (Mera, 2001, p. 14), as Kassabian points out in a scene with Valmont who is on the verge of seducing the rather prudish Madame de Tourvel: in this scene the previously established musical language of the Baroque with its predominant harpsichord is interrupted by the sudden swell of romantic orchestral sounds as if to announce the emotion (Kassabian, 2001, p. 70). This issue is addressed later on in the analysis of *Anne of the Thousand Days*. Drawing from this example is an important question for this thesis: are there limits to period scoring that can only be 'rectified' by romantic comments?

A most interesting aspect for this thesis drawn from Kassabian's and Mera's analysis of *Dangerous Liaisons* is the observation that 'the baroque score activates more meanings than simply period' (Kassabian, 2001, p. 70). 'More meanings' specifically addresses the music's psychological relationship with the particular female character of the Marquis de Merteuil in Kassabian's reading. Her approach in emphasising the character-related functions that period music may obtain within film narrative space will be directly applied and enhanced within the analysis of narrative employment of quasi sixteenth-century music in the case of a number of scenes in *Anne of the Thousand Days* (1969) and *Elizabeth* (1998) later in this thesis. Similarly, Miguel Mera (2001) describes, among other important elements of Fenton's score, which attributes of the period-style score can be identified and intrinsically connected with the embodiment of a character. Both, Kassabian and Mera, ascribe these to

¹⁷ See detailed analysis of the film's score by Miguel Mera (2001) and suggestions by Kassabian (2001) as well as Cooke (2008).

¹⁸ Another film using entirely French baroque music is Alain Corneau's *Tous Les Matins Du Monde* (1991).

general qualities of baroque music, in particular 'intricacy, excess, ornamentation, restraint, calculation, and lack of emotion' (Kassabian, 2001 and Mera, 2001), though a clear definition of why these qualities are so typically Baroque is lacking in both accounts. These qualities are deemed, by both, as identifying the character as 'calculated and elaborated production of self and power' (Kassabian, 2001 and Mera, 2001).

Mera argues that in *Dangerous Liaisons* the aspiration of combining pre-existent classical music in the soundtrack with the needs of the drama was achieved by mixing traditional late-romantic symphonic style with updated excerpts of baroque music, notably works by Vivaldi, Bach, Handel and Gluck (Mera, 2001, p. 16). Fenton, as previously stated, even combines a period orchestra with a symphonic orchestra to achieve this peculiar juxtaposition of 'old' and 'new' (Mera, 2001, p. 14). Where baroque music may be lacking a certain strong emotional quality traditionally in film music assigned to romantic symphonic sounds, Fenton employs the usual referential clichés and therefore shows respect towards particular audience reception expectations (Mera, 2001, p. 20). By means of this effective conglomeration, Mera sees baroque music successfully employed in film.

Following on from this idea, this thesis asks: why is this combination of period music and film so successful? The analytical assessment of the film's score in Mera's article only partially addresses the issues of identifying with a period or with a character or the events in which it can do both. What transpires in Mera's observations is an overall impression of certain mutual qualities of baroque music and film music. Drawing on Palisca (1991), Mera emphasises common ideological ground of both musical styles: 'they primarily endeavour to move affections' (Mera, 2001, p. 20). Palisca states that the unifying element for all music of the Baroque may be found in 'an underlying faith in music's power, indeed, its obligation to move affections' (Palisca, 1991, p. 4). Mera concludes that this is also film music's function (Mera, 2001, p. 20). Mera's clear focus on the musical Baroque and later musical periods neglects a wider application of his theories to even earlier music that may or may not lend comparable characteristics to film. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 of this thesis show that sixteenth-century music is similarly apt to participate in strong affective movements and henceforth expands the notion set out by Mera that film can engage with research in early music

performance practices, if a composer wishes to do so (Mera, 2001, p. 19).¹⁹ In Mera's article there is no clear definition of his concept of pastiche. It may be assumed that he utilises the term in a looser fashion, emphasising the intertextual element and the mixing of different musical styles and periods in Fenton's score.

Thomas Mann's *Death in Venice* (1971) may serve as another example for period music's ability to produce identification processes for a multitude of perspectives. Perez remarks in his thesis that already

Aristotle saw that our response to tragedy is double: we respond from outside the drama, from our perspective as spectators, and we respond from inside, from the perspective of the characters.
(Perez, 2000)

As Cooke describes, Visconti's filmic adaptation of Thomas Mann's novel utilises music by Mahler not only to indicate period but also to emphasise more subtle personal affiliations with the main character. For a musically educated viewer the employment of the 'Adagietto' from Mahler's Fifth Symphony may be, as Cooke describes, 'entirely apt to accompany the decline of a protagonist who [...] is a troubled German romantic composer who has formerly spent creative summers surrounded by the beauty of nature' (Cooke, 2008, p. 437). Mahler's music enhances certain features of the main character and knowledge about the composer's biography are helpful in intensifying this close link. This exposes the following question: how familiar is a standard audience with Mahler? By employing Mahler's music the film's protagonist unwittingly enters possible identification with the composer's life and the respective music – at least for viewers who are particularly educated in this subject. These examples demonstrate the different levels of identification processes that can occur in film and are facilitated through the choice of music: audio agents like sound, timbre, major or minor keys participate in conglomeration with style, structure and pathos as well as visual representation of sight and sound. Identification processes are encouraged internally and externally and Kassabian's dichotomy could be refined as follows: assimilating identifications are mainly internal, experiencing the story with or alongside a character or place, and this often includes period references in scores. Affiliating identifications include the external and with this personal and subjective responses (also see Clarke,

¹⁹ Among the composers particularly engaged in this type of historical research were Miklós Rózsa, Georges Delerue, George Fenton, Jordi Savall, Luchino Visconti.

2005). Familiarity is a vital factor in particular for music before 1700, which, despite efforts of the HIP movement, has not gained overall popularity and acceptance and still occupies an exotic or niche status. Affiliating identifications may be therefore restricted to mainstream views and clichéd perspectives, or simply to ‘this sounds different’, ‘romantic’, ‘old’ or ‘quaint’.

Period music’s engagement in the construction of meaning for the film appears to be only starting at this point of the present study. Issues of meaning of two distinct contexts for classical music in the widest sense, the cinema and the concert hall, have been discussed in various channels throughout film music history. Caryl Flinn cites Kurt London who claimed in 1936 that there was a significant difference between music in the concert hall and film music, which appears generally less apprehended and only emerges to the foreground when given narratological reason to do so. With this it implies that ‘[music’s] abstract, non-connotative features make it impossible for music to generate meaning of its own’, a position that was shared among classical discourse. Flinn even argued that ‘the signifying capacities of film music [...] are duplicitous, false, or unreliable’ (Flinn, 1992, p. 38). Should meaning therefore closely depend on context?

Many scholars have pondered upon the issue of meaning, among them, Charles Peirce, Lawrence Kramer, Gary Tomlinson and Hans-Georg Gadamer, who are addressed in more detail in chapter 2. Flinn abstains from a deeper discourse on meaning. Instead she refers back to music’s status in the American film which was enhanced by European import of composers at the time. She states that film music could not provide the viewer with the same autonomy as music in the concert hall when stripped of its visual and textual components (Flinn, 1992, p. 39). One might question this in a more recent context, where film music is frequently aired on British national radio stations and orchestras engage with full programmes consisting of themes from the movies (Cooke, 2008). It seems that a number of themes have developed their own autonomous status within the concert hall – having left behind the film they belonged to, though the reference remains in the title: ‘Hedwig Theme’ from *Harry Potter* or ‘Theme’ from *The Godfather*. Concert goers who know the associated films will have a different experience of the music to those who have not seen it. Those who have not seen it are left to create their own connotations or to

experience the beauty through structural and orchestral element; thus participating in forming a different meaning of the music detached from the film.²⁰ Film music therefore enjoys a double existence in the public consciousness.

For Flinn it is music's ability to conceal ineptitude or flaws within the film or the story-line 'reveal[ing] that music contributes much more to the production of meaning in cinematic forms than is traditionally acknowledged' (Flinn, 1992, p. 40). She places this function particularly within the construction of coherence, unity and verisimilitude and presents film music's ability to restore plenitude at three levels: 'The Cinematic Apparatus'; 'The Film Text' and 'The Viewing and Listening Situation' (Flinn, 1992, pp. 40). This trichotomy presents, indeed, a crucial heuristic distinction of elements that work in interdependent unity.

Most recently these ideas found further enhancement in the theories by Johnny Wingstedt (2004, 2005) presented in an article in *Visual Communication* (2010) together with Sture Brändström and Jan Berg. In the wake of an identified cultural shift towards relying on visuals more than the written word, they justify the investigation of music's contribution to meaning construction and perception and relate their ideas to concepts of metafunctions and communication. With this in mind, they also identify more functions for music in film than previously acknowledged. Music may participate in restoring plenitude in the three interdependent categories as defined by Flinn in the above paragraph, however, the subtleties of this restoration process may be found in Wingstedt's six modes: 'The Emotive, Informative, Descriptive, Guiding, Temporal and Rhetorical' (Wingstedt *et al.*, 2010, p. 196). These modes engage dynamically and often simultaneously with meaning construction. In film a number of further components such as action, dialogue or sound effects work together with the music of the underscore. The relation of music to these other elements is essential to understanding how a certain identification process may be evoked.

Inevitably these considerations may lead towards audience perception and response. What reaches the viewer and how much attention is paid to music in the experience of the whole audio-visual context of a scene? Within this context how

²⁰ The topic film music versus concert music received interesting critical attention in a 2007 Diploma thesis by Felix Raffel (2006) at the University of Music and Drama, Hannover, entitled 'Filmmusik-ästhetische Aspekte einer Art Gebrauchsmusik'.

much impact can a particular style of music actually have? For example, a scene in *Young Bess* (1953) with music by Rózsa shows a rather questionable status of the music in relation to the action. This domestic ambience of the dining scene is accompanied by a very quiet sixteenth-century ground division, played by violin and flute, later strings and harpsichord. The music receives little attention, being hardly audible behind the dialogue. It may be assumed that the music acts as an ornament; something beautiful to complete the scene fulfilling aesthetic requirements of the score. The viewer's chances of engaging 'historically' through the music with this scene may appear limited due to the quiet nature of the background tune. Justification for this assumption can be sought in the Kassabian model of different levels of attention that contribute to the level of identification which she calls 'The Attention Continuum'. According to Kassabian,

Attention to music depends on many factors, including the volume of the music, its style and its "appropriateness" in the scene.
(Kassabian, 2001, p. 52)

As Kassabian sets out a new set of rules under which film music can be reviewed, her jargon appears rather general in places. However, the important point for this thesis is that the degree of attention to a musical tune matters in terms of its musico-historical access as Kassabian has demonstrated.

Deconstructing the Notion of the 'Musico-historical Feel'

As stated earlier in this chapter, Flinn notes that 'music's ability to authenticate a period' has become 'naturalized' and that there is a significant 'immediacy' between music and period.²¹ Whilst Flinn leaves the reader with no further explanation as to where this naturalisation developed, this thesis argues that the 'immediacy' is expressed by the experience of a 'musico-historical feel'. Perhaps Kassabian may provide a slightly more supportive thought for this theory:

People subconsciously acquire socio-historically specific musical languages that function for them and for those who address them musically.
(Kassabian, 2001, p. 49)

²¹ The full quotation can be found on page 1 of this thesis or in Flinn, 1992, p. 110.

In what way could this be addressed in this thesis? It is paramount to the present discussion that music in film is always referential, meaning it requires a context or narrative.²² If that narrative or context is a historical period or event, then the audience's culturally grown expectations are met fully when perceiving the narrative with the respective music. However, how 'immediate' are these expectations? A century of increasing and intensive early music revival should have made sixteenth-century music in soundtracks for films with a Tudor related plot an almost natural occurrence; however current Hollywood examples show a tentative approach to the inclusion of this type of period music. With the exception of a few film releases in the 1960s and 1970s, when the Historical Informed Performance movement was at its height regarding presence within society, the cinematic Tudor Court only sparsely incorporated sixteenth-century musical idioms (see chapters 3 and 4). Therefore although both Flinn and Kassabian may have glossed over this issue, this thesis argues that there can be a deeper musico-historical feel transmitted to the audience when musical style and narrative meet.

Composers must have had a similar approach by at least considering a 'fair amount of research into historical performance' (Cooke, 2008, p. 189). Musico-historical reference is particularly obvious when music is directly featured within the narrative, for example when musicians are actually playing in the scene. As Gorbman observes:

When the musical apparatus is visible, the music is 'naturalized' as diegetic. [...] The visual representation of music making signals a totally different narrative order, [...] governed by conventions of verisimilitude. And this even when the visual representation is not necessarily the source of the music we hear, [for] music has been dubbed onto the soundtrack to produce the illusion.
(Gorbman, 1987, pp. 75-76)

This is where most of the pre-existent music is to be found, because this is where the natural expectation seems to be at its most obvious point. Music is acted out, so it needs to correspond with the socio-historical demand in visual and audio perception (Gorbman, 1987 and Kassabian, 2001). Here should be where to find a hint of what music and musical performance entailed at that certain point in the past if nowhere else in the film a historical reference of the music is evident. By inserting a period piece

²² Kassabian elaborates on this in her chapter on the *Music History Continuum*, pp. 49.

at this moment, quite often, the natural need for immediacy between music and period is satisfied.

Initially, this appears to be the ‘most obvious’ and ‘least creative’ (Cooke, 2008, p. 437) musico-historical identity in a film and this seems to be the point where the discussion of pre-existent period music to authenticate a period stagnates within the literature. Nevertheless, there is more to it. First of all, what if period and music do not match? The coronation scene in *La Reine Margot* (1994) is underscored by Handel’s ‘Halleluja’-Chorus to illustrate, one might argue, the festive atmosphere and special mood of the occasion. The film is set in the 1570s – clearly Handel did not compose *Messiah* until 1741. A particularly popular and widely-known classical piece of music – the ‘Halleluja’ - is fore-grounded in this scene, which might cause certain bewilderment as to the historically-motivated story line. According to Flinn’s and Kassabian’s theory then, this would clearly demonstrate a betrayal of the audience’s natural expectation. On the other hand there is music’s paramount obligation or function in film to serve the needs of the drama and in this scene the drama required a festive and grand piece (Mera, 2001 and Cooke, 2008, p. 190). If Handel’s piece had not been so well-known, this tampering with historical ‘accuracy’ might have been less obvious. Familiarity with the music, thus, plays an important role and can interfere with the scene’s effect on the audience. As evident on the internet in numerous blogs on films, most criticism of the choice of a score derives from those who, through their musicological knowledge, expect accuracy above drama, representing a type of very educated listener. The music draws attention to itself and the perceiver, unwittingly, is involved in a dialogical interplay of filmic and individual affiliations. Less familiar music appears removed from all of these constraints and develops usually a new, more familiar, life after the film.

At this point it is necessary to draw on the previously established distinction between the use of pre-existent music in soundtracks and pastiche, which stands for informed re-creation of period style pieces in this thesis. Pre-existent music invites external participation, pastiche responds to the needs of the drama by using a non-conventional style of composition. Use of period music or informed pastiche encourages musico-historical empathy and conveys musico-historical feel. In order to

achieve this, theories of an absolute and 'edenic' state of music²³ are not helpful – in film, music works in conglomeration with the visuals and the story line and pre-existent music may thus be brought to life again and gain a new enhanced identity. Moreover it may also take up the function of musical ambassador to generate an interest in long forgotten melodies, musical forms and instruments. As has been pointed out in the first section of this chapter, Nicholas Cook refers to the fact that old music can be newly experienced and therefore contributes to its presence in today's society (Cook, 2007). Also Buhler and Neumeyer (1994) agree with the notion that film encourages former musical styles in new, exciting ways. Society in the beginning twenty-first century is largely influenced by films and the way the 'past' is depicted in them. Films are one way of entering the world of the music of former times and thus are one way of perceiving 'early music' today. Yet, the distinction between pre-existent period music and pastiche has been loosely defined so far and often not considered, as it was not of concern in the 1990s and early 2000s when most of the literature examined here was written.

Whilst 'fraud' and misrepresentation of history may be observed in all forms of media – de Groot (2009, p. 3) emphasises the colourful and arbitrary versions and approaches to history of producers, film makers or novelists – this has also heightened individuals' sense for history, furthermore encouraging a certain critical stance towards history. Society is not only a 'spectator of' but also 'participant in and adjudicator of' history. This active involvement contributes to a deeper 'historical sense' (Sobchack, 1996, p. 7). De Groot calls this 'historic imaginary' (de Groot, 2009, p. 3), emphasising one's ability to 'imagine history' more vividly through audio-visual media. 'Sense' and 'Imaginary', however, seem to lack an organic and bodily dimension that is better captured in the word 'feel'. The organic experience of music through history and history through music with the added influence of the filmic experience attracts two parts of the human body in particular: the ear and the eye. Therefore a bodily involvement in terms of aural perception and visual impression requires dynamic participation in the process (Clarke, 2005). Underlying this is also a 'lost object' (Sobchack, 1996, p. 7), an implicit nostalgic element that fuels the process. In film, as Flinn acknowledges, music has the ability to restore this loss (Flinn, 1992, p.

²³ Taruskin (2008) in particular comments on this in numerous essays in *The Danger of Music*.

42). Is this why period music instils a period feel? Certainly the idea of the 'lost' element will require further investigation in the separate discussion of nostalgia later in this thesis.

The question of authenticity or in other words genuineness, legitimacy or credibility also plays a vital role within the musico-historical feel. The term describes the quality of being true or genuine. Gary Tomlinson (1988) believes that our need for authenticity is grounded in our interest to find out about authentic [true] meaning (in Kenyon 1988, p. 115). Authentic can be something that is made to be exactly the same as the original. After all, what directors and composers try to generate in many films of the epic or period genre is an approximate re-enactment and historical authenticity, shaped by public notions, scholarly evidence or subjective beliefs of constructed pictures of the past. Or as John Butt characterises it:

The authentic label sells to a public that is desperate for the 'original' in a culture of copies and virtual reality.
(Butt, 2002, p. 40)

Issues on authenticity and truth will be explored in more detail in chapter 2 of this thesis.

Music needs to be audible enough to play a significant role in inducing identification processes – affiliating or assimilating. Identification processes are the key point of transmission for musico-historical feel: audience's empathy with period and characters, the enhanced participation in a past reality depends on the musical style. Film music played in the concert hall and removed from its visual context can often feel disjointed. However, the frequent airing of film themes on British radio stations like Classic FM (Cooke, 2008) or BBC Radio 2 and more recently BBC Radio 3 in the past ten years speaks for a 'life after the film' and the ability of musical film themes to gain autonomy. This is where also pre-existent music from a forgotten era may come back to life – by attaining the new label of being 'film music'.

Flinn presents her idea of utopia as a dynamic, dialectical construct. The 'musico-historical feel' this thesis is investigating works along similar parameters. What does this feel consist of and what does it relate to? Kassabian in her statement earlier referred to 'socio-historically specific musical language' (Kassabian, 2001, p. 49) as key agency and presents therewith one of the crucial elements of the kind of 'feel' that this

thesis is investigating. Within this language culturally grown expectations of a certain period in history find consent and the perception of the music involved relies on this consent. As German philosopher Hans-Georg-Gadamer, whose theories this thesis will address in more detail in chapter 2, notes:

We cannot really understand ourselves unless we understand ourselves as situated in a linguistically mediated, historical culture. Human being is being in language.

(Gadamer, 1960, engl. trans. Barden and Cumming, 1975, p. 162)

Already here it may be said, that Kassabian set out an initial idea with a trail of repercussions to follow, yet *Hearing Film* refrains from dwelling on this particular subject. Socio-historically specific musical language also requires the music to correspond with current or lost social musical desires. This may include rock songs in medieval settings as demonstrated in the opening title of the film *A Knight's tale* (2001) (Haines, 2014) or a completely anachronistic scoring model like in *Marie-Antoinette* (2006) as well as more historically appropriate scores. Important for the musico-historical feel, however, is a degree of assumed congruency between period and music, so as to present an audio-visual unity on screen and with this invite the viewer to empathise with the period.

Particularly the 'other' or unusual element, musical sounds that cannot be found in everyday reality, enhances this sense's utopian function and presents an alienating sonority of musical instruments. By being audio-visually transported into a world where lutes, recorders, sackbuts and other renaissance or early baroque instruments take the musical lead instead of modern day's electric guitars, computer generated sounds or the ubiquitous and established large romantic orchestra, the viewers experience a very different reality to their own.

Additionally, the 'feel' incorporates the historical film's perhaps underestimated or least considered manipulative mission. Rosenstone attempts at raising awareness of this issue and also in the writings of Cook on how early music can be newly perceived shows a hint of this rather educational or moral aspect. What has been unconsciously transmitted by means of the musico-historical feel has a lasting effect on the viewer's idea of a musical period. When it responds to socio-historical musical language's needs then it can have a positive effect and can enhance,

immediately and in passing, overall impressions of a period. The 'feel' sticks in the mind. There is a further ideological factor. The music's historio-ideological heritage can be of vital importance to the film. Film music is generally known to move affections (Gorbman, 1987; Chion, 1992, Mera, 2001 and Wingstedt *et al*, 2010) and in the case of sixteenth-century music, which this thesis is investigating, a similar mind-set can be discovered. This could mean that sixteenth-century music is particularly suited for the historical film - this will be examined in chapters 3 and 4 of this thesis and in the film case studies. 'Musico-historical feel' also exposes an interesting link with romanticisation. It might be argued that romanticisation can spoil this particular experience. However, this thesis claims that it actually can enhance the sense by adding more wide-spread accessibility to lesser known musical material.

CHAPTER 2

Films are inaccurate. They distort the past. They fictionalize, trivialize, and romanticize people, events and movements. They falsify history.
(Rosenstone, 2001, p. 50)

NOTIONS OF HISTORY – CONSTRUCTING CONTEXT AND MEANING

History films, Historically Informed Performance and re-enactments are forms of popular engagement with the past (de Groot, 2009). They participate in varying types of historicity. What renders history itself so attractive to the present thesis is the apparent interplay between past and present and how much of one is represented in the other. Ethnomusicologist Bithell claims that history is heterogeneous and draws from 'a plurality of interpretations which take account of the interests, needs and desires of a range of different constituencies' (Bithell, 2006, p. 5). This may include, among other features, producers preferences, cultural tendencies and viewer's individual participation. The speculative and hermeneutic nature of history in narrative contexts together with an overt medley of fact and fiction trigger the discussion of history in the following chapter. How, where and in what form is history encountered in film? What are the boundaries between history and fantasy?

In the film trilogy *Lord of the Rings* (2001-2003) a world is presented that purportedly suggests a non-specific past identity, notably incorporating strong symbolic elements of the medieval in screenplay and plot. This, however, notwithstanding there is no particular affiliation with a distinct period in time indicated anywhere in the description of the plot. 'Middle Earth' is the fictional world and acts as justification for the events that unfold, a world that is entirely a product of fantasy but with a sense of the past. On the opposite site of the 'historical' spectrum are history films that deliberately define a time and place and even go so far as to include documentary material to enhance their 'authentic claim', despite remaining largely fictional accounts (for example the films *JFK* (1991) and *Baader Meinhof Komplex* (2008)). Then there are films whose plots move through time, like *Orlando* (1992), utilising period symbols and clichés to identify the changes in historical period. At the centre of this history-fantasy-spectrum is yet another category of film and it is these films which are the object of enquiry for this chapter. In this central category are films

whose story-lines concentrate on one designated time frame, guided along historical evidence, often in loosely chronological order, yet still constructed, made-up, interpretation, in short: a story with and about a particular period in history.

Inevitably, talking about history implies talking about narrative – particularly when the cinematic Tudor Court is the object of study, as filmic adaptations of this particular period indulge in the drama. In film several storytelling strategies are at play simultaneously. One of these is the use of music. Music's role and especially sixteenth-century music's role is examined more closely in chapters 3 and 4 of this thesis. Narrative functions in film will also find consideration in chapter 4 (more on this aspect in: Gorbman, 1987; Buhler and Neumeyer, 1994; Stilwell, 2007; Winter, 2010). Together with narratological considerations, the history involved here is also heavily influenced by 'nostalgia', which emerges as the driving force behind many inclusions of the historical in film (Flinn, 1992; Hutcheon, 1998; Haines, 2014).

This chapter aims to develop a working definition of 'history' and 'historical' for use throughout this study by examining the historicist's 'twisted aesthetic paradox' (Dahlhaus, 183, p. 70). Within this paradox 'the past is a foreign country' as a book title by Lowenthal (1985) illustratively claims, which is a quotation of the opening line in Hartley's novel *The Go-Between* (1953). This 'foreign country', however, is experienced as near, as something familiar by means of the way it has been part of public consciousness. These means include films as major contributor. On the one hand history can be factual, evidenced by facts and data and the only way structuralists saw in it any kind of truth (Stone, 1979; Norman, 1991). On the other history can be a complex hermeneutic construct in which the facts become situations that are woven into a narrative (Norman, 1991; Ricoeur, 1983; Foucault, 1967; Gadamer, 1960). This chapter explores philosophical underpinnings of these issues in order to expose the discursive nature of what is believed to be historical.

Departing from narratological considerations – is history a story and *vice-versa*- some boundaries between fact and fiction will be presented by drawing on the theory of the creation of a 'historical sense' in literary historical fiction by writer and historian Wallace (2009) and in films on the Renaissance by film scholar Higson (2011). In order to enhance this notion towards this study's idea of 'historical feel' the chapter

will move on to the concept, versions and roles of nostalgia particularly when induced by music in film. In due course the subchapter on nostalgia will consider theories developed by Flinn (1992) and Haines (2014) as well as incorporate thoughts of other subject areas on the notion of nostalgia expressed by Hutcheon (1998), Lyons (2006), Bithell (2006) and Smith (2000).

The chapter is concluded with a contextualisation of the production of meaning, drawing on multiple sources that for the purposes of this thesis mutually engage with the final product: history film. Fundamental thoughts on the meaning of signs (Peirce, ed. 1998, Barthes, 1977) and the concept of construction as well as perception of meaning in more psychoanalytic realms (Kristeva, 1980; Zbikowski, 2002; Clarke, 2005) seek to demonstrate the philosophical depth and conceptual interplay when dealing with history, music and film. Further sources used include a debate on hermeneutics in history and music for which Gadamer (1960), Dahlhaus (1983), Treitler (1990) and Tomlinson (1988) provide the necessary theories. The chapter finishes with a summary of the context of history for this study including a brief consideration of meaning production in multi-media contexts.

The (Hi)Story Behind

There is notable linguistic ambiguity with the word 'history' in other European languages, in particular French and German. The respective words *histoire* and *Geschichte* imply both "what actually happened" and the report of those happenings' (Ricoeur, 1983, p. 3). This ambiguity may lead to potential misunderstandings and misinterpretations of German or French literature on the subject of history due to the different cultural affiliations,¹ moreover it may suggest that history and story are inextricably linked so that one area might not be able to exist without the other.²

Ricoeur sees in this linguistic phenomenon

a certain mutual belonging together between telling (or writing) history
and being in history, between doing history and in more general terms
being historical.
(Ricoeur, 1983, p. 3)

¹ See Treitler (1990) and his critique of Dahlhaus, p. 157 ff as well as Mueller-Vollmer (1986) in the discussion of hermeneutic theories and consider also the remarks of the translator J.B. Robinson in the foreword to Dahlhaus (1983).

² For further thought on this consider Foucault's *History of madness* (1967) which presents a historical account of 'madness' as well as stories of madness.

In other words, history may comprise the event or fact as well as its creative referential afterlife. In Ricoeur's threefold mimetic concept of narrative the multiplicity and its appropriate application for historicity become apparent: narratives, for Ricoeur, rely on the linear and phenomenological experience of time. They are deployed as 'a basic human strategy for coming to terms with time, process and change' (Herman, 2007, p. 3). Narrative can therefore provide coherence and structure by being a string of facts under a specific heading as well as an emplotted mediator in some kind of imaginative configuration (Atkins, 2014; Wood, 2002; Norman, 1991). Narrative means both a sequence of events as well as the ingenious handlings with it. Ricoeur adds a third element to this: the application of these creative products in real life experiences (Atkins, 2014). Ricoeur's model is simultaneously integrative and progressive for which he was often criticised (Atkins, 2014; Wood, 2002). Though covering wide-ranging aspects of narrative within three broad categories, his model could be enhanced by consideration of the five categories Roland Barthes set out in 1977. In Barthes' theory narrative is described as simultaneously being hermeneutic; proairetic; semantic; symbolic and cultural (Barthes, 1977, p. 79ff). The hermeneutic and proairetic codes both require temporality or logic of action, which are also requirements of Ricoeur's model. As summarised in Stone's essay:

Narrative is taken to mean the organization of material in a chronologically sequential order and the focusing of the content into a single coherent story, albeit with sub-plots.
(Stone, 1979, p. 3)

The subplots provide the interesting elements that Barthes included in the remaining three. These do not depend on any particular order and could be best found in Ricoeur's *mimesis* 2. Barthes argues that the five codes of narrative create an interdependent web of meaning (Barthes, 1977, p. 119). Additionally and most recently, Ryan specifies the direct functions of narrative as follows:

Narrative is about problem solving.
Narrative is about conflict.
Narrative is about interpersonal relations.
Narrative is about human experience.
Narrative is about temporality of existence.
(Ryan, 2007, p. 22)

What narrative entails are discursive entities that ultimately bring about some kind of plot (Norman, 1991, p. 125).³ This emplotment is a major point of Ricoeur's *mimesis 2* theory and central to further considerations of this chapter's idea of history. In *mimesis 2* a sequence of events is interpreted and enhanced by imagination and common sense and this particular mode lends itself to represent directly what historians engage with and, in an extreme creative format, history films pursue.

A historian's task is to reveal sequences, continuities and logical connections of events (Treitler, 1990, p. 97). What is understood as historical fact is presented by means of possible 'interpretations made by historians' (Treitler, 1990, p. 172). The interpretative task of the historian was, among others, described in the early nineteenth century by Wilhelm v. Humboldt:

The historian merely perceives some scattered and isolated events and never the coherence or nexus between them. The historian himself must supply the inner coherence and unite the individual events without which these events would be meaningless. Thus there existed for Humboldt an inner affinity between the artist and the historian and their respective crafts: both have to rely on their creative imagination to produce a guiding vision which would unite all individual elements into a cohesive whole.

(Mueller-Vollmer, 1986, p. 15)

Humboldt already presupposes the idea of 'meaning through context' which will find consideration later in this chapter in the form of hermeneutics. Gadamer suggests that reader and event benefit from a 'Common effective historical coherence (*wirkungsgeschichtlicher Zusammenhang*)' (Mueller-Vollmer, 1986, p. 17).

These narratological aspects of history in an extreme application of imaginative input were increasingly celebrated and presented to the public in form of history films. For historian Rosenstone films address a way of engaging with history that is deeply rooted in human culture:

We must begin to think of history on film as closer to past forms of history as a way of dealing with the past that is more like oral history, or history told by bards, or griots in Africa, or history contained in classic epics.

(Rosenstone, 2001, p. 65)

³ One critical voice on narrative notes: 'One says "narrative" instead of "explanation" or "argumentation" (because it is more tentative); one prefers "narrative" to "theory", "hypothesis", or "evidence" (because it is less scientific); one speaks of a "narrative" rather than "ideology" (because it is less judgmental); one substitutes "narrative" for "message" (because it is more indeterminate)' (Prince, 1982).

Humboldt, though of course unaware of his views being related to history in films nearly two hundred years later, highlights one crucial point: the creative imagination that needs to be applied to make history accessible to a wider audience. The past's actual and physical inaccessibility leaves abundant space for imagination (Butt, 2002, p. 171). Chronological gaps as well as a psychological need to 'make sense' of the string of historical data fuel this process of imagination and leave room for the creation of sufficient 'story' in 'history'.

This approach to history, though rooted in the ancient Greek idea of rhetoric (Stone, 1979, p. 3), was regarded as problematic in the modernist's and structuralist's idea of 'historical truth' in the early to mid-twentieth century when reliance on scientific methods based on facts and data collation were regarded as the only way to gain this truth (Stone, 1979). Coherence and unity of historical events provided through narrative was seen as antiquated and not scientific enough. These practices soon grew out of fashion again towards a narrative turn (Herman, 2007, p. 3; Stone, 1979, p. 15) in the second half of the twentieth century, when scientific methods of displaying historical facts and structuralistic approaches appeared to have reached their limit of accessibility and the new historians resumed telling

the story of a person, a trial or a dramatic episode, not for its own sake, but in order to throw light upon the internal workings of a past culture and society.
(Stone, 1979, p. 19)

These socio-cultural developments and positions towards historical truth contribute to the on-going debate on the truth value in history films (Landy, 1996, Rosenstone, 2001, 2006, Higson, 2011, Haines, 2014). Underlying this debate seems to be a desire to see a 'true' replication of an event or a period in the past. As Haines states regarding the medieval film

Despite its evident artificiality, film is one of the arts for which authenticity is most often mandated [because] performers and audiences, then as now, just wanted to hear performances which were as authentic as possible, [moreover], filmmakers routinely insist on their work's authenticity.
(Haines, 2014, p. 1 and 2)

Similar arguments can be drawn for the history films in this thesis featuring the Tudor period. Perhaps this constant discourse between the 'true' and the 'imaginary' could

be described by a category coined by Linda Hutcheon: 'historiographic metafiction' which

refutes the natural or common-sense methods of distinguishing between historical fact and fiction. It refuses the view that only history has a truth claim, both by questioning the ground of that claim in historiography and by asserting that both history and fiction are discourses, human constructs, signifying systems, and both derive their major claim to truth from that identity.

(Hutcheon, 1988, p. 93)

Hutcheon presents a model of history as shaped by evidence and perception. She asserts that history derives from dialogue and construction, in the same way as Gadamer will propose in the later consideration of hermeneutics. In Hutcheon's model, fiction, which is also constructed, and history work in a flexible partnership. Consequently the lines between the real and the imaginative become blurred. Particularly in the choice, orchestration and performance of period music in history films musicologists may observe an intriguing incongruence of music and period intended – not necessarily anachronistic nevertheless obscuring what can be regarded as correct style instrumentation, orchestration or instrumental playing technique.

A relevant scene can be found in *The Private Lives of Elizabeth and Essex* (1939). Warner Brothers were undoubtedly pleased with the success of this movie being nominated for five Academy Awards, though on the other hand it was regarded as mere advertisement for their most popular and successful actors at the time, Bette Davis and Errol Flynn, without any kind of extraordinary display of the actors' abilities or historical accuracy (Rogers, 2008, p. 46). The film is situated around the later period of Queen Elizabeth's reign, from 1596 to 1601, and concentrates on the emotional affiliation and the feigned romance between the ageing Queen Elizabeth and the young Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. The music of the soundtrack was composed by Erich Wolfgang Korngold. The onscreen event in question revolves around the performance of 'Master Marlow's Song: The Passionate Sheppard To His Love'. Here, an attempt or token effort to display historically verified period symbols has been made by choosing a lute and a harpsichord, both archetypal instruments of the renaissance period, as accompanying instruments in the scene and the lyrics of the song derive from a contemporaneous poem. The surprising elements for the musicologist are presented in the song itself, which in melodic and harmonic

progression clearly derives from a later style than Elizabethan by using a classical cadence model (2.1).

A Sheppard to His Love



2.1: The melody of 'A Sheppard to His Love', the song performed for Queen Elizabeth in *The Private Lives of Elizabeth and Essex* (1939), composed in a classical or early romantic idiom.

Additionally, the sound does not seem to match with the instruments depicted and the actor playing the lute was certainly unaware of an 'appropriate' playing technique, merely 'strumming' the instrument in folk guitar-like fashion (2.2).⁴



2.2: The Ladies Margret and Penelope performing the 'Sheppard' song. The lute is strummed with the right hand thumb only.

Past and present have dissolved into a timeless musical construct in this scene, belonging to neither period, yet in visual disguise of the renaissance conveyed by the lute and harpsichord – showing only one of an indefinite number of vivid examples of

⁴ The widely accepted 'under-thumb' technique for the lutenist's right hand is regarded as the most authentic. Here the hand is fixed on the fretboard with the little finger and the thumb moves towards the palm under the fingers as opposed to classical guitar technique where the thumb rests above the fingers. Also the position of the hand and arm is more in line with the strings, which would have meant a higher position of the lute for the actress in this scene, had she known. For more information on historical playing techniques see e.g. James Tyler (2011) and Diana Poulton (1981).

historiographic metafiction in history films. For the less informed viewer this token reference may suffice, though the scene offers an opportunity for a clearer musico-historical reference. This, however, was not a concern of classic Hollywood scoring practices and of the audience addressed at the time, as certain chronological considerations of the historically informed performance movement in early music in chapters 3 and 4 of this thesis will demonstrate.

The history film contains two distinctly different 'histories' that work together to create the full picture of meaning: The historical period of the story's setting as well as the historical period of production. Both come with their own socio-cultural surroundings and mutually implicate one another. Consider the following account: The 1998 film *Elizabeth* features Queen Elizabeth I as a powerful and head-strong monarch, engaged in the politics of her time, whereas Hollywood's Golden Age drama *The Private Lives of Elizabeth and Essex* refrains from attributing such strong feminist mannerisms to its main character Queen Elizabeth I. Evidently, both films mirror the politics of their time of production and less the socio-cultural concerns of the respective period: the Renaissance. Andrew Higson notes, 'representations of the Renaissance change according to the time in which the representation is created, the medium for which it is created and the audiences to whom it is addressed' (Higson, 2011, p. 179). Here the distinction is three-fold. Both previous examples address only one point so far: the time of production. Available budgets at the respective time as well as film studio or directors' aspirations can have an enormous impact on the efforts that have been made to reconstruct the historical period involved (Wierzbicki, 2009; Cooke, 2008 and Lack, 1998).

In particular the amount of technology available enhances or distorts the representation of a period. In considering the medium involved there are more attributes assigned to the terms history and historical than perhaps previously indicated. Higson's first point can also be found in an engaging conference paper by historian and writer Diana Wallace. She outlines a similar trichotomy to Higson as key to interpreting the history involved in historical fiction:

In reading a historical novel we are engaging with *three* different historical moments. There is the period in which the novel is set, the period in which it is written, and the period in which we are reading it. [...] The best criticism [...] explores the complex relationships between all three areas.

(Wallace, 2009)

Historical novels share comparable attributes with the historical film: period setting, dramatic story-line and evidence of time of origin, for example in the writing style, language used or socio-cultural as well as political setting. Treitler acknowledges that 'the satisfaction of history [has] something in common with the satisfaction of fiction', the 'desire to see history as a piece of life' (Treitler, 1984, p. 369, 370), an issue celebrated in historical novels and historical films alike. In terms of an enhanced evaluation and reception of the history involved in the end product – the film or the novel - Wallace's three moments may be transferred to film. Wallace notes, that these three moments contribute to developing a 'sense of history', which is defined by recognising continuities and differences in the sequence of historical events and their play across historical periods.

To expand on Higson's and Wallace's theories, regarding the historical film, this leads to a three plus two-fold distinction or five different moments to consider in order to understanding the historical scope: the period in which the plot is set; the time in which the film is created; the moment in time of viewing; further the medium film itself with its technological and financial restraints at the time of creation and finally the audience for whom it is aimed. History can be regarded as a multi-layered composite whose mixture and quality of layers yields the historical sense addressed in this thesis. By interweaving these layers and analysing the resulting complex web of meaning a deeper understanding of the historical sense may be achieved. Films provide a quick and accessible format for satisfaction through narrative and they also lend history an air of 'life', 'spirit' or 'feel' in the sense Treitler suggests:

There is a satisfaction in narrative, a sheer narrative pleasure. Narrative is not restricted to the representation of movement through time. To narrate is to depict, and to evoke a sense of what happened – telling what all was going on at a certain moment, or telling about a sequence of events, but usually some mix of the two.

(Treitler, 1984, p. 369)

Treitler's article 'What kind of story is history' captures vividly why there is a need to define 'history' for this study, though his article captures very much the early

postmodern or poststructuralist attitudes of the time. Narrative, however, is not alone in participating in the 'historical feel' that history films invoke. For the purpose of this thesis, the narration is driven by a different force: nostalgia.

Nostalgia – The Driving Force

In *Anne of the Thousand Days* (1969) the events are told retrospectively by entering the narration through King Henry VIII's memories. After this transition into King Henry VIII's past the narrative point of view seamlessly alters from a character-based to an all-encompassing perspective. One of the possible factors aiding the smooth blend is presented by the chosen music for this event. A fraction before the camera changes a quasi-renaissance dance enters; clearly anticipating the forthcoming action and preparing the viewer for the 'real' entry into the film's narrative through King Henry VIII's nostalgic reminiscence. More often than not music is used as primary tool to enhance or create this emotional participation of characters, as in the case of King Henry VIII, and viewers of the film, separately or at the same time. Indeed one could argue that this is music's main function in the film's underscore. A strong nostalgic strain can be observed in the way the music is used:

Repeatedly cast into scenarios of loss and restoration, the score is treated as if it were able to restore an original quality currently found wanting, operating as a souvenir or trace of lost, idealized moments.
(Flinn, 1990, p. 47)

The 'lost' and 'idealised' elements in particular bring nostalgia into play. At the core of nostalgia is a past that 'is rarely the past as actually experienced [...]; it is the past as imagined, as idealized through memory and desire' (Hutcheon, 1998). Memory is distorted with time and incorporates a degree of romanticisation (*Verklärung*), the desire incorporates the well-known notion that people say 'life was better in the old days' or 'I wish I could be young again' (Haines, 2014, p. 24). Nostalgia's power depends on the irretrievability of the past, evoking the desire to 're-live' an event or era already committed to memory and diffused with subjective idealism (more in Stewart, 1984).

This may be particularly obvious in the romanticisation of childhood. Music could be a conveyor of childhood nostalgia to the audience in a film: The film *Young*

Bess (1953) uses a romantic symphonic style in the underscore whose musical themes, though referencing some sixteenth-century musical material, are predominantly employed to emotionally enhance and illustrate the love story between Admiral Thomas Seymour and the young lady Elizabeth. Elizabeth's adolescent years and her encounters with her younger step brother Edward, emphasise a closer relation to childhood themes. A nursery rhyme melody, the 'Hatfield House Theme', appears at several positions within the soundtrack especially in the first half of the film. The melody creates the sense of childhood and innocence in a subtle and unobtrusive way. Woven into the underscore and cleverly developed into a complex symphonic structure it acts as musical character, leading the viewer subliminally towards a sense of nostalgia in the manner Flinn suggests: 'Music establishes the means through which that nostalgic desire is activated' (Flinn, 1992, p. 238). Immediate connotations with the picture of the idealised past are pre-assigned and encouraged at this point of the narrative (narrative here being used in the sense of story-line or plot). The purported familiarity of this tune through its nursery rhyme resemblance conveys a reassuring feeling that frames the light-hearted and positive nature of the narrative and intensifies a nostalgic experience.

To consider nostalgia's attributes on a more abstract level, several theories suggest that nostalgia is a lens through which personal experiences are interpreted.⁵ Nostalgia is socially constructed and subject to social forces, as described by Smith (2000).⁶ Most importantly nostalgia has a cognitive dimension based around and reinforced by a set of particular feelings and personal beliefs about these feelings (Smith, 2000, p. 511). For Smith:

Nostalgia [...] has a more specific, or at least different, content than other ways of experiencing the past. In other words, it's not just a name attached to a universal, brute feeling, but a particular way, of ordering and interpreting the various ideas, feelings, and associations we experience when thinking of the past.
(Smith, 2000, p. 509)

The intriguing aspect of this assessment for the present study is that nostalgia is here regarded as an all-encompassing term for subjective and emotional affiliation with the

⁵ The essays by Smith (2000) and Bithell (2006) comment on the subjectivity of nostalgia.

⁶ Despite its premise being more political and ideological concerns Smith's article *Mere Nostalgia* (2000) explains an enlightening view on nostalgia and the origins of this phenomena.

past. Experience and thought is as much included as hermeneutic understanding of and dialogical communication with the past. Individuality is identified as important and defining. Smith's concept appears dynamic in content and context, defined but also wide-ranging and with a positive attitude. Using the past as means of communication with it, which is best exemplified by the German concept of *Auseinandersetzung*: confronting and communicating with something to achieve clarity, understanding or further one's knowledge. This *Auseinandersetzung* can also happen in an emotional way and is a dynamic and productive process. The concept of *Auseinandersetzung* is, among other German philosophers, elaborated in Gadamer (1960). Smith's deliberations match this idea which is considered at the heart of the concept of history in this thesis.

Revivals, re-enactments of past events, 'classic cars' with new integral parts, fountain pens and nostalgic telephones show a 'digital age' advancing by incorporating fragments of the past (Hutcheon, 1998 and Bithell, 2006). Vast amounts of stored data, available in an instant on computers and the internet, allow for reliving memories and past events whenever and wherever (Chase and Shaw, 1989). Indeed,

there is little doubt that there has been, in the last few decades, a commercialization of nostalgia, especially in the mass media, a commercialization that many have seen as a real evasion of contemporary issues and problems.
(Hutcheon, 1998)

Hutcheon addresses a relevant point in that technology has enabled nostalgia to become a mass phenomenon by its celebration in the (digital) media. She asserts that 'nostalgia no longer has to rely on individual memory or desire' (Hutcheon, 1998) because it appears to be ubiquitous. Whereas originally nostalgia meant a very serious and specific condition, the term has grown to express the whole past with symbolic value (Lowenthal, 1985, p. 6). Although, as Haines (2014, p. 4 ff) argues, this is not a new phenomenon. Even before nostalgia was recognised as a medical condition, the idea of nostalgia was all too present in writings and accounts of the 'Middle Ages'. Whilst Haines never explicitly states what is behind his idea of nostalgia, it becomes apparent that he sees it as describing quite broadly the yearning for 'better times or *bon vieux temps*' which in his view is best exemplified by many films that incorporated and still incorporate medievalism (among the films he includes are *Harry Potter and*

the Philosopher's Stone (2001), *Lord of the Rings* (2001) and *Shrek* (2001)). He describes the nostalgia that drives the film industry as a matter of general audience preferences:

The business of the movies, from seminal United Artists to the multinational corporations closer to our time, has always banked on the public taste for nostalgia, the yearning for a lost Golden Age to which one can magically return.
(Haines, 2014, p. 24)

To extend this notion, nostalgia seems to express a widely accepted disillusioned view of the present in which it is assumed that modern life is confusing and traditions offer an anchor or a refuge, implying that the past is merely seen as escape route, another world, a utopian island in an idealised state. This idea notwithstanding yet one wonders if the past is not simply part of socio-cultural heritage and thus something happily or not so happily remembered, furthermore laden with the same old problems. Bithell points out the positive aspects of nostalgia:

We should recognize that remembering positive aspects of the past does not necessarily indicate a desire to return there. Remembering the past should instead be seen as a way to express valid desires and concerns about the present – in particular, about its relationship (or lack of relationship) to the past.
(Bithell, 2006, p. 19)

Also Hutcheon (1998) claims 'all "presents" have always had their problems'. Yet it appears that people seek a pole in the past to secure themselves and hold on in a time of fast progress (Flinn, 1992, p. 206). Idealism, lost plenitude and nostalgia contribute mutually to the attraction of a constructed 'perfect' world. The 'past' as depicted in a film seems to consist of more stability. The image of the past, without cars, planes or television and multi-media influences, attracts people who feel displaced in modern society (Hutcheon, 1989 and Lyons, 2006). As Bithell confirms:

Revival movements, by definition, aim to resurrect earlier practices that have fallen out of fashion or circulation. Typically, revivals are motivated as much by ideological as by aesthetic considerations. For their instigators, the traditions of the past offer a welcome refuge from the complexities and confusions of modern life, serving as an anchor in the storm that threatens to tear identities from their roots.
(Bithell, 2006, p. 7)

This issue can demonstrate some kind of dissatisfaction with the present merging with the invocation of a partial, idealised history. People wanting to escape from their

'reality' might find refuge in the constructed reality of a film. Film scores are not alone, but they are a possible means of refuge. However, along with the broader film experience, nostalgia can be found in different layers of the film. Is it onscreen nostalgia that engages the characters, or does it include the whole audience? A character's confrontation with nostalgic experiences is probably best exemplified in the following scene of *The Private Lives of Elisabeth and Essex*, addressed earlier in this chapter. The song that the characters Lady Penelope and Mistress Margaret perform is intended to make a mockery out of the Queen's love for a much younger man, in this case the Earl of Essex. The lyrics clearly display nostalgic desire: 'If I could be as young and fair as you...' (full lyrics in appendix). During the final lines of the song the Queen understands the cynical meaning intended and reacts with anger, defying her own nostalgic feelings which allowed her to dwell in the youthful experience of love for a moment. Her vanity achieves a truculent blow by making the Queen realise her desperate love affair and forcing her to face the inexorable effects of age on her looks, which she cannot bear. An onscreen musical performance is used to invoke these particular feelings within the character. The musical style of the composition, as argued earlier in this chapter, does not touch anything historical apart from the visual representation of lute and harpsichord, in fact, the melody and harmonisation is rather neutral by corresponding to the demands of the conventional romantic film score.

Characters and audiences experiences of nostalgia display one important measurement of a film's historical appeal. Participation is tied to a generous sense of nostalgia, allowing for multiple personal affiliations that contribute to the historical experience. Chapters 3 and 4 argue that the sound world of renaissance music is particularly useful in the creation of nostalgic feelings. Nostalgia is empathetic with the past through a personal connection, as shown in the deliberations by Smith. The exploitation of this feeling corresponds with public taste and, as with the film experience as a whole, it incorporates the desire for refuge from current concerns and dissatisfaction with one's own world. Nostalgia may be used as narrative tool, as demonstrated in the film examples in this section. It may induce the feeling in the characters or demonstrate a film's narrative point of view. History films are attractive by means of their nostalgic potential, corresponding with a desire to experience and engage with the past. Nostalgia is also an enticing advertising tool, as Hutcheon points

out. The public's desire to remember or be reminded of the past and to take part in a portion of it, but also remaining distant in the sense that one only needs to endure the dreadful moments of the depicted periods, like wars and beheadings, for the duration of the film, is also part of nostalgia in mass-media and part of the notion of history for this thesis.

Context and Meaning 1: Semeiotics, Signs, Symbols

Meaning is an emergent and contingent phenomenon depending on the participation of a sign or act in a given context (Tomlinson, 1988, p. 121). Meaning may be subject to change if context or interpreters alter. Films offer multiple opportunities for meaning production through their audio-visual appeal. Furthermore, a film is not static like a painting but moving rapidly, therefore meanings develop, emerge and pass-by, moreover they depend on viewers' individual perceptions. At the heart of meaning production is a symbol or sign, a situation or thing involved in conjuring affiliations and attracting response. The following three subchapters engage with theories that are concerned with the core of meaning production. How and why does period music instil or invoke a particular period or at least an approximation of something that could be vaguely interpreted as historical? In order to explore this more closely, this chapter focuses on philosophical and psychoanalytic thought. Roland Barthes (1977) identifies three levels of meaning: denotative, connotative and myth or interpretative and Charles S. Peirce (ed. 1998) offers a similar trichotomy of integral and interactive meaning production.

What is a sign? Peirce's philosophical considerations revolved around this question for most of his life. Gary Tomlinson attempts an answer:

the answer [to this question] must be a flexible one, for it is obvious that what might look from one perspective like a single unit of meaning can from another be seen to consist of many smaller significant units.' (Tomlinson, 1988, p. 121)

Was Peirce's approach more rigid than Tomlinson's multi-perspective idea? Peirce developed a triad out of signifying, object and interpretant. Within this triad Peirce presupposed that every sign determined an interpretant and presented the interplay between the three parts as an infinite linear progression. He claims:

I define a sign as anything which is so determined by something else, called its Object, and so determines an effect upon a person, which effect I call its interpretant, that the latter is thereby mediately determined by the former. (Peirce, ed. 1998, p. 478)

It is evident from this declaration that Peirce's deconstructions are underpinned by meticulous logic. Semeiotics in the Peirce' sense show that no matter how a sign is conceived, in form of sounds, pictures, thoughts, feelings or events, the formal conditions, that he defined above, still apply (Liska, 1996, p. 2). For Peirce this is a dynamic process (Dougherty, 1997). This logic may seem plausible for the historical signs or referential clichés this study is investigating in terms of understanding their most basic symbolism. For the films investigated in this thesis this could refer to the music in the underscore which via aural recognition in the form of period sonority invokes a period affiliation, particularly if meaning conglomerates with the visuals in order to direct its effect; or it could be predominantly visual by means of the displayed and audible musical instrument, for example the lute, recorder, harpsichord or sackbut.

The threefold distinction of signifying, object and interpretant may also be a key to understanding why it is so naturally assumed that a particular type of music is used to signify a historical period. Particularly in histories of film music it is often quoted, that the pianistic shorthand of the early days of silent films contained musical snippets clearly identifying moods, events, location or in some cases historical period (Haines, 2014; Wierzbicki, 2009; Cooke, 2008 and Lack, 1998). As Barthes proclaims: '*L'homme aime les signes et il les aime clairs*' (Barthes, 1961, p. 29) – Clear signs and symbols that signify the past are part of every film on a specific historical period, otherwise the audience would be left in a state of confusion and ambiguity. There are visual symbols embodied by period costumes and settings as well as musical symbols which include visual representation of instruments and aural representation of presumably period sounds. Historical films exploit these symbols of the past, which are rooted deeply within culture and 'have a power beyond mere history' (Bithell, 2006, p.4) not least because of their extensive utilisation in the media. Visual symbols affect what one expects to hear, with the visuals being the most pre-dominant sense (see also Wingstedt, Brandström and Berg, 2010). It is thus not surprising that banquet, coronation and hunting scenes in many of these films provide viewers with what they

expect: music in correspondence with the scene by means of fanfares, dances and hymns and many composer have responded to this need.

However, film can violate these 'natural' anticipations of audio symbols. To take as example the score for *The Other Boleyn Girl* (2008), which features a romantic piano throughout, therefore, the soundtrack is largely removed from its historical setting in the sense that it relies on a traditional period-independent romantic scoring model. Despite finding justification in the dramatic function for the film, it may be asked how far away a score can venture before the film has lost its deeper historical appeal and developed another. This question is explored in more detail in the film reading of *Young Bess* (1953) in chapter 5 of this thesis. In a culture where visuals communicate, as evident in icons on tablet computers, mobile phones and other devices (de Groot, 2009) where many intuitive assumptions are assigned to pictures and symbols, an audio correspondence with a scene or overall setting can be more powerful than perhaps realised.

Meaning also develops during the production process of a film. A useful analogy to compare this process with can be found in Roland Barthes' writing on the press photograph.⁷ Press photographs, like film, run through a long process of production, in which meaning (Barthes calls this 'second meaning' – the symbolic meaning (Barthes, 1977, p. 52)) is, according to Barthes, gradually imposed on the image at three different stages: 'the source of emission, a channel of transmission and a point of reception' (Barthes, 1977, p. 15). These stages could be adapted to the situation of music in film. As 'source of emission' could be seen the initial rough shot of the film, the channel of transmission could occur in the editing process and the point of reception could mean when the final end-product, the film in its entirety, is released and presented to an audience. Music takes on different shapes in the scope of the whole film project. More often than not, music is exempted from the first rough shot of the film - especially in the Golden Age of Hollywood it is reported that the music was added after the film was actually shot (see Flinn, 1992; Wierzbicki, 2009; Cooke, 2008 and others) – and usually enters the production in the editing process. Consequently, music is a tool to impose meaning on the moving image, however, musical ideas are altered by several practical considerations, notwithstanding ideas and point of views of

⁷ Barthes (1961) *Le message photographique*, translated into English by Heath (1977) *The photographic message*.

more or less musically educated members of the team. Barthes raises concerns regarding the amount of technology used in these processes. In his opinion,

[t]he more technology develops the diffusion of information [...], the more it provides the means of masking the constructed meaning under the appearance of the given meaning.

(Barthes, 1977, p. 46)

In other words, technology provides the means to manipulate the picture and by doing so perhaps sells something as true or 'this is how it was' (the 'given meaning') which in reality was not. In a way Barthes implies that most meanings experienced derive from manipulation of the picture. His views contain even more value in a time where digital manipulation of pictures and film scenes is common practice. Daniel Frampton opens his provocative writing on *Filmosophy* (2010) with exactly this issue, illustrated by an anecdote on the making of *Contact* (1997) in which the main character's facial impression was significantly altered in the digital editing process – much to the dismay of the actress Jodie Foster who saw it as an affront on her original performance (Frampton, 2010, p.2). In *Elizabeth* (1998) the score was recorded 'with an orchestra that was much bigger than a court orchestra would have been in that time period' (Goldwasser, 1999) and with period instruments digitally enhanced in sound to match the film soundtrack's overall appeal. In the quest for the historical or period meaning in film scores theories seem to grind to a halt at the simple fact that it is the medium of film. As so bluntly justified by David Hirschfelder, composer of the soundtrack for *Elizabeth*,

what the heck - it's a film! No disrespect intended to the historians, but I just did what felt right, and it seemed to work.

(Goldwasser, 1999)

Frampton's ideas voiced in *Filmosophy* on regarding film as a world on its own, a world of thought instead of a reproduction of reality present a new perspective of the various ways music and picture are being treated as raw material to create meaning beyond justification in present reality.

There is composition and juxtaposition of meanings from which the viewer is able to choose some and ignore others. This corresponds to Barthes' notion that '*toute image est polysémique*' (1961); the image is on a 'floating chain of signifieds' (Barthes, 1977, p. 38). Whilst Barthes is addressing a more linear progression by comparing the

process to a chain of signifieds, a more circular notion of meaning running on a loop between music, image and text as proposed by Lawrence Kramer (2002, p. 153) emphasises the infinite nature of the interaction between the three elements in the production process. As soon as the film is released and the audience's perception is added, these three elements are seen as one unity of signifieds, open to interpretation by the viewer, who adds another layer of meaning. The collaboration of all these elements constructs meaning and context, which is at the heart of the hermeneutic theory expressed later in this chapter. Yet, there are more aspects in this circle of constructed meaning that create the historical feel.

Context and Meaning 2: Cognitive, Ecological and Psychoanalytic Deliberations

How is meaning constructed on cognitive, ecological and psychoanalytic levels? In considering these modes of meaning construction this thesis engages with a holistic realm of thought that embeds the 'historical' and the construction of a particular musico-historical feel in the natural worlds of body, environment and psyche. According to Zbikowski meaning evokes human cognitive processes. In *Conceptualizing Music* (2002) he combines recent research in cognitive science with the construction of musical meaning and conceptualisation of music. Zbikowski claims that answers to musical meaning could be found in the processes used to construct an overall understanding of the world. Conceptualising music is also categorising it. Zbikowski asserts, that musical thinking revolves around thinking in categories formed of complex subject knowledge, which mainly subconsciously help to create musical meaning. The way humans see the world is based on creations of the brain gained through experience with the 'external' reality that elicits their creation. In the brain, experiences build categories as a product of human's interactions with their natural environment.

Zbikowski refers to this as 'domains of knowledge', each specific in its content of conceptual models including concepts in specified relationships. Present and future actions are guided through gained concepts. Concepts can relate to other concepts out of which the construct of meaning emerges. Important for this thesis out of his theory is the notion that categorisation may be a means by which meaning is constructed.

However, this idea is developed a little further for the purpose of the present study. Core to an enhanced understanding of Zbikowski's domains of knowledge is that the construction of meaning is a flexible process. The mind forms categories, but these categories depend on a dynamic process of constant changes, continuously creating and constructing an understanding of the world, as well as constantly readjusting former concepts. Zbikowski refers to this only briefly, by stating that '[categories] are subject to change and modification as our thought unfolds' (Zbikowski, 2002, p. 12). He describes the process of thinking and how this process is shaped by humans' interaction with their environments. Important for this study, in Zbikowski's theory only partially addressed, is the idea that meaning results from interaction of different agencies. On that note, in an analysis of Charles Peirce's concepts of signs and meaning Floyd Merrell (1997) points out that it is exactly the indefiniteness of meaning and the dynamic and constantly changing environment of meaning that counts within the analysis of the matter. The present thesis argues that this interaction is at the heart of the historical feel invoked through a particular type of music.

In order to further this idea of interaction, Clarke (2005) offers a very interesting consideration of music within ecological terms. At first glance this may seem alien, as ecology, in form of the study of organisms in relation to their environment, is far apart from art. However, if the environment is a concert or a cinema and the central premise is the communication between the audience, the medium and the surroundings, an ecological consideration appears feasible, if one was to adapt Clarke's notion. Clarke asserts that his 'approach to perception is characterized as ecological because it takes as its central principle the relationship between a perceiver and its environment' (Clarke, 2005, p. 5). The idea is to discuss ways in which listeners interact with general auditory, and more specifically musical, environments, among which one may count cinematic experiences as well. Music forms a sound component that, physiologically, attracts the peripheral auditory system: the outer, middle and inner ear. Within this consideration perception is defined by 'information processing' (Clarke, 2005, p. 11). The environment, for the purpose of this thesis the cinema, offers an already constructed world and the perceiver – the viewer – is invited to 'pick-up [...] perceptual information' (Clarke, 2005, p. 17). This 'pick-up' is more random than Barthes's idea of the 'remote-

controlled' perceiver and it leaves open whether the meaning picked up is what was intended by the film in the first place. In this concept the perceiver, for the film the viewer, is one element within the cinematic experience and the production of meaning depends largely on the human ability to adapt to their surroundings. Within this model, Kassabian's ideas of the affiliating and assimilating identifications also may find a place, particularly in the concept that Clarke describes as follows:

Perceiving organisms seek out and respond to perceptual information that specifies objects and events in the environment, and this perceiving is a continuous process that is both initiated by and results in, action.
(Clarke, 2005, p. 41)

In the way humans actively perceive the world Clarke discovers the key for this interaction that he describes as 'perceptual flow' (Clarke, 2005, p. 42). It is a framework, an all-encompassing and coherent perceptual model that may find straightforward application for many functions of film music that address the whole of the cinematic experience. As Clarke refines:

The ecological approach to perception offers an alternative view that gives a coherent account of the directness of listeners' perceptual responses to a variety of environmental attributes, ranging from the spatial location and physical source of musical sounds, to their structural function and cultural and ideological value.
(Clarke, 2005, p. 46)

When considering the ecological, it dispels the myth of a magical exchange between viewer and cinematic surroundings as it may be construed within the laws of nature (Clarke, 2005, p. 47). Within these laws the viewer's personal disposition and constitution receives a central role (Clarke, 2005, p. 91). Clarke describes the subject position as 'the way in which the construction of a film causes a viewer/ listener to adopt a particular attitude to what she or he is witnessing' (Clarke, 2005, p. 92). This observation strongly supports what Kassabian has investigated and defined in her concept of assimilating identifications. Films engage the viewer in composite hearing and composite viewing and offer a heterogeneous experience. By omitting or disregarding hierarchical structures, as in the ecological model, the film experience becomes an all-encompassing field of action and perception, a notion that is at the heart of the present study of films and is explored further in the discussions of film music narratives in chapter 4.

Clarke emphasises another quality of human perception, which has not been addressed so far in film music theory. He explains, that it

is the ability to change focus, and what might be called the “scale of focuses”, of attention – from great breadth and diversity of awareness to the sense of being absorbed in a singularity.
(Clarke, 2005, p. 188)

Flexibility in directing attention contributes to the individual film experience at large. Often, attention is not on the music but on the visuals and the eye directs the focus more strongly than the ear. However, in a scene in *Elizabeth* (1998), this shift of awareness may be tried and tested, when the eye and ear is focused on one situation but the ear also may perceive another – of course depending on the viewer’s ability to ‘pick-up’ these elements. It is a scene that features at several points of this study under different parameters. For the purpose of awareness and focus in this chapter it is sufficient to say that one musical accompaniment continues whilst the visuals have moved and a voice-over with fanfares announces or rather confirms what the eye sees, yet aware at the same time of the previous event still ongoing by means of the continuation of its respective music (this account refers to the arrival of the Duke of Anjou – it is covered in more detail in chapters 3 and 4).

In order to follow this trail of thought of an all-encompassing environment deeper into psychoanalytic realms, perhaps it needs to be analysed by employing Kristeva’s idea of the maternal chora - a space filled with sounds and rhythms the foetus is exposed to in the mother’s womb. Flinn suggests in her critique of Kristeva, that the emergence of utopia is based on the idea of the maternal chora (Flinn, 1992, p. 63 ff). Kristeva describes the unity of this prenatal world as follows:

Rhythm, a sequence of linked instants, is immanent to the chora prior to any signified consciousness: henceforth, chora and rhythm, space and time coexist.
(Kristeva, 1980, p. 136)

As Flinn (1992, p. 63) notes Kristeva’s perception of the chora contains an element of reunification as well as separation. Whilst music can restore the holistic experience of the baby in the womb, it is also a reminder that this unity has been lost, which may

result in inherent nostalgic desire.⁸ This is what Flinn utilises as one explanation for the lost utopias that film music seems to address. Flinn's main issue with Kristeva reveals Flinn's preoccupation with feminism: Kristeva's tendency to subordinate the maternal chora to the name of the father leads Flinn to criticise this particular male stance of Kristeva's argument. The gender discussion is of no relevance to the present study. Moreover it is the holistic notion behind Kristeva's approach and her idea of a subject in process (*le sujet en procès*) that are intriguing for the development of a historical feel, which derives in itself from being surrounded by the sounds and rhythms of a bygone era. Kristeva distinguishes

between the semiotic, which consists of drive-related and affective meaning organized according to primary processes whose sensory aspects are often nonverbal (sound and melody, rhythm, color, odors, and so forth), on the one hand, and linguistic signification that is manifested in linguistic signs and their logico-syntactic organization, on the other.
(Kristeva, 1995, p. 104)

Kristeva's idea of *signifiance*, meaning evoked by a conglomeration of semiotic and symbolic, finds some expression in the way the historical feel this thesis addresses is perceived. *Signifiance* may describe the psychosomatic impact of period music in films – especially because of the rather fleeting experience within the film which particularly touches the unconscious. It may become apparent, that music in film, and for the purpose of this thesis, period music in film, can address something primal, something that may even be connected to a more holistic existence. On the outside, or to borrow biological terms, the phenotype of this experience is the simple notion that music of the renaissance symbolises the renaissance in an onscreen event and this may have been an initial clear-cut idea for many film scores. However, examples of certain films show that instrumental sounds and rhythms are present in all levels of film diegesis, suggesting a much more complex genotype or inner structure which this study explores in the film examples of chapter 5.

⁸ Although, as McAfee reminds the reader: 'In Kristeva's view, as the child takes up the symbolic disposition it does not leave the semiotic behind. The semiotic will remain a constant companion to the symbolic in all its communications' (McAfee, 2003, p. 23).

Context and Meaning 3: Hermeneutic Considerations

To close the circle of contextualisation and meaning, and to say it in Tomlinson's words: 'without context there is no meaning' (Tomlinson, 1988, p. 118). This may explain why films in postmodern society remain particularly popular in referencing historical content: they provide an, albeit dramatic, context for the fragments of historical evidence that have survived and therefore allow and invite the public to understand and participate in an otherwise inaccessible part of human history.

Meaning through context also plays an important part in hermeneutic theories, notably of German philosopher Gadamer (1960). By considering historical hermeneutics in particular the argument reverts to considerations of history and the present's relation to it. Gadamer summarises in his assessment of former ideologies: 'Zusammenhang [...] ist die Manifestation der geschichtlichen Wirklichkeit selbst' (Gadamer, 1960, p. 190). He proposes the idea of history as a dialogical construct in his book *Wahrheit und Methode* (1960). Essential to his theory is that the past is handed to the present through the complex ever-changing fabric of interpretations. Its perception becomes richer and more complex as decades and centuries pass, depending on the co-determination of text and reader which according to Gadamer is defined by a continuous process of understanding and interpretive inquiry between the implicit and the explicit.

Gadamer's idea of the hermeneutic circle draws on and offers critique of theories by philosophers of the eighteenth and nineteenth century - Schleiermacher, Droysen and Dilthey in particular. Gadamer describes Schleiermacher's theories as limited because of their theological stance, after all questioning historical truth derived from an intense exegesis of the bible and interpretation of classic Greek literature. He quickly moves past Droysen's methodological approach for finding historical truth to seek support for his own theory in Dilthey's concept of continuity (Gadamer, 1975, pp.153). A full explanation of the philosophical and philological extent of hermeneutics is not part of this thesis. Gadamer's progressive ideas provide a useful tool in interpreting history as it appears in the movies and can be applied in a practical way to understanding music's role in the conveyance of a historical 'feel'.

This concept of continuity is presented as:

the application to history of the hermeneutical principal that we can understand a detail only in terms of the whole text, and the whole only in terms of the detail

(Barden and Cumming, 1975, p. 174)

As important as the interplay between the parts and the whole of a text (comprising a variety of texts: from written documents to audio or visual material, including music) is the way in which personal reading contributes to its effective history. Tomlinson reflects in a similar way: 'the meaning of any one act deepens as we broaden and enrich the context in which we perceive it' (Tomlinson, 1988, p. 118). To borrow a key element of Julia Kristeva's idea of subjectivity, this personal reading is subject to a dynamic system of conscious and unconscious beliefs of a self 'that is always in process and heterogeneous' (McAfee, 2004, p.43) and thus adding to the complexity and depths of the whole of a text's meaning.

The understanding of history moves around this idea of the hermeneutic circle between parts and whole: single historical events are seen in their historical context, the historical context is seen alongside its events and their current personal and socio-cultural interpretation. There are two valid aspects paramount to Gadamer's understanding of the hermeneutic principle, whose terms according to Mueller-Vollmer (1986, p. 39) are not easily translatable into English: 'effective historical continuum (*wirkungsgeschichtlicher Zusammenhang*)' and 'effective historical consciousness (*wirkungsgeschichtliches Bewusstsein*).' Both aspects are part of the horizons Gadamer refers to, indicating that there is a dynamic interplay between context and historical awareness. Whilst writing this the author of the present study is as much part of history as the text itself and the future reader will see the text in their historical context, which is the continuum. The consciousness comprises of a human being within all aspects of its respective reality, influenced by culturally and socially preconceived ideas. Music could be regarded under similar parameters: a musical piece is an artefact of its time of origin, yet its importance or unimportance evolves with time and current interpretations, as echoed in the idea of historical informed performance. Gadamer regards this dialogue as a 'fusion of horizons', a complex interplay between past and present. Tomlinson also envisages

History as a conversation between the historian and the agents in the past he or she studies, [...] however, transferred to history [...] the notion of conversation grows more metaphorical.
(Tomlinson, 1988, p. 119)

To echo these thoughts, musicologist Treitler refers to a similar issue of contextualising the past under the term 'historicism', which he applies in its epistemological sense: 'things are to be understood in terms of their past and future. [...] Historicism,' he claims, 'insists upon locating the objects of its study in an eternal process of change' (Treitler, 1990, p. 98). Both, Gadamer and Treitler indicate that history is an evolving and ever changing concept that renders itself vital in the investigation of multimedia products such as film, where abundant individual audio and visual elements contribute to the construction of meaning.

Dahlhaus (1983) complements the theoretical path of Gadamer in his thoughts on music and history. Within historical hermeneutics the central premise is to achieve a closer understanding of the past and to make it more familiar (Dahlhaus, 1983, p. 5). In acknowledging the distance between present experiences and the memory of past experiences, Dahlhaus detects the origin of historicism in the realisation of this remoteness and the desire to bridge the gap (Dahlhaus, 1983, p. 53). Dahlhaus's issue with Gadamer is, in what way a dialogical structure may provide knowledge, facts and truth (Dahlhaus, 1983, p. 60). Interestingly, the search for truth in phenomena is also one of Peirce's main concerns. The idea of discovering and establishing a scientific 'truth' encouraged modernist and structuralist researchers in the twentieth century and even reaches as far back as the Renaissance and Enlightenment. This 'truth' was thought to be found in every original document – a notion echoed in the idea of *Werktreue* in historically informed musical performance practices of the twentieth century.⁹ Dahlhaus, however, believes that 'facts become historical facts by virtue of the continuity that binds them together' (Dahlhaus, 1983, p. 40) which is reflected in Gadamer's idea of *Geschichtsbewusstsein*. On the other hand, Peirce defines that truth should emerge from existential fact and not of thought (Liska, 1996, p. 3). According to Peirce 'truth' is gained through a threefold study: grammar, logic and rhetoric. Grammar defining formal features and modes of expression, logic is the manner in

⁹ See Butt (2002); Taruskin (1995); Treitler (1984); Harnoncourt (1982) for further information on the 'work' concept. Taruskin criticises what he asserts is the modernist approach and authoritative figure of the composer to whose apparent intentions the work concept is paying tribute.

which truth can be gained from signs and rhetoric is concerned with their communication.

The communicative aspect leads back to the hermeneutic principle, in which *Verstehen*, an understanding, is gained by evaluating all possible parameters involved, as Dahlhaus explains: 'a text is not 'understood' until one reaches an 'understanding' with it about its material content' (Dahlhaus, 1983, p. 59). Tomlinson describes the process of *Verstehen* by referring back to signs: 'Understanding [...] consists in our accommodation of signs new to us into familiar contexts' (Tomlinson, 1988, p.118) and to incorporate aspects of Clarke's ecological model: 'at the same time as a new sign derives meaning from its context it alters more or less markedly the context itself and the meanings on offer' (Tomlinson, 1988, p.118). Knowledge and truth are to be found in an interactive process, perhaps also in the way this thesis addresses period music in films which do not in any way claim to be documentary evidence but pure fiction. Reflection and critical discussion instigated on the grounds of historical informed performance, period music, film, the cinematic environment and what it means to the audience may provide a deeper form of knowledge and truth than evaluating history films on their historical disposition. Reservations with respect to the period music employed may be reminded in Dahlhaus's words that

All restorations, even the seemingly successful ones, run the risk that the musical idiom to be reconstituted will forfeit its substance and expressiveness in its new surroundings.
(Dahlhaus, 1983, p. 68)

The advantages and disadvantages will need to be considered on a case by case base and chapters 3, 4 and 5 of this thesis continue with this thought.

Music, History, Film: A Complex Web of Meaning

Cultural and religious practices have generated strongly embodied meanings to the perceptive quality of music and its intuitive understanding (De Munck, 2009). For Lawrence Kramer (2002), music is the art of the ear and therefore lacks the immediate sense of distance associated with visual perception. Autonomy and contingency are ubiquitous and music transfers this suspension into personal feelings. Music enhances the meaning of anything – it either becomes more itself or more anything. By adding

itself, music contributes to other elements, however, there is music left, when it is extracted from them (Kramer, 2002). Already Gorbman emphasises this particular idea:

Whatever music is applied to a film segment will do something, will have an effect – just as whatever two words one puts together will produce a meaning different from that of each word separately, because the reader/ spectator automatically imposes meaning on such combinations.

(Gorbman, 1987, p. 15)

The communication between psychological, social and cultural relations and the dynamic affiliations between musical experience and its context form an understanding of musical meaning. In Kramer's view, 'music is the art that questions meaning; therefore its meaning is always in question' (Kramer, 2002, p. 147). In mixed media music also adheres to a significant semantic power. Though music in film is more responsive or derivative, its semiotic content is even more significant (Wierzbicki, 2009). Music, meaning, categories, context all play a role in the resulting dynamic web of meaning.

The cinematic Tudor Court engages with history, heritage and mythmaking. For the film history is a compound of imagination, facts, audience appeal and franchising. However, most people only ever engage with historical periods, and for the purpose of this thesis the Tudor period, by watching films and therefore gain their knowledge about the period from this medium (Haines, 2014 and Rosenstone, 2006). Therefore it is valid to question in what way elements of music history have been treated in the movies and overall maintain critical awareness.

This chapter has engaged with notions of history and issues of meaning production. History, represented by fact and historical imagination, is kept alive in the movies and for the purpose of this thesis, should be regarded as an open and active concept, encouraged by public nostalgic desire. History films illustrate the vibrant dialectic between fact and fiction as well as the appeal of a narrative, a context to relate to and participate in. The historical experience and with it a historical feel results from the psychoanalytic attraction of the cinematic environment and the way viewers – the perceivers – engage in it and with it. Kristeva's and Clarke's models have provided useful analogies for this holistic comprehension of the cinematic experience in which music plays a vital part. In addition, the 'fusion of horizons' addressed in

Gadamer's theory incorporates a present and a past, the horizon of filmmakers, the historical horizon and the horizon of the audience at the time of viewing. To summarise it with Tomlinson:

all meanings, authentic or not, arise from the personal ways in which individuals, performers and audience, incorporate the work in their own signifying contexts.

(Tomlinson, 1988, p. 123)

In the event of watching a historical film, the audience engages with several 'histories' – the time of viewing and its socio-cultural paradigm; the time of making with all its technological opportunities and the period of the narrative. History is broad and manifold in historical films, loosely based on facts, but plausibly providing a sense of 'how it really was' by means of engaging the audience through people's stories in particular period settings. Music facilitates the impression of the period by attracting the primal holistic relationship between sounds and rhythms to accompany the immediate visual impression. The next chapters interrogate effects, purposes and functions of sixteenth-century music in all its guises in film with these ramifications in mind.

CHAPTER 3

SIXTEENTH-CENTURY MUSIC IN FILM - A CONTEXTUALISATION

A contextualisation of sixteenth-century music in film moves constantly between history and story, music and narrative, time and place, performance and display. The films utilising the sixteenth century as narrative backdrop purvey an image of a musical community, showing off popular instruments and musical styles and therefore creating musical icons visually and orally with symbolic meaning in the film and beyond. There is evidence of limited yet partially historically informed performance practice and the examples collated in this chapter aim to illustrate this point. Furthermore, this chapter focuses on the rhetorical and rhythmical presence evident in secular music of the sixteenth-century in the films and how the scenes incorporate the music's innate emotionality. The soundtracks of the respective films incorporate the quieter, more subtly persuasive tone qualities assigned to period instruments and smaller ensembles contrasting with the usual symphonic orchestra, therefore allowances are made to embody the 'cultural coding' of the period within the musical score.

The films addressed in this chapter are *Anne of the Thousand Days* (1969) with music composed by French composer Georges Delerue; *Elizabeth* (1998) with music by David Hirschfelder; *Shakespeare in Love* (1998) with music by Stephen Warbeck and *Elizabeth – The Golden Age* (2007), music by Craig Armstrong and A.R. Rahman, whose unusual collaboration, Armstrong being Scottish and Rahman a well-known Indian composer, yielded a fascinating modern film score with unusual injections of world music sounds. Together with the films addressed in chapter 4 and the detailed film readings of *Young Bess* (1953) with music by Miklós Rózsa and *A Man for All Seasons* (1963), music composed by Georges Delerue, in chapter 5, these films cover a wide period of production of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries in which musical tastes for historical films featuring the Renaissance differed widely.

Further, listening habits and the status of films within society changed dramatically. Each film conveys its own interpretation of the sixteenth century at the time of production and its impact evolves with each viewing and the time of viewing. Chapter 2 of this thesis refers to ideas by Wallace and Higson on how to interpret the 'history' involved. Both theories together mark five principles that would need to be

taken into account for a full 'historical' picture. These pre-requisites notwithstanding, the deployment of features of sixteenth-century music and early music more generally in these films demonstrates the qualities of a genre worth addressing.

The period, the music and re-interpretation in film

The sixteenth century is characterised by an invigorating spirit of enquiry. Morrison C. Boyd (1962, p. 1) describes England as rejuvenated throughout the Elizabethan era, not least by means of a culturally minded middle class which had developed during the reigns of King Henry VII and King Henry VIII. Extraordinary discoveries shaped this period: alongside the growing distribution of printed media including printed music after the invention of the printing press, a return to classic thought became apparent in the writings that emerged. Furthermore, it was British sailors who discovered unknown countries and who brought back riches, wealth and fantastic stories of the 'New World' (Boyd, 1962, p. 1) – a context that is richly dealt with in *Elizabeth – The Golden Age* (2007). The musical accompaniment in those scenes, despite the specific period affiliation in the plot's spirit, utilises atmospheric and synthesised sounds to enhance the idea of a marvellous world of the unknown, a result of the unusual collaboration of two prolific composers from entirely different backgrounds and a rather period independent approach to scoring. More conclusively influenced by the sounds of the sixteenth-century is another Hollywood blockbuster. The musical Elizabethan age is expressed remarkably colourfully and musically in the Universal Studios film *Elizabeth* (1998), directed by Shekhar Kapur and starring Cate Blanchett. Admittedly, the musical representation is only partially invoked by means of a chronologically accurate and historically-informed employment and performance of period music. This chapter endeavours to illustrate the incongruence as much as any resemblance achieved by the interactive web of past and recent musical sounds. Period and quasi-period music fulfil several functions within the historical film.

Consider the following scene from *Elizabeth*: a young Queen Elizabeth enjoys a performance of music and dance in which the imposters re-enact the supposed attack of an English pirate on Spanish ships (3.1).



3.1: *Elizabeth* (1998) A Spanish pirates dance

The song when acted out provides, through its performance, a mock commentary to the narrative in which the Spanish ambassador is also present in the scene. The obvious joy of ‘attacking Spanish ships’ displeases the ambassador; the musical display revealing the political tensions between the parties at that period in history. The piece portrays a quasi-*Saltarello* with the distinct early guitar or lute strumming in triple time that characterises the liveliness and energy of this particular dance. The repetitive harmonic progression of the traditional ground accompanies improvisation on a brass instrument. Is this quasi-period music employed solely to fulfil the function of period identification? A sense of the period may emerge from this scene by means of the folk-like nature of the performed dance and the colourful tonal image with lute and brass. The quasi-*Saltarello* nature of the tune may cast some doubts on the Spanish identity that this piece of music is supposed to convey, as it is traditionally an Italian dance. The musical relation to the traditionally Spanish *Folía*, which could possibly fulfil a similar function, is marginal. The alleged Spanish character may be transmitted by means of the strumming of the early guitar or lute.¹ Effects of particular ways of strumming a guitar-like instrument have come to be associated with Spanish identity through the extensive use of a strongly percussive strumming technique in Spanish folk music and flamenco. The film *Elizabeth* utilises this national musical cliché in the respective scene for narrative reasons, as this scene centralises Spanish and English socio-political predispositions of that period. Resulting from this brief analysis is the impression that

¹ Renaissance and baroque guitars as well as modern classical and flamenco guitars or the ukulele employ this particular technique, which may easily link early music performances with rock and pop. There is a long history of strumming, already in 1555 this technique was described as ‘the old fashioned way’ (Taylor, J. 1997, p. 62).

folk music, world music and period music in films share common ground. To recall Cohen from chapter 1: 'Films provide a major source for transmission of a culture's musical conventions' (Cohen, 2001, p. 265). Employed to signify the 'other'; a quite often romanticised and clichéd picture, folk, world and period music occupy a similar space in the invocation of cinematic realism. The boundaries between them, as the described scene shows, may dissolve or overlap. Frequently, period is implied as well as nationality and particularly with sixteenth-century music the comparison with folk music identity is often drawn.² Film scene examples in this chapter centralise the diversity of effects as well as perception of the musical extracts, with the dramatic employment regarded as paramount and explicitly explored later on. The purpose of this and the following two chapters address the core of this study: to develop critically the idea of the construction in historical sensibilities and a sense of period in historical films through the use of period or quasi-period music, which has so far received little attention in film music theory.

The only work addressing the issue more comprehensively to date is John Haines' *Music in Films on the Middle Ages* (2014). Haines asks what elements of film music characterise a period; for the purpose of his study this means the Middle Ages. He identifies six 'modes' of character, extracted from most commonly used referential clichés in what he calls the 'medieval film'. His work is of interest for this thesis in so far as it presents critically the musical expression of a period and not only identifies typical musical 'modes' of period agency but also links these to the important influence that the historically informed performance movement of the twentieth century had on the use of music in film. Whilst the early music movement receives detailed explanation in his book and film examples are listed, the reciprocal link between the two could have been exposed more strongly. Within this chapter the present thesis endeavours to address this link further focusing on a different period, the Renaissance, with the aim of showing the effects, purposes and functions of sixteenth-century music in general and as applied to film.

Drawing from Haines' enquiry is the pursuit of identifying musical symbols of a particular period in film. To reiterate theories of the production of meaning with signs

² The Historically Informed Summer School in Scarborough, UK, explores both – folk and early period music, because their performance attitudes match. Spontaneity and improvisation are seen as vital building blocks of this kind of performance.

in this context, Barthes' notion seems particularly appropriate for music in film, because, as Gorbman relates:

Music, like the caption, anchors the image in meaning, throws a net around the floating visual signifier, assures the viewer of a safely channelled signified.
(Gorbman, 1987, p. 58)

The musical symbols identified 'anchor the meaning'. The communication between the sign, the object and the interpretant, to borrow Peirce's distinction, is facilitated by the representation of the respective musical style at the very least by means of sound if not onscreen and therefore visual verification.

What, then, defines the Tudor period musically in mass-entertainment film? Is there a common image and can representative instruments as well as musical practices be identified? Mirroring Haines' 'modes' for the medieval in film, there may be similar characteristics for music at the cinematic Tudor Court. Instead of adopting the term 'mode' for this consideration, which musically has a strong affiliation with the medieval and the sacred, it may be more appropriate for the sixteenth-century to investigate musical 'icons'. The term 'icon' appropriately traces back to the sixteenth-century from Greek *eikon* for 'likeness, image'. From then onwards it became used for a representative object. This study has defined four implied icons for the musical Renaissance in film: The Lute; The Recorder; The Drums; Ensemble and Dances. The employment of relevant film examples for these characters or clichés is intended to lead towards an understanding of what in this study will be referred to as 'historical ideologised performance' in film; the ideologised element here meaning how these four icons have been exploited for the film to invoke period as well as narrative. 'Performance' indicates that the music is actually performed, be it onscreen or implied onscreen. This recalls Bruce Hayne's stance that an

aspect of style is a general attitude or stance that applies to all arts; music included; these are ideas that are taken for granted: the philosophy, artistic assumptions and motives of a style, its *ideology* in other words.
(Haynes, 2007, p. 13)

King Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth I encouraged the arts and there is evidence of great musical activities at court (Boyd, 1962; Donington, 1977 and Doughtie, 1986) – consequently film felt obliged to replicate these vital moments of Tudor identity. The plot of the films under investigation here is largely situated at and surrounding the

courts of King Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth I. In order to develop a critical understanding of the musical choices that film composers and film makers draw on to evoke the musical sixteenth century, important characteristics of 'musical England' in the sixteenth century may need to be provided.

Generally speaking it was the period of composers such as John Taverner and Thomas Tallis and on the European mainland of the stylistically highly influential Josquin de Prez as well as Palestrina, Lasso and eventually Monteverdi, who is believed to have paved the way towards the musical Baroque.³ As presented in Howard M. Brown's *Music in the Renaissance*: 'Masses, motets, and settings of secular lyric poetry were the chief kinds of music written in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries' (Brown, 1976, p. 1). This includes unaccompanied madrigals and lute songs, which Morrison C. Boyd describes as the 'glory of the Elizabethan musical age' (Boyd, 1962, p. 2). These forms of secular music largely originated in Italy, but proved useful for settings with English vernacular language and were adapted accordingly. However, an English national style mainly constituted by sacred music moved only slowly from one developmental phase into another and seemed largely free of continental European, mainly Franco-Flemish, influences. This provided the sixteenth-century composer with a fairly stable set of compositional practices. Further, the English style 'had comparatively little to do with secular music' (Brown, 1976, p. 243). Boyd (1962, p. 1) stresses that studying music seriously in England meant dealing with complex 'Papist' music, which became unpopular during Queen Elizabeth I's reign. It took a while to establish a mind-set for studying music in the early modern sense. Religious allegiances changed during the sixteenth century and this had an impact on musical practices and composition as the monarch's preferences had to be followed. Henry VIII was 'conservative in liturgical matters and allowed florid Latin church music to flourish'; Edward VI 'came close to suppressing the English musical establishment altogether'; Mary Tudor 'restored Roman rite with all its music'; Queen Elizabeth added the then new English reformatory repertoire (Brown, 1976, p.249).

³ More factual information can be found in Reese (1954); Harnoncourt (1984); Tomlinson (1988); Brown (1976); Fenlon (1981) and Owen (1990).

English church music of the sixteenth century is only celebrated in Hollywood movies on the Tudors in so far as it features in *Elizabeth* (1998) in the coronation scene in the form of Thomas Tallis' well-known 'Te Deum', performed by St. John's College Choir, Cambridge, under the conductor George Guest. Usually, coronation anthems were composed for these occasions, however, there is no historical source confirming any special musical accompaniment for Elizabeth's coronation. Handel's coronation anthems are the first known compositions for comparable events, composed more than a hundred years after Queen Elizabeth I's reign. The coronation scene in *Elizabeth* shows Princess Elizabeth walking up the church aisle and receiving her crown – at that point the musical cue is 'disturbed' by a brief voice-over, whilst continuing with the 'Te Deum'. Although there is no choir or supportive organ depicted in the scene, its presence appears to be both, inside and outside the narrative, which could challenge the in film music theory pre-dominant dichotomy of diegetic and non-diegetic in the way Robynn Stilwell (2002) has described (more of this in this thesis in chapter 4). Admittedly, this piece occupies an important and foregrounded role in this scene by being an uninterrupted musical cue for six minutes – a very rare circumstance in the middle of a Hollywood film blockbuster. Consequently, 'Te Deum'⁴ is the only piece of pre-existent sixteenth-century music that receives this honour – remarkably, the film *Elizabeth* enhances this prestigious piece with a very modern concept: a music video.

A comparable deployment of a long uninterrupted musical cue accompanying a film scene can be found in Milos Forman's 1984 film *Amadeus*. The use of Mozart's 'Lacrimosa'⁵ throughout the film's funeral scene can demonstrate that music has the ability to move towards the centre of attention, it 'takes priority' (Joe, 2006, p. 60), whilst the visual becomes the supportive element. By means of this priority the music is elevated greatly in status and thus engages the viewer unwittingly in a concert-like situation. Whether the viewer is interested in early music or not, the exposure to the performance of a five-hundred-year-old choral piece in the case of Tallis' 'Te Deum' is certainly unusual, if not alienating. The 'otherness' of this musical experience

⁴ Nigel Davison (1975): 'Of far greater musical interest is the five-voice 'Te Deum' 'for meanes'-a splendid and substantial work, with richly varied scorings, which points the way to Byrd's Great Service'.

⁵ Mozart only wrote the beginning of this piece and sketched out elements of the remainder before he died. Credit should also go to his pupil Süßmayr for completing the requiem and a friend called Eybler. (see here, among others, Moseley, 1989).

contributes to the musico-historical feel that this study endeavours to find in history films.

Both pieces correspond with the period of their respective plots: chronologically, the choice of Thomas Tallis' 'Te Deum' is in line with standard expectations of the period's music, not least because Tallis is regarded as one of the most well-known composers of the sixteenth-century.⁶ 'Lacrimosa' is also placed chronologically well in a film featuring the life and death of Mozart, somewhat ironically commenting on and illustrating the composer's life by means of his own music (Joe, 2006). The only differences emerge from the musical language for the soundtrack: *Amadeus* is characterised by the music of Mozart and Salieri in particular, establishing a classical period tone; in *Elizabeth*, however, Tallis's 'Te Deum' appears to be the 'odd one out', being entirely vocal with marginal organ accompaniment. Therefore this piece occupies a different sound space from the remainder of the symphonic and instrumental underscore. In the course of the scene the viewer is unwittingly transported into the magic of sixteenth-century vocal music. 'Te Deum' is composed in an imitative style. The five voices in the piece provide an exhilarating exposure of tonal textures and the 'otherness' of the cumulatively interweaving voices enhances the viewers' transition into a removed reality – whether this reality is emerging from the past or the future may not be distinguished.

The piece's special status is confirmed – vocal or choral music could possibly distract from the narrative through its element of the human voice and lyrics or vocalise. The idea that vocal music distracts from the film's narrative has been expressed in Gorbman (1987, p. 20). She asserts that 'lyrics and action compete for attention', they are 'commenting on a narrative' and 'Song lyrics[...] threaten to offset the aesthetic balance between music and narrative cinematic representation.' This can also be compared with the use of pop songs in film whose lyrics often partake in narrative action or that are deployed because of their overall popularity. Kramer asserts that music is 'capable of intruding on the image it is supposed to supplement, stealing the scene by infringing on its visual consistency' (Kramer, 2002, pp. 179 and

⁶ Davison in his review of 'English Sacred Music' (1975, p. 224) claims that 'Tallis is not only a major English composer, but one who, at his best, can stand comparison with the finest composers of the Renaissance', see also Wulstan (1983, p. 7 ff).

180). Music in general, and lyrics in particular, appear to have the power to move towards a viewer's attention, be it accidentally or deliberately.

Both scenes, the coronation in *Elizabeth* and the funeral in *Amadeus*, display a procession, whose slow movement is emphasized and characterised by the music. Mozart's 'Lacrimosa' is a *Largo* with a steady pulse (12/8), Tallis's 'Te Deum' is based on slow melodic lines and interweaving voices. The funeral scene lends itself to the emotional minor character of the 'Lacrimosa', whereas the coronation scene benefits from the more joyful tonality of the 'Te Deum'. Hence both musical cues embody strong narrative qualities, which are investigated further in chapter 4 of this thesis. In conglomeration with the scene's visuals – the procession, the queen on the verge of being crowned and the ecclesiastical setting – there is a strong bias towards a transition to a past reality. To echo Gadamer's fusion of horizons explained in chapter 2 of this thesis, this scene presents an important example of a dialogue between past and present, resulting in the object of the past – Tallis's 'Te Deum' – acquiring new meaning in a film score for a twenty-first century audience and thus embodying both: past and present. The onscreen realism is further enhanced by means of the chronologically appropriate employment. In chapter 1 of this thesis ideas on music and interference in film scores by Cohen were introduced. Cohen asserts that

Music presumably adds to the diegetic realism while providing non-diegetic, acoustical information that is completely incompatible with that realism.

(Cohen, 2001, p.265)

The use of the 'Te Deum' in *Elizabeth*, however, could be regarded as highly compatible and therefore effective in transmitting a coherent filmic realism. Admittedly, the nearly nine minutes long original 'Te Deum' has been cut slightly to fit the scene – the first three minutes are missing, though this does not lower or diminish its overall monumental effect. On the contrary, the opening passage with the full chorus chanting: 'Thou art the King of glory o Christ' and ending in a full chord on 'Christ' sets the scene, followed by the piece's characteristic imitative and interweaving voices.

Regarding sixteenth-century sacred music and the cinematic Tudor Court in mass-entertainment films, this remains all that may be said, as the films in this study

do not utilise any further sacred music. Life at court with all its colourful banquets and dances appears to be the pre-dominant focus of the musical display in the films investigated, which reflects another important strand of sixteenth-century music. Secular music is the preferred mode for the movies in the selection of films analysed for this thesis, however, 'voices' in this medium seem to refer to instrumental voices only. To express compositions for voices on instruments was common practice in the sixteenth-century. Though only a small number of songbooks have survived as material of evidence, the films in this study make use of a number of styles, instrumental pieces and songs. Consequently, this may link to the music at the royal court, where particularly the young King Henry VIII himself was known as musician and composer. The *King Henry VIII songbook* with songs and instrumental pieces in a 'florid' style is one of the few surviving sources of English secular music from the early sixteenth century. In Morley's *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597) it soon becomes apparent that there was an expectation in Elizabethan society to be able to sight-sing fluently, when the character Phi describes how embarrassing it was to have to admit he could not sing at sight 'as was the custom' (Morley, 1597, p. 4). The music mainly addressed in this chapter is of secular origin.

Perhaps film could be classed as a form of 'historical musicking' in the sense of Christopher Small (1998), as adopted by Bruce Haynes for his own idea of the term's inclusions:

"Musicking" is as a word coined by a very interesting author, Christopher Small. By "musicking" Small means that music is not a thing, but an activity, and includes "all musical activity from composing to performing to listening to a Walkman to singing under the shower – even cleaning up after a concert is a kind of musicking."
(Haynes, 2007, p. 12)

If period music or quasi-period pastiche is a pre-dominant characteristic of a film's soundtrack, viewers may engage in an onscreen display of musicking as well as taking part themselves by listening to the music whilst often at the same time watching a performance, however aptly or inaptly mimed. A film's historical disposition could be enhanced through the musical language established by the soundtrack, providing this musical language corresponds closely with the depicted reality of the film. If period or quasi-period music then participate in the usual narrative functions, this could lead to a coherent historical feel throughout. One of the advantages of sixteenth-century

secular music for film composition and deployment is the partial freedom in instrumentation; the traditional grounds lend themselves especially to experimentation and interpretation. Visual correspondence of sound may be beneficial, including musicians, instruments and playing techniques, however, this appears to be an area with large allowances, as often the instruments depicted are only a small representative selection of the ensemble employed in the underscore.

Historical films engage openly with several strains of nostalgia. The ideas addressed in chapter 2 of this study include the way that historical films refer to the past with a subjective, emotional affiliation. For many this music is an opportunity for refuge into the past away from the noisy and fast-living time they live in. A return to quieter sounds and musical serenity provides the necessary means of escape. People seek a pole in the past to secure themselves to and hold on in a time of fast progress. The 'past' seems to consist of more stability. However uncertain modern times may appear, the past retains a certain nostalgic stability, despite contemporaneous accounts of equally fast-living and uncertain times. The Renaissance is a vivid example of these fast-living times, evident in the numerous discoveries, inventions and ideas that uprooted society. However, no cars, no planes, no television and multi-media influences, which are of concern today, intersected with day to day affairs, therefore this particular period is attractive to people who feel misplaced in modern society. The 'yearning for better times' as it seems to mean (Haines, 2014) is perhaps best exemplified in the glamorous representations of the Tudor Court, not only by means of costume but also by means of music. The mass-entertainment films predominantly featured in this study primarily focus on the monarchs and therefore centralise the mighty and the grand, which has been part of the yearning for better times even before nostalgia as a condition and term in itself was known. Different levels of nostalgia permeate the film. There is the onscreen nostalgia engaging the characters and the off screen nostalgia engaging the audience, however, there are situations where both are mutually engaged in nostalgic experiences. The film's historical appeal relies partially on nostalgia. Personal affiliations contribute as much to the historical experience as film set, costumes and soundtrack. The sound world and tone quality of period instruments and period compositions acts particularly as facilitator for this historical experience.

Characteristics of Sixteenth-century Music and Cinematic Application

Each period is defined by certain aesthetical conventions. The music at the core of this study is no exception. Whilst sacred music and therefore particularly vocal music is subject to its own set of rules, secular music of the sixteenth century is characterised by rather short but succinct compositions that imply serenity and straightforward immediacy. There is directness evident in how this music seems to speak to audiences. The speech-like quality of historical music implies an innate immediacy and therefore has the ability to move a listener's senses (Donington, 1977; Boyd, 1962 and Haynes, 2007). The repetitive structures of most pieces, particularly traditional grounds and dances, further contribute to memorability and connectivity.

Most distinguishing are the quietly persuading tone qualities of period instruments, which are convincingly demonstrated by lutes, recorders and the viol family, or contrasting sharp and piercing sounds mainly of wind instruments that are different from modern-day sound experiences and perceptions (Narvey, 2009). Haskell points out that there are 'fine nuances of timbre which distinguished historical instruments from modern ones' (Haskell, 1988, p. 121). The music's characteristics are rather subtle; it is not the range of dynamics but articulation and rhythmic attention that preoccupies this particular style. These characteristics therefore lend innate rhetorical qualities to this music (Haynes, 2007 and Tarling, 2004). Traditional early music scholar Robert Donington (1977, p. 30) describes early music as more concise but less massive than music of the twentieth-century. He points out its transparency and clarity, yet still comprising of a certain glow and beauty. The music can be lively as well as docile, charming but intimidating. Whilst these are views of the 1970s, a time when the early music movement was at a peak with prestigious ensembles like the English Consort under David Munrow making increasingly viable recordings and proclaiming Baroque and Renaissance music internationally, it may be said that even forty years later most of these qualities have persisted, despite or in some cases because of more detailed criticism. In the quest for the powers of sixteenth-century music in the context of modern mass-media these particular qualities of this type of music are useful to unveil. Furthermore casting a glimpse at the powers of music way back in the sixteenth century as described by its contemporaries also provides a

prevailing notion of music's innate qualities to move emotions – characteristics that are explicitly exploited in film and can be found especially in music of the fifteen hundreds.

Richard Edwards, a contemporary Elizabethan poet, delineates the powers of music in his poem 'In Commendation of Musick' which also features in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, Act IV, Scene 5:

Where griping griefs the hart would wound
& dolful domps the minde oppress
There Musick with her silver sound
Is wont with spede to give redresse.
Of troubled minde for every sore,
Swete Musick hath a salve therefore.

In joye it makes our mirth abound,
In grief it chers our heavy sprights,
The carefull head reelease hath found,
By Musicks plesant swete delights.
Our sences, what should I saie more,
Are subject unto Musicks lore.
(Edwards, 1576, p. 55)

Music is described here as a cure for troubled minds and that music directly affects the senses. The powers and the enchantment of sixteenth-century music as well as musical interpretation and the musician's appearance furthermore feature in Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516). More's comments on the ability of music to express different moods and feelings as well as his praise of music's capability to have direct access to the listener's mind are of particular importance for this thesis.⁷ More lays out:

For all their musike bothe that they [...] playe upon instruments, and that they singe with mannes voice dothe so resemble and expresse naturall affections, the sound and tune is so applied and made agreeable to the thinge, that whether it bee a prayer, or els a dytty of gladness, of patience, of trouble, of mournynge, or of anger: the fassion of the melodye dothe so represente the meaning of the thing, that it doth wonderfullye move, stire, pearce, and enflame the hearers myndes.
(More, 1516, p. 109)

⁷Although the book is either an idealistic account of living in a peaceful society or a hidden political satire of the sixteenth-century, see the British Library's comments on <http://www.bl.uk/learning/timeline/item126618.html>, accessed 18/02/2014.

These are endowed remarks for the effects and persuasiveness of music; music that appears to have been assigned an important place in More's idealistic society. Quite probably More's notion may have been influenced by the music he was surrounded by. His appreciation centralises the melody as representing the meaning of the mood that then may cause the response in the listener. The influence of musical harmony on listener's emotional responses to music received more attention at a later stage in history.

Music's persuasive qualities are well-known in film music studies. Claudia Gorbman claims that music brings 'depth, inner feeling' and 'dramatic truth' to the film score (Gorbman, 1987, p. 61). Further, one of the main purposes of film music is to 'lull the spectator into being an untroublesome (less critical, less wary) *viewing subject*' (Gorbman, 1987, p. 58). Additionally Michel Chion (1994, p. 8) describes music as resembling and corresponding with the feel of a scene as 'empathetic' music. Music is employed as 'acoustic identity' (Chion, 1994, p. 21) and may stir a particular fascination within the audience.

Music of the sixteenth century has been assigned persuasive qualities not just by its contemporaries,⁸ qualities that may render sixteenth-century music a potentially ideal candidate for establishing more than simply period in film. Before this notion is explored further, there are more qualities of sixteenth-century music to investigate. In order to understand the origin and heritage of this type of music it is worthwhile noting that there was a great transition in musical terms around 1500, as described by early music performer and conductor Nikolaus Harnoncourt: 'The period witnessed dramatic changes in the instrumentarium and in the sound ideal.' Particularly the 'transition to more homogeneous sounds' resulting in more 'harmonically oriented sonority' (Harnoncourt, 1989, p. 17) stands out as an identifying characteristic. The rediscovery of this early music in the nineteenth and twentieth century resulted in a tonal streamlining of sixteenth-century sounds targeted to an ear influenced by its socio-cultural setting at the time but with the aim of constructing a broad appeal for this type of music. An issue that may be widely discovered in history films, too.

⁸ Barthes *La grain de voix*; 'The Grain of the Voice' (1977, p.179 and p. 188) –introduces aesthetics of musical pleasure as a means to evaluating music.

Between 1933 and approximately 1955, the experience of a particular film was restricted to the mysterious 'otherness' of the cinematic environment and mainly remained a one-off entertainment for most people. Therefore further engagement with the soundtrack of any particular film was limited; its effect restricted to the first impression. Hence, a historical film was judged on its level of entertainment and not on the level of historical accuracy – both in depiction and in the musical score. Composers who did not make historical references in their scores faced less public scrutiny in newspapers and later on websites regarding the musico-historical authenticity than those in following decades when storage devices such as videos, DVDs and soundtrack CDs allowed for further preoccupation with the film's musical material.

After 1950 one can observe a change in scoring practices for historical films, and one of the most cited composers in this context is Miklós Rózsa. Indeed, former styles of historical film scores lack musico-historical references especially in the classical Hollywood period, because the effects of period music in film were largely assumed to be marginal and its power in creating a musical language on its own for the film remained underestimated despite obvious efforts (Cooke, 2008, pp. 108 ff). Still, Rózsa was too closely tied into the romantic scoring model and his own idea of style, but French composer Georges Delerue offers an entirely different approach in the 1960s. Perhaps it was the French musical education that influenced his scoring ideas for historical films at the time, as a new 'authenticity' seemed to represent the *Zeitgeist*. Consequently, the films from the 1960s reflect this authentic approach in particular, a notion that the scores for *A Man for All Seasons* (1966) and *Anne of the Thousand Days* (1969) with music by Georges Delerue may prove. The scores for *Shakespeare in Love* (1998), *Elizabeth* (1998) and *Elizabeth – The Golden Age* (2007) represent a modern mixed scoring model, in which excerpts of sixteenth-century music as well as informed style copies are enhanced and tonally streamlined to create a broad appeal.

German musicologist Ulrich Konrad (2000) emphasises in an article for the *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* that when early music performance practice was in its infancy, music of the past was subjected to considerable amendments and changes in

order to please the then current musical taste.⁹ Performance practice itself has acclaimed a considerable amount of history, moving from the Bach rediscovery and reinvention to the 'true-to-the-work or -composer' ethics to the more recent debate on the essence of early music being much closer to modern day jazz performances or pop music culture (Haines, 2014; Konrad, 2000; Haskell, 1988, Taruskin, 1995). This debate is now moving into the past and HIP has opened the doors wide to numerous approaches and tastes (Taruskin, 1995 and Schubert, 1996); albeit that musical directors are expected to 'do their homework' (Taruskin, 1995) with regards to the historical credibility of their performance. Consequently HIP has re-defined its boundaries and is still striving for yet more detail, historically and within contemporary musical tastes. However, films with historically referenced content, though one might think they were exempted from these developments by means of artistic and dramatic licence, offer some interesting aspects in terms of performance practice and period music digestion and consumption. Whilst incorporating elements of the romantic attitude of adjusting the music to current taste and, in film, needs of the drama, there are also examples in the films studied in this thesis where the extraneousness or 'otherness' of period music is deliberately employed to engage the listener with the historical time depicted.

Issues of detail for the performance of sixteenth-century music that specialists like Harnoncourt and Taruskin frequently encountered are exempted from the film score. Harnoncourt explicitly states that

The tonal differences that emerge when we compare various temperaments [...] are very great, and any musically sensitive person who hears this kind of comparison must recognize that the music of every style and every epoch sounds far and away best and most convincing when played in the temperament for which it was written.
(Harnoncourt 1989, p. 19)

Trying to discover this in film music would be a fruitless undertaking because the idea of the broad appeal and public taste is prevalent in this genre. As much as many history films attempt a considerably accurate representation of the idiosyncratic period, this particular problem – the issue of temperament – of music before the Baroque remains untouched. In general discussions of equal temperament reach as far

⁹ Consider the legendary performance of Bach's 'Matthäus Passion' in 1829 by Mendelssohn-Bartholdy. (Konrad, 2000, p. 94 and Haskell, 1988, p. 15/16).

back as the beginning to mid-sixteenth century, when fretting issues for the lute and the instrument's compatibility with other instruments emerged to become a considerable issue (Lindley, 1984). On the other hand the impression of colourful instrumentation and music embodying '*Vielfalt*' (plurality), as perhaps best exemplified in Monteverdi's intermedii orchestra in *L'Orfeo* (Harnoncourt, 1989, p. 24), seems to have filtered through to the film score.

One particularly interesting question for this thesis is also expressed by Harnoncourt in *Music as Dialogue* (1989, p. 25): 'What does this music mean to us, what can it say to us today? Does it have only the exotic charm of "early music", or does it affect us directly?' These questions correspond well with a number of research questions for this thesis, for films may be a modern vent for the transmission of the meaning of early music for a modern day society. Is it exotic? To some extent it still may be, this author argues, because of particular looks and tone qualities of period instruments that continue to be made in traditional fashion. A lute or recorder with a pick-up microphone built in may still be regarded as unusual novelties. The charm of the old and historic prevails. Therein lies the direct affection and effect of this music. For the film, as much as the music can indicate the historical period it also indicates the present – particularly our modern comprehension of it. One needs only to compare the Showtime series *The Tudors* (2007-2010), to find old style affection and emotionality reflected in the episode's musical scores, though tonal qualities have moved on to be expressed by electric guitars.

Taking as example the films in this study, there are a number of instruments and ensemble combinations which seem particularly suitable for the evocation of sixteenth-century England, similar to Haines's (2014) identification of the '6 modes of Music in Films on the Middle Ages.' Emerging from the initial data collection for this thesis is the insight that not only films made in the classical Hollywood tradition but also more recent films up until the first decade of the twenty-first century utilise a particular selection of instruments and musical styles with the sixteenth-century label on. As this study is intending to show there are four representatives for this selection: I) plucking and strumming sensations: the lute; II) *flauto dolce* and wind instruments; III) social life and continuity signifiers: the drums; IV) court identity: ensembles and dances. The harpsichord, though an important and widely recognised musical and

visual signifier of the renaissance through its establishment in the English virginal school, for instance, appears only in one particular scene from *The Private Lives of Elizabeth and Essex* (1939) – a scene which this study has utilised and commented on elsewhere. Other employments of the harpsichord remain few and always off-screen, resulting in sound identification only. Therefore this instrument's role in the evocation of the musical Renaissance in film is regarded as marginal. The harpsichord rises to film music fame for the evocation of the Baroque era.¹⁰

For the musical Renaissance onscreen it emerges that music predominates the scene at illustrative official courtly functions, similar to that which Haines has identified in his mode *Court and Dance Music* for the Middle Ages. Traditional dances, especially the galliard and *passamezzi* find an expression in the studied films as well as in the popular styles of the period which can be found both on and off-screen as part of the underscore. Each one imparts a distinct characteristic of sixteenth-century musical practices, though the utilisation of this film compositional shorthand depends largely on the taste of the individual composer.

Plucking and Strumming Sensations: The Lute

The film *Anne of the Thousand Days* (1969) utilises the lute in its most common function: accompanying voices. For Haines the use of the lute and voice is 'Hollywood's practice of song numbers within a narrative' (Haines, 2014, p. 96), which has significance for embodying the 'Medieval Minstrel' onscreen (one may recall the famous scene in *Ivanhoe* (1952), where the character Wilfred of Ivanhoe is depicted on horseback with a lute, singing the ballad of 'Richard the Lionhearted' (Haines, 2014, p. 102)). The film's theme tune 'Farewell, farewell my pleasure past', which will feature in the comparison with 'Greensleeves' a little later on in this study, is a good example of

¹⁰ See BBC 3 Early Music Show with Catherine Bott and Lucie Skeaping from September 2013: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b03bfjql> Lucie Skeaping on *Tous les matins du monde* (1991). Broadcast: Sunday, 22nd September 2013; <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b03bfdk7> Catherine Bott on *Farinelli - the movie*. Broadcast: Saturday, September 21st 2013; <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b03b2h1m> Lucie Skeaping on the harpsichord in film. Broadcast: Sunday, 15th Sept 2013; <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b03b2g00> Catherine Bott A-Z of Baroque at the Box Office. Broadcast: Saturday, 14th Sept 2013. Additionally the Lorimar film *Dangerous Liaisons* (1988) and the marks by Miguel Mera (2001) may be considered.

this employment in a Renaissance setting. The lute is used as a gently persuasive element throughout the score and by means of its predominant employment in key scenes the instrument projects a convincing element of Tudor or Renaissance identity. What does the quieter sound of a lute mean in terms of the film score? Especially in *Anne of the Thousand Days*, a film from the late 1960s when technology did not yet allow for digital enhancement of sound, the extensive use of the lute establishes a much calmer attitude. In *Elizabeth* and in its sequel, the difference is less palpable because of the applied digital levelling of the lute with its orchestral and ensemble counterparts (Goldwasser, 1999).

In scenes from other films in this study, the lute plays a more subordinate yet still defining role. The instrument is used as an accompanying instrument in the film score for *Elizabeth*. In a scene with the Duke of Anjou, which receives further consideration regarding the recorder, a lute is depicted onscreen played whilst the party walks from the pier to where Queen Elizabeth is waiting. The Duke playing the recorder follows close by – a scene that illustrates the instruments' portability and indispensability. The lute appears in the background of several other scenes of this film, whenever a token reference to the audible music is deemed necessary in the filmic context to confirm one of the oldest film clichés: that audible music needs to be represented somehow onscreen, otherwise the viewer is left in a state of wonderment or confusion. In many films of the 1930s and 1940s there is reference to an onscreen musical source, be it a street musician or a record player – music was expected to come from somewhere visible, at least briefly, to put the viewer at ease with the film's affiliation with 'reality' (Adorno/Eisler, 1947; Gorbman, 1987; Chion, 1994; Brown, 1994 and Stilwell, 2007). In *Elizabeth – The Golden Age* a lute features together with a cittern and bandora in the background of a scene recalling elements of the prequel. Again they represent only token onscreen props because the sounding piece not only requires a lute, cittern and bandora but a snare drum, wind and string instruments. After a few opening bars the camera conducts a tracking shot around the hall which finishes behind the lutenists before the cut into the next scene. Meanwhile the music develops from a pseudo-period dance ('La Volta') into an atmospheric orchestral arrangement.

Wider observation of these films reveals a preferred usage of 'strumming' to indicate Spanish sounds, as described at the beginning of this chapter, or even the employment of a lute substitute – a guitar – to substitute a romantically and nostalgically infused impression in *Fire over England* (1937).

The lute claimed its position of fame through intense popularity in the sixteenth century. Kings, queens and peasants alike were attracted by the instrument's appeal – the Renaissance lute was portable and offered harmonic support for any type of singing, for those who mastered the chords and strumming techniques. King Henry VIII could play the lute as could Queen Elizabeth I, who 'had a reputation as a musical monarch' (Butler, 2012, p. 353). King Henry VIII is known to have also played the virginals and the recorder and Elizabeth 'played the virginals, the lute and similar plucked string instruments' (Butler, 2012, p. 353). Butler also asserts that Queen Elizabeth performed frequently and that music was a major part of her image as monarch. 'Elizabeth was presented as music personified, destined to bring about peace and order of the Golden Age' (Butler, 2012, p. 365). Her musical skills were praised by William Byrd and Thomas Tallis (Butler, 2012, p. 366). It is quite probable that both monarchs were fairly accomplished at strumming chords and accompanying the voice, although this is not explicitly stated in the literature.

In England most lute music was printed after 1540. Mainly used in the accompaniment of the voice, it soon took a part in more instrumental music. In the consort (the term 'consort' is not only used for instrumental chamber ensembles but also for small groups of voices) the lute was used as the 'mediator' between the trebles and the bass to 'fill in' between the two poles. This entailed chord playing as well as broken chords and ornamental improvisation. From 1500 onwards 'the lute appears as a preferred solo instrument for polyphonic playing, similar to the keyboard instruments' (Harnoncourt, 1989, p. 14).

The marker for the transition to the Renaissance lute is defined by a particular change in playing technique: from the plucking of strings with a quill to playing with individual fingers of the right hand which created a more mellow sound.

Although lutes can be found in films on medieval history as well, as Haines (2014) has imposingly demonstrated, they emerge as particular visual and aural

signifiers of the musical Renaissance in film. Their status and impact is worth investigating because the lute imparts a certain set of ideas and emotions which can be traced partially in its use in the film score. Evaluating and contextualising the lute in the films with a Tudor setting provides a more in-depth picture of a period in its musical invocation. The Renaissance lute is unique in its iconic status in mass-entertainment history films on events from the sixteenth century. However, why is the lute so important that film makers saw it essential to include in film score and onscreen display? The answer may be found in several perceptions of the lute as equal signifier of high and low culture throughout a period of about 200 years (1500 – 1700), though clearly outperformed by keyboard instruments and a new sound ideal in due course of the musical Baroque.

Renaissance scholar Carla Zecher assigns to the lute that it was ‘a vehicle for the artistic expression of courtiers and the cultivated bourgeoisie’ (Zecher, 2000, p. 769; see also Butler, 2012). The lute is continuously affiliated with representations of gender, love and persuasion in the literature of the time and in the instrument’s legacy (Zecher, 2000 and 2007). One particular illustrative example of the powers of the lute is the instrument’s comparison with the classic lyra and the case of Orpheus. Zecher describes that ‘the Renaissance Orpheus asks his lute to assist him in winning Eurydice so that he might be restored to life’ (Zecher, 2000, p. 776) and a poem called ‘Orpheus with his lute’ by Renaissance contemporary Richard Barnfield in *The Passionate Pilgrim* (1599) claims:

Orpheus with his lute made trees
And the mountain tops that freeze
Bow themselves when he did sing;
To his music plants and flowers
Ever sprung, as sun and showers
There had made a lasting spring.

Every thing that heard him play,
Even the billows of the sea,
Hung their heads, and then lay by.
In sweet music such art,
Killing care and grief of heart,
Fall asleep, or hearing die.¹¹

¹¹ This poem can also be found in William Shakespeare’s *Henry VIII*, Act 3, 1; accessed 20/03/2014 on the website of the lute society www.lutesociety.org

The presence of the lute in historical documents ranges from the thirteenth century far into the eighteenth century. Evidence of high payments to lutenists at royal courts throughout Europe show how highly regarded these instrumentalists were. The intensive and uniquely seductive powers and qualities of the lute are however assigned to its very distinct sound and tone qualities. As early plucked instrument player and performer Hopkinson Smith assigns,

The power of the lute has, of course, nothing to do with its volume: it has always been a relatively quiet instrument, and its power is rather that of persuasion, taking the listener into a dimension of sensitivities and subtleties rarely reached by other instruments.
(Smith, 1992, p. 135)

For Smith, the lute counteracts its 'lack of sustaining power' with a certain 'degree of subtlety' (Smith, 1992, p. 136).

The film *Anne of the Thousand Days* (1969) appears unique among Hollywood produced films in centralising the lute with its solo performing qualities according to the findings of the present study. One scene in particular is central to this argument.

Entering with the camera focused on the instrument, the lute and the sounding piece move to the centre of attention (3.2-3.4). Immediate musico-historical connotation derives from the intended historical accuracy; instrument, sound and depiction convey a sense of period authenticity. However, there is more to attribute to the lute piece on screen than simply period representation; it lends its musical properties to situate Queen Katherine's melancholic mood for the viewer but also for the character herself. Sound and scene work in reciprocal and congruent partnership. The improvisatory period pastiche piece resembles most likely a fantasia. Koonce (2010) and Roden, Wright, Simms (2009) describe the fantasia as a common instrumental genre for the lute and the vihuela, like a *ricercar*, characterised by freely developing musical and harmonic imitative passages. A fantasia's distinct chord progression is defined as follows: i III I VI VII i iv VI V I / II IV i V i V. The minor tonality transmits the melancholic impression of the scene. Queen Katherine is genuinely grieved and lost in thought. After a glance out of her window and a nod to her musician, the improvised bass line and the tune stop on the dominant and therefore leave the piece without musical conclusion. The piece is stopped in mid-flow by Queen Katherine in order to demand something more cheerful of the lutenist. Consequently,

the music onscreen must have had an effect on the character's feelings. The viewer may have been persuaded by the quiet melancholic and calmly paced piece to empathise with the feelings of the character or may develop a historical feel or affiliation by being exposed to the sound of the lute in its entirety. Notably, to conclude the scene the lutenist smiles at the Queen and strums the open strings of the lute once to indicate mock commentary before preparing a chord in the left hand. Strumming the open strings of the lute produces an undistinguishable sound cluster.¹² This pastiche is part of a largely established period tonal language of the underscore. The only difference is that it is a solo lute performing whereas the remainder of the score uses the lute in conjunction with other instruments, mostly viol and recorder or voice, resulting in a slightly unusual emphasis.



¹² There is no standard tuning for the renaissance lute. One possible tuning may have been a g – tuning with the open strings in G c f a d' g'.



3.2, 3.3 and 3.4: Lute music in Queen Katherine's chamber in *Anne of the Thousand Days* (1969)

Quite clearly evident in this scene is the analogy between the lute and an emotional state. Gorbman famously claimed that 'the mood of any music on the soundtrack, [...] will be felt in association with [onscreen] [...] events' (Gorbman, 1987, p. 23). This observation certainly rings true for the previously described scene, though the validity of this statement throughout film music in general may be questionable. Music obtains and maintains emotionality within the film score as one important characteristic and its effects may be physically felt by audience and onscreen characters alike. The lute contributes to this feeling in two ways: by means of its tone quality and its technical versatility. Whilst strong rhythmic strumming may arouse the listener and convey a sense of joy, dance and invigorating spirit, the subtly developing harmonies and counterpoints of a *fantasia* played in plucked fashion participate in more melancholic and subdued effects. Together these attributes belong to the spectrum of experiencing the historical feel in an illuminating way.

Flauto Dolce and Wind Instruments

The recorder or *flauto dolce* has always been a solo instrument – at least if one is to believe the films in this study. Only occasionally a second recorder is added in a lower voice; the recorder frequently performs with a lute or a viol in the underscore. Visual displays of this instrument are limited to the film *Elizabeth* and there only in

connection with a particular character. Nevertheless, the renaissance recorder lends the screen an air of gentle, almost feminine appreciation. This is particularly exemplified in Shekhar Kapur's *Elizabeth*, in which the recorder appears to be predominantly employed for character identification.

Whilst the *flauto dolce* acts as an icon of the renaissance due to its wide-spread popularity as melodic instrument in the sixteenth century¹³ and therefore embodying crucial period-defining qualities, the recorder in *Elizabeth* fulfils another role: its first appearance is with the arrival of the eccentric Duke of Anjou who is on the verge of being proposed Queen Elizabeth's hand in marriage. A jolly piece in triple time with an ensemble of drums, lute, sackbut, crumhorn and particularly playful recorders facilitates the transition into the scene. After a few bars of the trio and tutti arrangement (quasi-*saltarello* dance) some of the musicians, the lutenist and the Duke of Anjou (played by Vincent Cassel) playing the recorder, appear in the background of the procession approaching the place where the queen and her servants are waiting for the visitors. The musical piece is interrupted by a sudden voice-over with fanfares,¹⁴ announcing the arrival of the visitor to the queen. The piece is concluded when the Duke steps into the scene, playing a soprano recorder and finishing the tune with a few graces (3.5; 3.6).



¹³ The recorder's earliest retrievable sources go back to the fourteenth century.

¹⁴ Fanfares have traditionally been employed to signify royalty or announce battle. More in Haines (2014).



3.5 and 3.6: *Elizabeth* (1998) The Duke of Anjou arrives playing the recorder.

The recorder evolves to be the Duke's characteristic identifier within the film's narrative. The instrument may be employed to reveal aspects of femininity or feminine qualities, which is transmitted illustratively in a particular scene revealing the Duke's secret desires. In this scene, the character of Anjou is announced by music played on recorders before the transition of scene. In the then unfolding set the Duke is depicted in the company of a recorder consort and several sparsely dressed men and women, when Queen Elizabeth appears unannounced to discover the Duke in female clothes. At that moment the music abruptly stops. The Queen, after enforcing the exchange of courtesies, smiling knowingly and exclaiming '*Je comprends tout*', leaves the chamber and the Duke, aware of his humiliation, quickly animates the recorder consort in the scene to start playing again: '*Allez, jouez, jouez!*'¹⁵

The main feature displayed onscreen is the recorder player's ability to improvise. Ornaments, embellishments and florid melodic lines form the image transmitted by this instrument. Historically, made of a single piece of wood and in a range of sizes the *flauto dolce* served among the main instrumental choruses of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, played throughout all classes of society and certainly at the court of King Henry VIII, who himself owned a large number of recorders and played them. The *flauto dolce* was an ensemble instrument, as opposed to the baroque recorder, which was mainly perceived in solo arrangements with continuo accompaniment (for example in recorder sonatas by Georg Ph. Telemann).

¹⁵ Interestingly, one of the recorder players in the background of this scene is seemingly engrossed in a discussion on what to play before beginning the formerly introduced tune again. The miming of the actors appears slightly unsynchronised with the first few bars of the piece.

For the film, this characteristic musicological distinction of two defined musical periods for the recorder is not accounted for. Using the recorder on and off-screen may add a particular flavour to the historical appeal and sense, as even its most recent history connects with the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in particular. Anyone who has played the recorder a little beyond school nursery rhymes will have discovered that the main repertoire for this instrument has its roots in the renaissance period. Modern compositions for this instrument notwithstanding, though the recorder had to be rediscovered first in the early music movement during the twentieth century to reach the heights of sophistication and appreciation again from two to three hundred years previous. However, its full potential is yet to be exploited by filmmakers of mainstream historical films. The recorder often appears as the odd one out in the general orchestration, mainly with a frisky melodic line as demonstrated in *Elizabeth*.

The instrument's perhaps purest employment is in *Anne of the Thousand Days*: the recorder features strongly in the underscore but never in an onscreen capacity. Particularly a playful romantic scene in a garden with Anne Boleyn (played by Genevieve Bujold) and her chosen husband-to-be in the first quarter of the film is noteworthy, because it features a solo renaissance recorder with viol accompaniment throughout until the characters perform a kiss – which is mimicked in the underscore by the sudden appearance of modern day violin, unwittingly breaking the musical spell the previously established sparse and period-reflecting underscore had created. The melody is a variation of the established theme tune 'Farewell, farewell, my pleasure past', which will feature in more detail later in this thesis.

Not only the recorder but also other wind instruments receive considerable employment in the construction of the musical sixteenth century onscreen. Fanfares and bugle or hunting calls, brass to announce the arrival of the king (although medieval characteristics as well, as Haines (2014) identified) continue in the onscreen Tudor world. At the beginning of this chapter a dance and entertainment scene with a strummed lute and brass was introduced. A similar phenomenon is visible in the employment of the brass instrument as a solo voice, which from a historical point of view is regarded as a rather rare occurrence. In line with the recorder consort, 'the standard wind band of the Renaissance was a mixed woodwind/ brass ensemble' (Welker, 1992, p. 149). Whilst this particular type of ensemble is seldom represented

on the big screen, the filmic representations however, illustrate an affinity with brass in an ensemble context in a sixteenth-century mirroring common mix of instruments. The image described by German musicologist Lorenz Welker that: 'No prince and no wealthy town could successfully display their significance without the services of the wind band' (Welker, 1992, p. 146) demonstrates a circumstance that appears to be well covered in the film score of David Hirschfelder's *Elizabeth* and then continued in the film's sequel.

The mixed wind band ensemble that Welker describes may be experienced in the first ball scene in *Anne of the Thousand Days*. The galliard that King Henry VIII demands when he takes Anne Boleyn to the dance floor for the first time is played by a very typical sixteenth-century brass and wind band intoning a very period typical galliard pastiche by Delerue. The camera shows the King and Anne dancing together with other courtiers and then moves to display Thomas Cromwell and afterwards Cardinal Wolsey. In the background the dance ends with applause.



3.7: *Anne of the Thousand Days* (1969) King Henry VIII's and Anne Boleyn's first dance 'A Galliard': King Henry VIII asks Anne Boleyn how they dance at the court of France. She answers: 'This is nothing that France could teach England' 'Well said' replies the King.

Between 1969 and 1998 no major historical film from Hollywood was occupied with either King Henry VIII or Queen Elizabeth I. When Queen Elizabeth I returned to the screen in 1998, film scoring had grown accustomed to using excerpts of period music in compilation scores with individually composed music. In the score for *Elizabeth* (1998), the period defining character emerges primarily through the use of the drum. The composer of the score for *Elizabeth*, David Hirschfelder, admits that he was inspired by the rhythms of the period in which the film was purportedly set. Hirschfelder describes in an interview with David Goldwasser 2009, that he ‘allowed the influence of that period to infuse [him] [...] both rhythmically and harmonically’. It transpires that his main influence was the comprehensive collection of dances ‘Dansereye’ by Tielman Susato. He demonstrates this approach by employing a simple yet succinct and effective rhythmic motif in triple time:



3.8: ‘La Volta’ rhythm motive in *Elizabeth* (1998)

The rhythm appears as being a variant of a quasi-tourdion or galliard rhythm and is therefore not unlikely for the Renaissance. This motif returns throughout the film in different guises and instruments, however, predominantly through the employment of a snare drum. The motif also receives a reprise in the sequel *Elizabeth – The Golden Age* (2007).

The snare drum derives from the medieval and renaissance Tabor and therefore represents a suitable instrument for a period-close or historical depiction; notably though, the gut string ‘snare’ has not been employed for this film. On the contrary, the tight and crisp sound of the rhythm in the underscore assumes the use of a modern instrument with metal snares. Moreover, the employment in the scenes of *Elizabeth* and *Elizabeth – The Golden Age* at social banquets at court appears rather odd historically, as the snare drum embodies a strong martial and militaristic quality. This particular instrument required a strict set of rhythm motifs to be performed in military settings only. *Elizabeth*, however, clearly demonstrates that such a distinct

instrument with a defining and recurring rhythmical motif can provide clear structure and coherence within a film. Constant repeats and reprises reinforce a memorable impression that ties this film together along with its sequel. For a change it is a rhythmic and not melodic motif that fulfils this function (whereas the history of the 'leitmotif' in film scores encompasses memorable and character defining melodies, as for example in *Indiana Jones* or *Harry Potter*). The rhythm's loose connection with a common renaissance dance further reasonably relates it to the period depicted onscreen. The Volta-motif appears mirrored on a selection of Rondes of Tielman Susato's 'Dansereye', particularly I 'Pour Quoy', VII 'Il estoit une filette' and XI 'Aliud'.¹⁶ These Rondes are all very rhythmic in nature with tabor drums predominating the soundscape, however, they are all in duple-time whereas the Volta motif is in triple time and therefore only fit for sound related comparison.

Historically, drums find themselves in a variety of social, cultural and entertainment settings as well as military (Marsh, 2011, p. 215). The term drum is generic and refers to a membranophone that is beaten either by the bare hands or with a stick. Marsh notes:

Remarkably, the term 'drum' did not enter the English language until c. 1540, but during the next two centuries it behaved as if it were making up for lost time.
(Marsh, 2011, p. 203)

The instrument's cultural significance appears indispensable and has been retained in many parts of the world until the present day. In early modern England, the 'beating of the drum was one of [the] [...] defining sounds' (Marsh, 2011, p. 203). The instrument acted as a symbol for social gatherings as well as a motivator in warfare. There are two distinct characteristic functions for the drum, one being as an instrument that could impose power and reinforce discipline, the other, more important one for this study, being as facilitator of communal happiness (Marsh, 2011, p. 213). Particularly the film *Elizabeth* and its sequel *The Golden Age* make most use of the drum's social function. Dances in particular rely heavily on the drum beat.¹⁷ As it is so predominant

¹⁶ The choice of Susato (Flemish publisher and musician, 1510/15 – after 1570) and Tallis in *Elizabeth* is obvious yet intriguing; more about Susato in Polk (2005).

¹⁷ A short article in *Early Music* by Patrick Taylor (1977), Artistic Director of *Musica Antiqua*, summarises some common drum beats for Pavane, Basse Dance, Tordion, Galliarde, Almame and Branles. Available online <http://em.oxfordjournals.org/content/5/3/431-a.full.pdf>, accessed 20th March 2014.

in these two slightly newer films, the drum emerges to be one of the major current cinematic symbols of the musical Renaissance in film. In general the types of drums used in the films present are either tambourines or tabor drums of different sizes, if they happen to be depicted onscreen, though this is rather a rare occurrence in the films of this study. In *Shakespeare in Love* (1998) the main character, William 'Will' Shakespeare (played by Joseph Fiennes), is depicted playing a tambourine. The dances in *Anne of the Thousand Days* are also accompanied by a tambourine.

With the baggage of contributing strongly to social functions and community in the sixteenth century as well as providing structure and discipline in military contexts the drum may be empowered to evoke historical feel onscreen in fascinating ways, not least because it is tied to present day experiences regarding the predominance of the drum-kit in rock and popular music. The relationship is invoked by the time continuum and past and present find their expression onscreen in unison. On the one hand the drum defines the period but it also connects with a modern day audience where the heritage and tradition of the drum still prevails. Contrary to the alienating sound experience of perhaps the lute, the drums have a here-and-now quality that strongly relates to current audiences.

Court Identity: Ensembles and Dances – 'Pastime with good companye'

John Haines defines court and dance performances as 'most common extended musical moment' (Haines, 2014, p. 67) in medieval film. This certainly counts for films featuring the Renaissance, in a similar way. Dances at court banquets pre-dominate large parts of all films investigated in this study, with the exception of *The Private Lives of Elizabeth and Essex* (1939). They are extended scenes and therefore important structural moments. Haines defines for the medieval that dances and court banquets utilise a number of different musical settings partly influenced by the early music movement and partly by vaudeville, rock, pop or jazz. This may provide 'some of the most entertaining moments in medieval film, when the sounds of jazz, soul or rock explode into a time-challenged medieval court and cause everyone to dance furiously to modern music' (Haines, 2014, p.87). Unlike the medieval moments investigated by

Haines, Renaissance moments are more clearly musically defined by a particularly period-like musical style. Only rarely does the music digress into different idioms like rock music as in the case of *Shakespeare in Love* (1998), where a period-like pastiche transforms into a quasi-rock composition. Initially a canonical piece with a theme in the viols and the plucked instruments improvising, embellishing and harmonically supporting the unfolding melancholic melody in natural minor (aeolian), the theme evolves after several repeats with the gradual entry of strong modern violins. At this point the alleged period-pastiche blends into a modern-day quasi-rock composition. Often period instruments are enhanced by modern instruments, particularly in the scores for *Shakespeare in Love*, *The Other Boleyn Girl*, *Elizabeth* and *Elizabeth – The Golden Age*. Therewith, dances are one self-contained display of a sixteenth-century musical idiom and by occupying extended filmic moments they ‘not only mould that particular scene but leave an aural-visual imprint on the entire film’ (Haines, 2014, p. 67). They have strong participation in the sense of history the film attempts to communicate.

The musical legacy of the sixteenth century provided ensuing ages with a vast amount of published dance music (Brown, 1976, p. 269), not least accredited to the invention of the printing press and perspicacious entrepreneurship of the first music publishers (for example Petrucci, Attaignant and Susato). Common dances at court and everywhere in the sixteenth century were basse-dances; tourdions; branles; allemandes; galliards; courantes, pavaues and *passamezzi*. They comprise of duple and triple time and were often grouped together in little suites. A small selection of these dances can be found in the films in this study.

In *Anne of the Thousand Days* (1969), a film featuring the story of Anne Boleyn and King Henry VIII, the viewer is early-on in the film faced with a period-defining ball scene. Until this moment music, apart from the opening credits, has been absent; the viewer enters the story fully by means of transition into King Henry’s memories. Notably, there is a nostalgic element here as described in chapter 2 of this thesis. This trace can be followed throughout the film at several points, mainly by means of flashback scenes depicting King Henry doubting his decision to condemn Anne to death by execution whilst fondly remembering the ‘good times’.

In this first and period defining flashback, hereupon placed into a ball scene with dancers and musicians, the viewer is exposed to the stereotypes and signifieds that evoke the picture of a 'would-be' Tudor court: archetypal renaissance or period-looking instruments can be seen played on a balcony in the background, lending the depiction a musical frame; however, the choice of instruments is arbitrary and disconnected from the actual sound. The dance is a lively galliard intonated by a mixed windband; brass and recorders take turns in the trio-tutti arrangement of the piece (3.9; 3.10).



3.9 and 3.10: *Anne of the Thousand Days* (1969) The 'first dance' and archetypal musicians

In contrast, a dance scene towards the end of the film introduces Jane Seymour to the King and to the audience with the help of the prolonged undisturbed musical

cue of a processional, pavane-like masquerade dance pastiche. During this musical cue the eye of the spectator is drawn to Jane Seymour and it is very clear who the King has set his eyes upon. The character of this dance is entirely different from Anne's introduction to King Henry – the lively galliard replaced with a graceful pavane (a piece known as 'Belle qui tien ma vie' by Thoinot Arbeau). Could this be a musical anticipation of these two characters? Anne, with her desire for power and generally pro-active nature deserves a lively galliard, whereas Jane, historically known as gentle and balanced, is represented in the grace of the pavane.

In a scene from *Elizabeth* music is acted out in form of a dance without onscreen depiction of musicians. The sudden blend into the coronation banquet exposes the viewer to the middle of a lively renaissance dance pastiche in duple time which is coming to an end when the established rhythmic motif 'La Volta' dramatically enters again to display another communal dance (3.11). The music rises and falls to make way for dialogues but continues throughout the scene. When the music suddenly stops, Queen Elizabeth demands: "Play a Volta!" and the drums start again with the previously well-established rhythm in triple time, which suits the original Volta well (3.12; 3.13). The 'Volta' was a common dance in triple time, similar to a galliard with quick steps to a slow tune. This dance was very popular in the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century. Originating in France it swiftly caught on in other European countries. Its period-untypical intimacy – the partners dance closely together – made it a wedding favourite. The 'Volta' is a popular referential dance in mass-entertainment programmes about the Tudors – not only in *Elizabeth* and its sequel but also in *Shakespeare in Love* or Showtime's *The Tudors*. Whilst accuracy in musical material as well as dance patterns varies, the original idea, expressed in the previously analysed scenes, is always visible.

A triumphant and joyful melody performed by modern strings together with harpsichord - again not visible onscreen - enters after only a few bars of rhythm and receives therefore strong dramatic emphasis.



3.11: 'La Volta' in *Elizabeth* (1998) - melodic motif



3.12 and 3.13: 'La Volta' dance in *Elizabeth* (1998) of characters Queen Elizabeth I (Cate Blanchett) and Robert Dudley (Joseph Fiennes)

Elizabeth and *Elizabeth the Golden Age* make use of several banquet and dance scenes as well as small accompanying ensembles. In *The Golden Age* three musicians are depicted miming whilst the original Volta-tune experiences a reprise. Furthermore, even *The Other Boleyn Girl* (2008) cannot escape the Tudor music magic. The film utilises period musical material to create onscreen reality despite largely dispensing with period references in the overall score. Tudor-referential musical clichés are

confined to one courtly ball scene only. The continuation of the musical tune behind a dialogue whilst change of scene to another room in the same building occurs is hardly noticeable. There is no further engagement of this tune with the on-going narrative.

Passamezzo and Romanesca – Echoes of ‘Greensleeves’

In *Anne of the Thousand Days* (1969) French composer Georges Delerue engages with an untypically large amount of period identity in the film score. Period instruments – at the height of the early music movement – and styles feature predominantly in the music for this film. In comparison with the other films examined for this thesis, this score specifically illustrates historical sensibility. Though there are virtually no pre-existent elements, Delerue develops an informed pastiche in his style that, in terms of Hollywood, is unmatched. Particularly the theme song ‘Farewell, Farewell, my pleasure past’, unusually introduced in the opening title music, occupies a significant part of the action. Whilst the tune’s narrative employment is of strong importance for this thesis and will be more closely dealt with in a narrative context in chapter 4, the following analysis centralises the musical qualities and how this piece is affiliated musico-historically.



3.14 and 3.15: ‘Farewell’ Theme in *Anne of the Thousand Days* (1969) and accompanying ground

Based on a traditional ground and performed on period instruments, this song appears throughout the film in various guises (3.14; 3.15). The historical and musicological dimension of this pastiche, which is the main premise of this sub-heading, may be found in the underlying traditional ground. The chord progression and rhythmic disposition for this element of the film's soundtrack resembles that of the *passamezzo*. Originating probably from the middle of the sixteenth century this Italian dance in duple meter enjoyed large-scale popularity. Its name quite probably derived from the step pattern – *passa e mezzo*: a step and a half. Repetition of the basic musical theme is common. In a sixteenth-century musical setting the *passamezzo* was often grouped with and followed by one or more triple dances. There is evidence that the *passamezzo* was closely related to the pavane, as demonstrated in a number of early sources. These similarities may provoke concern regarding the modern classification of this music by means of their respective bass line and harmonic progressions. Quite probably, these forms differed in other characteristics that define their unique properties. This could be reference pitches, rhythm and metric variations or differences in the melodic line. All of these notions confirm that there was a general harmonic idea that expressed itself in different ways. In a modern mass-entertainment context directed at a broad audience, respectively film, the expressions of that harmonic idea remain subtle and unrecognised, however, this harmonic idea seems to underline and support a certain musico-historical feel.

There are two different, but related chord progressions in the *passamezzo*: *antico* and *moderno* (3.16).



3.16: *Passamezzo antico* and *passamezzo moderno*

Apart from the first chord, which is normally III, the *passamezzo antico* appears to be identical to the *Romanesca*, though the *Romanesca* is often played in triple meter. The tonal disposition of these closely related grounds fluctuates between tonality and modality, which creates an interesting mixture, clearly emphasising an unusual

challenge for the average classical musically trained ear in the Western World. However, resemblances can be found in modern rock and pop music, for example in Led Zeppelin's 'Stairway to Heaven'.

The chord progression of the *Romanesca* is largely used to accompany the chorus of a well-known traditional tune: 'Greensleeves'. Some sources assign this song to the composing endeavours of King Henry VIII,¹⁸ though mostly the tune's composer is labelled as *anonymous*. Miguel Mera acknowledges this myth: 'This is an extremely well-known melody, popularly believed to have been written by King Henry VIII himself' (Mera, 2002, p. 10). It is so well-known, that it can be used deliberately to create parody because of its innate affiliations and recognisable musical material, as so happened in the Tudor-parody film *Carry on Henry* (1972).

'Greensleeves' has grown into a symbol for historical and nostalgic romance – an iconic piece for 'the past' as largely perceived. Mera describes the tune as 'a clear historical and temporal artefact that immediately evokes the concept of "ye-olde" Englishness' (Mera, 2002, p. 10). This popular, value-laden and characteristic tune inspired Ralph Vaughan Williams in his 'Fantasia on Greensleeves' and already finds a mention in Shakespeare's *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, Act V Scene V: 'Let the sky rain potatoes; let it thunder to the tune of 'Greensleeves'' (Shakespeare, 1603); indicating that it must have been a popular tune for quite some time by the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. The first evidenced publications are believed to have been in the early 1580s when several publishers referred to the ballad as a 'new' piece, however, this refers to the lyrics. The tune itself may well have been around for some time, being as it is, based on a common melodic and chordal pattern.

The 'Farewell, farewell' tune of *Anne of the Thousand Days* works along similar parameters; clearly displaying a form of *passamezzo antico* in the harmonic progression of the accompaniment and a melodic line similar in character and movement to 'Greensleeves'. On the whole, 'Farewell, farewell' displays a calmer mood in the melody than 'Greensleeves', which would assign to it the distinct

¹⁸ Several obscure web pages, Wikipedia, as well as a book on the answers to 501 mysteries and a BBC school radio production. (http://www.bbc.co.uk/schoolradio/subjects/history/tudors/music_clips/greensleeves, accessed 20th March 2014) refer to this tune in this way.

qualities of the *passamezzo antico* more than the *Romanesca*. However, there are echoes of 'good-old-Greensleeves' evident here and by means of the tune's centrality to the score of the *Anne of the Thousand Days*, faint echoes of 'Greensleeves' can be traced throughout the film. Consequently, this connects the film tune not only with the sixteenth century, because it is loosely yet recognisably based on traditional musical grounds, but also with nostalgia, English nationalism and the romantic past. This film is the only one in this study, however, that makes use of this value-laden and traditional musical idiom and therefore it may be said that the sixteenth century in film is evoked by more than 'Greensleeves' alone.

CHAPTER 4

EXPLORING H.I.P., IDEOLOGY AND FILM NARRATIVE

The inclusion of an increasing amount of musico-historical awareness in film soundtracks in the 1950s and 1960s was no atypical development. Rather to the contrary, this development happened alongside an early music performance and recording boom, increasingly including period instruments. French film composer Georges Delerue captures this prevailing early music spirit surrounding him in his film scores for *Anne of the Thousand Days* (1969) and, as will be shown in the reading in chapter 5 of this thesis, *A Man for All Seasons* (1963).

The following chapter is organised in two parts with the aim of contextualising early or period music's workings in media, performance and culture. The first part contextualises historical informed performance (H.I.P. or HIP) and early music within cultural changes including an overview of key chronological milestones of the early music movement. This is followed by ideological considerations and an analysis of early music's role in the media.

Five questions are paramount to the enquiry: What is early music? What does it have to do with history? What does this music mean in today's environment? Is it only the 'exotic' charm or is there more that affects the listener? And how does the onscreen performance of this music fit-in within wider cultural concerns? These questions are drawn from prolific performers and critics in the field of early music: Harry Haskell; Richard Taruskin; Nikolaus Harnoncourt; John Butt and Bruce Haynes. Furthermore, a most useful symposium on the matter of 'Authenticity and Early Music' was held in 1988. The essays that emerged from this, edited by Nicholas Kenyon, address early music's ambivalent nature. Kenyon explains that the idea of searching for the original, or the composer's, intention sparked and subsequently fuelled the early music movement (Kenyon, 1988, p. 15). However, he claims that it is pretence to achieve full 'authenticity' by playing Mozart and Beethoven on period instruments alone (Kenyon, 1988, p. 13). The stages undergone in disputes in the early music revival included everything from under-interpretation to romanticisation of the musical material. Media and record companies favoured a particular repertoire, therefore making it hard for newly discovered music or lesser known composers to

enter the market. This made it easy to sell well-known repertoire performed on period instruments with an 'authentic' label attached and trade on a public desire to experience past music in its 'original' state, or as largely believed, as it was intended (Kenyon, 1988, p. 10-12). The critical literature produced by the aforementioned names largely exposes congruencies between early music, the media more generally and film in particular.

In the previous chapter four defining characters for the musical invocation of the sixteenth-century were identified: the lute, the recorder, the drums, ensemble and dances. These characters have been exploited for the film to invoke period as well as narrative. Therefore the second part of this chapter discusses film narrative engagements of early music – how period music functions within narrative space and what qualities may be assigned to it. This exposes one core element of the research into musico-historical awareness in film soundtracks: what does period music actually do in film? By drawing on theories of music in film narratives by Claudia Gorbman, Johnny Wingstedt, Robynn Stilwell and Ben Winters resulting narrative tensions are discussed and early music's place within the narrative world of film delineated.

Early music within cultural changes

Whilst performer and scholar John Butt (2002) describes the Historically Informed Performance movement as partially counter-cultural, he delineates that

Historicist movements like HIP are not part of an ancient regime that new audience practices are eroding, they are a direct consequence of a new historicist stance in public culture.
(Butt, 2002, p. 39)

He summarises contemporary debates on the early music movement and historically informed performance in his book *Playing with history*. The question emerging from his writing is a cultural one: How does the performance of early music on screen fit in within wider cultural concerns? Butt explains that wider cultural concerns form the need to perform music in a historically informed style. He claims that historically informed performance has more intellectual and artistic potential than formerly assumed. His concern is whether the phenomenon of this idea of performance of early

music demonstrates the reflection of changes in western musical culture as much as it influences the culture with regard to the status of composer, notation, intention and the musical work (Sherman, 2006). His interdisciplinary focus drawing on ideas raised in historical musicology, analytic philosophy, literary theory, historiography and theories of modernism and postmodernism is particularly interesting as the present study takes a similar range of theories into account. Butt, as an accomplished keyboardist and conductor, refers to his own long-term experiences in the field of HIP and draws parallels with Paul Hindemith, Nikolaus Harnoncourt and Richard Taruskin. The concept of *Werktreue* and its platonic assumptions are investigated and Butt argues that HIP paradoxically enables one to challenge the hegemony in the belief in the essentiality of musical works, a belief that plays a key role in keeping the HIP going. In Butt's view, earlier music needs to be understood in connection with the event and not as an abstract work, which then helps to focus on the role that performance plays in defining musical works (Butt, 2002).

Throughout the twentieth century, a shift from a culture of progress to a culture of restoration and recycling became apparent (Butt, 2002, p. 39). As conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler remarked in 1932:

It was necessary [...] to distinguish between the nineteenth century which sought a reflection of itself in old music, and the twentieth century which valued the past for its own sake.
(Haskell, 1988, p. 91)

In hindsight it may be said that the nineteenth century made use of past musical materials to express itself, which is demonstrated to great effect in the famous performance of Johann Sebastian Bach's 'St Matthew Passion' in 1829 in Berlin. The musical director of this performance, Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, happily altered the instrumentation and cut pieces where he deemed necessary in accordance with the then contemporary expectations. The performance was regarded by contemporaries as extraordinarily successful. Throughout the nineteenth century many Bach works and other rediscovered musical material received attention, either by means of adaptations or as inspiration for works commensurate with the romantic ideal. Examples include Busoni's 'Chaconne' for piano or Stokowski's Bach transcriptions for orchestra, the latter making use of 'the full colours and sonorities of the Romantic Orchestra' (Haskell, 1988, p. 89).

The early twentieth century saw an extensive revival of Elizabethan choral music throughout England (Haskell, 1988, p. 37). Likewise a trend in reviving instrumental music from the past in a perceptibly true or authentic manner emerged, benefitting from increasing expertise in period instrument manufacture as well as research into historically accurate playing techniques and performance situations. Individual performers became the driving force, rather than composers. First and foremost among the twentieth century early music pioneers was Arnold Dolmetsch. He was an instrument maker, performer, scholar and teacher. Haskell pointedly summarises Dolmetsch's impact on the image of early music:

[Dolmetsch] showed that music centuries old could speak to modern ears without being translated into a modern idiom.
(Haskell, 1988, p. 43)

Further pioneering hard work in making heard early music performed on period instruments heard was owed to a female harpsichordist, Wanda Landowska. Thanks to her recordings of harpsichord music, the instrument moved into a strong revival phase in Europe (Haskell, 1988, p. 53). Instead of dogmatically claiming 'authenticity' when performing pieces of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries on period instruments, Landowska was of a more inclusive mindset. According to Haskell, performing old music on old instruments for Landowska 'was not a matter of literally re-creating the past but of honouring its spirit' (Haskell, 1988, p. 52). In light of the present study a good century later, this is a very intriguing approach that evokes some profound questions on Tudor music in sixteenth-century film. Could soundtrack music in sixteenth-century idiom be regarded as honouring the original musical period in the sense Landowska is proposing, pre-supposing that a considerable amount of musico-historical research is present? To some extent, this thesis is inclined to agree. The discussion on pastiche in chapter 1 of this thesis and the musical extracts of the film *Anne of the Thousand Days* address this idea of honouring the spirit of sixteenth-century music.

During the twentieth century the early music revival on period instruments spread across Europe and ultimately the rest of the Western world. America particularly embraced a lively early music revival culture at their universities and conservatoires, instigated in parts by European refugees of before, and during the

Second World War (Butt, 2002; Haskell, 1988; Haines, 2014). On the European continent the movement owes its reincarnation after the turmoil of the war years to some prolific scholar-conductors. Most prominently Thurston Dart made his mark as keyboardist and scholar in post-war England. The newly found historical depth that seemed to make his work stand out was seminal for the new generation of performers (Haskell, 1988, p. 162).

An enigmatic figure of the late 1960s and early 1970s early music revival scene was the versatile performer and innovative director David Munrow. Young as he was in his twenties¹ and talented in whatever period instrument crossed his path, he became involved in numerous recordings as well as television and film productions of his time. Munrow had a popular BBC radio show called 'Pied Piper' and was involved in the scores for the BBC series *Henry VIII and His Six Wives* (1970) and *Elizabeth R* (1971). His contribution to inspiring many young musicians to follow the path of period music, not least through his ensemble The English Consort, is his legacy. Munrow induced a new slant by including aspects of folk music into performance practice, endorsing what Haskell has described as the common denominator between folk and early musicians:

Early musicians, like ethnomusicologists, attempt to place music in its appropriate social, cultural and historical context.
(Haskell, 1988, p. 10)

Dolmetsch also experimented with ethnic music (Haskell, 1988, p. 41), but on a smaller scale than Munrow. Both showed that boundaries between early and ethnic music can, at times, resolve. Some scholars, in particular John Butt, liken the process of acquiring and performing early music to that of learning a foreign language including trying to understand and ultimately assimilate the language's cultural baggage (Butt, 2002, p. 43). A potential antagonist at the time in his conservative approach, unlike Munrow, was Gustav Leonhardt, who likewise had an enormous influence on younger players (Haskell, 1988, p. 163).

Early music ensembles, recorder ensembles and harpsichord players were not the only disseminators of the early music repertoire. At the beginning of the twentieth century transcriptions of lute music for the classical guitar in particular by Andrés Segovia or Emilio Pujol contributed to the increasing popularity of early repertoire and

¹ Munrow died at the age of 33 in 1976.

encouraged increasing participation. Segovia, if he had taken up the lute, might have made the instrument 'legitimate' (Haskell, 1988, p. 93). Indeed it was British guitarist Julian Bream who in the 1960s and 1970s introduced the lute to a wider audience by means of a number of recordings. As a consequence he inspired young guitarists like Robert Spencer and Nigel North who went on to pursue supremely successful careers in early music playing lute and continuo.

In more recent years, critical works on the movement often written by prolific performers of early music have evolved, delineating the music's far reaching contexts and manifestations as well as literally its 'end'. The 'End of Early Music' as evident in the title of Bruce Haynes' book (2009) can already be traced in Butt's 2002 writings. Having observed the changes in recordings in the past decades, there is certainly a hint of early music coming of age and allowing for more open and perhaps rejuvenating approaches. Most recently Vivaldi as well as Italian baroque has received new attention by young performers who are willing to work together with established baroque specialists and early music ensembles, for example violinist Nicola Benedetti and the Scottish Chamber Orchestra (released in 2011) or the recording of the 'Four Seasons' by the Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment (released 2013). Haynes constitutes this end in a move towards accepting the rhetorical nature of the music before 1800. Whilst among prominent performers and conductors like Harnoncourt the speech-like and rhetorical aspects of music were emphasised already forty years ago, this was academically accepted only in more recent years (Haynes, 2009; Tarling, 2004 and Butt, 2002). Have nearly 200 years of systematic and clearly labelled early music movement really, as harpsichordist Landowska hoped for, opened 'wide the windows on our magnificent past and [woven] early music into the fabric of everyday life' (Restout, 1964, p. 159)?

Ideological Considerations and Early Music and the Media

The film scenes featured in chapter 3 provide a glimpse of what has filtered through to the mass-media and therefore to a wide audience, during the course of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. What kind of 'historical performance' is profound to this medium? Is it Historically Inspired Performance, as Bruce Haynes

(2009) suggests or Historically Informed Performance, a term that Butt refers to as 'the most flexible, but perhaps the least specific' (Butt, 2002, p. 25)? Could the letter 'I' perhaps stand for 'ideologised' meaning that a particular film-inherent idea of a period characterises onscreen performances of early music? Furthermore, the 'H' in HIP might be seen to indicate heritage rather than history as briefly discussed later (Butt, 2002, p. 165 ff).

'What is Early Music?' asks Harry Haskell (1988, p. 9) at the beginning of *The Early Music Revival: A History* and he continues: 'The concept has meant different things at different periods in history.' These 'different things' are highly debatable and utterly variant in nature. Depending on time and place of the enquiry into the past's music, the conception of 'early', as defined in the introduction to this thesis, applies to a generic understanding of the musical field. Moreover this may include any music from ancient Greece to the twentieth century, if the pieces follow a continuous interpretative tradition for which a reconstruction of a historically appropriate style may be conducive to the performance. As laid out by Haskell (1988) and Kerman (1985), it transpires that 'Early Music' is rather a mind-set than a musical technique. This mind-set has had a significant effect on music performance and music admiration (Haskell, 1988, p. 9). Kerman exposes the controversy between 'authentic' and 'contextual' aspirations for performances (Kerman, 1985, p. 192). In the 1980s, however, he already detected a drive towards 'less positivistic; or comprehensive and humane' (Kerman, 1985, p. 200) musical representations. Haskell's argument on the other hand, is still influenced by a number of dogmatic approaches. Nearly a generation later, the discussion on authenticity and early music can largely be considered as irrelevant.

For performers the early music movement meant new subjective and objective modes of interpretation, which ultimately according to Taruskin, Butt and Harnoncourt, result in applying personal taste and imagination to the musical medium. The pursuit of 'authenticity' in the late 1970s to 1980s encouraged by the persistent idea of work fidelity or *Werktreue* was later condemned as hampering expression, leading towards increasingly open, albeit well researched and 'informed', performances at the end of the twentieth century and still ongoing. Richard Taruskin opens his essay in the New York Times *The Spin doctors of Early Music* – later entitled

The modern sound of Early Music (1990) by asking a provocative question: 'What does Early Music have to do with history?' Taruskin argues that it is mid-twentieth century values that have shaped Historically Informed Performance practice and not historical verisimilitude or obedience. 'All a matter of taste' he would ultimately say.

Early music and the performance thereof is certainly a matter of taste with regard to the medium of film music, though it is doubtful whether this is what Taruskin implies. His own opinion about film music echoes that of Adorno and Eisler from 1947. Taruskin observes that Hollywood's use of a late romantic style is anachronistic and a sign of the dwelling in nostalgia (Buhler and Neumeyer 1994). Would he regard sixteenth century music and its inspired copies in film scores similarly? It may transpire from his rather negative commentary on the subject of film music that the mere idea of musico-historical feel evoked by sixteenth-century music in film (that the present thesis is investigating) seems to contradict Taruskin's point in its essence. Arguing in its defence though and somehow reiterating Taruskin's views, it may be said that the modern and now postmodern phenomenon of history film coupled with the modern and now postmodern approach to early music performance may present a mutually beneficial partnership under the same cultural headings. Taruskin's provocative views highlight the diverse nature of the movement and provide this thesis with some striking arguments that are worthwhile investigating for their validity on musico-historical sense in film. Taruskin's notions are enhanced by Nikolaus Harnoncourt's valid questions in *Music as Dialogue* from the beginning of this chapter:

What does this music mean to us, what can it say to us today? Does it have only the exotic charm of "early music", or does it affect us directly?
(Harnoncourt, 1989, p. 25)

These questions are of particular concern for this chapter, as they form a vital building block for the reconstruction of the historical, that music performed in a period manner inevitably seems to convey. Audiences purportedly respond to the magic of the otherness in this music and the five questions posed at the beginning of this chapter address the complex interactive and dialogical relationship between past and present that unfolds by means of the film medium.

Early music's relation to modern mass-media is closely linked with the technological advancements made in media itself during the twentieth century. The

wide-spread dissemination of this music throughout the last century continuously raised awareness and interest in a variety of listeners even when exposed subconsciously to the sounds, rhythms and musical structure.

Harry Haskell (1988) devotes considerable attention to early music's relation to media in his chronological account of the early music revival. One of the driving factors for the more widespread recognition of early music has been identified by Haskell as taking the the form of the technological advancements of recording and radio (Haskell, 1988, p. 114, 120). As he states:

Radio offered an unprecedented opportunity to reach millions of listeners who might otherwise remain untouched by the revival.
(Haskell, 1988, p. 121)

Whilst Haskell is convinced that radio was extremely successful in promoting early music, he is more apprehensive in his judgement of film's or television's contribution to the revival of early music. In his view:

Television, by contrast, has contributed comparatively little to the revival. Greenberg's broadcast with the New York Pro Musica on America's excellent 'omnibus' series in the late fifties and early sixties demonstrated that early music could be successfully adapted to the medium, but television executives have understandably been wary of filling their screens with musicians wielding viols, crumhorns and Baroque flutes, no matter how gifted or telegenic they may be. Consequently, early music has featured only fitfully on television as accompaniment for theatrical productions (notably the Early Music Consort of London's soundtracks for the BBC series *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* and *Elizabeth R*).
(Haskell, 1988, p. 123)

His critique intensifies for early music in film, which, in his view, is confined by 'similar limitations' (Haskell, 1988, p. 124). Haskell summarises cinematic applications of early music as little contributing to the revival of early music. On a positive note, he argues that even the 'inappropriate' deployment at least raises awareness of early music. He bases his argument on a few overall assumptions such as: 'Several Miklós Rózsa film scores [...] incorporate old instruments and music' (Haskell, 1988, p., 124). Replicating the musical sixteenth century on screen is less subjected to guesswork than the periods Miklós Rózsa endeavoured to unearth for the screen for example for *Ben Hur* and *Ivanhoe*. Whilst he experimented with Roman and medieval sounds, he was subject to what his librarian provided him with (Haines, 2014, p. 101) and there was

not much in the libraries on these early periods. Whereas according to Harnoncourt 'Quite a number of instruments of the 16th century have been preserved' (Harnoncourt, 1989, p. 12). Haskell mentions further the appearance of a harpsichord in *Wuthering Heights* (1939), the Dolmetsch family's involvement in soundtrack recordings of the feature length films *The Lady of the Lake* (1929) and *Colonel Blood* (1934) and David Munrow's involvement in film music composition and performance. The films in the present study show that there is more to discover than is apparent from this overall summary. Instead of pursuing the point further, Haskell moves on to literary considerations of early music. However, he admits in his overall conclusion of early music and its relation to mass media that

whether good, bad or indifferent, such creations attest to early music's gradual absorption into twentieth-century mass culture. [...] For better or worse – perhaps for better and worse – the twentieth-century mass media have radically transformed the early music movement.
(Haskell, 1988, p. 130)

Wide-spread dissemination and public display enable constant reviewing processes of early music concerts and recordings. Films add to this a new layer by incorporating early music in narrative driven contexts. A film's discussion in the popular press and on the internet continues to generate questioning regarding early music's existence and performance practice.

Whilst Haskell's views appear to some extent limited due to the time in which they were written, one wonders how he might rate the music in the Showtime-series *The Tudors* (2007) had his work been written a quarter of a century later.

In *The Tudors* the legacy of the early music movement of the twentieth century can be experienced through a number of defining moments. Episode 1 employs period pastiche in form of lute, psaltery, harpsichord and recorder accompaniment for scenes of calm beauty, be it behind the first scene of sexual intercourse, the king and queen dining, playing chess or generally at court or most predominantly when King Henry VIII receives a shave whilst dictating his response to a treaty of pan-European peace. Furthermore Thomas Tallis features as a character at some point in this first episode, being commended by the Archbishop of Canterbury to join Westminster cathedral. Throughout the series the calm beauty of period sounds is retained and practiced in the form of implied source music and occasionally with a token representation of the

sounding period instruments. It may seem that early music has been fully absorbed into modern mass media and its innate sound qualities are recognised and employed purposefully to indicate more than just period both in film and on television.

The only other scholarly contribution to this issue of early music's role in mass-media is provided by John Butt, who makes a case for early music's relation to technology and the media. He does this stating that this issue has been absent so far in the critical discussion of early music (Butt, 2002, p. 37). Bearing in mind that his book was published in 2002, ten years onwards there has been comparatively little else. John Haines includes some comparable considerations in his 2014 book *Music in Films on the Middle Ages* though his coverage of issues of technological impact is minimal. However, he describes the history of the early music movement in some detail. The present study with its findings may contribute to further insight to early music's relation to mass-media and the film examples of this chapter have already provided some practical applications. Butt looks at HIP as commercial concern: consumers, audiences as well as instrument making, editions and performances. Butt states that

The sound of old instruments and a variety of performing formats – not necessarily practicable in large concert halls – are more than adequately captured by the new recording and broadcasting technologies.
(Butt, 2002, p. 157)

Butt refers here to the intimacy created by smaller ensembles with inherently weaker or quieter period instruments that appear incredibly forlorn producing little projection in large concert halls designed to accommodate symphony orchestras or rock bands. Considering radio and to some extent film and television, the issue of sound projection is negated as this relates more to the volume of the output device which is controlled by the consumer. Indeed, early music benefits from technology to surpass its shortcomings. Notwithstanding the practicalities of sound reproduction the issue of sound projection and period instruments may be a vivid example of Gadamer's philosophical idea of the 'fusion of horizons' – the old and the new together creating a whole that is more than the sum of the parts as described in chapter 2 of this thesis and also expressed by Kerman (1985).

Interestingly, Butt's considerations about early music's relation to technology soon develop into an intriguing debate on the roles of culture and history therewith.

The starting point for this debate is an enlightening, yet slightly pessimistic, article by John Andrew Fisher and Jason Potter (1997). This particular article investigates the impact electronic media has had on art in general and how it altered perception and reception of 'unhistorical combinations of music and other sounds facilitated by synthesisers' (Butt, 2002, p. 37). This is particularly intriguing for the consideration of sound and period music in film as in due course of the decade that followed their perceptive article, technological development of digital blending was increasingly practiced in film scores. What is at stake is expressed by Fisher and Potter in form of increasing concern:

The historical view of music is progressively effaced by new listening practices that tend to regard all musics as equal, juxtapose them ahistorically, use them as background or play only parts of works.
(Fisher and Potter, 1997, p.172)

An argument that may be rated as very sensitive when applied to period music in film - a world in which what has been described as a threat to a historical view of music by Fisher and Potter is common practice. This thesis, however, argues that not all is lost when this happens – the experience of the musico-historical feel through the use of elements of period music may spark some further interest and thus move the historical view of music into focus once more. The most intriguing aspect in Fisher and Potter's writing are issues of altering listening practices and the resultant sensory attractions of HIP, not the historical claim. In their view: 'historical authenticity seems to take a back seat to what sells and what sounds exciting' (Fisher and Potter, 1997, p. 180). There is definitely some truth in the importance of the sensual attraction, as this study has centralised this issue for sixteenth-century music in film. Though it is sensual attraction together with the historical 'authenticity' claim, as Butt points out in his commentary on the Fisher and Potter article (Butt, 2002, p. 40) that seems to encourage the musico-historical feel this thesis is addressing.

Butt suggests an enlightening view on relative hearing: 'we can actually hear unusual, surprising elements within a style *in spite of* our knowledge of later music' (Butt, 2002, p. 28). He comments that differentiation skills improved in recent decades and that 'it may well be a feature of our age that we are better able to appreciate stylistic and linguistic differences than ever before' (Butt, 2002, p. 28). Perhaps this is the essential characteristic of experiencing musico-historical feel? The tangible aspects

of this sensual experience may be directly related to this increased ability of differentiation and appreciation in hearing and listening. An audience of the twenty-first century should have grown accustomed to the sound of period instruments, as such their attraction as novelty is slowly waning as they become more and more established features of musical concert experiences. As a consequence early music is accepted within an increasingly wide-spread appreciation of many musical styles (Butt, 2002, p. 66).

History has become fashion, embedded in every day culture. An ever increasing amount of preservation and restoration has become prevalent throughout the twentieth century. There is a customary sense between period, composer, musical work and performer. Butt remarks on the branding of HIP for the public:

The authenticity label sells to a public that is desperate for the 'original' in a culture of copies and virtual reality.
(Butt, 2002, p. 40)

Therefore purported 'authentic' music may be seen as counterbalance. It transpires that historically informed performance is not only 'historically informed' but also ideologically charged; thus admitting the movement's commitment to audience's expectation, market needs and consumer attitudes. Music is not only regarded with its ephemeral properties but also and at the same time as a material object (de Groot, 2009, p. 124). HIP and certainly period music in film are part of this consumer orientated perception. Early music and mass media worked and continue to work in beneficial symbiosis. History as understood in today's society, according to de Groot, is subject to 'consumption practices' (de Groot, 2009, p. 2). Performing and listening to early music, including respective parameters of historicity in acquiring playing techniques and presenting period instruments, embraces a peculiar paradox of 'then' and 'now': 'inauthentic while all at the same level striving for or desiring historicity' (de Groot, p. 124).

Richard Taruskin regards historical performance as deceptive, because its claims and criteria of being 'historical' can never be fully met (also see Kenyon, 1988, p. 13). Out of his own practice as early music performer he understands that a lot has to be added to original facsimiles or interpreted from historical sources in this type of music and as a consequence, as Butt puts it in his analysis of Taruskin's arguments, 'the

actual styles of historical performance we hear accord most strikingly with modern taste' (Butt, 2002, p. 14). Taruskin's assessment may sound as if no history was involved in a historical performance, though here he has often been misunderstood (Butt, 2002, p. 17). Important to him is full commitment to the history involved in a period piece, however maintaining a critical distance to the idea of total truth in the display of this historical artefact. He asserts that

What we call historical performance is the sound of now, not then. It derives its authenticity not from its historical verisimilitude, but from its being for better or worse a true mirror of late-twentieth century taste. (Taruskin, 1995, p. 166)

Taste is certainly one contributor, however, the invocation of history, this study argues, starts with the obvious: the sound and mannerisms of a certain style. Here is where Harnoncourt's exotic element becomes apparent. If the representation largely consists of 'unusual' instrumental or vocal sounds – then there is the tendency to generally assume that it must be a product of the past and purportedly the period in which the display is set. From the point of view of a performer of period instruments, it may be emphasised that exploring musical repertory on period instruments - the instruments the music was originally written for - benefits the larger picture in the quest of meaning and understanding of a piece. The musical lines appear to make more sense and the musical message may offer more depth. Thus performing early music on original instruments is appealing and may lend a certain air to the meaning of the performance; consequently this air seems to connect with a more 'historical' mind. It may be said that

What was so beneficial about HIP was the fact that the best performers had to rethink their entire interpretative strategy, thus challenging the assumed 'natural' expressivity of the mainstream. (Butt, 2002, p. 8)

HIP has remarkably enhanced the catalogue of expressive resources for performers and its 'experimental connotations' can be regarded 'as a licence to produce something new' (Butt, 2002, p. 41/42). This particular freedom or openness of HIP reflects how the movement embraced otherness.

Is HIP in film perhaps rather Heritage Inspired Performance? Butt fleetingly includes a most intriguing idea for this thesis: the discussion of history versus heritage. This remark is grounded on ideas expressed by David Lowenthal who defines

'History' and 'Heritage', the former concerned with understanding the past on its own terms, the latter more on ours.
(Butt, 2002, p. 15)

Butt continues that

By this token, HIP performers err when they consider their practice to be 'History' when it is really one of 'Heritage', that should consequently demand imaginative – rather than objective – recreation of the past.'
(Butt, 2002, p.15)

Whilst Butt hesitates to explore this idea more deeply, this is rather interesting for the status of HIP in film where imaginative recreation is needed within dramatic boundaries. The historical dimension in a musicological sense is apparent: In HIP the performer is dealing with a different approach towards interpretation and performance than taught and practiced throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Bruce Haynes explains:

HIP highlights the historical dimension; it draws attention to the profound differences of music before and after 1800 in ideology, values and performing practices.
(Haynes, 2009)

Whilst composers in the nineteenth-century advanced to express clear intentions in their scores therefore allegedly leaving the performer little room for individual interpretation of the musical material, music from before 1800 was fragmented in notation or at least was expected to deviate in performance. In sixteenth-century secular music, particularly lute music, the composers were often the performers and vice versa (Haynes, 2007). Yet their compositions or often mere scribbles of what was the norm differed from performance to performance and even their markings on the tablature were not clear (Tyler, 2001).

The term 'heritage' is as comparably value laden as the term 'history' which was the subject of chapter 2 of this thesis. Heritage, as concerns this study, comprises of the musical work and its creative re-incarnations within the medium of mass-entertainment film, for what is witnessed on screen may merely be mutual musico-historical heritage and therefore an informed yet still imaginative version of history. What Butt implies so tentatively in his book, emerges to be a crucial property of HIP in general and in particular with regards to film. Heritage includes historical evidence as well as myth making and is profound to the experience of musico-historical feel.

The previously analysed extracts of *Anne of the Thousand Days* all incorporated a particularly expressive and for some romantic performance ideal of sixteenth-century music. However, this was somewhat contradicting the concurrent structuralist approach to performance in the 1960s and early 1970s. The soundtrack of *Anne of the Thousand Days* in particular may be regarded as a forerunner of a more creative, expressive and emotionally inspiring performance emerging from current overall taste.

The cited examples of sixteenth-century music in film show that music may be successfully removed from its original culture towards a new context. Political concerns of the respective period may be excluded from this new context to allow for new interpretations. The role of the interpreter is therefore vital for the outcome and reception of this type of music. Film composers are as much interpreters of this musical heritage as are performers of period music, albeit under increased commercial pressure to create an image that corresponds with expectations of the target audience. As much as film can never show how it really was, it so evidently does – for the audience at least in palpable fashion and this is not least invoked by the depth of meaning that period music or period pastiche can lend to the image. Whilst period music and film have not been compared in this way before, however, they are both the result of a wider cultural shift towards commercialised history and both benefit from the technological advancements of the twentieth century. Butt emphasises that history is as important as progress:

Most importantly, this lies largely in the realisation that the culture of inexorable technological progress is itself an historically conditioned phenomenon, that conserving what we already have or might already have lost is now at least as essential as forging new paths into the future unknown.

(Butt, 2002, p. 6)

The music lives on but in modern interpretation. In that respect HIP expands its meanings towards Historically Ideologised Performance and Heritage Inspired Performance, for these are what film ultimately brings to the music and the music ultimately brings to film. In summary and to attempt an answer of the five questions posed at the beginning of this subchapter, early music corresponds to the needs of its time by an ever increasing enquiry into its mere concept and therefore expressing more an attitude of performance than a specific and chronologically finalised selection of musical works. History in early music is apparent in so far as it determines a time

frame for musicological enquiry and fact-based backup, which is the foundation of the interpretation that follows. The music appears to mean nostalgia and quaint reflection at first glance, yet has evolved into increasing the sound spectrum available for musical expression throughout the twentieth century. Still the idea of the quaint and old remains apparent in the usage of period instruments and music in the films presented in this study. Quite clearly, the early music movement moved in line with an increasing cultural interest in preservation and retrogression, which also exposed the question of heritage. There is the liberty now of 'picking and choosing' from history and displaying as much as needed and wanted. In this tradition, the music in the films of this study is no exception.

Period music as narrative language

This chapter's main premise until this point was governed by musical matters. To leave it at that would be not to give credit to the functional aspects of film music; the circumstance being that, after all, film music serves the drama. So far this thesis has referred to music's narrative status only by indicating whether it was off-screen or onscreen. This two-dimensional distinction is refined in the following subchapter, which will explore issues of narrativity as applied to music in film more closely with the aim of demonstrating the narrative space and functions period music and in particular sixteenth-century music may obtain by using and enhancing previous and further examples of the films under investigation.

Underlying this pursuit is a common misconception that period music is only employed to signify and identify the period of the film's story world. Most commonly period music is believed to appear in onscreen situations – widely described and now traditionally in film music – referred to as diegetic music (Gorbman, 1987). Gorbman explains, that diegetic music is music heard by the audience and the characters onscreen – it is part of the depicted story-world. Non-diegetic music may comment on, accompany or juxtapose the action on screen, but it is music only the audience may hear. These two terms have generally been accepted and used in film music theory (Brown, 1994), though they have more recently received critique by scholars whose

approach to film music studies is rather musicology-based. Particularly Robynn J. Stilwell (2007) and Ben Winters (2010) but also Anahid Kassabian (2001) suggested that the imposed rigid dichotomy of diegesis and non-diegesis is insufficient for the breadth of functions and characters music can obtain within a film. In an article by Swedish musicologists Johnny Wingstedt, Sture Brändström and Jan Berg 'Narrative Music, Visuals and Meaning in Film' (2010) film music's diegetic and non-diegetic status is still accepted as paramount, whilst the author's actual argument unfolds in particularly hermeneutic ways that suggest that a two-fold distinction might not be sufficient for the multi-layered wealth of meaning production in film through music. More than ever in the past decade, the rarely mentioned third category that Gorbman defined, the meta-diegetic, which is meant to describe the state of intersection between the two, has received considerable attention – most pre-dominantly featured in Stilwell's *Fantastic Gap* (2007). Kassabian emphasises the collaboration and interaction of Gorbman's principles and that each principle can allow for another or more to take place at the same time (Kassabian, 2001, p. 42) - an issue profound to this thesis and its structure, which is opening up the layers of collaboration and interaction in all areas of narrative space. Furthermore, Frampton's idea of the film mind, featured in chapter 1 of this thesis, has grown to be regarded as helpful (Winters, 2010) in this reviewed understanding of diegetic and non-diegetic components. Wingstedt *et al.* further argue that music in film, though often only experienced as a by-product, 'contributes narrative meaning in multimodal interplay with image, speech and sound effects' (Wingstedt *et al.*, 2010, p. 194).

Analysing and comparing the narrative scope of the sixteenth-century music involved in the present selection of films, the diegetic and non-diegetic distinction alone indeed seems not fit for the purpose. The main premise of this subchapter therefore is to demonstrate the narrative problem that emerges when period music frequently moves between narrative levels within the world of the film. As much as this musical style imparts the historical connotations, it also adopts a life of its own as perhaps alternative selection of musical sounds to support underscoring. The examples deployed in this subchapter will support the observation that period music acts as 'conventional' symphonic film music and as signifier of period or nationality; it may 'match' action, pre-empt action, comment on action or merely be part of a scene as

musical ornament. It will be investigated how period music acts and establishes narrative language, questioning whether this exposes and confirms an issue of, what Earle Hagen described in his 1971 treatise on film scoring methods as, 'source scoring'.

Period music embraces a considerable amount of narrative function in two films in particular: *Anne of the Thousand Days* (1969) and *Elizabeth* (1998), both films will provide illustrative examples in due course of the discussion.

Narrative in film

In chapter 2 of this thesis 'narrative' was explicitly referred to as 'story' and analysed in its relation to historical narratives. However, narrative as applied to film and film music occupies a different realm of meaning. Film constructs its own narrative world and music plays an important part in this construction. Gorbman's iconic seven principles of film scoring: 1. Invisibility; 2. Inaudibility; 3. Signifier of emotion; 4. Referential and connotative narrative cueing; 5. Continuity; 6. Unity and 7. Violation (Gorbman, 1987, p. 73) express the variety of functions a film score is supposed to adhere to. Gorbman is often cited as attributing these principles to the non-diegetic film score, though here may be where her idea has too often been polarised and slightly misunderstood. She acknowledges that film music acts across narrative space at times and that the lines between diegetic, non-diegetic and meta-diegetic can be blurred (Gorbman, 1987, p. 30). Therefore drawing on her theories in a slightly revised context and perhaps widened area of application has made her study valid for this thesis. Principles 3, 4, 5 and 6, for instance, are regarded as crucial with regards to the period or period-like music used in the films in this study. Despite the principles being drawn from classical Hollywood scoring practices, they still represent valid categories of analytical enquiry for the film score.

Unlike the traditional perception of 'in' or 'out' or diegetic and non-diegetic, however, this thesis argues that these principles may operate throughout the narrative space of the film as active, interactive and passive components. This idea has been partially raised by Wingstedt *et al.* in their 2010 article on film music's narrative meta-

functions which ultimately resulted in an empirical study on the subject. They argue that:

Besides image we are also making sense, or trying to make sense, out of the intricate interplay with aural modes such as spoken language, sound effects and music. Each mode individually bears meaning, but above all meaning emerges from their complex multimodal interplay.

(Wingstedt, et al., 2010, p. 195)

As the end product, film is presented to an audience as a whole, uncovering these parallel layers, which this thesis argues exist and are profoundly important to contextualising the workings of period music more intricately, is a task that a diegetic or non-diegetic discussion can only sparsely address.

Wingstedt proposes six categories of musico-narrative interaction, all six engage heavily with communicative aspects of film music: emotively either as experience or recognition with a number of applications (character-based, story-based, relationship-based, event-based or generally commenting and anticipatory); informative by transmitting a period or national or cultural feel in a cognitive manner; descriptive in which the music engages in describing an action rather than being a representative of established values. Music can guide the audience's 'eye, thought and mind' (Wingstedt *et al.* 2010, p. 196). The temporal mode emphasises 'music's ability to provide continuity', further music may also comprise a rhetorical participation, which is the function that was mostly referred to by counterpoint when music actively contradicts the image to, for example, create parody (Wingstedt *et al.* 2010, p. 196).² By means of this categorisation and its subdivisions Wingstedt offers a model that far outperforms the diegetic or non-diegetic approach and subsequent suggestions to redeem its short-comings, notably by Winters and Stilwell. The sheer depths of this model are yet to be proved. However, the interwoven layers of workings of period pastiche music in *Anne of the Thousand Days* seem to confirm this overdue re-definition of narrative analysis for music in film.

To recapitulate, for film, from more recent writings it emerges that narrative status is more a question of: where is the story told and how, where are the viewers

² These modes or categories were set out as classes in Wingstedt's 2005 Licentiate Thesis 'Narrative Music – Towards an Understanding of Musical Narrative Functions in Multimedia' for the School of Music at Luleå University of Technology, Sweden, p. 51 (available at <http://pure.ltu.se/portal/files/199292/LTU-LIC-0559-SE.pdf>, accessed 6th May 2014). They have been included in the above Wingstedt *et al* 2010 article.

and the characters in this interactive and reciprocal relationship? These are questions that have already been addressed by Kassabian in her book *Hearing Film* (2001). Whilst Kassabian's claims appear rather sweeping and infused by an 'all too obvious political agenda' for some critics – most notably Wierzbicki (2009, p.462) – her ideas nevertheless contain some remarkable and intriguing prompts for elements of the present study. One of her main concerns addresses the lack of consideration of audience reception in the diegetic or non-diegetic discussion (Kassabian, 2001, p. 41). In her opinion there is a

range of relations perceivers may hear in a single event of film music – relations among image track, narrative, sound effects, dialogue, music. (Kassabian, 2001, p. 37)

Is the viewer part of the story, simply witnessing or actively involved in progress of story or moreover commenting on events (Kassabian, 2001, p. 41)? For the film the term 'narrative' is applied in a very specific way. Most important is the music's participation in the construction of diegetic space (Kassabian, 2001, p. 42). This study so far has attempted to include audience's possible reception, particularly in the discussion of nostalgia in chapter 2. Where appropriate in this subchapter's analysis references for audience reception will be included in the film examples, supported by aspects from the Wingstedt Model.

Perception and reception is central to the ecological model Clarke (2005) proposes. His main aim is to discuss the ways in which listeners interact with the general auditory, and more specifically musical, environments. Clarke asserts that, 'perception is the awareness of, and continuous adaptation to, the environment' (Clarke, 2005, p. 4/5). The relationship between audience and environment, which could be the cinematic environment for instance, reveals crucial ideological properties about an 'organism's active, exploratory engagement' with the world (Clarke, 2005, p. 19). For Clarke, the perceiver in a cinematic or concert environment will actively 'pick-up' elements of the information presented (Clarke, 2005, p. 17) and respond accordingly. As this process is continuous and the 'pick-up' points constantly evolve, the audience participates in a kind of, as Clarke puts it, 'perceptual flow' (Clarke, 2005, p. 42). This approach would suggest that watching a film is engaging with the film's world or environment and therefore embracing the experience as a whole without hierarchical distinctions as to whether something is inside or outside the story. It is this

ganzheitliche (holistic) understanding that may help to gauge where and how music acts and performs its magic in the context of the film.

Kassabian introduces an alternative approach to the diegetic or non-diegetic discussion borrowed from film composer Earle Hagen. In his treatise he refers to the different scoring techniques as 'source music', 'source scoring' and 'pure or dramatic scoring' (Hagen, 1971, p. 90). As Kassabian emphasises, there is also implied source music identified as 'music [that] exists within the narrative world of the film, even though we don't see its source' (Kassabian, 2001, p. 43) Whilst Kassabian only briefly touches on 'source music' and 'dramatic scoring' because they appear to be equivalents of diegetic music and non-diegetic music, she gives considerable attention to the third category: 'source scoring', which also finds a mention in Wingstedt's *et al.* 2010 article. Hagen defines this category as follows:

This kind of music is like source in its content, but tailored to meet scoring requirements... This kind of cue can start as pure source music and change over to source scoring... The main difference between Source and Source Scoring is that Source Scoring takes on a much closer relationship to the film. It follows the framework of the scene more critically and matches the nuances of the scene musically.
(Hagen, 1971, p. 190)

Hagen emphasises a crucial interaction between music and film that exposes exactly where music demonstrates its powers. It is not merely supplement but involved in the shape that a chosen film scene as a whole adopts when it is perceived. This idea requires anticipation on the side of the composer. 'Source scoring', by means of its inherent denotative character, has been rated by Kassabian as opening up interpretation (Kassabian, 2001, p. 43), unlike Clarke's observation in which films provide an environment that 'prevents [the audience] from acting upon or exploring those objects [i.e. film] in an unhindered fashion' (Clarke, 2005, p. 20). Particularly the nuances that Hagen refers to, which may include extracts of pre-existent music with all the cultural affiliations it carries, 'often go ignored' (Wierzbicki, 2009, p. 462). However, as Wierzbicki in his critique of Kassabian asserts

It cannot be denied that certain bits of music, or the lyrics attached to them, can serve as potent signifiers in a rich sign system comprehensible by a great many filmgoers.
(Wierzbicki, 2009, p.462)

This signifying system builds on referential musical clichés and codes established throughout time within a certain cultural surrounding (Gorbman, 1987, p. 58; Cohen, 2002, p. 265; Dickenson, 2008, p. 39). The general argument is that if music is experienced as violating this system it may clash with audience's expectations (Kassabian, 2001, p. 51). Dickinson examines these issues in more detail in *Off Key* (2008). She also presents the positive counter argument:

Film and music lovers alike cherish those sublime moments when the two art forms commune together so empathetically that each draws out only the best from its partner.
(Dickinson, 2008, p. 13)

In order to present a rather odd example under these considerations, it is worth looking at the issue the other way round. What if there are established clichés within film scoring that could potentially be perceived as 'disturbing'? This could be a case, as Dickinson aptly observes, 'where music and cinema misunderstand or embarrass each other' (Dickinson, 2008, p. 14). Dickinson continues that film music up until this point may have merged into a perfect inseparable whole when the sound unanticipatedly conflicts the harmony previously established (Dickinson, 2008, p. 13 and 39).

In *Anne of the Thousand Days* traditional romantic scoring and early music scoring, seen as two separate musical identities, collide whilst the action concentrates on a romantic kiss between two main characters. Up until this point in the film, the underscore was dominated by quasi renaissance sounds and melodies supplementing the action quietly and thoughtfully. Consequently, the viewer has already been drawn into the subtle stability that this music conveys, only realising this fact the moment modern strings enter to accompany the act of kissing. The classical Hollywood cliché used in this situation appears abnormal, perhaps even comical or ironic, because the hitherto established musical language in the film contradicts the use of romantic instrumentation and classical musical style. Notably, traditional clichés and classical scoring practices occasionally support the otherwise strictly on renaissance styles and sounds depending musical accompaniment from this moment onwards, despite the apparent incongruity of both musical languages.

On the note of ‘clashing’ musical excerpts, the film *Elizabeth* offers up an intriguing scene, one which has been mentioned before in this thesis on the subject of the recorder. Recalling a jolly trio-tutti pastiche period arrangement in triple time played by a mixed ensemble of plucked, brass and wind instruments, the scene celebrates the arrival of the Duke of Anjou on the, usually very serious, occasion of courting the queen. The jolly mood of the tune could be regarded as gentle mockery in the eyes of the well-informed viewer, though it is more likely that the choice of this piece of music was made dependent on the character of the Duke. Whilst this lively party is approaching, the camera cuts to Queen Elizabeth, who is awaiting the visitor’s arrival. The music continues despite the change of scene, indicating that the just witnessed approach of the Duke is ongoing. At this moment a sudden voice-over with fanfares situates the viewer in the present scene with the Queen. This voice-over is employed to signal the arrival of the Duke to the Queen, meanwhile the Anjou-piece continues, albeit on a less conscious level. The pungent brass sound of the fanfares is clashing with the previously established mellower plucked sounds; and this ‘clash’ musically juxtaposes two different ongoing narratives. Period and period-like music are active components here of the film’s story-telling means. Perhaps it could be said that the fanfares operate on a direct diegetic level, as source music, whereas the Anjou-piece ‘floats’ in a quasi-diegetic realm, not least because of an only representational and unreal selection of instruments depicted on screen, and should perhaps be classed as meta-diegetic or source scoring.

At this point it may be useful to introduce Robynn J. Stilwell’s (2007) argument on what she coined *The Fantastical Gap*. Stilwell investigates the means by which the sound and in alliance with it the music, transfers from non-diegesis to diegesis and vice versa in modern sound film. She calls this moment of transfer the ‘fantastic gap’. She comments on the need for diegetic depiction. In her opinion, the film’s spectator is dropped into an uncertain state of mind when confronted by a lack of visual verification of the appearing sounds; without visual metaphors the transition remains unclear. The shift of perception deploys a destabilising effect for the scene. The acknowledgement of a character’s sudden awareness of the music comprises a powerful change for the spectator, despite immediate rational response. Stilwell sees foreground and background as a matter of perception, whereas diegetic and non-

diegetic are rather technical. Both are influenced by a composition of factors including dialogue, postures of attentiveness from the actors and aural perspective. Where non-diegetic music blends into the diegetic in modern films, the audience's attention may be drawn into the subjectivity of a character in the diegesis (Stilwell, 2007, p. 194).

Stilwell describes the illusion of the metadiegetic as

probably best exemplified by the composition scenes in 'Amadeus' where we hear the notes as Mozart conceives them.
(Stilwell, 2007, p. 195)

According to Cook (2007, p. 39), this identification process is part of conventional film music practices and works as a means of reading facial and musical expressions. Another example of this phenomenon is the utilisation of pop-songs, whose lyrics express the feelings of the character onscreen and thus their perception leads into an identification process of the audience with the character (Cook, 1998 and Kassabian, 2001). This happens in a scene in *Notting Hill* (1998) with the employment of the song 'Ain't no sunshine when she's gone'.

In Stilwell's view,

It is the multiplicity of possibilities that make the gap both observable and fantastical – fantastical because it changes the state, not only of the filmic moment, but also of the observer's relationship to it.
(Stilwell, 2007, p. 200)

Stilwell makes a crucial point. The observer's relationship to the filmic moment changes in a meta-diegetic situation, for example, the observer crosses the threshold and enters the story, by means of music. This change is subtle, the observer is unaware of it until the moment of revelation. Woody Allen likes to play with this aspect in his films: Harp music accompanies a scene, characterising, at first glance, the character's mood, but then the character becomes aware of the sound and looks for its actual source. He finds a harpist on the toilet who explains that he could not find anywhere else to practice (Brown, 1994). In this moment, the observer is confused regarding the diegetic dimension of the tune. This and the previous example of the arrival of the Duke of Anjou from *Elizabeth* demonstrate how important the 'gap' that Stilwell describes appears in terms of subject position and narrative agency. Here perhaps also Wingstedt's model offers further enlightening insight as to the subtle functions of the score.

Before moving on to the ideas of Ben Winters, who in an article in *Music and Letters* in 2010 entitled 'The Non-Diegetic Fallacy: Film, Music, and Narrative Space', attempts to challenge the whole concept of narrative space in film when music is involved, a few less troublesome employments of period music will be presented. There are still technically easily categorised examples of period music with a more or less diegetic focus – perhaps to address the overall perception of this music as establishing period within the story world of the film and therefore emphasising the more informative mode together with the descriptive and the rhetorical (Wingstedt, 2005, p. 51).

The first example is presented in form of the opening scene of chapter 3 of this thesis. Neglecting more period or national identity questions for the following consideration of narrative status, what can be seen onscreen is a dance and a dance naturally requires accompanying music. Moreover, the dance, which depicts a re-enactment of an alleged assault on Spanish ships by English pirates, actively participates in the unfolding of the scene by offending the Spanish ambassador present, which is expressed in the dialogue. Although no instruments can actually be identified in the scene, the deployed energetic period pastiche music appears strongly diegetic, or, to describe it in Kassabian's words, it acts as 'implied source music' (Kassabian, 2001, p. 43). The diegetic nature is emphasised when the Queen raises herself upon which the music stops immediately as a consequence and reaction to the queen's action. Similarly a little later the music is acting equally as responsive to the action. After the Queen's discovery of the Duke of Anjou's unusual pastimes, the queen returns to the great hall. No music accompanies her appearance on the dance-floor. She demands: "Lord Robert, will you dance?" and as he obligingly agrees, she exclaims: "Play a Volta!". The by now recognisable rhythm motif enters again, developing into a theme which is repeated by different instruments. The theme ends with a timpani tremolo when Queen Elizabeth cries out: "I'm not your Elizabeth!" and with this she rejects Lord Robert. Quite clearly, as Kassabian notes,

The music responds to the event because the musicians' attention is demanded by the event: they stop playing.
(Kassabian, 2001, p. 43)

This is also evident in another moment after the Duke's arrival: Queen Elizabeth and Robert Dudley find themselves on a boat on the Thames. All the other guests are

scattered over several vessels, floating along the river. A rhythm in duple time dominates the scene. Musicians, a lutenist and a recorder player, can be seen in a boat, although they are only there as an empty depiction – notably, no lute is audible in the sounding period piece, which happens to be an extract of Tielman Susato's *Dansereye* (1551). 'Rondes I' and 'VII' build the scene's musical set up, which blends in smoothly with the rest of the score, therefore emphasising a clear musical relationship with period quotation and pastiche. 'Rondes I' and 'VII' as well as *Dansereye* appear to have been highly influential and responsible for the overall period sound of the film. In this scene, however, the music, though being the only direct period musical quotation, remains quiet and ornamental in the background while Robert Dudley recites a sonnet.³ There is a cut and the camera focuses on the Duke of Anjou. The music changes into a faster rhythm in triple time – the barely noticeable transition from 'Ronde I' to 'Ronde VII' – becoming increasingly lively. The recorders add to this impression by means of fast graces. Shortly afterwards Queen Elizabeth is attacked. At first, the music seems oblivious to the scene, perhaps implying that events usually unfold in stages and that the other guests were yet unaware of the surprising assault. The jolly tune continues until an arrow only nearly misses the Queen herself. The music stops abruptly. Eventually, then, the music reacts to the event. This is followed by a change of scene.

Anne of the Thousand Days provides further onscreen situations of this nature. Particularly two scenes of a courtly ball in which first Queen Katherine and then Queen Anne Boleyn find themselves indirectly offended, hence abruptly leave and as a reaction to this cause the music to stop. In scene one Queen Katherine discovers that Anne Boleyn has attracted the King's special interest, in scene two Queen Anne notices that King Henry has laid eyes upon Jane Seymour.

Elizabeth also utilises a characteristic pastiche, which is employed to signify a common dance of the Renaissance: la Volta. This dance acts as narrative motif and implied period signifier, though the theme itself is Renaissance pastiche, broadly imitating the style of Susato's *Dansereye*. All the more fascinating for this study's

³ Slight anachronism here: The sonnet 'My true love hath my heart' by Sir Philip Sidney was not written until at least 1580 and was published not until 1593 (see Hamilton, 1977). This is twenty to thirty years after the period in which the film is set.

enquiry is the varied employment of this theme, as it seems to live in various levels of narrative. Mainly a rhythmically built musical cue, it ties not only scenes together but also bridges from the first film *Elizabeth* to its sequel *Elizabeth – The Golden Age*. Analysing this particular theme in terms of diegetic or non-diegetic functions would not lead to satisfactory results, an issue comparable to the concerns raised in Ben Winters article *The Non-Diegetic Fallacy* (2010), who claimed that scenes of *Saving Private Ryan* (1998) are difficult to interpret under traditional laws. Winters challenges the whole concept of diegesis and non-diegesis, though his remedy of a tri-part distinction of extra-diegetic, intra-diegetic and diegetic with emphasis on the interaction of all three parts appears trapped in traditional terminology and not much further than what Gorbman already suggested in 1987. However, some of the details of Winters' argument are relevant with regard to this study and particularly the above mentioned musical cue. Winters suggests that the film is a different representative of narrative space with its own narrative 'laws', drawing here on the ideas on the film mind developed by Frampton (2006). Winters on Frampton's 'filmmind':

What this concept offers in our present context, then, is a way to justify the presence of music as part of the created world, with all the potential fluidity that film-thinking allows.
(Winters, 2010, p. 234)

Fluidity is the essential thought – not rigid categories. Winters attacks the notion of lower and higher narrative levels that the diegetic/ non-diegetic distinction inevitably suggests. For him, music is seen as 'an indicator of narrative space' which relies on the 'willingness of audiences to participate in a game of make belief' (Winters, 2010, p. 228). Cinema, in many cases, has been judged too far on realistic constraints. Music is part of the experience of film as a whole and would not need to be assigned to external levels of narrative or regarded as an intruder (Winters, 2010, p. 229). In Winters's view, the recognition of music's presence in a film score helps differentiate film world from real world (Winters, 2010, p.230). Although this is problematic: music is supposedly employed to enhance realism in the film despite being actually the most removed element from a realistic world (Winters, 2010, p. 234). This aspect has also been covered previously by Cohen:

Music presumably adds to the diegetic realism while providing non-diegetic, acoustical information that is completely incompatible with that realism.
(Cohen, 2000, p. 254)

Whilst one cannot be 'permanently plugged into an iPod' (Winters, p. 234), the fictionalised reality of film saturated with music is readily accepted. Winters appeals to the realm of imagination as the key to understanding the mechanisms of film music and its workings within narrative space (Winters, 2010, p. 232). He provides an interesting thought:

The ability to imagine the world of the story is a cognitive act: rather than being sold an illusion that what I am witnessing on screen and hearing is reality, I am engaging in the 'game' of watching a film.
(Winters, 2010, p. 232)

This game is fuelled by a 'kind of energy field' (Winters, 2010, p. 242) represented by music which allows for 'greater interpretative freedom' (Winters, 2010, p. 243) and enables music to engage fully within the realms of narrative space. At this point, hermeneutic thought, as profound to the Wingstedt model, may have provided stronger foundations for the argument and a better set of linguistic tools.

Establishing a narrative language with period music

Music in combination with 'narrative visual imagery' (Mera 2001, p. 5) as in film, will create a set of conventions with a powerful influence on the viewer – a musical language that is perceived in multiple ways. Pre-existent music can create a musical-visual language within the context of the film akin to the process of combining a very well-known word with a word from a different category that may result in new meanings being imposed by the spectator. Often exploited stereotypical employment of certain tunes in far too obvious moments of a film's plot constructed a world of referential clichés that either soothes or offends the audience. In particular films with historical settings and story-lines have emerged to be popular platforms for these clichés, bearing in mind that time and place of the films setting usually determine a certain choice of music. However, as Kassabian points out, it is arguable 'how differently perceivers might interpret cues that establish setting' (Kassabian, 2001, p. 41). Nevertheless, period music may trigger a particular identification with period specific idioms and meanings (Cooke, 1959). To see film soundtrack music as a language that is mediating emotions and meaning to the audience echoes some

profound philosophical ideas expressed by Gadamer, who explains that one cannot really understand themselves unless one understand themselves as situated in a linguistically mediated, historical culture. For Gadamer, being human is being in language (Gadamer 1960). Wingstedt also uses Gadamer for close reference in his model and Roger Savage (2010) argues that hermeneutics provide exactly the tools to describe music in meaning production. Kassabian also hints at music's relationship with languages and music acting in discourse with surrounding elements. The rhetorical aspects of early music also demonstrate how closely music was perceived to relate to language (Haynes, 2009). Music mediates and communicates particularly in film where it is part of the film experience as a whole. Ideas raised by Lawrence Kramer (2002) and critiqued by Roger Savage (2010) provide necessary ground for identifying period music as a powerful tool in the persuasive abilities of the film score.

In mixed media, where the semantive powers of music emerge in a particular way, music negotiates with the viewer and the imagetext and this interplay constructs the meaning. In Kramer's view,

meaning flows from the imagetext to the music, [...] [but] [o]ur actual experience, however, tends to proceed contrariwise, from the music to the imagetext.
(Kramer, 2002, p. 153)

This suggests that music is separate from the imagetext, further that meaning only flows in one direction, and that music occupies a different hierarchical space. However, especially in film music contexts the imagetext and music may operate on the same level and experienced meaning floats amongst imagetext and music. Kramer continues that

in film music is traditionally supposed to stay in the background, but even when it does, it may siphon off attention from the image, and it is more capable of intruding on the image it is supposed to supplement, stealing the scene by infringing on its visual consistency.
(Kramer, 2002, pp. 179 and 180)

Kramer suggests a problematic status of music here for the film score, relying on traditional beliefs with regard to the music's function. Music is identified as a source of irritation and not as an actively working narrative tool. Though investigating Kramer's stance a little further together with a critique by Savage illustrates how 'hermeneutic'

in its essence Kramer's approach may be interpreted, despite its own proclaimed postmodernist stance. Savage remarks that Kramer ultimately 'safeguards music's semantic potential by authorizing the ascription of extramusical meanings associated with narratives, images, and texts' (Savage, 2010, p. 74). Music participates in the process of meaning construction of a scene as a whole, without stealing anything from or infringing on another level of attention, in this case the scene. The only way a verisimilitude of infringement becomes plausible is in form of interplay with the visual perception of a scene – an effect on visual consistency may be non-existent or directly intended.

As observed previously, music in films causes mutual implication within the image-text-music interplay. This phenomenon has been already addressed, though not elaborated on or explored in depth, by Gorbman, who states:

music in film mediates. Its nonverbal and nondenotative status allows crossing all varieties of "borders": between levels of narration (diegetic/non-diegetic), between narrating agencies (objective/subjective narrators), between viewing time and psychological time, between points in diegetic space and time (as narrative transition). [Thus it is] creating meaning in tandem with cinematic narrative. (Gorbman, 1987, p. 30)

Gorbman refers to film music's discursive status, an issue which in subsequent critiques and usage of Gorbman's notions in film music literature somehow appears to be neglected. It emerges that Gorbman acknowledged these attributes and further functions of film music as well as accepting them within her broadly defined dichotomy of diegesis and non-diegesis.

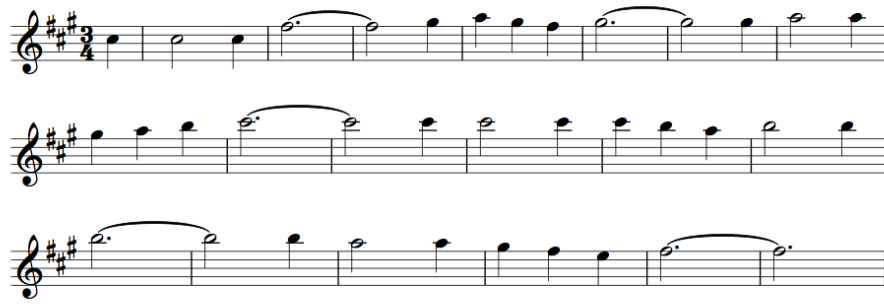
Emerging from this point is the question of how film music actually may 'speak' to the audience: via mediation in form of dialogue or multi-logue? Savage also offers here amazing insight for the purpose of this thesis. He argues, that 'a structural trope assumes an expressive function within the general economy of the communicative acts in which it operates' (Savage, 2010, p. 75). This expressive function is enhanced in the perceived end product, in this thesis' case the films. Savage quite clearly adopts Gadamer's notion of the whole being more than the sum of the parts by stating that

Any attempt to capture an experience, including the experience of a musical work, finds itself confronted by the dissemination of a meaning that exceeds its signification within the communicative act. (Savage, 2010, p. 79)

Sixteenth-century music and period pastiche by means of their unique qualities may participate strongly in the interplay of image, music and text and create an image of a period that far exceeds the plain re-description of a particular historical moment.

The flexibility of period music by means of its shorter phrases and repeated passages, particularly when traditional grounds express the musical material, allows the music to 'frame' a scene and 'pick up' where it left off. An excellent example for this notion is a scene from *Anne of the Thousand Days* displaying an argument between King Henry VIII and Anne. This scene is underscored by a quiet renaissance pastiche for viol and lute. The music clearly adopts the King's emotional state and causes an immediate identification with his situation. The moment the King finishes the discussion with "We shall see", the music ends in a *cadenza*, a musical conclusion, as if the scene was the piece. Anne bows at the moment of the final chord; situation, reaction and mood are framed and expressed by period music.

The communicative level of the music in that scene suggests that it may well be a reactive character within the scene and an actively involved element of narrative, instead of perhaps a traditionally assigned non-diegetic function. Sixteenth-century music and its pastiche derivatives in *Anne of the Thousand Days* obfuscate their traditional narrative status by being involved in the scene as a whole and creating a meaningful context. This is also evident in the narrative deployment of the *passamezzo* pastiche 'Farewell, farewell my pleasure past' (4.1).



*Farewell, farewell, my pleasure past
Welcome my present pain
Welcome the torment in my heart
To see my love again*

*Alone, alone, I longed for her
While mistresses forsaking
Now must tell my hopes and fear
Of love in her awaking*

4.1: 'Farewell' – theme and lyrics

The piece is first introduced as part of the title theme; a most unusual use, as songs with lyrics do not normally feature in the opening of a historical costume drama. The quiet and thoughtful style of the composition appears in complete contrast to the excessively obvious display of royal triumph in the previous bars of the opening musical cue. Furthermore this piece contributes to atmosphere and pacing of the various moments of action and participates in the prediction of the film's outcome. Based on a traditional ground of *passamezzo* character and performed on renaissance instruments, this song appears in various guises. Either commenting on the mood of a character or contributing to the atmosphere it embodies its own narrative function. Throughout the film there are several long periods without any music at all, emphasising the dialogue between the characters and increasing the effect of the music when it finally enters. Especially 'Farewell, farewell my pleasure past' stands out by appearing in key moments of the narrative, either sung by a female or male voice or illustrated with variants in the underscore. Misleadingly labelled in a scene as a composition by King Henry VIII, this song seems to adopt a character-related function, opening access to the King's feelings by being declared as the song he wrote after Anne dismissed him in their first encounter. Regardless of the attributes the song embodies an onscreen performance capacity, the source scoring or extra-diegetic role

incurs different subject positions and commentary functions, such as the appearance after Anne's sister Mary is dismissed expecting the King's illegitimate child, further in response to Anne's final surrender to the King or in Queen Anne's announcement: "I am with child." Subsequent to this compliance of the King's ultimate wish and in accordance with Anne's obvious entry into her new life as a Queen, the song does not appear again after the birth of the child. It clearly frames the life of Anne Boleyn and her path before she gives in, hence the title 'Farewell, farewell, my pleasure past'.

Anne of the Thousand Days establishes a period-imitating musical language throughout, in which occasionally employed classic film music clichés with symphonic undertones, like the violin for a kiss, appear more disrupting than enhancing. *Elizabeth* utilises blending and enhancing techniques to facilitate a smoother transition between the sound worlds. In *Elizabeth* period music and pastiche can be regarded as equal to other more incidental music in the underscore, not least because of an alignment of sound qualities such as volume and dynamics. The overall sixteenth-century sound ideal in *Anne of the Thousand Days* is influenced by the *passamezzo* or 'Greensleeves'-evoking traditional ground played on period instruments by a small-scale ensemble throughout the film. On the other hand, *Elizabeth* appears to be inspired by the overall colourful character of Tielman Susato's 'Dansereye' – confirmed by the smooth integration of two original 'Rondes' of this particular sixteenth-century collection of dances and an overall brass and drums dominated orchestration. Two recordings of 'Dansereye' by renowned early music groups, New London Consort and The English Consort, display similar character in their use of tabor drums and brass. By adopting a period sympathetic musical style throughout the majority of the underscore in all areas of narrative space and allowing the musical material to operate at large within emotive and rhetorical constraints of the scenes, these films establish period music as narrative language. Film music occupies and represents the realm of the imaginative and imaginable. In this realm sixteenth-century music can do anything and be anything: signifier of historical event, trigger of emotional responses within and without the film, identifier of socio-cultural relations, provider of unity and transparency, beautiful ornament, commentator of scene or framing a scene.

Winters's suggestion might be revolutionary in classic film music scholarship, similar to Frampton's approach to the film mind, however, they are stating what film

has practiced and composers realised long before film music scholarship caught on. From Kassabian's, Stilwell's and Winters' writings it becomes apparent that an interactive narrative-space-trichotomy would have the potential to be representative of the various functions film music can occupy – even simultaneously and including all transitional areas in between. This trichotomy is also evident from a composer's point of view in Hagen's 1977 guide to film scoring with his definition of source music, source scoring and dramatic scoring. Wingstedt's model, however, enhances this conception and offers more usable tools in analysing a film score in general and sixteenth century music and its powers, purpose and functions in film in particular, because all the above mentioned employments are featured within his six modes and eleven subcategories. This model is supported by Savage's notion that

By suffusing textual and visual representations with a body of sound, the simulacrum of music's immediacy lays the foundation for a theory of semantic loops that authorizes the ascriptions of meaning to music by returning the meanings of verbal, textual, pictorial and narrative representations to their field of play.
(Savage, 2010, P. 83)

The 'field of play' might then be related to Winters's notion of the participation in the 'game of make belief' the audience participates in. Stilwell acknowledges the fantastical gap in relation to perceiving the film as a largely realistic medium where transitions in the perception of a musical cue, as experienced for example in Woody Allen films, are presented as confusing. Perhaps an obvious interplay between onscreen performance and clearly off-screen musical underscoring may indeed cause this momentary confusion, though the fantastical gap is even more subtle and refined. In conjunction with the image, in a form of multi-level interplay, Tudor musical magic is created at the same time as the story is told. In this multi-logue period music and pastiche contribute to more than period – as the whole is more than the sum of the parts, to echo Gadamer. The identification of period succumbs to the music's least important function.

Perhaps instead of rigidly following an antiquated model of diegetic relations, it may be worthwhile centralising music's, and in the case of this thesis' premise, sixteenth-century music's communicative status in film. Most period music in the films analysed acts in Hagen's sense as 'source scoring'. The subtleties expressed and demonstrated may be viewed and described to some detail with Wingstedt's model.

What this thesis attempts in conjunction with the contextualisation of sixteenth-century music in film is furthering Wingstedt's pioneering work by applying it to a style of music that was believed to belong to the reality of the film world.

Sixteenth-century music and its pastiche derivatives act as successful mediators between narrative worlds and communicate mutually among them. Perhaps underlying to this dispute is a late nineteenth century inspired traditional separation from language (Savage, 2010, p. 90 ff). For early music this perception, however, is irrelevant. In performance studies, early music relies on affects, rhetorical aspects and articulation and is usually closely related to the voice. The general unobtrusive nature of renaissance music, characterised by melodic articulation rather than dynamics and properties such as the repetition of harmonic progressions and stability in the continuo and the small orchestration lend to this music a predominant position among aesthetic elements of a film score. Further, the ability to end the musical cue in a conclusion every time the ground is finished offers the possibility to frame the onscreen action by playing as many divisions as needed whilst the action takes place and bringing it to the final chord the moment the dialogue stops or the camera blends into another scene. Therefore period music speaks a language and communicates, and as the examples have illustrated, it does so palpably in period films.

This chapter has illustrated the various powers, purposes and functions sixteenth-century music and its derivatives adopt at the cinematic Tudor Court. The result is a colourful mixture of identifying filmic reality as well as narrative layers. Early music's relation to technology and mass media emerges to be a key feature of this music's development within the cinematic apparatus and the opportunities presented by the medium of film have been conducive to the music's re-interpretation and performance on and off-screen and in the various layers in between. Whilst *Elizabeth* and *Anne of the Thousand Days* are highlights in the representation of early music's facets within mass-entertainment, *Shakespeare in Love* and *The Other Boleyn Girl* or the Showtime series *The Tudors* all succeeded in weaving sixteenth-century music elements within the fabric of their scores. The achieved findings will now be further identified in two detailed film readings: *Young Bess* (1953) with music by 'the great historical composer' (Haines, 2014, p. 100) Miklós Rózsa and *A Man For All Seasons*

(1963) with music by French composer Georges Delerue, who showed a high interest in the early music performance movement when it was perceived at its height in the 1960s and 1970s. He engaged with sensibility and respect and his film scores demonstrate musico-historical feel and historically ideologised performance on a highly competitive scale.

CHAPTER 5

FILM READINGS

Young Bess (1953)

Young Bess (1953, dir. by George Sidney) is a late representative of classical Hollywood and was released at a time when Hollywood studios struggled to survive (Wierzbicki, 2009, pp.160-162). Appropriately, the release of this film coincided with the year of British Queen Elizabeth II's coronation. Indeed, Rózsa states that 'MGM wanted to do their homage to the new Queen' (Rózsa, 1984, p. 161), which may also be reflected in the largely British cast. Therefore this film incorporates a review of English nationalism (Fitzpatrick, 2009, p. 45). The film portrays Elizabeth Tudor's childhood and subsequent maturation from a romantic and dreamy girl into a strong-minded young woman and ultimately a queen. At the centre of the film's drama is a historically documented tragic love affair of young Bess (as Princess Elizabeth was called by her governess and peers) with the much older Admiral Tom Seymour. The story is adapted from a 1940's novel by Margaret Irwin. Critical material on this film appears to be rare. Apart from a few generic comments, it emerges that this film may have entered the selection of neglected films of the period before recorded media, despite positive reviews and award nominations. Only an occasional showing on television retained its memory (Fitzpatrick, 2009, p. 47).

The film attracted one of the most prolific film composers at the time: Miklós Rózsa, who by then had established a solid reputation for being thorough with his research into forgotten and period music. Although Haines remarks that this research was at the mercy of Rosza's librarian at MGM (Haines, 2014, p. 101). Consequently it may be legitimate to say that this film 'received music appropriate to its Elizabethan setting' (Cooke, 2008, p. 188). Rózsa himself appears vague on his composing contract for *Young Bess*:

I was delighted to accept it and immersed myself into the music of the Tudor period. The picture was not a master piece but had lovely scenes and fine moments.
(Rózsa, 1984, p. 161)

Only *Film Score Monthly* scholar John Fitzpatrick asserts in a 2009 guide to recordings of the film's score that Rózsa relied on the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (FVB) in an 1899

edition from Breitkopf & Härtel as main inspiration for his film score and occasional musical quotation (Fitzpatrick, 2009, p. 46). Whilst some tunes of the FVB can be identified in the score and are included in this film reading, the chapters main purpose revolves around elements of the invocation of historical feel as described previously. Although musico-historical reference was intended within this score this reading aims to enquire from the point of view of reception: what may have actually transpired to the viewer in terms of musico-historical feel? The analysis includes cues that express musico-historical verisimilitude as well as nostalgia and how these contribute to the cinematic impression of the Tudor Court at the time and in more recent years.

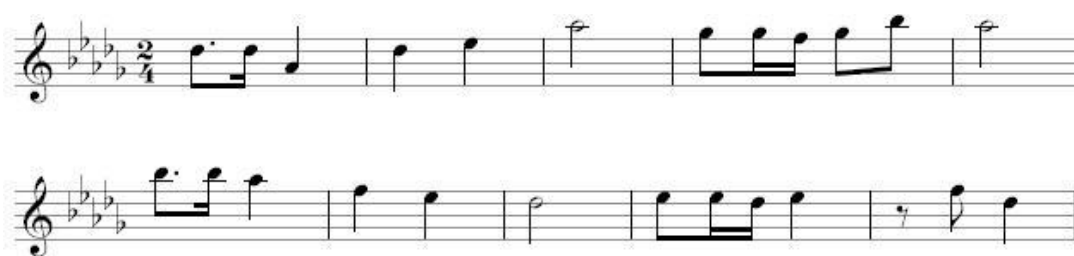
Rózsa dispensed with period instruments in the orchestration, rather he deployed common modern symphonic instruments in smaller, more consort-like, ensembles, mainly in arrangements for a selection of modern string instruments or strings with flute or oboe. This choice of orchestration, this chapter argues, may be key to a successful or unsuccessful transmission of musico-historical feel, because one of the major recognition factors or triggers of this particular experience for the viewer may have been lost. However, Fitzpatrick argues that:

Rózsa's arrangement features his own contrapuntal bass line and orchestration in keeping with the notion that 1953 movie audiences would find an authentic period performance "grating to the ear". (Fitzpatrick, 2009, p. 49)

Indeed, changes of musical tastes and sensibility towards the tone qualities of period instruments play an important part in this analysis. In the 1950s the Early Music movement and with it the sounds of professionally played period instruments had not yet reached a broad enough audience to justify their existence alongside 'established' symphonic instruments in the film score. In more recent years, period instruments have been acknowledged to provide a certain colour to a film score's orchestration and therefore have been used much more frequently alongside and together with symphonic instruments. This emancipation of a specific sound ideal could not have been imagined in the 1950s and Rózsa followed there in the footsteps of Mendelssohn-Bartholdy who equally disregarded issues of period instrumentation in his 1829 performance of Bach's 'Matthäus Passion' partially due to concerns over audience reception.

According to Fitzpatrick there are nine musico-historical references in the soundtrack of this film in total, all of which quote or incorporate tunes from the FVB. A first brief employment of 'lightweight tunes in the Renaissance manner' occurs in the film's initial flashback to 'happy moments of King Henry VIII (Charles Laughton) and Anne Boleyn' (Fitzpatrick, 2009, p. 47). These tunes relate in their idiom to, and develop, the 'Hatfield House' cue (3.18). Immediate connotations with the picture of the idealised past are pre-assigned and encouraged at this point of the story. The tunes reaffirm and frame the light-hearted and positive nature of the narrative and intensify a nostalgic experience.

The film's most predominant musical cue, 'Hatfield House', which is based on a nursery-rhyme theme by Rózsa and originally dubbed the 'See-Saw-Song' (Fitzpatrick, 2009, p. 47) shows merits of the historical feel by addressing nostalgia in particular.



*Here we go up, up, up,
Up to the sky so high
Here we go down, down, down,
Bumpity bump, good bye.*

5.1: 'Hatfield House' theme or the 'See-Saw-Song'

This song acts as an important narrative signifier for Elizabeth's restive childhood and her rise and fall in her father's favour. By exploiting the musical material of the song in several reprises throughout the film, Rózsa literally illustrates events in Elizabeth's life, supplemented by a visual cue: a horse carriage either going up or down a hill – away from Hatfield (up) to the Court mirroring the 'ups' in Elizabeth's life, and conversely back to Hatfield (down), at low moments when Elizabeth's father or the conspiracy of her uncle have forced Elizabeth to leave the Court. By means of this song, the viewer is

easily guided through the action and follows and anticipates its predictability. Consequently the music conveys a sense of stability and security and helps to structure the narrative. Even if the viewer has not paid much attention to the story, this 'up and down' has a memorable effect, together with the 'bumpety bump, good bye', instrumentally or vocally. The melody may create a sense of innocence and childhood together with a reminiscence of years gone by and as it is repeated in several guises throughout the first half of the film, the viewer is constantly reminded.

For King Henry VIII's final moments Rózsa provides a composition akin to a *passacaglia* with the melody of the plain chant '*Dies Irae*'. Fitzpatrick refers to the composition as a *passacaglia*, whereas Rózsa describes it as a 'chaconne for strings' (Rózsa, 1984, p. 161). Indeed these two forms have historically been juxtaposed or introduced as a pair, though originating with distinct differences in character and tempo (*passacaglia* was perceived as more melancholic, slower and in minor key whereas the *chaconne* was in major key and very lively, particularly visible in works by Frescobaldi and Couperin. However, analytical parameters of later centuries, particularly post-Bach and in early twentieth century musicology made out that these forms were interchangeable and perhaps some composers did not interpret the difference in a Frescobaldi-way which cast a blurred impression on the two musical forms (Silbiger, 1996).

Interpreted with Frescobaldi in mind the sounding piece in King Henry VIII's death scene resembles a *passacaglia* in its melancholic character rather than a *chaconne*. Whilst, as Fitzpatrick assigns, the '*Dies Irae*' may express 'the grief and fear of the assembled court and family as well as Henry's own desperation' (Fitzpatrick, 2009, p. 48), this is also a compositional musico-historical nod towards the historically perceived sacred identity of the moment of death, particularly the death of monarchs. The cleverly woven musico-historical reference, however, has hardly any impact on the viewer, who may perceive the colour of string sounds and experience a feel of calm serenity. The music reacts to moments of King Henry VIII's struggle with death and uses the framework of the *passacaglia*'s identifying descending baseline for loosely connected variations. Nevertheless, the musical structure of this repetitive ground bass variation allows for conclusive musical framing of the scene. In previously analysed scenes, a comparable situation would have required sacred vocal music. This

means a lone soprano or boys' choir in particular to emphasize the 'chant' aspect and sacred identity of the depicted event. The death of Queen Mary Tudor in *Elizabeth* is accompanied by exactly this type of chant.

There are further examples of period music acting almost unidentifiably in the underscore: The 'Alman No. 14' by an anonymous composer from the FVB forms the beginning of Catherine Parr's theme played by an oboe (Fitzpatrick, 2009, p. 48) and 'A Toye'¹ by Giles Farnaby and available in the FVB as number 270, behind a scene of flirtation between the young princess Elizabeth with the young page Barnaby. The conventional chamber orchestration of these pieces is arguably responsible for the tunes' unobtrusive absorption into the underscore.

In chapter 1 this study identified levels of attention as crucial to understanding some of the workings of sixteenth-century music in film and their musico-historical effect. The example in question was a scene from *Young Bess*, in which the tune is undoubtedly present, but working so quietly behind the onscreen action that any powers of period identification or even scene commentary appear to be marginalised. Fitzpatrick argues that the music in this scene lends an 'ironic edge to the daggerladen dialogue' (Fitzpatrick, 2009, p. 49) which is unfolding between the characters at the dining table, however, the music's low volume and therefore low level of attention may not actually yield this response. Moreover the music is perceived as a quiet ornament emphasizing the domestic ambience and perhaps, if at all noticed, softens the tone of the onscreen argument. The modern chamber ensemble arrangement with flute, violin and lower strings almost drowns out the harpsichord quietly performing a few harmonic accents. The underlying piece is based on another tune from the FVB: No. 177 'Packington's Pownde' (5.2) (Fitzpatrick, 2009, p. 49).



5.2: Packington's Pownde (extract from FVB, 1979, Dover Publications)

¹ 'A toye' was a free compositional form in the Renaissance.

There are no musicians present in the scene and this musical cue does not interact with the ongoing action. A musical ornament perhaps? Or implied source music? The narrative status of this tune may be questionable because the music's involvement with the scene is so marginal. Nevertheless, it may be a trigger for situating the action within the appropriate period. In more general terms, scenes of domestic ambience required, or were expected to provide, a certain musical accompaniment in the sixteenth century. The period music's musical properties – a *passamezzo* ground division – lend this musical cue to frame the scene nicely in a musical conclusion at the blend into the next scene.

As identified previously some of the most characteristic moments for the musical invocation of the cinematic Tudor Court are ball scenes and dances. *Young Bess* utilises these moments in one iconic scene for a lively display of sixteenth-century musical idioms and quotations. Whilst the first piece in the scene is a song, deployed anachronistically as a tune from *Playford's Musick's Recreation on the Lyra Viol* (1652) (Fitzpatrick, 2009, p. 49), it blends in with subsequent pieces, which include King Henry VIII's well-known 'Pastime with good companye' and a Rózsa adaptation of a galliard-like dance called the 'Dansk Dans' by the character Bess. The music is largely at the centre of the action and the overt diegetic or onscreen nature of the music is highlighted by the onscreen applause. However, dialogue is predominant, rendering the lyrics of the song barely comprehensible. There may be an element of competition involved between song and dialogue, as both demand a certain level of attention, as Gorbman observes: 'songs require narrative to cede to spectacle, for it seems that lyrics and action compete for attention' (Gorbman, 1987, p. 20). Albeit anachronistically, the song contributes to an overall cinematic Tudor atmosphere, as do the concise rhythms of the dances and their performances in groups. A certain degree of playfulness and liveliness inherent in Renaissance dances enhances the overall impression of the situation and contributes to the cinematic picture of the Tudor Court. Again the music frames the scene ending in a musical conclusion before the camera blend.

The final period quotation is one which quietly accompanies King Edward's birthday reception. It is a piece by John Bull, known as 'The King's Hunt' and also available in the FVB. It however, probably received a new middle section by Rózsa

(Fitzpatrick, 2009, p. 49). The piece is performed by strings and adds a light-hearted celebratory nature to the scene. First foregrounded then moving behind the dialogue whilst the camera focuses on two characters, the music's source appears implied in the scene though no musicians are actually present. The piece continues without interruption or reaction to ongoing action and frames the scene by finishing in a period typical musical conclusion.

Rózsa's choice of modern symphonic instruments causes these period tunes to blend in and merge with the rest of the score which is otherwise traditionally romantic. The musical language established in this film is conventional for 1950s Hollywood traditions, the only 'unusual' token being the chamber ensemble orchestration for the period tunes in particular. The score for *Young Bess* demonstrates Rózsa's skill in absorbing period mannerisms into his own style, as Cooke confirms:

Rózsa's principal achievement was the absorption of a wide range of historical mannerisms into his own coherent personal style, so that the speciousness of the music's purported authenticity (which Rózsa clearly overstated) is not at issue.
(Cooke, 2008, p. 189)

Young Bess is an interesting example of period film scoring and it has been treated as such in a 1971 textbook by Roberts and Sharples on filmmaking (Fitzpatrick, 2009, p. 46). Though the period character is hidden behind symphonic orchestration and therefore lacking the period colour and flair, elements of the purported historical sense are evident in the usage and gesture.

***A Man for All Seasons* (1966)**

This film, in contrast to the former example, expresses a noticeable sobriety in terms of film music for history films. It is important to point out that throughout the film there is hardly any music at all. The sparse score abstains from underscoring in the classical Hollywood sense. Not only is the lack of music in itself significant, further the instrumentation is of period origin and therefore different in tone colour and gesture, resulting in a musical representation of the period that is very unlike former examples of the epic genre. It is dominated by gentle, thoughtful sounds, mainly utilising

recorders and lutes in a period or quasi-period style. The film is about silence – and the silence is audible.

Georges Delerue, the film's composer, uses a distinctly different approach to Rózsa in that he allows his own 'purist' attitude in terms of musico-historical accuracy to take the lead.² The composer's official website states that

The maestro's talent was seen to lie not in the use of pastiche, but in the reinvention of a musical language appropriate to the occasion.
(Dupont, 2012)

This talent was recognized by film maker Zinnemann who asked Delerue to compose the music for *A Man For All Seasons*. Delerue intended to avoid *le grand spectacle*, as he himself calls the films his colleague Rózsa became involved in, rather he sought music that expressed *le langage de l'époque* and therefore particularly utilised the sonority and stylistic means of the sixteenth century in the case of *A Man For All Seasons* (Delerue, 1980). Although, he clearly admits that he submitted his compositions to the needs of the drama and adhered to film music compositional conventions at the time. Nevertheless, his scores for *A Man For All Seasons* and *Anne of the Thousand Days* show a particular and unmatched commitment to a musical realisation of the sixteenth century. Therefore both films are particularly important in demonstrating the premise of this study, in which particularly the colour of instrumental sound has been identified as trigger for experiencing historical sense. This example is also in contrast to *Young Bess*, which in spite of using a considerable number of historical quotes, hardly succeeds in transmitting a musico-historical image through the absorption into a romantic idiom. Extant period music is rare in *A Man For All Seasons*, indeed there is only one recognisable quotation: King Henry VIII's 'Consort XV' behind a dialogue. This scene will be described in more detail later.

A significant musical cue is presented in the four minute long title sequence entering with a rhythmic ostinato in fifths (Dupont, 2012). Different from other examples of the historical genre, the music sneaks in quietly during the initial scene. A sudden change of orchestration and volume of the introduced fifths motif marks the beginning of the opening credits. The repetitive rhythmic motif develops further and

² Delerue states in an interview in 1980 (available on <http://www.georges-delerue.com/en/special/interview>, accessed 14/07/14) that 'On ne pouvait pas se permettre de faire une musique que ne soit pas très pure dans l'esprit de l'époque.'

gains intensity, enhanced by the sound of the organ taking over from the lute and strings, occasionally supplemented by timpani and brass to increase the dramatic effect. Not only does it transmit the mood of the film – sombre and subliminally threatening – but also it acquires a narrative function: A messenger in a row boat is depicted and the time he needs to reach his destination is embodied by the accompanying music. The striking novelty presented by this musical cue is evident in its harmonic and structural simplicity as well as the embodiment into the action. The cue becomes part of the film, transporting the viewer into the depicted world with a successive force, building tension and anticipation, telling the story before ending in three consecutive dramatic chords and consequently defining the end of the journey along the river. Silence follows, emphasizing the coherence of narrative and music at this stage and heightening the importance of the musical cue.

In *Young Bess* music with historical reference was used very quietly in a scene of domestic ambience. Similarly, lute music is briefly audible at the moment of entrance into the main character's house in *A Man for All Seasons*. Employed to situate a calm and friendly mood as well as to signify historical allocation, the lute piece further conveys a disarming atmosphere within just a few seconds. After three minutes of silence, an improvised piece with recorder and lute over a remaining fifth accompanies another travel scene; abruptly stopping the moment the dialogue becomes important after the character has arrived at the destination intended. Both tunes resemble stereotypes of sixteenth-century music – for instance the remaining fifth and the divisions on a ground – and use these stereotypes to create an atmosphere of 'otherness' which helps to situate the action within the intended period. The main function, however, is not to convey the historical impression. Already the idea of using music to show the passing of time has been introduced³ and this film makes particular use of this notion. Repetitive motifs with a steady rhythmic progression which can be found in elements of sixteenth-century music lend themselves appropriate to live up to this task. The title sequence and the travel scene are only two examples of this function in this film.

³ Music has been identified as a signifier of passing time and as an anchor of continuous time, among others by Wingstedt et al (2010); Cooke (2008); Kassabian (2001) and Kalinak (1994).

Fanfares announce royalty or acts of state and play an important part in the two minutes long musical cue that supplements the King's journey by boat to Thomas More's place. A very joyful and triumphant melody played on period instruments characterises this musical cue. Delerue (1980) asserts that normally the king would have had a singer and a lute on the boat but Delerue opted for a more grand entrance for the king to emphasise the royal status. Dramatic concerns overrode Delerue's own puristic conscience in this scene. At this stage, the difficulty of attributing a diegetic or non-diegetic function to the music becomes apparent. Is it implied source music in the sense that Kassabian and Hagen suggest coming from musicians in the depicted boat? Or does it resemble the characterising function of source scoring? There are several reasons that confirm it as the latter. Firstly, the triumphant tune only appears when the King and his boat are depicted, hence a strong polarisation towards the character of the King is constructed. Secondly, the excessive style and instrumentation enhanced by brass and timpani signifies a musical embodiment of royalty, strength, stability and infallibility. Hence, this musical cue overtly characterizes the King, although it appears slightly out of place in the general mood of the film. Still a hint of narrative ambiguity remains; an in-limbo-state that is best described by Kassabian when she states that 'music occupies an ambiguous position within the narrative world of the film while retaining a limited but clear relationship to the events of that world (Kassabian, 2001, p. 47). Notably, the fact that the film hardly features underscoring, greatly emphasizes this scene. The music stops the moment the king disembarks. Thomas More and his family welcome the King and exchange courtesies. The King meets More's daughter Margret and forces the subject of the conversation towards music whilst musicians can be seen passing by in the background (1.1 -1.3; 5.3-5.5).



5.3; 5.4; 5.5: King: "Margret, do you like music?" Margret: "Yes, your grace."
King: "They'll play for you."

In the next shot, the King is seen walking alongside Thomas More in the garden whilst period consort music can be heard, presumably coming from the house. Again,

the narrative function of this music is not entirely clear. Although it appears to be source music from inside the house, it comments on the mood of the scene. The music is friendly, calm and happy whilst Thomas and the King have an informal conversation, luring the spectator into the sense of calm stability and an experience of the present moment in the story. No anticipation of the following is conveyed and it disappears abruptly the moment the King loses his temper – very much to the surprise of the viewer. The ambiguous position described by Kassabian becomes clear again; the music obviously retains a clear connection with the onscreen events. Furthermore, Wingstedt's model can be applied here: out of his six classifications the music's emotive and informative functions pre-dominate this scene in collaborative harmony. Additionally, descriptive functions can be assigned by actively emphasising the peaceful ambience of More's garden (5.6). This peaceful atmosphere is drastically interrupted by the King's emotional rant.



5.6: The King and Thomas More in discussion – about the King's music.

However, music returns – in the form of dialogue. The King asks for Thomas' impression of the music they had just heard in the background and Thomas answers: "Could it have been your Grace's own?" "Discovered" exclaims the King (5.7; 5.8). Indeed, the piece that quietly supplemented the first part of this scene is Consort XV by Henry VIII. The King is interested in Thomas' opinion of his piece, which the latter henceforth describes as "delightful".



5.7; 5.8: The King talks about music whilst Consort XV by Henry VIII can be heard in the background and asks for More's opinion.

The subsequent scenes are dialogue dominated. Apart from church bells and the King singing a brief unaccompanied song to the new Queen Anne there is no music for forty-five minutes, by then Thomas More has been sentenced and is waiting for his execution in the tower (5.9). Suddenly, the motif in fifths from the beginning blends in; this time recorders take over the main theme. Again, the music is employed as a signifier for passing time. The seasons change outside the little window slit of Thomas' prison and each change causes the instrumentation to change. In winter lower strings adopt the melody and in the spring it is recorders again. The melancholy of the tune illustrates Thomas' desperate situation and signifies his inevitable fate whilst conveying the sadness and calm surrender. The tune ends the moment the door opens and something is about to happen, which lends this scene an enclosed, independent status.

Thomas is taken to Richmond palace for a final commission enquiry before his execution. In another room of the castle diegetic dance music with period instruments is audible. It stops the moment the door to the enquiry room is closed and continues the moment the door is opened. This imparts the idea of the joyful life Thomas is on the verge of leaving behind. The subliminal hint of freedom and gaiety is only behind the door and if Thomas changed his mind, he could take part in it again. Thus, the music does not only represent the period, there is a deeper connotation that is inherently connected to the main character.

Intro:



Recorders:



Lower strings:



Recorders (Reprise and Ending):



5.9: The musical themes of Thomas More's time in the tower together with the change of seasons outside.

The film ends with the execution of Thomas More and a voice-over narrator quickly summarises what happened thereafter. The end title music is a reprise of the royal theme that accompanied the arrival of the King at Thomas' place, which, ironically emphasizes the victory of the King over the thoughtful Thomas, who was characterised in the opening title.

In this film the classical scoring technique from previous years appears fully abandoned towards a more authentic and plain, historically informed approach. Clearly dialogue is foregrounded and music almost superfluous. The silence or musical absence almost forms its own musical language throughout the film. The few musical cues are mainly scene internal or implied source music or appear as a small token

towards underscoring. However, the historical accuracy of instrumentation and musical structure is evident.

The film is framed by the tune of the title sequence, which appears again whilst Thomas is in the tower. Perhaps the thoughtful mood of the subject matter, somewhat unusually not revolving around a romance, provides an opportunity to employ quieter and more meaningful sounds?

The remote is perceived as such but experienced as near; the foreign is recognised as alien yet felt to be familiar.
(Dahlhaus, 1983, p. 70)

CONTEXTUALISING MUSIC AT A CINEMATIC TUDOR COURT – A CONCLUSION

Contextualising music at a cinematic Tudor Court involved engaging with, as Dahlhaus describes it, a historicist's 'twisted aesthetic paradox' (Dahlhaus, 183, p. 70) which is described in the quote preceding this chapter. To apply this paradox in the premises of this thesis meant musical elements of a specific historical period – the Renaissance – received contemporary attention through experience within the cinematic continuum and thus allowed for nearly five-hundred-year-old musical idioms to develop a closer relationship with the present. The tonal qualities of period instruments and the appeal of 'unconventional' harmonic turns casts an air of otherness and alienation unto the film soundtrack, however, the entrenchment and repercussions of early music revival practices in the twentieth-century as well as influences from ethnic, folk and rock music have embedded these sounds comfortably within contemporary familiarity.

The cinematic continuum provides a palpable illusion of musicking in the sixteenth-century that is riddled with conventions, ideological referential clichés and then current musical taste. Whilst this was to be expected in the probe for this thesis, the findings nevertheless are encouraging in terms of the overall picture of musicking transmitted. Surprising elements discovered in due course of this study were the amount of period instruments and period musical idioms used particularly in the two films with scores by Delerue. This aspect appears unusual at first glance with regard to the commercial viability of these films and therefore mainstream demands that would allegedly overlook a niche development like the early music performance movement, despite this movement being at its height in popularity in the late 1960s. Delerue's musical upbringing reinforced exposure to the new sound colours of the movement and therefore ultimately the inclusion of sixteenth-century musical idioms in his film scores was a logical consequence (Delerue, 1980). Another surprising element within this research was the discovery of an apparent equal status of period and symphonic

instruments in the scores of later productions which consequently expanded the initial research questions.

The purpose of this study was to demonstrate and illustrate the various facets, functions and manifestations of sixteenth-century music that the music adopts in the mass-entertainment context provided by the selected films. What can be extracted from the results is a plausible picture of the musical spirit of the sixteenth-century veiled in dramatic amendments and commercial attitudes. An overall impression of key moments of musical entertainment of the respective period has equally filtered through to the film score. Musical and lyrical tokens towards the historical time depicted can be found throughout all films investigated, confirming a generic assumption that period films use period music to identify the period, however, as this study has shown, this is not as straightforward as these statements might suggest. The functions are more refined and diverse within the technicalities of narrative and film within which identifying the period presents only one small aspect. Kassabian (2001) and Mera (2001) have expressed a disposition towards unearthing further functions and meanings of period music deployment within the film score for the quasi-baroque score of *Dangerous Liaisons* (1988). They neglect the importance and influence of period instrument sonority on the audience's period perception, instead focus on more structural and ideological elements of the musical Baroque. Nevertheless they arrive at the same conclusion that there is more to period music employment in the film score than previously acknowledged. Haines (2014) contributes to this discussion of period musical mannerisms in film scores likewise but with a focus on the medieval. This left the Renaissance uncovered, which the present study sought to redeem or at the very least break into by looking at the most obvious cinematic representatives throughout the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

In the process of contextualising music at a cinematic Tudor Court this study identified relevant scenes and settings as well as employments of pre-existent sixteenth-century music and pastiche. To recognise these as two separate and ideologically charged entities with regards to period music in films presents a new approach in film musicology, which this study intended to address. By deconstructing musical properties of pastiches encountered in the soundtracks of the chosen films and relating them to a wider music-historical and music-technical background, this

study hopes to have shown the nature of period pastiche in the respective film scores, which may also be extended or applied to further film and television examples of the historical genre. However, exploring the validity of this assumption may result in a different research project. The complex web of functions and meanings unearthed by looking at popular culture, the 'historical' and music in general as well as sixteenth-century music in particular within it made a contextualisation a challenging task, not least because of the large amount of literature from diverse fields on offer. One of the major aims was to identify typical icons that invoke the 'Renaissance' to a mass-audience on the cinema screen and to explore their role within the selected films and their narrative space. This role incorporated taking perception and reception as well as interpretation and identification into account. A hermeneutical and ecological understanding of the process of meaning construction and by employing these approaches critically evaluating ideological constraints of a broad field helped to deepen an understanding of core processes of film music's functions.

Music was at the heart of the enquiry and showed itself in various guises. Distinguishing between a symphonic score and early music deployment, furthermore exploring sixteenth-century musical idioms and their properties, purposes, forms and functions within the film score at large and specifically within narrative space has not previously been done to this extent. Therefore this thesis openly engaged with questioning meanings of music and meanings of sixteenth-century music in modern mass-media and popular culture. Instead of dismissing the subject as 'trivial', this thesis made a case for further enquiry into the manifestations of music history in recent society. Interestingly, what is popular on the cinema screen in terms of period instruments and dances was largely popular in the sixteenth century and therefore, the open condemnation of 'trad[ing] on popular ideas of authenticity plundered from musicology' (Lack, 1997, p. 169) may not need to be so negatively charged. Whilst far from purist ideas of authenticity the approximations made in film scoring appear not so far off the mark. This thesis strongly engaged with the manifestations of sixteenth-century music in film and how much they reflect and correspond with the development of historical informed performance practices.

The cinematic world the subject matter emanates from is a complex construct of fantastical, yet purportedly real-world scenarios. The sixteenth century is brought to

life by means of political characters, costumes, settings and music and in some cases the world depicted appears too realistic to simply be classed as a distanced past. The 'historical reality' that emerges is presented in palpable fashion and the cinematic illusion of the Tudor Court with all its political intrigue, private mischief, grand costumes, dances, courtiers, glory and festive spirit has become ingrained in people's minds. Cinemas remain unique with their dark room, large screen and surround sound experiences and therefore are particularly conducive to the idea of a micro-cosmos. The cinematic conjures thoughts of dramatic concerns and remains largely suggestive of period mannerisms. The triad of film mind – film world – film thinking contributes to the overall impact.

Major characters of the Tudor dynasty featured in this thesis were King Henry VIII, Anne Boleyn and Queen Elizabeth I. The investigation paid particular attention to the period's musical depiction and the transmission of an overall musico-historical feel. Period signifiers can be found in an often depicted quasi-theatrical Shakespeare stage set (closely resembling the 1944 film adaptation set of the Shakespeare play *Henry V* starring Lawrence Olivier) in the ball scenes of *Young Bess*, *Anne of the Thousand Days* and *The Other Boleyn Girl*. Furthermore, the cinematic Tudor Court is enhanced by period iconic instruments identified in this thesis as the lute, the recorder, wind instruments and drums. Iconic dances as part of general courtiers' enjoyment or employed as courting practices and archaic period ensemble combinations complete the picture of the would-be Tudor Court. Whilst instruments depiction is merely suggestive and arbitrary, most of this type of period signification is transmitted on an auditory level through the soundtrack.

Pastime With Good Companye – Cinematic Perspectives On Sixteenth-Century Music

In many ways the films investigated participate in a form of historical musicking as described in Haynes (2009) that attracts a broad audience, making iconic elements of past musical activity accessible and quite often – as informal blogs on film enthusiasts' websites suggest – prompt a broad audience to engage further with the music of the sixteenth century. Similar thoughts have been raised by Rosenstone regarding the picture of historical periods and events in general conveyed by the

medium of film (Rosenstone, 2006, p. 4). Previously bypassed in the literature by merely a glance, the examples of employment for sixteenth-century music and quasi pastiche in this study show the diverse employments within the filmic narrative that is, in parts, unique to this music. The study also engaged with the diversity and arbitrariness of opinions about the inclusion of period instruments and sixteenth-century musical idioms in film soundtracks, particularly when the film is targeted at a wider and ultimately international audience.

The films discussed in this study incorporate a degree of musico-historical awareness into the demands of the film industry. Cultural changes and audience needs are reflected in the way these scores were constructed at their respective time of origin as especially exemplified in the choices of orchestration for *Young Bess* and *Anne of the Thousand Days*.

Described as most common is the use of period music in an onscreen situation (Flinn, 1992; Cooke, 2008), which implies that a certain level of historical accuracy is paramount if one is to comply with immediate audience expectations. Certain scenes lend themselves to an anticipation of period sounds, where anachronistic use may stand out or lead to ironic juxtapositions and controversial dispute. The 'Halleluja'-scene in *La Reine Margot* described in chapter 1 is one of those obvious examples. Affiliation with period emerges from unfamiliarity, 'otherness' of sonority: colour of instrumental sounds is perceived as distinctly different as well as the more open musical structure of Renaissance music which may allow for dramatic variations. Public domain music may help to initiate identification processes (Kassabian, 2001), however, sixteenth-century music is not as publicly known as works of the classical canon. The recognition value of the music within a film score is much less pronounced and often reduced to 'something that sounds like Greensleeves' as argued in chapter 3 or sacred chant in Palestrina tradition, therefore identification processes result in other ways including the aforementioned sonority. Renaissance music of secular origin is artefact of a distinctly different musical tradition, one characterised by *mimesis* and improvisation, (Dahlhaus, 1983; Butt, 2002; Haynes, 2009; Savage, 2010) and therefore open to amendments and affect – characteristics that suit the use in film scores well.

It is the rhetorical tradition and inherent rhythmical dominance that stands out as marking the period musically in films as *Elizabeth* and *Anne of Thousand Days* have strongly demonstrated in this thesis. Whilst the soundtrack of *Anne of the Thousand Days* as well as *A Man for All Seasons* use the music's rhetorical aspects to frame scenes, conclude depicted arguments and provide overall cohesion, *Elizabeth* utilises a simple but succinct rhythm inspired by Susato's 'Dansereye' collection as anchor within the narrative and period signifier. Whilst drums hardly receive onscreen time, their sounds, however, are omnipresent in the soundtrack and particularly employed for significant social gatherings at the Tudor Court. *Passamezzi*, *passacaglias* and quasi-galliards, popular and widely known Renaissance dances, quite clearly find their musical expressions and onscreen group dance display in the ball scenes of the period, whilst fantasias and toyes engage with more subtle functions in the underscore where employed, transmitting strongly the music's emotional content and affiliation. The predominance of secular music or informed pastiche of a similar kind in the film soundtracks impart an integral aspect of the lively period spirit surrounding sixteenth-century music; a spirit continuing to be celebrated by performers of this repertory world-wide.

Distinctly different is the quieter and more subtly persuasive sonority of selected period instruments for the soundtrack. Very recently in the case of the highly commercial Showtime series *The Tudors* this particular sonority created its own referential cliché in terms of transmitting 'calm beauty'. The films in this study also show a slow absorption of period instruments into film scores to add a new sound colour range, with the result that in the two *Elizabeth* films the lute, the recorder and the symphony orchestra work on equal terms – a sign for the general absorption of these instruments into mass culture. Moreover this is also a testimony for the notion that twenty-first century audiences may not perceive the sound of period instruments as 'grating to the ear' as Fitzpatrick (2009) describes the audience reception of the 1950s. Lutes, recorders, sackbuts, crumhorns, viols and drums and occasionally a solo voice, if choral singing in sacred music is excluded, define the soundtracks of the films in discourse of this thesis and lend their musical properties to enhance meaning.

Clarke describes, that musical meaning may be specified in sounds (Clarke, 2005, p. 191). The sound of sixteenth-century music and related musical idioms

conveys 'otherness' and therefore is at the least intriguing or fascinating for a majority of viewers, who, unwittingly, are exposed to listening to these sounds in the context of the film. Therefore 'to listen to music is to engage with music's meaning' (Clarke, 2005, p. 189) may also count for the film. To adapt Clarke's idea slightly for the film, fundamentals of perception are defined by an absorption in and reaction to the surroundings and if the surroundings are defined by the constraints of the cinematic environment then this predisposes an inclusive experience of a particular kind of film music within the whole of the cinematic realm (Clarke, 2005, p. 189). There are no hierarchies in this ecological approach, which in the present thesis is regarded as very beneficial in order to appreciate the innate processes of meaning construction between music and other elements of the film. Interestingly, there are no apparent hierarchies in performance practices of early music ensembles, too, making these ensembles work more like a collective of excellent performers who contribute to the outcome and meaning of the whole performance; individually but in response and attuned to other members of the ensemble (Haynes, 2009 and Haskell, 1988).

The advancements of digital technology and possible enhancements of quieter period instrument sounds to match symphonic instruments further helped towards a smoother blend between instrumental colours, unlike in the 1969 example of *Anne of the Thousand Days* where the shift and sonorous juxtaposition is still obvious. Overall, the instrumentation reflects the *Zeitgeist* and corresponds with current musical tastes of composers and audiences, as demonstrated in the case of *Young Bess*. Facets of Historical Informed Performance can be found throughout the films cited in this study. On the one hand, the chronological development illustrates the increasing influence of the movement in the twentieth century even on something so strongly subject to commercial constraints as the film score; on the other, the movement benefitted from the technological development and its involvement in films presented another platform to enhance the music's popularity.

The Music's Narrative Engagement

Popular period instruments and musical styles served and continue to serve as icons to invoke the period, however, they find increasing deployment in the film

soundtrack only during the latter half of the twentieth century. Invocation of history by means of the film's soundtrack received increasing attention, resulting in a particular peak in 1960s and 1970s when a more 'purist' attitude towards HIP was pre-dominant. At that point in time the early music movement had reached a particular performance height including constantly producing very accomplished performers that were readily available for performing for and in films.⁶³ A particularly appropriate onscreen display of this established proficiency of instrumental play is the lute scene in the chamber of Queen Katherine in *Anne of the Thousand Days*. In previous and later productions instrumental play resorts to token miming, however, in the case of *Elizabeth – The Golden Age* professional early music performers⁶⁴ were cast for one particular scene. In most film cases discussed in the present thesis the onscreen display of period instruments is limited to a few representatives that suffice to maintain the illusion of onscreen realism and remaining largely suggestive of musical practices. As Turner explains:

Film narratives have developed their own signifying systems. Film has its own 'codes', shorthand methods of establishing social or narrative meanings; and its own conventions – sets of rules which audiences agree to observe and which, for example, allow us to overlook the lack of realism in a typical musical sequence.
(Turner, 1994, p. 123)

Or to reiterate Winters' notion previously discussed in chapter 4 of this thesis: music is seen as 'an indicator of narrative space' which relies on the 'willingness of audiences to participate in a game of make belief' (Winters, 2010, p. 228). In order to partake with what in this study has been described as musico-historical feel, this willingness or agreement is crucial for the experience as it is strongly embedded in the purported period reality of the film.

Period music finds itself acting in various ways in narrative space and in similar dramatic ways as a conventional symphonic underscore. The quasi-period tune 'Farewell, farewell my pleasure past' in *Anne of the Thousand Days* illustrates how period identification becomes one among many functions. The tune is also character referential, as it seems to accompany particularly Anne Boleyn's journey and ceases

⁶³ See here the involvement in soundtrack recordings of David Munrow and 'The English Consort' as well as the soundtrack appearances of English soprano (and currently BBC Radio 3 presenter) Catherine Bott.

⁶⁴ Lutenist Jacob Heringman was one of them. See interview in appendix.

after Anne has announced her first pregnancy. The lyrics of the song may be seen as predicting some kind of outcome for the film. The tune engages with most of the modes Wingstedt assigned to film music in general. Wingstedt *et al.* emphasise that viewers attempt to engage with and ‘make sense’ of

the intricate interplay with aural modes such as spoken language, sound effects and music. Each mode individually bears meaning, but above all meaning emerges from their complex multimodal interplay.
(Wingstedt *et al.*, 2010, p. 195)

These ideas derive from a notion already acknowledged in the foreword to Chion’s *Audio Vision* by assigning that film was equally and at the same time heard and seen (Chion, 1994, p. xxi). Part of this ‘making sense’ process is also accepting the music’s multi-faceted narrative engagement. With the ‘Farewell my pleasure past’-tune, an emotional experience is induced due to the music’s quasi-modal nature and melancholic flair. A hint of romanticised nostalgia also plays a part and with the song’s strong music analytical resemblance to the ever popular ‘Greensleeves’ this piece is destined to touch audience’s sense and contribute to an overall historical feel. As Wingstedt *et al.* describes, these emotional qualities may also inflect on characters in the story (Wingstedt *et al.*, 2010, p. 196).

Several scenes in the films investigated for this study illustrate this function. In the aforementioned scene with the lute, the scene’s sombre mood is conveyed by the melancholic fantasia and reflects directly upon the character Queen Katherine. More rhetorical function may be assigned to a dialogue scene between Anne and the King, as described in chapter 4, in which the music’s allegiance with the King’s point of view is emphasised by the music’s melancholic character and minor tonality in the form of another *fantasia* played by lute and viol. A further deployment with effects on onscreen characters, as exemplified in this study, includes the lyrics of ‘A Passionate Shepherd with his love’ in *The Private Lives of Elizabeth and Essex* which make a mockery out of Queen Elizabeth’s tragic love to the younger Earl of Essex and cause her to destroy her image in the mirror by throwing an object at it. The musical properties of this piece are less involved in this effect, as the light-heartedness of the tune rather emphasises the irony intended. Furthermore, a particularly ‘guiding function’, as described in Wingstedt *et al.* (2010, p. 196) may be experienced in the Tower scene of *A Man for All Seasons*. The music illustrates the joyful life Thomas

More may leave behind with his decision. He and the viewer are reminded every time the door to the interrogation room opens and the faint sounds of a jolly dance transmit through to the displayed scene. In *Elizabeth* it is particularly the character of the Duke of Anjou that stands out as being personified through the recorder. Additionally a period sonnet by Sir Philip Sidney is exploited to transmit a character's (Dudley's) feelings towards the new Queen Elizabeth and causing the queen to shy away from his intended marriage proposal.

Crucial in enhancing a film's receptive historical disposition and emotional range is the musical language and therefore the auditory message of the soundtrack. *Anne of the Thousand Days* engages with the breadth of functions available in sixteenth-century musical idioms. Notably, the soundtrack is entirely original period pastiche but of a highly informed and skilled kind, as described in chapter 1 of this thesis. The soundtrack utilises period musical idioms as well as period instruments in unmatched frequency. This proposes a competitive element to the 'usual' symphonic way of underscoring at its time of origin and also illustrates that the audience was deemed ready for receiving these sounds and welcome them to the historical impression at large – a process perhaps of ecological knowledge increase and adaptation in the sense of Clarke (2005). Delerue made these newly discovered sounds for the film score public, whereas in the 1950s Rózsa refrained from choosing a particularly sixteenth-century influenced musical sound world. The musico-historical language of the soundtrack for *Young Bess* therefore remains concealed within the sounds of modern instruments.

Hermeneutic and Ecological Considerations – Impact On Historical Feel

This thesis sought the ideological application of a theory and was mainly suggestive of ideas proposed by Gadamer, Savage, Flinn and Wingstedt, though inspired and fuelled by the lack of backed up opinions about pre-existent and pseudo-period musical manifestations in film music literature. Therefore this thesis enquired the resulting tension of the negotiation of broader referential clichés and period desire. By adopting a hermeneutical approach towards film music and therefore presupposing that music contributes to the whole of the filmic experience in

communication with various elements it is not only the functions and suggestive powers of sixteenth-century music in these films that may have been revealed more comprehensively, but also that the experience of the whole engages with what has been dubbed 'musico-historical feel'. As Cohen observes plainly: 'Exposure to new [and in the case of this study purportedly 'old'] compositional styles can be an added aspect of the filmic experience' (Cohen, 2000, p. 265). The mutual interaction between soundtrack emotions; evocation and response as well as narrative proves intriguing and beneficial when applied to sixteenth-century music. Wingstedt's model is based strongly on a hermeneutic understanding of the workings of music within a film's soundtrack and its validity is being tested empirically, however, the present study provided some theoretical applications.

The hermeneutical underpinnings expressed by Gadamer have found their way into musicology in the writings of Dahlhaus and most recently Savage. The present thesis aimed at an initial application to the films score and media meaning, centralising the idea of 'the whole being more than the sum of the parts', which strongly relates to music's interaction within the film score. Where sixteenth-century music and quasi musical idioms engage with historical mannerisms expressed in costumes and setting, the historical experience of the scene is more potent than previously acknowledged. This is due to an alleged correspondence between sight and sound that confirms prejudiced ideas of what sounds a picture with these parameters is expected to conjure in audiences' minds, as expressed in the Tudor court scene described at the very beginning of this thesis. Limitations of the hermeneutic approach are manifold due to its inherent openness. Dahlhaus and Savage quite clearly state the shortcomings in terms of the theory's non-specificity. Nevertheless, ideological anchors for the case of sixteenth-century music in film are presented in Gadamer's notion of history as constant dialogue and its therefore progressive character; a dialogue, which films with historically referenced content and period invoking musical accompaniment openly join. Gadamer's theory allows for flexibility and change of perspective in the interpretation of the various functions and narrative employments music in general and sixteenth-century music in particular adopt within the context of the film.

The ecological approach presented by Clarke supports the argument in so far as it emphasises interaction and adaptability. As Clarke asserts:

In ecological theory, perception and meaning are closely related. When people perceive what is happening around them, they are trying to understand, and adapt to, what is going on.
(Clarke, 2005, p. 6)

Experiencing historical feel may comprise the following: Adapting to an alien sonority in the context of the film micro-cosmos and accepting this as a form of period reality. The audience interacts with the film world. Whilst perceptions are generally 'remote controlled', as Barthes 1971 described it, directed or manipulated, the audience had to adapt to the environment of period sounds to associate them with 'historical feel'. To reiterate Clarke who expresses this process as follows:

Representational systems can guide perceptual information pick-up explicitly or tacitly, and can lead to the accumulation and transformation of knowledge, but every kind of knowing rests upon or involves a perceptual relationship with the environment.
(Clarke, 2005, p. 43)

The same environment will undoubtedly evoke similar or equal invariants of perceptions, however, this may happen mutually or at individual times (Clarke, 2005, p. 191).

What has been coined in this thesis as 'musico-historical feel' is the organic result of experience and perception of 'music' and 'history' during the exposure of a film featuring historical content. This has been assessed with extracts of the hitherto grand cinematic representations of the Tudors. The trigger for this emotional experience may be found in the auditory sense in conglomeration with the visual. If both match with current expectations of a period musico-historical feel may be experienced by a large number of viewers, who may at least affiliate some kind of 'otherness' or 'quaintness' with the sound of still broadly less familiar instruments that then mediated together with the picture and subject matter results in the impression of the 'historical'.

Historical films Educational Mission

Films featuring historical content have increasingly caught the attention of history scholars as valuable sources of historical discourse and uses in classrooms (Rosenstone, 1995, Weinstein, 2001 and Carlson, 2007), as expressed in the introduction of this thesis. Whilst acknowledging that 'films are not historical texts;

they are works of art' (Carlson, 2007, p. 420), their seemingly historical value becomes apparent in the virtue of historical interpretations and popular manifestations. The films featured in this thesis may be seen in a similar way, therefore a final brief consideration of this educational or moral mission that emerges from all aspects covered in this thesis appears necessary. The depiction of period music mannerisms in the films discussed might merely suggest the period, however, they shed light on point of views of early music and its wider public acceptance as well as increasingly throughout the twentieth century successfully incorporating a period or musico-historical feel. This is supported by Chapman who observes:

Historical feature films are not primary sources for the periods in which they are set, but they may be regarded as primary sources for the periods in which they were made.
(Chapman, 1999, p. 14)

Films also have a memorable effect and therefore they may become and remain initiators of further enquiry and critique. To study manifestations of examples of period music with the support of their representations in film may instigate further interest and enquiry in these particular musical styles and their histories altogether and in addition, this knowledge may even be remembered and recalled in examinations because it has been provided with an image and a narrative. The educational mission of these films is not only valuable for history students, as Rosenstone, Weinstein, de Groot and Carlson have argued, but also for students of music. The two lectures on 'The historical sense' and 'Musico-historical narratives' that I had the privilege to hold during my research for this thesis, revealed that the contextualisation of period music and film was highly engaging for the undergraduate students attending and prompted them to ask further questions on manifestations of sixteenth-century music. Familiarising students with some early music was one beneficial result of these lectures. Another has been captured well by Weinstein,

The students gain an increased appreciation of the power of mass media to shape perception and to affect interpretation of the past.
(Weinstein, 2001, p. 31)

With the film examples and musico-historical issues addressed in this thesis some possible avenues for educational exploration of the subject matter have been presented and discussed. Historicity and musical historicity have been and continue to

be addressed in film and it serves as 'unmatched illustration, providing insight, posing questions, and inviting further inquiry' (Weinstein, 2001, p. 28).

This thesis contributes to wider research in the area in so far as it provides further insight to period music in mass-media contexts and emphasises the need to explore and critically analyse its narrative employment. With this in mind this thesis dispels the myth of period music's only function within the film score being to identify the respective period. Whilst definitely carrying informative value within the film's narrative world, the breadth of functions of period music in films has been expanded and explored more deeply, also showing sixteenth-century music's particular suitability for the screen. The effects of sixteenth-century music in popular films and their scores have been revealed and may prompt further investigation. It has been demonstrated how colour in sound transmits a musico-historical feel and purports a sense of 'otherness'. The distinctive colouration of the sound of period instruments is responsible for recognising an effect at all. It may be concluded that period music mannerisms are only properly revealed and emphasised by change of orchestration.

Further research may be possible in the area of audience reception and public perceptions of music-history. The musical image of the sixteenth century prevalent in documentaries and television productions may provide further fruitful avenues of enquiry. The role of the lute and plucked instruments in a broader sense, including classical guitars, may be investigated in more detail. Hermeneutic and ecological principles could be applied further and more extensively to the narrative workings of the film score. History films and early music build a meaningful combination for modern film audiences when they engage in 'Pastime[s] with good companye'.

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APPENDIX 1

A SHEPPARD TO HIS LOVE

(Mistress Margret MM, Lady Penelope LP)

*(MM) Come live with me and be my love
Enjoy with me the pleasures here above
That hills and valleys dales and fields
And all the wooded mountains yield*

*(LP) If I could be as young and fair as you
Believe what every shepherd said was true
These pretty speeches might me move
To live with you and be your love*

(MM) And I will make your bed of roses

(LP) In lovers' vows there is but little truth

(MM) And of thousand fragrant posies

(LP) And love cannot endure without its youth

(MM) A cap of flowers and a kirtle

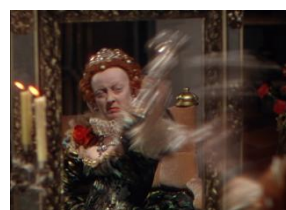
(LP) The flowers fade when summertime is ended

(MM) Embroidered all with leaves of myrtle

(LP) Our love is dead a love we thought so splendid

*(MM) If these delights your mind may move
Then live with me and be my love*

*(LP) But were I young and loved so well
Then I might hold you close forever...*



APPENDIX 2

Interview with a performer in film

Jacob Heringman (JH), lutenist, e-mail correspondence on 7/8 July 2014
Daniela Fountain (DF)

DF: Could you describe briefly how you became involved in film or how you have been approached by filmmakers to take part in a production?

JH: The first time it happened, I was still a student. The film was Peter Greenaway's *Prospero's Books*, and the film company wanted a few short recordings of a lute being tuned, and also a few short snippets of music being played on the lute. But they didn't have the budget to pay for it. So they asked a student: me. Since then, it's usually been soundtrack work commissioned through Isobel Griffiths (she is someone who organises musicians for soundtracks -- the film companies book her to book the musicians) -- though not always.

DF: Could you name a selection of films you have been involved in, indicating whether it was onscreen or off-screen or in an advisory role?

JH: This is not a complete list, but it's the ones I can remember off the top of my head.

Prospero's Books (as described above), *The Madness of King George* (onscreen), *Elizabeth: The Golden Age* (onscreen), *Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban* (soundtrack), *Kingdom of Heaven* (soundtrack), *Robin Hood* (Ridley Scott) (soundtrack), *The Hobbit* (soundtrack), *The Bridge of San Luis Rey* (soundtrack), *Ink Heart* (soundtrack), *Wolf Hall* (TV series which we're filming right now: both onscreen and soundtrack) -- there are others, but I can't remember at the moment.

DF: How would you understand your involvement in 'historical verisimilitude' of the production?

JH: I've never played a part in this aspect. I've only ever come in to play something that someone else has either composed or arranged. It's never been up to me.

DF: If it is not really 'historical verisimilitude' but instrumental colour that the lute provides for the films you have been involved in, could you possibly describe this colour and what it may convey for the film scene?

JH: I think it's simply the fact that the colour is "different" -- it's exotic in comparison to the "standard" modern instrument colours. It lends a flavour of something which is vaguely discernible as coming from another world. In that sense I think the colour of early instruments is treated by film makers often in the same way as the colours of "ethnic" (i.e., non-western) instruments. So perhaps it's typically associated with something which is removed either in time or in space from the here and now.

DF: How do you see the relationship between sixteenth-century music and film from the point of view of a performer?

JH: As you can see from the list above, very few of my films have been on sixteenth-century subjects. It's usually just a case of the director or composer being interested in the "colour" that a lute provides, without any interest in period aspects of the lute's repertoire. The current project, *Wolf Hall*, is an exception. In this film, the director, Peter Kosminsky, is very keen to get the details right, so we are playing real music of the period in the onscreen music scenes. The soundtrack, on the other hand, will be in a modern idiom, but with lute colour.

I would very much like, at some point in the future, to do more "real" sixteenth-century music in films.

DF: What is *Wolf Hall* about and on what channel might it be broadcast?

JH: *Wolf Hall* is an historical novel by Hilary Mantel, dealing with the subject of Thomas Cromwell at the court of Henry VIII. The novel won the Booker Prize, as did its sequel, *Bring up the Bodies*, in the following year. BBC2 is making a six-hour dramatisation of these two novels (I believe it includes elements from both books), and there's quite a lot of onscreen music as well as lute on the sound track.

DF: I wonder, if the onscreen musical scenes also have narrative functions...

JH: Yes, they do some of the time, I think, in that Henry VIII himself is shown playing, and one of the characters, Mark Smeaton, is a lutenist too (his alleged affair with Anne Boleyn led to his torture and execution, I believe).

APPENDIX 3

Georges Delerue in an interview in 1980 in Luxembourg for the programme 'La semaine de la Musique de film'.

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<http://www.georges-delerue.com/en/special/interview>, accessed 23rd March 2014

Rózsa, Quand il a fait c'est quoi c'est *Ben Hur* eh *Quo Vadis* c'est ça. Là il a eu affaire au côté super production qui

Rózsa, when he did, what, Ben Hur, right ? Ben Hur eh Quo Vadis, right. When he did those two works, he had to deal with the « super production » aspect [of the cinema] :

Il y a une approche vraiment approximative de la réalité historique

There's a very approximative approach of the historical reality

C'est le grand spectacle c'est vraiment le grand spectacle

This is the big show, this is really the big show [grand spectacle implies the idea of showing off, like using many special effects for example, idea of doing too much to impress]

Moi je suis tombé sur des films qui étaient faits avec une très grande rigueur historique

Personally, I had to compose for movies which had been made in a very rigorous way

[...]

On ne pouvait pas se permettre de faire une musique qui ne soit pas très pure dans l'esprit de l'époque

We could not allow ourselves to do a music which was not very pure in the spirit of the historical time period

La même chose pour *Anne of the Thousand Days*?

Same with Anne of the Thousand Days.

Il y avait là quelque chose d'historique à refaire

Here, there was something historical to do/redo [refaire = to do again with the idea of doing better]

Moi j'écrivais une musique qui n'était pas vraiment le langage de l'époque parce que

I was composing a music which was not really the language of the period because

Car ce n'est pas une recherche archéologique

It is not an archeological research

Mais c'est une approche la plus cernée, la plus vraie de cette époque

But it is the best understood approach, the truest of that time

Tout en n'étant pas victime de certains tabous

Without being victim of some tabous

Par exemple dans *A Man for All Seasons* quand le roi vient voir Thomas More dans sa barque royale

For example in A Man for All Seasons, when the king comes to see Thomas More in his royal bark

Il est évident que si j'avais fait une musique comme on le faisait où comme on l'a joué à l'époque où y avait un chanteur et un type qui jouait du luth à côté dans la barque royale bon...

It is obvious that if I had done a music like we used to do or like we used to play at that time when there was a singer and a character who was playing the lute in the royal bark, well...

Si on imagine cette image absolument superbe de grand écran avec cette barque royale et le roi qui descend et je mets un luth et un chanteur

If we imagine this absolutely georgous big screen picture with this royal barque and a king who disembarques and if I, then, put a lute and a singer

C'est complètement raté

This does not work at all

Je sais bien que je peux me faire engueuler par des puristes qui diraient mais enfin vous avez mis des cuivres bon...

I know I can be told off by purists who would say: hey, you put brass, well...

Mais je l'ai fait avec le langage de l'époque, mais pas dans la forme, avec une autre couleur parce que c'était complètement raté

But I did it with the language of the time, but not in the form, with another colour, because it did not work at all