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The Dichotomy Between Film Music and Concert Music: Demonstrated By the Careers of Aaron Copland and Bernard Herrmann

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ABSTRACT

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Aaron Copland and Bernard Herrmann both began working in the film industry in 1939. Both were born in the United States, unlike many prominent composers working in Hollywood during the golden age, and both composed film scores and concert works. Copland composed mostly concert pieces while Herrmann composed mostly film scores. They worked in both the art music and popular music realms, yet they had to continually defend the validity of film music. Although this situation was not uncommon to composers working in Hollywood, this thesis focuses on the careers of Copland and Herrmann to demonstrate the dichotomy between film music and concert music. By contextualizing the careers of Copland and Herrmann within the broader culture of the United States during the early to mid-twentieth century, we can begin to understand how film music fits within music history. To fully understand this, we must rethink the rigid barrier placed between art music and popular music and the barrier between absolute music and pragmatic music, by realizing that these barriers were solidified at the turn of the twentieth century and were more or less foreign to people in the centuries preceding. In doing so, we might be able to understand how film music and art music influence each other, which could then inform how popular and pragmatic music have interacted with art music throughout history.

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Introduction

Film music has existed for over a hundred and twenty years, but our understanding of how it fits into music history is still quite limited. In general, music history focuses on western European art music while neglecting popular and pragmatic music. Therefore, there is a tension between film music and concert music, because unlike concert music, film music plays a secondary (pragmatic) role in the overall work. Unfortunately, this tension has created a gap in our understanding of film music's relationship to and place in the art music tradition.

Film music scholarship has forged on, creating an interdisciplinary discourse between musicology and film theory.[1] Most of this scholarship focuses on how film music functions within a film, referencing specific film scores to demonstrate arguments. Scholars in the 1950s-1970s, such as Roger Huntley, John Manvell, Irwin Bazelon, and Roy Prendergast, discussed film scores stripped from their filmic context, utilizing analytical tools created for absolute music. Their approach can be understood as trying to demonstrate the validity of film music in comparison to concert music, but it was problematic; it did not accurately demonstrate how film music functioned. Later, in the 1980s-1990s, scholars such as Claudia Gorbman, Royal S. Brown, Kathryn Kalinak, and Caryl Flinn placed the music back within the context of the film and analyzed how film music functioned as part of the whole, drawing not only on the film's context but also cultural context. Since the 2000s, scholars such as K. J. Donnelly, Mervyn Cooke, James Buhler, David Neumeyer, and Rob Deemer have begun to broaden the discourse

[1] For a thorough discussion of the interdisciplinary nature of film music scholarship, see William Rosar's "Film Studies in Musicology: Disciplinarty vs. Interdiscipliarity," *The Journal of Film Music* 2 (2009): 99-125, and David Neumeyer's "Film Theory and Music Theory: On the Intersection of Two Traditions," in *Music in the Mirror: Reflections on the History of Music Theory and Literature for the 21st Century*, (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2002): 275-294.

to explore film music's place in the film in relation to other sound in the film such as sound effects.

The work of these scholars and many others is quite crucial to our understanding of film music, but it still does not connect film music to a broader music history or its social context. What are the factors that created the dichotomy between film music and concert music? How has it changed over time? How has it affected musicians and composers, and is this dichotomy global or does it arise only in United States's culture? These are the kinds of questions that this thesis will pursue.

Chapter One contextualizes film music in relation to concert music by highlighting the historical precedence of composers writing both pragmatic and art music in a manner not unlike composers in Hollywood. Much of the music currently in the concert canon was composed for pragmatic reasons instead of artistic ones, yet these works are categorized and treated as absolute music. However, film music is criticized for being subservient to the visuals and dialog of a film. Even when concert suites are arranged from film scores, they have been criticized for not being an autonomous piece. How might breaking down this barrier between pragmatic and art music benefit scholarship and the better understanding of composers such as Mozart and Beethoven, whose incidental music is often overlooked?

By examining the careers of two twentieth century composers in the United States who composed film scores and concert works, the tenuousness of the barrier between the two idioms will become more apparent. While there are a number of composers from whom to choose, Aaron Copland and Bernard Herrmann are quite an apt pair for a few reasons. Both Copland and Herrmann began working in the film industry in 1939, and both composers were born in the United States. Many of the prolific composers in Hollywood during the 1930s through the 1950s

were European emigres, such as Max Steiner, Franz Waxman, Erich Korngold, Miklos Rózsa, and Dmitri Tiomkin. These men brought with them the late-Romantic European style that then dominated Hollywood scoring. Although Copland studied with Boulanger in Paris, he was very conscious of finding an American sound. Therefore, Copland and Herrmann demonstrate an US perspective on music. They are also a good pair, because they were prolific in different spheres; Copland composed mostly concert works with a few film scores, while Herrmann composed mostly film scores with fewer concert works. This contrast allows the different difficulties that they faced to be more apparent. Finally, Copland and Herrmann worked mainly outside the Hollywood studio system, meaning they were not under the same pressures as those who were part of the system. This narrow focus only reveals part of the Hollywood tradition during the golden age of film. Research into other composers, especially those who worked fully under the studio system, would further contextualize the dichotomy between film music and concert music.

In chapter two, I will explore the career of Aaron Copland. How did he view music and composition in both realms? How did others view his work? A general overview of his career gives context to his concert works and film scores. Scholarship on Copland often discusses what seems to be a split personality in his compositions: a popular idiom and a modern idiom. Closer examination will reveal that the distinction is more fluid. A focused look at his concert works reveals a balance between popular and modern musical idioms. Finally, investigating his work in film demonstrates similarities between his concert works and film scores.

Chapter Three examines the career of Bernard Herrmann. How was it like Copland's and how was it different? Herrmann's conducting career and many record releases demonstrate his interaction with the art music world in between his busy schedule in radio, film, and television. He composed many of his concert works before working in Hollywood, partially because he was

so busy with his radio and movie responsibilities, but also because he spent nine years writing an opera. A closer look at his concert works reveals his preference for programmatic music. How do they compare to his film scores? Herrmann is mostly known for his scores to Hitchcock films, and much of his style in these scores can also be found in some of his concert works. Yet, Herrmann's Hitchcock scores are only a small percentage of his film work. These other film scores reveal some similarities with his concert works as well.

If there are many similarities between the concert works of Copland and Herrmann and their film scores, and if many composers before them also composed in different idioms, why has film music been criticized so harshly? Chapter Four examines the musical cultural hierarchies in the United States that were solidified at the turn of the twentieth century and how they effected the way that composers navigated their careers. The distinctions between highbrow and lowbrow culture were rigidly set at the beginning of the twentieth century, but it was a process that began in the nineteenth century. Popular music and art music comingled in the nineteenth century, but as the mentality of art for art's sake took hold, they began to be separated. A canon of "worthy" music was created and it could not be sullied by lower forms of music such as dance music or theatrical music. The pieces in the canon were also made to be sacred texts created by geniuses, whose authority could not be questioned or pieces altered. This chapter also explores how European composers did not experience the same difficulties as composers in the United States in terms of composing film scores and concert works.

Film music and concert music do indeed have their differences. Concert music can be analyzed on its own, but film music must be analyzed within the context of the film. Concert music is generally longer, and it is continuous rather than consisting of scattered cues. The goal of this thesis is not to assert that there were no differences; rather it is to demonstrate that these

differences are not as stark as some might suggest. More importantly, these differences should not allow value judgments to be placed on them. Insights into film music can inform perceptions of concert music and vice versa.

Chapter 1

Historical Precedence

Trying to place film music into a historical context has often resulted in disjunct narratives, because of the interdisciplinary nature of the subject; scholars must know about music and film, and to understand film's historical context, scholars must know about theatre history. Yet, instead of viewing film as an outgrowth of theatre, film historians sometimes focus on the technology of film as a distinguishing factor, creating a sense of mutual exclusivity to theatre. Making the situation even worse for film music is the fact that theatre scholarship also tends to overlook music's role. Luckily, there have recently been scholars such as Michael Pisani and Anne Dhu Shapiro that have detailed the music in theatre and scholars such as Richard Abel, Rick Altman, and Martin Miller Marks that have focused on early cinema sound, slowly bridging the connection between theatre music conventions and film music. But, this is only one gap to fill in order to historically contextualize film music in the sense that it does not explain film music's relation to art music, which falls under the broader topic of pragmatic music in relation to art music. One might wonder why this relation matters; for is not the function of art and pragmatic music different? Art music is meant to be contemplated and pragmatic music is meant to entertain or serve some other supportive role. At least that is a prevailing viewpoint. The problem with this viewpoint is that it does not acknowledge the fact that many of the great art composers such as Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven composed both art and pragmatic music, much of which has been accepted into the art music canon. It also ignores the fact that before the twentieth century, these categories were less clearly defined, often the music of both appearing on the same program. By understanding this, we might be able to better understand film music's place in the bigger musicological picture.

One can go as far back as the medieval period to understand that most music was pragmatic. Much of this music that musicologists study is religious; it was written for ceremonies and rituals. Even the secular music was pragmatic, in that it was dance music, providing entertainment for festivities. This continued into the Renaissance. Many of the masterpieces we program for early music concerts were pragmatic, the masses of Josquin or Palestrina for example. Then, with beginning of the Baroque era came the operas of Monteverdi. These works were created for celebrations of the different royal families such as the Medicis or Gonzagas, but the music was only part of the spectacle.

Nearing the end of the Baroque, we get to the first of musicology's great masters, Johann Sebastian Bach. The complexity in Bach's music is no doubt ingenious, but that does not change the fact that Bach's music was almost all entirely pragmatic. If we can acknowledge the genius in a chorale for a church service, why are we unable to do the same for a musical cue in a film?

The Classical era gave rise to concerts, where music was played and listened to for entertainment, yet this does not mean that composers exclusively wrote for concert purposes. Haydn and Mozart still composed music for social gatherings that would be heard in the background against various socializing. They also both composed theatrical works; Mozart's incidental music to *Thamos, König in Ägypten* (1776) for example. This piece does not garner as much scholastic attention probably because it is incidental music, yet if musicologists were to move past the barrier between art and pragmatic music, this is one piece that might be worth studying in context of the play, much like film music scholars study film scores in the context of the film. Research into this Mozart piece might reveal aspects of Mozart or the Classical era music that musicologists have overlooked.

If there were one composer that signals the beginning of a greater distinction between art music and pragmatic music, it is Beethoven. He has come to epitomize the concept of art for art's sake within music. Yet, Beethoven, too, composed incidental music to plays and ballets. The *Leonore Overture* (1807) and *Egmont Overture* (1810) are two standard concert pieces, yet these are overtures to plays. Musicology tends to overlook Beethoven's incidental music and songs, yet as with Mozart's incidental music, musicologists might be able to learn something from this music. Beethoven's contemporary, Schubert, is mostly known for his hundreds of songs. One might say that Schubert gave rise to the concept of the art song, yet he also composed many part songs for his Schubertiads that were meant for entertainment.

As the nineteenth century progressed, more and more musical works were conceived as art music, but this did not stop composers from writing pragmatic music, which was more and more mostly theatrical music rather than religious music or music for social gatherings of royal families. Yet, one genre of music emerged within art music that challenged the idea of music for music's sake; programmatic music. Instrumental music had risen in prominence, because it could be enjoyed on musical terms alone, or in other words, it was autonomous. In contrast, programmatic music had extramusical ties or inspiration. One of the earliest examples of this is Berlioz's *Symphonie Fantastique* (1830). The pinnacle of programmatic music was the tone poem, notably by composers Liszt and Richard Strauss. In relation to film music, Manson states that "Harry Lojewski, MGM's music director, calls the tone-poem (*e.g.*, Strauss' *Till Eulenspiegel* and *Thus Spake Zarathustra*) 'a score to an invisible film.' Consequently, a well-composed movie score in the cumulative sense adds up to a tone-poem with a 'visible' film."[2]

[2] Eddy Lawrence Manson, "Film Composer in Concert and the Concert Composer in Film" *Film Music* 1 (1989): 260.

Manson further clarifies this relationship, stating that "film scoring is largely an extension of what the composers of opera, ballet, tone-poems, rhapsodies, and generally evocative music did for years, long before Edison. One difference between now and then is that the composer no longer possesses final authority over a work."[3] One of the important aspects of Manson's statement is that he alludes to how the technological aspect of film, i.e. Edison's inventions, has been used as way to break film from theatre, when instead the technology of film is more of a shift within theatrical presentation.

Piano transcriptions are another type of musical genre in the nineteenth century that demonstrate the overlap between art and pragmatic music. Liszt's piano transcriptions of operas are an intriguing phenomenon in that both the operas and the transcriptions bordered between art and pragmatic. Operas were enjoyed by many people from the middle class and upper class, but opera was a sign of high culture. Liszt's transcriptions were meant to show off his talent and give the audience a piece with recognizable music from their favorite operas. These piano transcriptions are now part of the canon, used as a way to demonstrate a pianist's mastery and Liszt's genius but less for a referential enjoyment to the opera.

Melodramas and incidental music to plays have the strongest similarities to film music. Both are used to support dialogue, make transitions, set the mood or atmosphere, or reveal characters' psychological states. Most importantly, they serve a subservient role to the work as a whole, unlike opera. As we have seen, many great composers wrote incidental music and most has been overlooked. But, composers often arranged suites of their incidental music. Arrangements of film music are often criticized simply for being associated with film. This is one way film music is relegated to a lower status than art music. Yet, there are at least two

[3] Ibid., 264.

examples of nineteenth century concert suites of incidental music that should make us question such criticism: Mendelssohn's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1843) and Grieg's *Peer Gynt Suite* (1888). Both of these pieces are part of the canon, yet many people forget their origins as incidental music. At the turn of the twentieth century, ballet suites became more prominent than suites of incidental music from plays. Many of these ballet suites are regarded as masterworks without much attention paid to their original function. The most notable examples are Stravinsky's *The Firebird* (1912), *Petrushka* (1912), and *Rite of Spring* (1913).

Even though many of the great composers of western European art music history have composed both pragmatic music and art music, by the twentieth century, this crossover was under attack. Yet, when one looks at twentieth century composers and their works, especially those who have been accepted as masters, one will see that many composers had careers like those in previous centuries, composing both pragmatic and art music. Composers that scored films in Hollywood were especially looked down on and their work criticized. Yet, many of these composers also composed concert works. This does not seem to make sense when viewed in light of the historical precedents just outlined. As Manson says,

> Can one put down Stravinsky's work for Diaghilev's *Rite of Spring*, for example, as *kitsch*? Can one put down Copland's ballet, *Appalachian Spring*, as *kitsch*? Can one put down Gershwin's *Porgy and Bess* as *kitsch*? Can one put down Purcell's charming and elegant "Trumpet Voluntary" as *kitsch*? Certainly … film scores by Prokofiev, Copland, and Rózsa stand beautifully as arranged for the concert hall and are awesome as film music.[4]

Although there was historical precedence, twentieth century composers in the United States had to navigate their careers carefully if they wanted to score films. Almost all the prolific composers

[4] Ibid., 263.

in Hollywood dealt with this, but I will focus on the careers of Aaron Copland and Bernard Herrmann to demonstrate this phenomenon.

Chapter 2

Aaron Copland

2.1 Career

The career of Unites States composer Aaron Copland (1900-1990) aptly conveys the tensions between concert and popular music in the Unites States during the twentieth century. Copland was one of many musicians who worked in both realms, but he is probably the most recognized for navigating the apparently mutually exclusive divisions of music. This is partially due to his status as an iconic American composer who advocated for the viability of both concert and popular music. This attempt at reconciliation reflected a philosophical shift in art music in the early to mid-twentieth century experienced after each World War in both the United States and Europe. By the end of World War I, the concept of modernism in music, which demanded utter originality, had created a near breaking point of inaccessibility for the general audience and a retreat of modernist composers to their ivory tower. In other words, the attempt to attain originality lead composers to write music that was seemingly unintelligible or not aesthetically pleasing to the masses, yet this very feature was perceived as the composer's goal. Sally Bick describes this concept, stating that,

> Modernism as an art form emerged from the values of high culture and supported the ideals of art-for art's sake and the autonomy of the work. Musicians who subscribed to this movement rejected the idea that their work could be politicized or that social forces could penetrate the artifact. By maintaining this position towards society, modernists then could sustain their status as a philosophical and artistic elite. Though highly individualistic and experimental, they nevertheless, were proponents of formalism, ideologizing the elevated forms.[5]

[5] Sally Bick, "Composers on the Cultural Front: Aaron Copland and Hanns Eisler in Hollywood," (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2001): 10.

The shift away from modernism in Europe was encapsulated in the neo-classical movement starting in the 1920s, and can be seen in works by composers such as Stravinsky and Prokofiev. The United States, however, did not experience this shift until the 1930s and in slightly different ways. The neo-classical movement was an attempt to make art music more accessible through a return to older forms and techniques that came before the nineteenth century or the integration of folk tunes. Yet, in the United States, the shift represented not only a democratizing of art music but also an elevation of popular music. In her discussion of class and culture in the United States during the twentieth century, Bick states that, "[p]erhaps one of the most interesting consequences of the culture industries was to appropriate the various art forms attached to and preserved by each of the individual classes and make it available and accessible to everyone. Consequently, classical music became readily and cheaply available to the working classes as did black and ethnic entertainments to the educated."[6] The emergence of the phonograph, radio, and film created mass production of the arts, further contributing to the shift in the United States. Not only were some art composers, such as Copland, looking for a way to make their music aesthetically accessible, but now these new technologies allowed for a wider audience. Bick describes this coalescence, claiming that,

> The idea of bringing together art and mass industry became an aesthetic ideal that characterized what would become distinct to American culture: high art could be democratized and conceived for an egalitarian American society. These factors and a concern over the needs and aspirations of American society at large would play a great part in formulating Copland's own thinking about the role of contemporary art music.[7]

Copland was one composer that did not have a problem with appealing to the masses. In fact, in his book *Our New Music*, he claimed that "The composer who is frightened at losing his artistic

[6] Bick, "Composers on the Cultural Front," 20-21.
[7] Ibid., 21.

integrity through contact with a mass audience is no longer aware of the meaning of the word art."[8] He believed in art that interacted with society and therefore was driven by it, a philosophy that was diametrically opposed to modernism. Yet, this did not stop Copland from writing modernist pieces, such as the *Piano Concerto* (1926), the *Piano Variations* (1930), the *Short Symphony* (1932-3), and *Statements* (1935), after studying with Nadia Boulanger in Paris and before neo-classicism took hold in the United States. During the 1920s and the early 1930s, Copland advocated strongly for modern music in the United States, believing that contemporary American composers needed more exposure. This led him to organize concerts and write extensively on this subject in publications such as the *New York Times*. The stock market crash in 1929, and the subsequent Great Depression, played a role in the shift away from modernism. Composers had to cope with the reality that they needed to earn a living, meaning they could no longer hope the public would come to appreciate their work; the Depression highlighted the commercial aspect that underlies all art. Matthew C. Schlidt states that, "The Depression affected music teachers, performers, and composers, and in 1934 over 60 percent of the musicians in America were unemployed…The challenge for many composers of this time was to write accessible music while still maintaining an individualistic and uncompromised compositional style."[9] Copland approached this by writing for radio and films and composing Americana such as *Fanfare for the Common Man* (1942) and *Lincoln Portrait* (1942), Latin American pieces

[8] Aaron Copland, *Our New Music: Leading Composers in Europe and America,* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1941): 241.

[9] Matthew C. Schlidt, "Music for Film by American Composers During the Great Depression: Analysis and Stylistic Comparison of Film Scores, 1936-1940, By Aaron Copland, Virgil Thomson, George Antheil, and Marc Blitzstein," (Ph.D. diss., Kent State University, 2005): 8.

such as *El salón México* (1937) and *Danzón Cubano* (1946), and jazz-influenced pieces such as the *Clarinet Concerto* (1947-8), written for Benny Goodman.

Scholarship on Copland has long recognized the perceived duality of Copland's output, echoing the rhetoric revolving around Copland during his life, which included Copland's own thoughts on the subject. Put succinctly, Carol J Oja and Judith Tick state that, "There is the austere Copland and the accessible one, the composer of abstract compositions and the one who drew on folk tunes."[10] Yet, it is more complicated than this concise summary. Some, such as Neil Lerner, believe in an underlining coherence in Copland's work while still recognizing the functional split. Lerner claims that,

> If one were to indulge in the reductions of "serious" and "popular," it would be tempting to separate Copland's "dissonant modernism" from what I would term his "accessible modernism" (understanding that it is a paradoxical term, since aesthetic modernism in music has been largely constructed in terms of that music's very inaccessibility)…Copland's overall output can be regarded as highly cohesive, owing to certain features that surface across his career, such as his propensity for generating long pieces out of a limited set of materials.[11]

Lerner further clarifies the commonalities as Copland's use of "disjunct melodies, pedal points, parallel diatonic harmonies, wind and brass timbres."[12] These features can indeed be heard in a vast majority of his pieces ranging from his film scores to his ballets to his symphonies. Even if there is not an innate dichotomy between his pieces, the perception of a dichotomy caused conflicts in the reception of Copland's work. Vivian Perlis, who helped Copland write his autobiography, explains this conflict:

> Copland did not like being perceived as a split musical personality. "I'm only *one* me," he would say with a laugh in casual conversation. He found himself in the position of

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[10] Carol J Oja and Judith Tick, editors, "Between Memory and History: An Introduction" in *Aaron Copland and His World*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005): xvii.

[11] Neil Lerner, "Copland's Music of Wide Open Spaces: Surveying the Pastoral Trope in Hollywood," *The Musical Quarterly* 85 (2001): 478-479.

[12] Ibid., 482.

> promoting the "neglected children" in his catalogue, while also protecting the popular pieces from being considered "lightweight." His colleagues preferred the Piano Variations and the *Short Symphony*. The popular pieces were almost an embarrassment to those who considered Copland the leader and the hope for American concert music.[13]

So, although Copland successfully navigated both realms, there were obstacles to overcome and critics to answer to. Criticism became harshest when Copland began writing film scores for Hollywood. Luckily, he too had advocates of his works. Perlis also discusses the Hollywood dilemma and Copland's supporters:

> Chávez saw no inconsistency in conducting the premieres of such diverse pieces as the *Short Symphony* and *El Salón México.* Others, such as Elliot Carter and David Diamond, dismissed the popular side of Copland's *oeuvre* – they worried that, once in Hollywood, he would be lost to their musical world forever. Bernstein, however, argued fiercely with mutual friends that Aaron would never completely go "Hollywood."[14]

Although Bernstein advocated for Copland, his insistence that Copland "would never completely go 'Hollywood'" solidifies the tension between popular and art music by implying that composers working strictly within Hollywood were of lesser importance.

After World War II, art composers once again moved toward experimentation, caring less about appealing to the public at large.[15] Even Copland moved in this direction, composing works closer in the manner to his output in the 1920s, such as *Connotations* (1962) and *Inscape* (1967), yet he continued to write in the more popular vein with pieces such as *Down a Country Lane* (1964), *3 Latin American Sketches* (1971), and his last film score for the movie *Something Wild* (1961).

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[13] Vivian Perlis, "Dear Aaron, Dear Lenny: A Friendship in Letters," in *Aaron Copland and His World*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005):161.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Don Carroll, "Copland's *Something Wild* and *Music for a Great City*: From Cinematic to Symphonic Narrative," (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 2000): 8-9.

As mentioned earlier, the perception of a duality in Copland's *oeuvre* became most apparent when he began composing film scores. This was caused by many factors, but one worth pointing out is the fact that film scores serve the visuals; or in other words, the music is not the focus of the final work, and, therefore, considered not worthy of art composers. Due to this division, I will first give a brief overview of his concert pieces, i.e., everything but his film scores, focusing on his ballets, and then discuss his relatively small but influential output for the cinema.

2.2 Concert Works

When looking at Copland's catalogue, one might notice that dramatic or programmatic pieces are abundant. His most well-known orchestral pieces are programmatic such as *Fanfare for the Common Man* and *Lincoln Portrait* or suites of his ballet or movie music such as *Appalachian Spring* (1944) (also two *Variations on a Shaker Melody*, the folk tune used in *Appalachian Spring*), *Rodeo* (1942), *Red Pony* (1948), *Music for the Theatre* (1925), *Music for Radio* (1937), and *Music for Movies* (1942, music taken from his film scores *The City, Of Mice and Men,* and *Our Town*). His *Dance Symphony* takes much of its musical material from his earlier un-staged ballet *Grohg* (1922-5). But, Copland also wrote abstract pieces, for both orchestras and chamber groups, most famously his *Organ Symphony* (1924). Copland also composed songs and choral pieces, although not as well-known. His dramatic works include incidental music for six plays or TV shows of which *Quiet City* (1939) is well known because of his arrangement of the music as a concert suite. Copland composed two operas, *Tender Land* (1954) being the more successful of the two; once again this is better-known because of his concert suite arrangement in 1958.

From this brief overview of Copland's catalogue, it should be apparent that Copland often arranged concert suites of his dramatic works. Concert suites allow the music of dramatic works to be experienced outside of their original context and live a different life, and there is no set technique for arrangement. While discussing Copland's concert suites, Don Carroll states that, "For concert purposes, Copland tended to do extensive rearranging, taking various themes and transforming them into pieces that are not simply suites but integrated, organic units."[16] This "extensive rearranging" might allow for the music to be heard in a concert setting, yet it might obscure how the music originally functioned. Carroll later claims that, "An analysis of the large-scale works based of [*sic.*] film sources shows that Copland created concert versions that are musically and formally cohesive at the expense of accurately representing all of the music he composed for the film."[17] However, does it matter if all the music is not present in the suite or if it does not accurately represent its original function? For example, do most concert audiences care about this concept when listening to Mendelssohn's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*? This music, and dramatic music in general, is not meant to function like absolute music. While discussing Copland's *Music for the Theatre*, composer Stephen Sondheim astutely explains that,

> Within the limits which Copland has set for himself in writing *Music for the Theatre*, he has been eminently successful…It is not a sweeping, massive, epic work of "heavenly length" because it was not conceived as such; and to stick within one's self-imposed limits is a praiseworthy objective (if the limits are apt and intelligent) which many another composer, living and dead, would have done well to follow. Copland's unpretentious, compact, concise music is no hit-or-miss proposition. It is the result of thoughtful consideration of fitness and conservation; there is little wasted space or overblown writing in the composer's work. It has a deceptive simplicity which makes it outstanding in American music today.[18]

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[16] Carroll, "Copland's *Something Wild*," 36.

[17] Ibid., 38.

[18] Stephen Sondheim, 1950 Williams College undergraduate essay, (State Historical Society of Wisconsin) as quoted in Stephen Banfield, "Copland and the Broadway Sound" in *Copland Connotations: Studies and Interviews,* (Woodbridge, England: The Boydell Press, 2002): 156.

This mindset is a much more helpful approach to dramatic music, because it does not force analytical tools and evaluations created for absolute pieces onto it.

Of all his dramatic/programmatic pieces, the most well-known are his ballets. He wrote six in total, of which his first, *Grohg*, was never staged. The first staged ballet was *Hear Ye! Hear Ye!* (1934) and his last was *Dance Panels* (1959). The middle three, *Billy the Kid* (1938, concert suite 1939), *Rodeo* (1942, concert suite 1942), and *Appalachian Spring* (1944, concert suite 1944), are not only the most popular of his ballets but also among his most famous pieces in his output. All three were composed during the period in which Copland and other composers were trying to appeal to the larger public in the United States, and subsequently, the sound of these three pieces have come to represent the United States. Lerner claims that, "Copland's greatest continuing influence on Hollywood's musical vocabulary appears to have come not through his film scores but rather through his ballet scores…The ballets fostered a whole family of Hollywood scores for Westerns, such as Jerome Moross's *The Big Country* (directed by William Wyler, 1958) and Elmer Bernstein's *The Magnificent Seven* (directed by John Sturges, 1960)."[19] Composer Andre Previn, known for his work on Broadway and in Hollywood, also speaks of the correlation between Copland's ballet scores and film scores in relation to Americana:

> Copland's influence on film music is immeasurable. His ballets *Appalachian Spring*, *Billy the Kid*, and *Rodeo* have left an ineradicable impression on a whole generation of composers, and I doubt whether any film composer faced with pictures of the Great American Outdoors, or any Western story, has been able to withstand the lure of trying to imitate some aspects of Copland's peculiar and personal harmony. Just as Elgar seems to spell "England" to the minds of most listeners, Copland *is* the American sound.[20]

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[19] Lerner, "Copland's Music of Wide Open Spaces," 499.
[20] As quoted in Lerner, "Copland's Music of Wide Open Spaces," 481.

Although both Lerner and Previn are commenting on the influence of Copland's ballets on film music, their comments also imply the broader scope of Copland's influence on American music via his ballet scores. Previn's last statement, "Copland *is* the American sound," succinctly summarizes how Copland's influence on twentieth century American music is perceived, and it was initially accomplished through his ballet scores, which then carried over to his film scores.

Ballets had taken on a new life at the beginning of the twentieth century largely due to choreographer Sergei Diaghilev's work, notably his collaboration with Stravinsky. Diaghilev also worked with many other European art composers, including Debussy and Prokofiev. Dance historian Lynn Garofola comments on Diaghilev's great influence and multiple composer collaborations, stating,

> Although these scores had a libretto, they were independent of the dance structure and step text. Music had become the "floor" of the ballet, the base on which to build the dance. In divorcing the ballet score from the choreographic text, Diaghilev made ballet music something "real" composers wrote, with a life beyond the stage. Numerous works of the twentieth-century concert hall began life as ballets.[21]

Copland had encountered many ballets while in Paris when he studied with Boulanger. The choreographers with whom Copland worked, including Eugene Loring on *Billy the Kid*, Agnes de Mille on *Rodeo*, and Martha Graham on *Appalachian Spring*, were also very familiar with Diaghilev's work, and their collaboration continued Diaghilev's legacy while adjusting it to American audiences' tastes. Regarding the relative independence of music and choreography, Martha Graham stated:

> There are only two choices: you either accept the composer's music or you do not. I think that it's important to state that the dance does not interpret the music; the music is a setting for the dance….I never cut a composer's music. I never cut him down to time. When I get the music, I start to choreograph. I have never, ever, cut a note of music or

[21] Lynn Garofola, "Making an American Dance: *Billy the Kid, Rodeo,* and *Appalachian Spring*" in *Aaron Copland and His World*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005): 122.

> even a rest of music, because if I do that, then what am I asking for? I do not want, nor do I need, a mirror of myself.[22]

Graham's philosophy was a continuance of Diaghilev's approach to ballets, yet one might be tempted to believe that the music and choreography are combative when reading comments like this. However, Marta Robertson's musico-choreographic analysis of *Appalachian Spring*, for example, indicates that there are points of counterpoint and points of synchronization, either on a local or macro level: "Despite the aesthetic and collaborative distance from the music that Graham cultivated in the historical record, the documentation of her contrapuntal choreographic structures suggests a strong sensitivity to the musical score."[23] Beyond following Diaghilev's example, their work, as Garofola claims, then set the precedent for later works in America: " … Copland's work served as a model, the exemplar of an art that was both serious and accessible, that acknowledged vernacular traditions but treated them as elements of a fine art."[24] This further demonstrates Copland's balance between the art and popular realms of music; the ballets were an effective way to achieve this goal that did not earn him too much criticism from his art composer colleagues.

Although these works have become respected within art music, due largely to their concert suites, it is important to remember their original function in order to have a meaningful discussion about their place in culture. Marta Robertson has been very outspoken about the importance of approaching the music for these ballets with techniques removed from absolute music analyses. Robertson sheds new light on these works by shifting the thought process and asking different questions:

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[22] As quoted in Marta Robertson, "Musical and Choreographic Integration in Copland's and Graham's *Appalachian Spring*," *The Musical Quarterly* 83 (1999): 7.

[23] Robertson, "Musical and Choreographic Integration," 23.

[24] Garofola, "Making an American Dance," 141.

> But is something amiss when a hybrid work such as a choreographic accompaniment can be reduced to an isolated score that wins not only artistic recognition but also coveted awards? Is the implication that the score – whether *Appalachian Spring*, *Le sacre du printemps* or *The Nutcracker* – has transcended its choreographic origins to such an extent that it can bear scrutiny under analysis developed for abstract scores? How might such a choreographic score be assessed with respect to its hybrid nature, acknowledging that it was not created for the same purpose as an abstract score? Additionally, how successfully does the composition reflect the parameters of the collaboration or respond to the extramusical context?"[25]

The problem with approaching the concert suite arrangement or using absolute music analytic tools for the ballet as a whole is that it skews the influence of the choreography on the music and vice versa. It causes us to think of the music as autonomous when in fact it is inextricably part of a larger whole. Robertson also draws attention to other outside factors influencing the ballet:

> Abstract music, historically an idealized Western art music, has been treated as if it were isolated from extramusical context. Consequently, art music deliberately incorporating extramusical context has been devalued as approaching the vernacular. *Appalachian Spring*, conceived against a background of deadlines, government interference and during wartime, challenges our assumption that anti-artistic constraints inhibit artistic expression. By questioning our understanding of how extramusical context becomes embedded in a composition, we can also challenge as a "false universal" the tendency to represent abstract music as if it were the whole, rather than part, of musical behavior.[26]

As already demonstrated, Copland had no problem with extramusical context; in fact, this is what he strove for in the 1930s and 1940s if not also later in his career. Of all his concert music, his work for ballet best demonstrates this trait, but his other concert pieces convey this as well. For example, *Lincoln Portrait* was commissioned by conductor Andre Kostelanetz after the Pearl Harbor attacks to bolster American pride.[27] Robertson best sums up Copland's ability to work within dramatic works and how that reflects on his musicianship as a whole:

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[25] Marta Robertson, "Copland and Music for Dance: Questioning Fundamental Assumptions" in *Copland Connotations: Studies and Interviews,* (Woodbridge, England: The Boydell Press, 2002): 30.

[26] Ibid., 33.

[27] Elizabeth B. Crist, "Copland and the Politics of Americanism," in Carol J. Oja and Judith Tick, editors, *Aaron Copland and his World*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005): 289.

> Moreover, the compositional process for both dance and film music normally requires a composer to translate spatial and kinaesthetic reactions into sound. Thus Copland's "giftedness", and perhaps even part of his compositional "greatness", emerged from his ability to synthesise musical, spatial, kinaesthetic, and interpersonal intelligences – a fertile area for interdisciplinary investigation. Such a reflection is offered not as a declaration of Copland's genius but as an avenue for exploration suggesting that greatness need not reside solely in one area.[28]

Although ballet scores do not fall under absolute music, they are still often considered art music, probably because of the long history of art composers composing ballet music, beginning with Lully in the eighteenth century. Yet, we have seen that there are correlations between Copland's ballet scores and his film scores. The next section will explore his work in cinema to demonstrate how it once again struck a balance between the art and popular worlds of music.

2.3 Film Scores

Although Copland had tried to break into Hollywood in 1937, his career in the film industry did not begin until 1939, and it ended in 1961. During this time, he did not work solely on film, and his contribution over a more than twenty year span is relatively small, comprising of only eight film scores. Yet, Copland's impact on film music was greater than his small output might suggest. Neil Lerner states that, "While his actual output for the commercial film industry was small, Copland's influence, stemming from both his cinema and his concert-hall works, has been great: several elements of the Copland sound persist in the widely understood musical vocabulary of today's Hollywood."[29] This is also partially due to his writings about film music, a contribution that he believed was necessary to elevate the quality of film music, much like his belief roughly a decade earlier that American contemporary music should be critically written about and widely disseminated. Film music writings had existed long before Copland, but they

[28] Robertson, "Musical and Choreographic Integration," 37.
[29] Lerner, "Copland's Music of Wide Open Spaces," 477.

tended to focus on artistic merits or be technical manuals for musicians, although European scholars wrote in theoretical and philosophical terms. Copland wrote columns about film music for the *New York Times* and other publications. He also included chapters about film music in his books *Our New Music* and *What to Listen for in Music*. Beyond writings, Copland also discussed film music in interviews and lectures. Sally Bick describes Copland's contribution, explaining that "Copland provides the most extensive discussions engaging political, ideological and theoretical issues from a critical American perspective within the conditions set by the industry. His work not only challenges aspects of Hollywood as an industrial institution but simultaneously acknowledges its potential as an artistic forum."[30]

As discussed earlier, Copland navigated between the popular and artistic realms of music, and his work within film most aptly demonstrates his skill at balancing the merits and shortcomings of both spheres. Yet, his ability to work within Hollywood but work against some of its conventions was a luxury that most other composers did not have, although he was not alone in doing so. Lerner states that, " … it is also important to note that Copland was by no means the first or only composer to break with postromanticism in Hollywood scoring; such a list would include Bernard Herrmann (who oddly almost never adopts Coplandesque gestures), Alex North, David Raksin, and Leonard Rosenman, and would still be far from complete."[31] Copland was already an established American musical figure, therefore, he had the status to more easily question Hollywood conventions. Due to his success as a concert composer, Copland did not solely rely on film for financial support unlike Hollywood composers; these composers, therefore, had to work within the studio system, which functioned much like a

[30] Sally Bick, "Copland on Hollywood," in *Copland Connotations: Studies and Interviews,* (Woodbridge, England: The Boydell Press, 2002): 40.

[31] Lerner, "Copland's Music of Wide Open Spaces," 495-496.

factory, operating under tight deadlines. Bick states that, "Because of these harsh restrictions arising from the highly rationalized and taylorized systematization within the studios, Hollywood composers were at a disadvantage compared to other film composers outside its system."[32]

On the other hand, because Copland was willing to work within some of the Hollywood conventions, e.g., tight deadlines and subordination to the visuals, he could succeed where other modernist composers had failed.[33] Producers and directors were hesitant to work with art composers and the composers at the music studios were a tightly knit group that were unwelcoming to outsiders. Bick describes how this positioned Copland to meaningfully write about film music, stating, "Beyond the perimeters of Hollywood, few art composers had been in a position to write about the film music industry and he was thus in a unique situation to mediate between the two musical communities. In this regard, Copland believed that, in order to advance the musical standards of Hollywood, it would be essential to show that there was a need for composers with serious musical training."[34] His clout as an art composer, now mixed with his experience working within Hollywood, gave his writings more authority than others, but the impact of his writings rested on more than just his stature. Copland critically engaged with film music from multiple perspectives, as Bick pointed out, resulting in future scholars modelling his approach, notably Claudia Gorbman.[35]

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[32] Bick, "Composers on the Cultural Front," 72.
[33] Ibid., 7.
[34] Bick, "Copland on Hollywood," 40.
[35] Claudia Gorbman, *Unheard Melodies: Narrative Film Music*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987): 73. Her Classical Film Music: Principles of Composition, Mixing, and Editing are similar to Copland's tenets of film composition.

Although Copland challenged some of Hollywood's musical conventions such as thick orchestration and long melodies, he still adhered to short forms and subordination to the visuals. Bick describes his approach as, "In relation to musical function, however, Copland adhered to Hollywood's dominant classical practice. One might say that Copland's ideas about Hollywood film music were perhaps a refinement or even an improvement of classic practices because he proposed more effective ways to create cinematic realism for the viewer."[36] Other art composers had a difficult time working within Hollywood classical practice; Stravinsky insisted that if he were to work in Hollywood that the film should be set to his music, as one extreme example. Matthew Schildt explains that, "Copland did not view film as a means to unburden his creative soul. Instead, Copland aimed to contribute to and help a given film, while also writing music worthy of merit. Copland found a way to do this while staying true to his compositional integrity and avoiding the clichés of much film music."[37] This collaborative spirit was probably easier for Copland because of his earlier work in ballet and radio. In Copland's own words "Essentially there is nothing about the movie medium to rule out any composer with a dramatic imagination. But the man who insists on complete self-expression had better stay home and write symphonies. He will never be happy in Hollywood."[38]

As with his some of his art music, particularly his ballet music, Copland arranged concert suites of some of his film music, and he also wrote and commented in interviews about film music's presence in the concert hall. His statements again show his skill for balance. Copland acknowledged the difficulty of composing for films in relation to composing for concert, stating "Composing film music is not itself 'easier' than writing concert music except that the form,

[36] Bick, "Composers on the Cultural Front," 65.
[37] Schildt, "Music for Film," 89.
[38] Copland, *Our New Music*, 261.

length, and general tone are set in advance, so the composer does not have to make those initial decisions … A film is not a concert; the music is meant to help the picture."[39] Although Copland understood that film composition was functionally different than concert composition, he saw the value in transferring his film music to the concert stage. Copland states,

> I don't think all film music lends itself to transference from the one medium into the concert hall. Very often it would need rearranging as a kind of suite form, doing something with it to make it viable in the concert hall. But certain kinds of film scores, I imagine, would lend themselves very well. When you're writing a film score you're not thinking about the concert hall, of course, you're thinking about helping the film with effective musical treatment.[40]

His last sentence is fundamental to understanding Copland's approach to film music. Although he arranged concert suites, this was not an end goal, but it was also not something off limits for him. In fact, Copland knew the historical precedence for concert suites, stating,

> … it is only natural that the composer often hopes to be able to extract a viable concert suite from his film score. There is a current tendency to believe that movie scores are not proper material for concert music. The argument is that, separated from its visual justification, the music falls flat … Rarely it is conceivable that the music of a film might be extracted without much reworking. But I fail to see why, if successful suites like Grieg's *Peer Gynt* can be made from nineteenth-century incidental stage music, a twentieth-century composer can't be expected to do as well with a film score.[41]

A closer look at Copland's film scores will help to demonstrate his approach to scoring. Copland worked on two documentaries and six commercial films. The distinction between the two is important, because documentary films were typically produced outside of the major studios and, therefore, were not subject to the same conventions. A list of Copland's filmography can be found in Appendix A.

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[39] Aaron Copland and Vivian Perlis, *Copland: 1900 Through 1942*, (New York: St. Martin's/Marek, 1984): 290.

[40] Peter Dickinson, "Two Interviews with Aaron Copland," in Dickinson, Peter, editor, *Copland Connotations: Studies and Interviews*, (Woodbridge, England: The Boydell Press, 2002): 196.

[41] Aaron Copland, *What to Listen for in Music*, (New York: New American Library, 1939): 219.

2.3.1 Documentaries

Like other art composers before Copland, notably Virgil Thompson, his emergence into film began with work on a documentary. Documentaries had little or no dialogue, meaning that the music could take more precedence or a least not fight for attention. They also did not have to appeal to the masses as much, since documentaries were typically for education rather than entertainment. This was attractive to art composers, who could then have more of a say in the end product and could experiment more with their techniques. These art composers also made concert suites from their film scores. There was at least one concert in 1940 organized by the League of Composers that featured film scores by notable composers from the US, such as Marc Blitzstein, Paul Bowles, Aaron Copland, Roy Harris, Douglas Moore, and Virgil Thompson.[42] Copland's work that night was a concert suite of his music to the documentary *The City*, released a year earlier in 1939. The American City Planning Institute conceived the idea for the documentary to be released at the New York World's Fair in 1939 and financed by the Carnegie Corporation.[43] Directors Ralph Steiner and Willard Van Dyke hired Copland, because they were looking for a well-known composer who could produce what they thought should be a high quality film score.[44] This was essentially a good way for Copland to ease his way into Hollywood. He was given twelve weeks to work on the score, which was twice the typical timeframe, and the film had no dialogue, only minimal narration. This meant that Copland could

[42] Schildt, "Music for Film," 31.

[43] Alfred Williams Cochran, "Style, Structure, and Tonal Organization in the Early Film Scores of Aaron Copland," (PhD diss., The Catholic University of America, 1986): 9.

[44] Ibid., 10.

learn how to match music to visuals without the harsh restraints of most commercial films, and it was a chance for him to prove himself to the exclusive music studios.

Although Copland knew how to collaborate from work in ballet and radio, he did not collaborate much on *The City*. Alfred Williams Cochran writes, "In reply to a question about collaboration with Copland on the project, Steiner humorously answered, 'Collaboration? We handed him the film and locked the door on him.'"[45] This might be an exaggeration, but it does indicate that the directors were very trusting of Copland's judgments, something that most composers in Hollywood would envy. In Chocran's analysis of the score, he divides it into two sections: the first section of the documentary depicting the noisy, overcrowded city, and the second section showing the exit from the city into the tranquil, open countryside. Cochran states that,

> Throughout all of Part I, Copland's orchestration is an important stylistic determinant. It reflects careful attention to specific sonorities and is characterized most often by transparency and leanness. Never is the orchestral texture thickened simply for the sake of doing so. The scoring reflects his belief that the primary goal of film music should be to "reflect the emotion and reality" of the film itself.[46]

Transparency and leanness are traits common throughout Copland's *oeuvre*, and it seems to have carried over well into this film score. The first half of the documentary is completely without narration, so the music carries the emotional weight of the film. Narration begins in the second half, and, therefore, Copland's music shifts. Cochran states that, "It is primarily conceived as 'background' music and is accompanied by narration. (The term 'background' used in this sense refers only to the subsidiary nature of the music.) When compared to the music of much of Part I, a different compositional style is evident. It is more contrapuntal, has faster tempi, and relies

[45] Ibid., 12.
[46] Ibid., 48-49.

more upon shorter motives than upon long, lyrical lines."[47] The reliance on shorter motives is due to the presence of a narrator, because short motives can more easily be edited nor do they compete with the narrator as much as a long melody line. When considering the score as a whole, Cochran asserts that, "It is chiefly through motivic re-use that Copland achieves the coherence and intelligibility which the score possesses … Elements of the harmonic language such as polytonality, quartalism, modality, and cadential preference contribute to what Copland has said 'good' music must have – inevitability and consistency."[48] This consistency and the fact that the first half was without dialogue made it easier for Copland to arrange the score into a concert suite.

Six years later in 1945, Copland worked on another documentary called *The Cummington Story*, which was essentially propaganda. This is one of his lesser known film scores, possibly because it is overshadowed by his work in commercial films.

2.3.2 Commercial

Due to the success of *The City*, Copland was then asked to compose the music for the movie adaptation of John Steinbeck's novel *Of Mice and Men,* directed by Lewis Milestone. Although this was a commercial film, Bick points out that "The film was considered a prestige picture designed to appeal to the critics so as to give credit to the producer and the director."[49] In some ways Copland was lucky to be offered a job on such a prestigious film, yet his status played a role in the decision. An even more interesting aspect of this film is the fact that

[47] Ibid., 55.
[48] Ibid., 113-114.
[49] Sally Bick, "'Of Mice and Men': Copland, Hollywood, and American Musical Modernism," *American Music* 23 (2005): 429.

Milestone was given full artistic control of the film due to a previous lawsuit against the producer Hal Roach.[50] The combination of the prestige of the film and the artistic independence of the director meant that Copland was not working under the typical conditions of a Hollywood composer.

Copland's score for *Of Mice and Men* was influenced by Thompson's scores to the documentaries *The Plow that Broke the Plains* (1936) and *The River* (1938), something that both Thompson and Copland have confirmed.[51] Just as in *The City*, Copland kept the score lean, this time so as not to compete with the dialogue. Bick points out that,

> Although Copland's strategy contrasted with the existing stylistic norms already in place in Hollywood, ironically, his ideas would, nevertheless, accord better with the industry's ideological practice of effacing the score in favor of the image. The aesthetic of simplicity, therefore, seemed to fit theoretically with the very nature and practice of the classic Hollywood film score, which required that the music not attract attention to itself.[52]

Copland continued to compose film scores in this manner, relying on sparse orchestration and short motives and melodies. His next film, *Our Town* (1940), garnered his second Oscar nomination (the first for *Of Mice and Men*), but there were detractors. Copland's colleague, Paul Bowles wrote that

> There is nothing remarkable in Aaron Copland's score for *Our Town*, save perhaps that it managed to make a suspiciously artsy film generally acceptable. The usual impeccable Copland taste and high musical integrity are of course ever-present, although the music turns out to be practically unnoticeable. The non-commital themes are carefully suited to the subject matter and conscientiously worked out. He achieves a simple "homefolk" quality admirably, and without ever bordering on the vulgar…If it were fair as to the possibilities offered the composer, I should say that I much prefer *The City*.[53]

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[50] Ibid., 431
[51] Ibid., 433
[52] Ibid., 435.
[53] Paul Bowles, "On the Film Front," *Modern Music* 18 (1942): 60-61, as quoted in Alfred Williams Cochran, "Style, Structure, and Tonal Organization," 198.

Bowles criticism seems to stem more from Copland's music appearing in a commercial film rather than a documentary; in other words, Bowles seems to dislike the subordination of the music and its tie to popular entertainment.

Copland received another Oscar nomination for his next film score for *The North Star* (1943), a film that was not released in the United States until years later. But, he would not win an Oscar until 1950 for his score to *The Heiress* (1949), yet, as Don Carroll points out, "Approximately sixty seconds of his main title music [to *The Heiress*] was excised and replaced by music he neither composed nor authorized."[54] This demonstrates a common Hollywood practice that not even Copland was immune to; another common practice was the use of orchestrators, although Copland developed a highly detailed system of notation for his orchestrators, who essentially became copyists rather than orchestrators.

As Copland was working on *The Heiress*, he was also composing the score to *Red Pony* (1948). *Red Pony* and *Our Town* are his two most well-known film scores, because he arranged each into a concert suite (excerpts from *The City* and *Of Mice and Men* are in his piece *Music for the Movies*, but the different title and mixture of two film scores along with other music possibly makes this piece less known). Both scores and suites aptly demonstrate Copland's lean orchestration, simple melodies, and Americana style, much like his ballet scores.

Copland did not compose another film score until 1961, and that was his last. *Something Wild* was quite different from most of his previous films in that it is slightly darker and has an urban setting (*The City* was a documentary that drew attention to the downsides of urban life and promoted the countryside). It is possible that Copland decided to return to film after such a long time, because he was given such artistic freedom on *Something Wild*. Carroll states that "In

[54] Carroll, 20.

effect, Copland was given the freedom to compose a film score as if it were a concert commission."[55] Copland later arranged a concert suite of the film music, which he entitled *Music for a Great City*. This concert suite is not as successful as Copland's *Our Town* and *Red Pony* suites. Carroll suggest that,

> The music to the opening credits of *Something Wild* contain ninety-three measures of scoring that are a collage of contrasting musical segments. The visual images provide the formal "glue" that allows the fragmented, constantly changing style of music to be perceived as powerful and bold. Without them it is disconcerting and strident. Copland himself echoed the idea that the music is forever attached to the on-screen images…Certainly, the score adds meaning and vividness to the on-screen images, just as these images help the music to gain coherence and expressive power. The absence of this reciprocal relationship may be a factor in the obscurity and relative unpopularity of *Music for a Great City*; Copland himself said the concert work "did not catch on quickly."[56]

This draws attention to the debate of weather film music can stand on its own. As mentioned earlier, Copland also did not think that all film scores lend themselves to being arranged for the concert stage. Yet, this does not devalue how the music functions in the film.

Copland's work in the film industry demonstrates his knack for collaboration and balance, yet he often worked outside of the typical pressures and conventions of the Hollywood system. His work in documentaries and commercial films provides an example of how a composer is capable of working in a popular genre while adhering to musical integrity and without allowing his ego to get in the way.

[55] Ibid., 22.
[56] Ibid., 113.

Chapter 3

Bernard Herrmann

3.1 Career

Compared to Aaron Copland, the career of Bernard Herrmann (1911-1975) represents the opposite side of the coin. Both composers straddled the popular and art music worlds, but Herrmann spent most of his time in the popular realm, composing for radio, film, and television. At the same time, he composed many concert works and appeared as a guest conductor on numerous occasions, an activity that partially satisfied his aspirations to be a full-time orchestral conductor. Herrmann's concert pieces are overshadowed by his film scores, and, therefore, it is often easy to label him as a "film composer" and forget that he navigated both art and popular music. Like many other "film composers," Herrmann was classically trained. As a child, he took piano and violin lessons, and at the age of thirteen, he read Hector Berlioz's (1803-1869) *Grand traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration modernes*, which had a major impact on his works. Like Berlioz, Herrmann was known as a masterful orchestrator, refusing to use orchestrators for his film scores, going against a common Hollywood practice. As a young man, Herrmann attended New York University where he studied conducting with Albert Stoessel and composition with Philip James. He later followed Stoessel to Julliard, where he studied composition with Bernard Wagenaar. Herrmann eventually left Julliard and went back to NYU to study composition with Percy Grainger, who was the professor that he became closest to in his academic studies.[57] Charles Gerhardt said that,

[57] Steven Smith, *A Heart at Fire's Center: The Life and Music of Bernard Herrmann*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991): 24-34.

> Benny was more schooled but you find in Benny's scores things that look like they were written by a man who didn't know as much as he did, and that was because of his tremendous ability to turn off his experience and seek something new. Music was music to him, be it written for film or TV or the concert hall. As he said, Haydn wrote a piece for the Esterházys' dinner, played it on the balcony, and then had to eat in the kitchen. "At least I don't have to eat in the kitchen," he'd say.[58]

Gerhardt's comments convey Herrmann's adaptability and allude to another feature that many others acknowledged in him; his encyclopedic knowledge of music. From a young age, Herrmann's father encouraged reading to pass the time, which began Herrmann's literary cultivation. This habit carried over into his musical studies in which he spent numerous hours reading about music and listening to recordings. Herrmann knew the major composers along with the obscure; in fact, Herrmann knew of Charles Ives (1874-1954) long before Ives was famous, and he became one of Ives's best champions and good friends.

While at Julliard, Herrmann collaborated with dancers, which later led him to compose ballet music for the *Americana Revue*. He then helped to form and conduct the New Chamber Orchestra, showcasing works by composers in the United States, including some of his own works. Although these concerts garnered attention for Herrmann as a conductor and composer, they did not offer much financial support. Steven Smith states that in 1933 "[His mother's] obsessive practicality and the death of his father had taught Herrmann the importance of money – especially in this, the Depression's harshest year. Determined to have both success and artistic satisfaction, Herrmann looked into his and music's future – and decided they were in broadcasting."[59] The fact that Herrmann started his career during the Depression might be one of the most pressing reasons for his career remaining mostly on the popular side of music. In a 1948 letter to his first wife, Lucille Fletcher, during their separation, he writes "I at all times tried to

[58] As quoted in Smith, 244-245.
[59] Smith, 41.

make life as comfortable as I could – servants – money – and complete responsibility of my fatherhood. I entered into work that was extremely distasteful to me – movies, commercial radio – to provide some of the things – I never had time for my own reflection and work – only more and more superficial work."[60] As noted in chapter two, Copland and many other art composers turned to radio and film for philosophical reasons, which were underlined by economic factors caused by the Depression. Yet, Copland was already an established art composer, which gave him the luxury to continue working more freely and successfully in the art music world, a luxury that Herrmann did not share.

In 1933, Herrmann began working for CBS, and he remained with this company until 1951 when they disbanded the CBS Symphony, which Herrmann conducted. He continued to work sporadically on projects for radio and television for CBS into the 1960s. Smith states that "Radio, especially, CBS, was the ideal place for Herrmann: an innovative communications medium where a single broadcast could make a career; where Herrmann could conduct, arrange, and program music with little concern for commerciality; and where music and drama were united in concert broadcasts, live plays, and poetry readings.[61] It was at CBS that Herrmann sharpened his dramatic compositional style and reliance on odd instrumentation for specific effects (smaller budgets in radio made it practical to use smaller ensembles) that carried over into his film scores. His most notable radio work at CBS was for the experimental program *The Columbia Workshop*, Orson Welles's *The Mercury Theater on the Air,* and Norman Corwin's *Columbia Presents Corwin*. Later, when CBS expanded into television in the 1950s, Herrmann contributed two television operas, *A Christmas Carol* (1954) and *A Child is Born* (1955), but his

[60] Ibid., 137.
[61] Ibid., 44.

most memorable work for CBS television are his scores for *The Twilight Zone* (1959-1964) episodes and the original theme for the series.

One of Herrmann's radio collaborators, Orson Welles, brought Herrmann into the film industry when, in 1939, he asked Herrmann to compose the music for his film *Citizen Kane* (1940). This was also the first movie project for Welles, yet *Citizen Kane* has come to be known as one of Herrmann's best film scores and one of the best movies of all time. Herrmann then scored films for the next thirty-five years, up to his death in 1975.[62] His career had its ups and downs, including collaborations with great and mediocre directors, and work across several genres from science-fiction to romance. Throughout this time, Herrmann continued to compose concert works and guest conduct.

In addition to his conducting career, Herrmann produced twenty-three recordings, only eight of which are of film music. These include two recordings of film music solely by other composers. Herrmann also recorded many obscure works such as Erik Satie's (1866-1925) *Gymnopédies*, Ives's symphonies, and Cyril Scott's (1879-1970) piano concertos. He recorded many of his own concert works, and his first recording was of his opera *Wuthering Heights* (1951) in 1966, a project that he undertook due to his failure to get the opera staged. Recording his own concert works allowed Herrmann to interact with the art music world since he could not get many of his own concert pieces performed live. He only recorded a few standard concert pieces. Smith states that "Herrmann's next Decca album, 'Great Tone Poems,' offered revealing strokes of the conductor's personality behind a conservative program of Sibelius's *Finlandia*, Dukas's *The Sorcerer's Aprrentice*, and Liszt's *Les Préludes*. Each work had played a role in

[62] He died the same night that he finished recording the cues for the film *Taxi Driver*.

forming Herrmann's own musical vocabulary … "[63] Each piece is a dramatic work with notable orchestrations, a feature found in many Herrmann compositions. Herrmann's many recordings demonstrate his love for conducting and attempt to remain active in the art music world.

Herrmann was a very irascible man, at first responding to criticism by exploding into a tantrum and then acting as if nothing happened if he decided the criticism was warranted. Many people who knew him well noticed a softer, caring side that was hidden by his petulant conduct. These simultaneous contradictory traits are reflected in much of his music. Smith asserts that "[c]reatively and personally, Herrmann cultivated a life that, like that of the great Romantics in music, art, and poetry, recognized both the beauty and horror in the human condition (elements that often coexist, as in his eerily beautiful "Twilight Zone" music or the sensuous mystery of *Vertigo* and other Hitchcock scores)."[64] His behavior hampered his personal and professional life in both popular and art spheres, yet he tended to seek out people with similar temperaments. In his own words, "I would say about my own career that the only people I've met worth working for were difficult people, because they're interested in achieving something. Just spare me the charmers!"[65] The cause of his cantankerous nature can be chalked up to an innate personality trait, but it is reasonable to think that one factor that fanned the flames was his constant battle (in fact a battle for all composers working outside the concert hall) to legitimize his work in radio, film, and television. Christopher Palmer claims that

> [Herrmann] never tired of reiterating that there is no essential distinction to be drawn between composing for films and composing for other media. Stylistically he acknowledged no cleft, and was as generous in his commendation of "serious" composers who had achieved greatness in film music – Vaughan Williams, Rawsthorne, Walton,

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[63] Smith, 294.
[64] Ibid., 4.
[65] Mervyn Cooke, *A History of Film Music,* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008): 219.

> Prokofiev, Copland – as he was forthright in denouncing those who proclaimed film music to be unworthy of serious consideration by an artist.[66]

In the infamous Leslie Zador interview with Herrmann, he drew on historical precedence, stating, "Pardon me, I don't think that even a great man like Mozart, a great genius like that, thought he was not being a composer when he wrote some ballroom music…"[67] Yet, there was a period of time that he doubted his validity. In a letter to Lucille during their separation, Herrmann wrote

> Perhaps I am not in the end a real composer – a real conductor – perhaps just one who will always be on the fringes of the real art. Much of the music that I have written is at best – really unimportant – and my conducting can hardly be considered great…My feelings and yearnings are those of a composer of the 19th century. I am completely out of step with the present…I know that to create really important works one after the other is not given to me.[68]

It is important to remember that this letter was written during a very difficult time in Herrmann's life, and that judging by the previous statements, which came later in his life, it seems that Herrmann came to accept his validity as a composer working in popular idioms. Also, like Copland, Herrmann believed that film music would benefit from more critical attention: "My only real complaint is that cinema music is not reviewed in the press, yet it reaches the greatest audience in the world … I predict the 21-22nd centuries may not be interested in our art but will be interested in our cinema … Yet because there's no critical attention to movie music it's left to producers who are musical ignoramuses … "[69]

Herrmann commented on film music in writings, lectures, and interviews. Unlike Copland, Herrmann did not write books, but he did write newspaper and journal/magazine

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[66] Christopher Palmer, *The Composer in Hollywood*, (London: Marion Boyars, 1990): 236-237.

[67] As quoted in Smith, 205.

[68] As quoted in Smith, 137.

[69] Smith, 295.

articles addressing his film and concert music. In response to someone harshly criticizing film music, Herrmann wrote,

> The whole point I have been trying to make is that screen music is neither industrialized nor insignificant. Indeed the films and radio offer the only real creative and financial opportunities a composer has. He can write a film score for any musical combination and hear it immediately performed. Moreover the film gives him the largest audience in the world – an audience whose interest and appreciation should not be underestimated. A good film score receives thousands of "fan letters" from intelligent music lovers everywhere.[70]

Herrmann's comments address the accessibility issue that American modernist composers faced in the 1930s and 1940s, and like Copland, he understood that film was one way to bridge the gap between audiences and modern music. Yet, some art composers "dumbed" down their style for the movies. In an interview, Herrmann stated "The trouble is, *good* composers, when they do a film, for some reason or other, they're brainwashed, and they write rubbish. They're afraid to write. The only one who doesn't is Copland. Korngold also. But generally they say, 'This is the Hollywood style, let's write for it.' Of course that's all wrong, what they do."[71] William Darby and Jack Du Bois claim that "Herrmann ultimately felt that music without heart or emotion was worthless, whether it was cast for the concert hall or the screen."[72] This succinctly sums up Herrmann's own statements on the subject, one which not only addresses Herrmann's affinity for emotionalism but also his aversion to anything trendy:

> As a composer I might class myself as a New-Romantic, inasmuch as I have always regarded music as a highly personal and emotional form of expression. I like to write music which takes its inspiration from poetry, art and nature. I do not care for purely decorative music. Although I am in sympathy with modern idioms, I abhor music which attempts nothing more than the illustration of a stylistic fad. And in using modern

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[70] As quoted in Smith, 123.

[71] Royal S. Brown, *Overtones and Undertones: Reading Film Music*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994): 293.

[72] William Darby and Jack Du Bois, *American Film Music: Major Composers, Techniques, Trends, 1915-1990*, (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 1990): 349.

> techniques, I have tried at all times to subjugate them to a larger idea or a grander human feeling.[73]

This statement indicates that Herrmann had no objection to modernist music techniques, but he was not going to utilize them for the sake of remaining relevant.

Others recognized Herrmann's navigation between popular and art music. His daughter Dorothy believed that, "Intellectually he lived and breathed the world of classical music. At night he could be writing a score for this picture or that, but friends would come over and they would listen to some symphony recording. He never really fit into the mold of a Hollywood film composer. I think he was caught in the middle between those two worlds."[74] Dorothy's wording ("caught in the middle") aptly describes the difficulty that Herrmann and Copland experienced in navigating between popular and art music; both saw the validity in each realm, but they constantly had to defend their choices. Palmer believed that Herrmann composed such great film scores because of his

> refusal to recognize any valid distinction between composing for the screen and composing for any other medium: he regarded the cinema as a viable and valuable creative outlet, a great art form whose full range of potential had yet to be tapped. Some composers perform a kind of Jekyll-and-Hyde act in relation to their film work, keeping one self-consciously "popular" style for the cinema, another (sometimes just as self-consciously *un*popular) for the concert hall. Herrmann simply wrote what he felt. The only consideration was the good of the film. As he once tersely remarked "the first step is to get inside the drama. If you can't do that you shouldn't be writing the music."[75]

Palmer's comments allude to Herrmann's willingness to subordinate his self-expression to the needs of the drama, an interesting trait considering Herrmann stated that "Musically I count myself an individualist. I believe that only music which springs out of genuine personal emotion

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[73] Edward Johnson, *Bernard Herrmann: Hollywood's Music-Dramatist*, (Rickmansworth: Triad Press, 1977): 8.

[74] As quoted Smith, 174.

[75] Palmer, 254.

is alive and important.[76] Yet, by "[getting] inside the drama," Herrmann then emotionally reacted and composed music accordingly. Herrmann's comment was in reaction to producers and directors insisting on music that was trendy or could be sold as a pop song, something that Herrmann fought vehemently and which caused a permanent rift between himself and director Alfred Hitchcock. In accordance with Palmer and Dorothy Herrmann, David Cooper states that "[Herrmann] did not distinguish between works such as his opera *Wuthering Heights* or his Symphony and the music he wrote for the cinema – both were equally respectable in his eyes and both involved the application of the same skills and techniques."[77] These comments demonstrate the evident tie between Herrmann's popular and concert works, much like that of the common traits in Copland's *oeuvre*, revealing a loose distinction between the two realms.

Herrmann's career as a composer in the United States centered mostly in the film industry, but he also composed concert works and conducted many concerts. With a broad overview of Herrmann's career in place, the next section will look closer at some of his concert works, demonstrating some of the difficulties Herrmann faced and some of the similarities between his concert works and film scores.

3.2 Concert Works

Herrmann's fifty-one film scores and numerous radio and television cues have overshadowed his concert works, yet there are many varied concert pieces in his *oeuvre*, including large orchestral pieces such as his *Symphony* (1941) and tone poem *The Forest* (1929),

[76] Smith, v.

[77] David Cooper, *Bernard Herrmann's Vertigo: A Film Score Handbook*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001): xiv.

chamber pieces such as his string quartet *Echoes* (1965) and clarinet quintet *Souvenirs du Voyage* (1967), and vocal works such as his cantata *Moby Dick* (1937) and a set of orchestral songs entitled *The Fantasticks* (1942) for soprano, alto, tenor, and baritone solo voices and chorus. The total number of works is difficult to ascertain, because many are not published and some were not finished. Smith provides a list of thirty works in his biography of Herrmann, *A Heart at Fire's Center*.[78] Over half of the works were written before Herrmann composed his first film score, and after that time, two of his compositions were concert suites of his film scores: *The Devil and Daniel Webster Suite* (1942) and *Welles Raises Kane* (1943). Almost all of his works are dramatic or programmatic, demonstrating Herrmann's literary nature and preference for free form.

Herrmann composed smaller works as a teenager and composed his first large scale piece, an orchestral tone poem titled *The Forest*, in 1929 when he was eighteen. That same year, Herrmann wrote another orchestral tone poem, *November Dusk* or *Autumn*. Herrmann's choice of the tone poem, along with a piano piece he entitled *Tempest and Storm: Furies Shrieking!*, demonstrates his attraction to programmatic music. Herrmann also showed his literary side that year in works such as *Requiescat*, a song for voice and piano set to the poem by Oscar Wilde, and *Two Songs for Medium Voice and Small Chamber Orchestra*, the first song set to Paul Verlaine's "The Dancing Faun" and the second set to Paul Bourget's "The Bells." In 1932, as he collaborated with dancers, Herrmann composed *Marche Militaire* and ballet music for *Americana Revue*. That year he also composed a melodram set to A.E. Housman's *A Shropshire Lad*, which would be premiered on CBS's *Columbia Workshop*. Herrmann also used *A Shropshire Lad* as inspiration for the first movement of his clarinet quintet *Souvenirs du voyage*s.

[78] Smith, 370-371.

Herrmann composed most of his concert works in the 1930s when he was working at CBS and before he began film composing. In 1933, he composed *Orchestral Variations* on the American folk tunes "Deep River" and "Water Boy." Although these pieces may not be programmatic, they demonstrate Herrmann's ability to compose using extramusical inspiration. He also composed *Prelude to Anathema* and *Aubade*, which he later retitled *Silent Noon* after a poem by Christina Rossetti. Anathema is one of Herrmann's most dissonant pieces. Smith states that, "Herrmann's foray into Schoenbergian atonality, as characterized by his "Anathema" Prelude, was a brief aberration in his composing. As he soon realized, his most personal idiom, established as early as 1929 in somber, impressionistic works like *Autumn*, owed more to Debussy and the harmonic structure of nineteenth-century Romanticism."[79]

Three of his most well-known concert pieces were composed in 1935; it is possible that they are more well-known, because Herrmann used material from them in his later film scores. *Nocturne and Scherzo* is one of his few non-programmatic pieces, yet parts of it can be heard in his film score to *Jason and the Argonauts* (1963). His *Currier and Ives Suite* references Americana, a sound that Herrmann evoked in his film scores for *Citizen Kane* and *The Magnificent Ambersons* (1942) film scores.[80] *Sinfonietta for Strings* is one of Herrmann's few published scores, and contains a dark motif also heard in his cantata *Moby Dick,* his film scores to *Taxi Driver* and, most notably, *Psycho*. *Moby Dick* was the only other concert piece that Herrmann finished before beginning film work. This cantata is also his first large scale vocal work. He began work on another cantata for the story of Johnny Appleseed, but he never finished it; nor did he complete his violin concerto. Herrmann's next large scale vocal work was his opera

[79] Ibid., 38.
[80] Ibid., 47.

Wuthering Heights (1951), a piece that took nearly nine years to complete and kept him from writing any other concert works during that time.

Herrmann composed some concert works in the early 1940s before being consumed with his opera and film scores. His abandoned *Johnny Appleseed* cantata and *Fiddle Concerto* (most likely the same as his unfinished violin concerto) occupied his time in 1940. The following year Herrmann finished his only standard instrumental piece, his *Symphony*, yet it is only in one movement instead of the traditional four, although this is not an unheard of practice. Herrmann had a difficult time getting the symphony programmed on concerts, and many people, such as Eugene Ormandy,[81] wanted him to make cuts. Herrmann was unwilling to do so, and his refusal to adjust his music affected performances of his other works, such as his opera. In 1942, Herrmann composed a set of orchestral songs entitled *The Fantastiks* in five movements, each depicting a month in England from January to May. Smith points out that *The Fantasticks* "marked an important turning point in Herrmann's work, away from the American idiomatic settings of *Moby Dick* and *Johnny Appleseed* and toward the English source material (in music and subject) that would typify the next decade of his writing, both in film (*Jane Eyre, Hangover Square*, *The Ghost and Mrs. Muir*) and in concert work (the opera *Wuthering Heights*)."[82] Before turning completely to his opera, Herrmann arranged his concert suites for *The Devil and Daniel Webster* and *Welles Raises Kane*, and he composed *For the Fallen,* a touching piece for the dead soldiers of World War II.

Herrmann's opera is an adaptation of Emily Bronte's (1818-1848) novel *Wuthering Heights* (1847). He worked on this piece between film and radio projects from 1943 to 1951.

[81] Ibid., 99.
[82] Ibid., 97.

Lucille wrote the libretto with Herrmann's constant input. *Wuthering Heights* was one of the pieces that Herrmann cared about the most as is evident in a letter that he wrote to his second wife, Lucy Anderson, after recording the opera in which he says, "It all sounded exactly as I had imagined … and certainly is the best I have done … Some how [sic] now my purpose in life seems to make sense."[83] Unfortunately, even though the opera was dear to him and he managed to record it in 1966, at his own expense, *Wuthering Heights* was never staged during Herrmann's lifetime. Yet, there were a few opera companies that were interested in producing it such as the San Francisco Opera Company, but they wanted Herrmann to make cuts to the three-and-a-half-hour opera, which he was unwilling to do.[84] The first performance of the opera, with thirty to forty minutes cut, was given by the Portland Opera Company in 1982, seven years after Herrmann's death.[85] A full performance was given by the Minnesota Opera Company in 2011. Many of Herrmann's film music techniques are present in *Wuthering Heights* as well as extensive quotes from the film score *The Ghost and Mrs. Muir* (1947).[86] Herrmann's inability to stage the opera was a constant thorn in his side, and Smith claims that "*Wuthering Heights* was to be a disillusioning reminder that Herrmann's future lay not in concert music or opera, but in the more experimental (and lucrative) media of film and radio."[87]

Herrmann did not compose another concert work until 1965, and he would only compose two more before his death. His string quartet *Echoes* and his clarinet quintet *Souvenirs du voyage* can be thought of as companion pieces not only because they are his last two chamber pieces,

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[83] Ibid., 110.
[84] Ibid., 208.
[85] Susan Elizabeth St John, "A Study of the Opera 'Wuthering Heights' by Bernard Herrmann (Bronte; England, Oregon)," (PhD. diss., University of Oregon, 1984): 1.
[86] William Wrobel talks extensively about Herrmann's reuse of his music in "Self-Borrowing in the Music of Bernard Herrmann," *The Journal of Film Music* 1 (2003): 249-271.
[87] Smith, 115.

written after such a long break from concert composing, but also due to their similar instrumentation and style. Both are reminiscent of Herrmann's score to *Vertigo*. *Echoes* was written during another crisis point in Herrmann's life, after he had a falling out with Hitchcock, divorced his second wife, and felt that his style of composing was no longer wanted in Hollywood. Thus, this piece is brooding, quoting from *Vertigo* and *Psycho*. Smith states that, "The origins of the Allegro are unmistakable: the plucked signature of its opening is *Psycho's* violent prelude, the crying violin harmonics of its coda, *Vertigo's* lost Madeleine."[88] The first two movements of *Souvenirs du voyage* have a similar melancholy mood, but the third movement is uplifting. This piece was written two years later in 1967, when Herrmann's life was back on the rise. He had met his third wife, Norma Shepherd, whom he dedicated the piece to, and he began work on a second film with French director François Truffaut, whom sought out Herrmann's style of music.

Herrmann's last completed concert work was the musical comedy *The King of Schnorreres* (1968). It seems appropriate that it was another theatrical work, showcasing his skill for dramatic writing. Herrmann also arranged several of his film scores for recordings, which could easily be heard in concert although this was not Herrmann's intention. Although Herrmann's concert output is small, his pieces nevertheless reveal a composer that was interested in art music and capable of writing outside the radio, film, and television industry.

[88] Ibid., 265.

3.3 Film Scores

Herrmann's thirty-five years in the movie industry in some ways was atypical of composers in Hollywood. Although he was more active than Copland, he was not as fully entrenched as the prolific Hollywood composers Max Steiner (1888-1971) and Alfred Newman (1900-1970). Herrmann's entrance into Hollywood was highly facilitated by Orson Welles's invitation to score *Citizen Kane*. Yet, as Smith points out "to many Hollywood executives Herrmann was an unwelcome outsider. 'I was told by the heads of many music departments that there was no room for people like me there,' he recalled. 'They had a tight little corporation going.'"[89] Herrmann was also given longer to complete most of his film scores, partially because he insisted on orchestrating them himself, and he had the privilege of working with prestigious directors such as Welles and Hitchcock. As Darby and Du Bois put it,

> Herrmann's position in the history of movie composing seems obvious enough. He represents a bridge between the classicism of Max Steiner, Alfred Newman, and Erich Korngold and the more dissonant styles of Alex North, Elmer Bernstein, and Jerry Goldsmith. Herrmann also epitomized the quasi-independent composer who operated within the Hollywood system without ever really becoming incorporated into it. While some figures moved from studio to studio under long-term contracts (Franz Waxman, Miklos Rozsa, Hugo Friedhofer) and others arrived in Hollywood when the studio system was fading (North, Bernstein, Henry Mancini), Herrmann never signed a long-term contract with anyone and survived nicely. Unlike Dimitri Tiomkin, who also avoided any long-term arrangements during the heyday of the studio system, Herrmann managed to forge a career in which he worked almost exclusively for distinguished directors and major corporations.[90]

Herrmann's independence can be explained by two main factors: 1) his work in radio allowed him to not be solely financially dependent on film work; and 2) the critical success from his first two films (winning an Oscar for his second film *All That Money Can Buy* or *The Devil and*

[89] Ibid., 72.
[90] Darby and Du Bois, 348.

Daniel Webster), gave him a great start to his film career with directors then seeking to work with him.

Herrmann's style was different from the dominant Hollywood practice in which strings predominated with long, lush melodies supported by thick textures and harmonies. Graham Bruce claims that,

> Herrmann, while fundamentally accepting the prevailing Hollywood aesthetic governing the function of music in relation to narrative, nevertheless also approached that question with some of the attitudes that characterized the theory and practice of his European colleagues. Herrmann's views on the style and structure of a film score, however, more directly challenged Hollywood practice.[91]

In terms of function, Herrmann did follow Hollywood practice, in that the music should be subordinate to the image and convey the atmosphere or mood of a scene. The European practice that Bruce alludes to is the idea of the music in counterpoint with the scene, meaning that it does not match what is happening on screen in mood or pace. Herrmann adhered to this when he wished to convey the psychological underpinnings of a character which might be opposite from the rest of the scene or undetectable without the presence of music; one example being the scene from *Psycho* when the main character, Marion, is driving out of the city with the music conveying her stressed state. Herrmann did not compose long melodies or use lush textures often, although he knew when and how to use these techniques, notably in his scores to *The Ghost and Mrs. Muir* (1947) and *The Snows of Kilimanjaro* (1952). Instead, Herrmann relied on short motives, often passed around the orchestra in different instrumentations. Smith states that, "Herrmann's greatest gift lay in finding dramatic tension in the simplest of devices, the subtle interrelationship of color and rhythm."[92] This is most apparent in the overture to *Citizen Kane*

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[91] Graham Bruce, *Bernard Herrmann: Film Music and* Narrative, (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985): 32.

[92] Smith, 28.

and his score to *Marnie* (1964) or the melodic sequences in *The Seventh Voyage of Sinbad* (1958). Herrmann explained that "The short phrase is easier to follow for audiences, who listen with only half an ear… The reason I don't like this tune business is that a tune has to have eight or sixteen bars, which limits a composer. Once you start, you've got to finish- eight or sixteen bars. Otherwise the audience doesn't know what the hell it's all about."[93] Arguably his most masterful use of a short motive to drive a score is in the Prelude to *Psycho*, a cue that is heard three other times in the film and the motive heard one other time. In Bruce's close analysis of Herrmann's film scores, particularly *Psycho* and *Vertigo*, he explains that

> At the level of the single music cue, the brief musical cell, because of its flexibility, offers the potential of an active interrelation with dialogue, action, and editing. The importance of the musical modules, however, lies not merely in their flexibility in relation to any single image sequence. The structural potential of these simple, cellular units lies also in their generative qualities, their possibilities for expansion, variations, and development, giving rise to a score of organic unity. More importantly, the interrelation of these expansions, variations, and developments provides a potent means of creating narrative structural patterns across the filmic text.[94]

Herrmann's use of short motives served him best in the editing process, whereas many other composers dreaded it, because their melodies could be cut to pieces if the scene was recut for pacing or narrative issues. All of this resulted in a distinct style. Royal S. Brown claims that "Herrmann, working with a great director in his Hitchcock collaborations, created a type of music whose distinctive sound has no equivalent, not only in the composer's concert compositions, which have never had the success enjoyed by Rózsa's or Prokofiev's, but even in his scores for other directors."[95] As the previous section on Herrmann's concert music indicates, this claim is a little too laudatory; for example, parts of *Psycho* are heard in his string quartet

[93] Ibid., 78.
[94] Bruce, 36.
[95] Brown, *Overtones and Undertones*, 175.

Echoes. Herrmann's music for Hitchcock films might be his most acclaimed, but they were not wholly distinct as Hitchcock pointed out: "Hitchcock was also convinced that Herrmann was recycling past compositions. Listening to Herrmann's *Joy in the Morning* score in a private screening, Hitch told his assistant, Peggy Robertson, that Herrmann was using music that rightfully belonged in his films."[96] Herrmann's *Joy in the Morning* (1965) is very reminiscent of *Vertigo* and *Marnie*, two Hitchcock films.

As with his concert music, Herrmann was very uncompromising with his film scores. He did use short motives for ease of editing, but wholesale changes or requests for different styles were hardly welcomed by Herrmann. Probably one of his biggest annoyances was the shift starting in the late 1950s towards pop scores and producers' insistence on a pop song hit. In a 1971 lecture, Herrmann stated "In film studios and among filmmakers, there is a convention that the main titles have to have cymbal crashes and be accompanied by a pop song – no matter what!"[97] Herrmann's unwillingness to write in the more trendy style led to him leaving Hollywood for close to a decade, and as is more well-known, it caused the rift between him and his friend and colleague, Hitchcock, who asked for a more modern (i.e. pop) score to *Torn Curtain* (1966). A list of Herrmann's filmography can be found in Appendix B.

3.3.1 Hitchcock Scores

Herrmann's collaboration with Hitchcock began in 1955 and ended in 1966. Their first film was *The Trouble With Harry* (1955), which was the closest Herrmann got to scoring a comedy. The score is a perfect example of Herrmann's preference for brass and woodwinds.

[96] Smith, 268.
[97] As quoted in Smith, 238.

Although the movie did not do well at the box office, both Hitchcock and Herrmann were pleased with the results. Herrmann even adapted the music into a suite called *A Portrait of Hitchcock,* an obvious indication of their good friendship at the onset of their career together.

Their next collaboration was for quite a different film, a remake of Hitchcock's 1934 *The Man Who Knew Too Much*. Hitchcock thought that he could do a better job with more advanced technology and experience. The music for the climax of the story was written by Arthur Benjamin, the composer of the original; Herrmann thought that he could not do better than Benjamin. Although Herrmann cannot take credit for composing the most important cue for the movie, he did add some orchestration to it, and he is the conductor that appears in the movie during the climactic scene. This movie also had the pop song *Que Sera, Sera*, sung by Doris Day, written for it, something that Herrmann normally abhorred, but he conceded, believing that the song was integral to the plot rather than inserted to make money for the studio. The second movie that they worked on together in 1956 is entitled *The Wrong Man,* a story based on the real life arrest of a jazz musician, Manny Balestrero, for a crime of which he was innocent. Herrmann's score is sparse but effective, portraying the dark, somber nature of the story. The instrumentation is an enlarged jazz combo to reflect the ensemble in which Balestrero played.

The next collaboration was the first of Hitchcock and Herrmann's three masterpieces. *Vertigo* (1958) is a prime example of how even though Herrmann favored atypical instrumentation and avoided melodies, he would revert to them if it suited the film. His score has a gorgeous melody played in the strings, yet it is still Herrmannesque. The story is about romance, but more importantly obsession, which he depicts in a haunting, romantic melody with dissonant, unresolved harmonies. The next masterpiece, released the following year, was *North by Northwest*. Herrmann's score is bold yet playful. This movie demonstrates how Herrmann and

Hitchcock are able to thwart audiences' expectations with music. In the famous crop duster scene, one would expect music to be present to create more tension, but this scene goes without music until the plane crashes. The music at this point picks up the tension and keeps it going. Their third masterpiece was *Psycho* (1960), a movie that unexpectedly brought in much needed revenue, making this movie Hitchcock's most popular to date. Herrmann used a string orchestra to match the black and white picture; Hitchcock had decided to shoot it in black and white rather than the still relatively new technicolor. The score's Prelude sets the tone for the rest of the movie, and the music in the shower scene is one of the most memorable film music cues of all time.

Herrmann and Hitchcock did not collaborate again until 1964. *Birds* has become a horror classic, but there is not much music in it. Herrmann only worked as a consultant on the picture, because Hitchcock decided that he wanted to use audio technology to distort bird sounds for the film score. This was their last successful collaboration. After Herrmann ignored Hitchcock's request for a pop score for *Torn Curtain*, Hitchcock rejected Herrmann's completed score and fired him.

3.3.2 All the Rest

Most of Herrmann's film scores were not for Hitchcock films; his one Oscar win was for *All That Money Can Buy*, a film directed by William Dieterle. As has already been mentioned, he started his career with Welles on *Citizen Kane*. Their second collaboration, *The Magnificent Ambersons* (1942) was a flop due to the studio's major editing, an issue that infuriated Herrmann: "On seeing the recut film, Herrmann stormed out of the screening room and

demanded that his name be removed from the film."[98] His frustration was compounded by the insertion of music by composer Roy Webb. Luckily, his next film brought him much joy; *Jane Eyre* (1943) was an adaptation of the novel, which appealed to Herrmann's Anglophile side.

Herrmann's score for *Hangover Square* (1945) allowed him to compose a piano concerto, because the main character is a murderous pianist. The concerto is heard in fragments throughout the film until the end, when the piece is premiered. The following year cultivated Herrmann's musicologist side; in order to make the score to *Anna and the King of Siam* (1946) sound more authentic, Herrmann extensively studied the music of Siam. Herrmann composed his favorite film score the next year. Smith states that, "*The Ghost and Mrs. Muir* became not only the composer's favorite of his films, but also a companion piece to *Wuthering Heights*."[99] Between *The Ghost and Mrs. Muri* and *The Trouble With Harry*, Herrmann composed eleven film scores, including some of his lesser known ones such as *King of the Khyber Rifles* (1953) and *Prince of Players* (1954). His score to *The Day the Earth Stood Still* (1951) is memorable for his use of the theremin, which was not the first appearance of the instrument in a film score, but Herrmann's use of it became an iconic staple for science fiction movies. Other notable scores during this period include *The Snows of Kilimanjaro* (1952) for his luscious string scoring, a rarity in Herrmann's scores, and *Beneath the 12-Mile Reef* for his use of nine harps.

Herrmann composed fourteen film scores for other directors during the period that he worked with Hitchcock. It was during this time that he composed for a succession of fantasy films: *The Seventh Voyage of Sinbad* (1958), *Journey to the Center of the Earth* (1959), *The Three Worlds of Gulliver* (1960), *Mysterious Island* (1961), *Cape Fear* (1962), and *Jason and*

[98] Smith, 94.
[99] Ibid., 131.

the Argonauts (1963). These films demonstrate his ability to use color for effect such as depicting various creatures in *Mysterious Island*.

After his break with Hitchcock, Herrmann composed ten film scores, half for three distinguished directors: François Truffaut, Brian De Palma, and Martin Scorsese. Truffaut was a welcomed French collaborator since Herrmann had tired of Hollywood (or Hollywood had tired of Herrmann). *Farenheit 451* (1966) and *The Bride Wore Black* (1968) were Truffaut's foray into English cinema, and his choice to use Herrmann was appropriate considering he admired Hitchcock's films. Brian De Palma was one of the first of the new generation of filmmakers to "rediscover" Herrmann. He and Herrmann collaborated on *Sisters* (1972) and *Obsession* (1976). Both were rather dark films, and Herrmann delivered scores that rival his work on *Psycho*. Finally, Herrmann worked with Martin Scorsese on *Taxi Driver* (1975). This too was a dark film, and was his last use of the "psycho" motif first found in his concert piece *Sinfonietta for Strings*. Herrmann recorded the score in Hollywood in which many old colleagues and new directors, such as Steven Speilberg, came to pay Herrmann their respects. Herrmann died in his sleep the night he finished recording for *Taxi Driver*.

Herrmann's film scores have since influenced many film composers since, including John Williams and Jerry Goldsmith. He is remembered mostly for his masterpieces with Hitchcock, but as has been demonstrated, he composed masterful scores for other films.

Chapter Four

High Art/Low Art: A False Dichotomy

"Still, these men are known as 'film composers,' instead of composers who happen to score films. Why should anyone be labelled a 'university' composer, or a 'jingle' composer, 'Broadway' composer, *ad infinitum*? The labelling often prevents them from crossing into other fields, the assumption being that they are capable in only one area. The assumption is a silly one, but nonetheless real." Eddy Lawrence Manson[100]

As has been demonstrated, Copland and Herrmann composed concert works and popular music, mostly film scores, but they both often had to defend the validity of writing for both. Yet, as chapter one demonstrated, many composers before the twentieth century also composed art and popular/pragmatic music. Not only did these composers not stress the distinction as much as composers in the twentieth century, but the accepted art music canon now includes many of the popular/pragmatic works by these composers. So, why and when did this distinction begin? It is first important to point out that this phenomenon is specific to the United States, and that it happened within a broader cultural context, where many aspects of culture were delineated. The United States also seemed to have an inferiority complex to all things European. As Lawrence W. Levine states, "The idea that Americans, long after they declared their political independence, retained a colonial mentality in matters of culture and intellect is a shrewd perception that deserves serious consideration."[101] This colonial mentality subtly directed culture in the United States throughout the nineteenth century, but gained traction at the turn of the twentieth century. Highbrow and lowbrow delineations, with many subtleties in between, were created for art, literature, and music. Before the turn of the century, it was common for art and

[100] Manson, 268.

[101] Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988): 2.

popular music to appear on the same concert or played by amateurs in their parlors as entertainment. Levine states that,

> Sheet music of songs by Bellini, Rossini, Donizetti, and others sold side by side with the music of such perennial favorites as Henry Russell, the Hutchinsons, and Stephen Foster, and it is clear from the copies of this sheet music that have been preserved that the people who performed it in their parlors felt as free to pencil in alterations to the music of Mozart and Verdi as they did to the music of Stephen Foster, still one more indication that the distinctions we have learned to make were for the most part foreign to the nineteenth century.[102]

In Levine's comments, he points to Bellini, Rossini, and Donizetti who composed mostly operas. Opera is culturally an interesting and intersecting genre of music. In many ways, it is a precursor to film. Music's function in film is closer to other theatrical genres such as melodrama or vaudeville entertainments, but many of the prolific Hollywood composers thought of their work as akin to Wagnerian opera, mostly for their use of the operatic technique called leitmotif. For the purposes of this discussion, the more relevant similarity between opera and film music is their cultural status and how it changed over time. Levine states that, "…opera was an art form that was *simultaneously* popular and elite. That is, it was attended both by large numbers of people who derived great pleasure from it and experienced it in the context of their normal everyday culture, *and* by smaller socially and economically elite groups who derived both pleasure and social confirmation from it."[103] Film too was attended by a vast majority of people in the early twentieth century. At first, it was viewed mostly by those in the lower and middle classes, because film was first exhibited in vaudeville circuits. Then movie palaces were built in the 1920s and became a place for upper-middle-class audiences. Yet, movies were entertainment not art. Levine points out that "Movies … though superior to musical comedies or commercial

[102] Ibid., 96.
[103] Ibid., 86.

plays, remained a low form of popular entertainment that might through imaginative use become a form for education, though obviously never a form of art."[104] As the twentieth century progressed, certain films were elevated to the status of art; documentaries being the first as was indicated in chapter two. The title of Roy Prendergast's book *Film Music: A Neglected Art* (1977) indicates how film music as well has begun to be considered as Art. Opera went through a similar evolution. Levine discusses how this can be viewed in reviews and newspaper columns at the turn of the century, stating,

> [W.J. Henderson, a *New York Times* critic] symbolized a transition that, in Ronald Davis's terms, saw opera becoming "more a *symbol* of culture than a real cultural force," and the opera house becoming less a center of entertainment than a sacred source of cultural enlightenment, less a living theater than, as Herbert Lindenberger has put it, "a museum displaying masterpieces in many period styles."[105]

The museum effect was also occurring within the realm of instrumental works. Conductors, financial supporters, and critics all played a part in creating the canon of "worthy" concert works. Chicago Symphony Orchestra conductor, Theodore Thomas, was an instrumental figure in establishing major orchestras and regular concerts. Critic, John Sullivan Dwight, and financial backer of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, Henry Lee Higginson, were two other strong advocates for a canon of high class music. To appease audiences, from all social classes,

> [t]he solution, in Philadelphia as in Boston and elsewhere, was to separate the wheat from the chaff; to mount a series of "popular concerts" for those who craved hearing Strauss's waltzes, Brahms's Hungarian Dances, Liszt's Hungarian Rhapsodies, and instrumental arrangements of Wagner's *Pilgrim's Chorus* and *Evening Star* or Verdi's arias, and to arrange the regular programming for those who preferred to have their culture unsullied by compromise.[106]

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[104] Ibid., 231
[105] Ibid., 104.
[106] Ibid., 130-131.

In some ways, this still holds true today. The pieces that Levine mentions would not be heard on a pops concert today, but they are not heard as often as Brahms's symphonies or Liszt's tone poems. However, film music suites would be heard on pops concerts, indicating that film music is still considered lower than art music.

Another method used to elevate certain music above others was to create the sense of a sacred text written by geniuses. By doing so, it became inappropriate to change the intention, i.e. written notes, of great composers and their masterworks. Levine states that

> Conductors themselves often were judged by the same standards as soloists. In spite of his great prestige, when Gustav Mahler, who led the New York Philharmonic from 1909 to 1911, openly made changes in Beethoven's orchestration, proclaiming, "Of course the works of Beethoven need some editing," he was immediately and persistently attacked by the many guardians of the sanctity of the text…[107]

This particular example is ironic in the sense that those in the United States tended to view anything or anyone European as high culture, which is why this example is so illuminating as to the power of the distinctions that were being solidified at the turn of the twentieth century. Levine sums up the process, stating,

> [t]hus by the early decades of [the twentieth century] the changes that had either begun or gained velocity in the last third of the nineteenth century were in place: the masterworks of the classic composers were to be performed in their entirety by highly trained musicians on programs free from the contamination of lesser works or lesser genres, free from the interference of audience or performer, free from the distractions of the mundane; audiences were to approach the masters and their works with proper respect and proper seriousness, for aesthetic and spiritual elevation rather than mere entertainment was the goal.[108]

These procedures were rigid and stifling to contemporary music, especially by composers in the United States. More importantly, it kept popular music at a very low status. Copland states that "[r]everence for the classics in our time has been turned into a form of discrimination against all

[107] Ibid., 138-139.
[108] Ibid., 146.

other music."[109] Film music has certainly been a victim of this discrimination. Film music is created to serve the visuals of the cinema, not be heard separately on stage, although many concert suites have been created and recordings made of selected cues; thus, the secondary role of film music lessened the concept of music as Art, i.e. music for music's sake. This put film music even below other popular genres such as songs and dance music. In order to further understand the hierarchical distinction that has been placed between film music and concert music, it is important to understand their differences and how those differences signified/signify value judgments.

First, one must realize that there is an important historical development that splits film history into two eras thus far. The advent of sound technology drastically changed the course of the cinema, most notably the introduction of dialogue, and thus created the sound era as opposed to the previous silent era. Although the first part of film history (ca 1890-1928) is coined the silent era, scholars have correctly pointed out that it was not truly silent. Rick Altman has been the most thorough in the mapping of the sound developments during the silent era, even highlighting instances when film exhibition was in fact silent. The term is more of an indication of technology's inability to record sound and image together, and since the ability to record images came after recorded sound, the visuals were the new spectacle and focus of attention. Although the focus of this thesis has been on the sound era, it is important to discuss the silent era since the dichotomy between concert and film music began during cinema's beginning in the silent era at the turn of the twentieth century.

[109] Aaron Copland, *Music and Imagination*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953): 18.

Music in the silent era was an outgrowth of theatre music conventions. Many of the early silent films were simply filmed versions of stage productions, thus the same approach to music was appropriate, and even original films, i.e. not filmed theatre, were predominantly exhibited in vaudeville, a form of "lower" theatre. The categorization of "lower" for vaudeville was mostly an indication of social class; it was the entertainment for the masses and therefore automatically considered less than other theatrical entertainment such as opera. Cinema's association with vaudeville at the outset already gave it a lower status, hence why (or one reason why) film music has been looked down upon in comparison to concert music. Music in vaudeville and other related circuits is often referred to as stock music, because short segments of music were used for similar dramatic situations among different productions. Music directors would pick from their library of stock music and often compose some original cues if needed. This same music was used at the beginning of the silent era in the 1890s and the first decade of the twentieth century. Then in the following two decades, separate stock music was created for film although they followed the same conventions. The most notable publications were Erno Rapee's 1924 *Motion Picture Moods for Pianists and Organists,* his 1925 *Encyclopedia of Music for Pictures,* and Hans Erdmann and Guiseppe Becce's 1927 *Allgemeines Handbuch der Film-Musik.* Other writings of this nature include the 1913 *Carl Fischer Moving Picture Portfolio* and *Especially Designed for Moving Picture Theatres*, the 1917 *Joseph Carl Breil's Original Collection of Dramatic Music for Moving Picture Plays,* Giuseppe Becce's twelve volume *Kinothek:Neue Filmmsick* published between 1918 and 1927, Eugene Ahern's 1913 *What and How to Play for Pictures,* May Shaw Meeker's 1916 *The Art of Photoplaying…In Operating Any Photoplayer or Double Tracker Piano Player for Theatres,* T.J.A Mapp's 1917 *The Art of Accompanying the Photo-Play,* and George Tootell's 1927 *How to Play the Cinema Organ: A Practical Book by a*

Practical Player. The last few examples focused on technique, one grounded in improvisation, rather than only supplying stock music. Major movie studios, such as Sam Fox Company, also provided stock music to accompany their films. Stock music clearly demonstrates the concept of pragmatic music, thus lesser than art music according to the distinctions already outlined.

An important aspect to remember in the film industry is that of exhibition. Studios produced films and then exhibitors paid to show films at their venues. This is still true today, but once again the lack of sound technology created a different exhibition environment than the sound era. Exhibitors were responsible for the music and sound effects heard unless they chose silence (a choice made by venues that could not afford musicians), giving them some of the creative control. This resulted in what has come to be known as the compilation score, meaning an assemblage of stock music, excerpts from standard concert pieces no longer under copyright, and some original music. Producers from the movie studios soon began to complain of the poor musical judgment of some exhibitors, leading to the studios taking all the creative control. They partially accomplished this at first by sending cue sheets that suggested what to play and when to play it for each film. This still allowed exhibitors some creative control, especially if they decided to completely ignore the cue sheets. Then studios began to hire composers to write original scores for each film that then would be required to be played at each venue or arranged for smaller ensembles. The earliest example of this was Camille Saint-Saëns's score to *L'Assassinat du duc de Guise* in 1908. Although this happened early on, the original score trend would not occur until almost a decade later, and even these were still sometimes compilation scores like for *The Birth of a Nation* in 1915.

This transition is often considered an artistic elevation for film and film music, because music was no longer being used haphazardly, rather the music was chosen to compliment

specific scenes instead of general moods. Of course this is not considering the fact that many music directors at various venues probably were not haphazardly using stock music, rather they could have been quite discerning about their choices. The transition was a shift for film in general, because films began to have a narrative structure rather than filmed entertainments such as acrobats or dances. This is pointed out, because film music then began to supplement the narrative, which is why original scores become dominant. The advent of sound film gave studios complete creative control and ended the live performance environment of the silent era, yet music more or less functioned the same. Stock music or original cues resembling stock music were still used either sparingly or abundantly, and excerpts of previously composed music (e.g., concert music or popular songs) are still used today. By the studios taking complete creative control, they were mirroring what had happened with concert music at the turn of the century; the social elites did not want their concert music to be tainted by musician's interpretation or adjustment.

An important distinction between music during the silent era and the sound era is that in the sound era, it was split into source music and background music, which is now termed diegetic (source or part of the film world) and non-diegetic (background or outside the film world). These terms were introduced in the 1980s by Claudia Gorbman, which were borrowed from literary scholarship.[110] This distinction existed minimally during the silent era, but it was less obvious, because the musicians that accompanied silent film were assumed to be outside of the film world even if they were mimicking a musician or musical ensemble that appeared on screen. The division between diegetic and non-diegetic often becomes blurred, and scholarship might one day discard these terms, but for now they are still quite useful. Typically, non-diegetic

[110] Gorbman, *Unheard Melodies*.

music is orchestral or at least instrumental. The examples of songs used as non-diegetic are rare but quite an intriguing topic since they often float between diegetic and non-diegetic. This orchestral color or dependence on instrumental music is one reason why film music is often compared to concert music, which tends to focus on the same medium of performance.

If film and concert music typically use the same medium of performance, why are they considered so different? Both use the basic tenets of music (western European music that is); rhythm, melody, harmony, timbre, and often within a tonal framework. Other than the difference in function (pragmatic vs. artistic) already discussed, the one aspect that is most used against film music is its lack of structure/form or ability to stand alone. Scholar and one time film composer Irwin Bazelon attempted to discuss the merits of film music in his book *Knowing the Score* (1975) while at the same time vehemently maintaining the hierarchical structure between film and concert music. The beginning of the book is almost a caveat for his discussion of film music, reducing the film composer and his/her work to a much lower status than concert music:

> In the strictest musico-aesthetic sense, one can argue whether or not film music is music at all. The basic ingredients of composition exist: there is melodic line, harmonic texture, rhythmic agitation, orchestral color, and even a glimpse, now and then, of a musical germ. The composer's tools of trade are much in evidence. It sounds like music; it looks like music. But is it *really* music? About this point composer Leonard Rosenman writes: "While most of the elements of music as we know them appear to be present in the functional field, there is one element that is conspicuously absent. It is the propulsion of the score by means of 'musical' ideas."
>
> Without these ideas – the driving force of musical art – the finished product is vacuous and underserving of serious consideration.[111]

By insisting that music must have the "propulsion of musical ideas," Bazelon diminishes most of film music, which allows him to focus on a limited amount of film scores he deems to have the

[111] Irwin A. Bazelon, *Knowing the Score: Notes on Film Music*, (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1975): 11.

propulsion. Earlier in his book, Bazelon defines what a composer is and how film composers do not really meet his requirements:

> Functioning as a composer in the sense of putting a piece together is never called upon: it is not necessary; indeed, it is not wanted. Film scores are not symphonies, concerti, or concert pieces. In the main they consist of short forms, divertimenti, microcosmic time components, sketches and fragments of musical seeds – unfinished compositions with only the bare suggestion of character. In addition, the necessity of following cues in the film actively discourages large compositional canvases. The end results are abrupt, truncated phrases, mere snatches of music that are all beginning, no middle, and often a welcome end.[112]

To Bazelon, a composer must formulate a piece, which according to him are those pieces in large form, not small forms. This concept attacks more than film music, including many other standard concert pieces, such as Chopin's mazurkas. In a footnote to this paragraph, he even dismisses concert suites of film music, which are larger, stand alone pieces, yet he conveniently ignores standard concert pieces that were arranged from incidental music such as Grieg's *Peer Gynt Suite* or Mendelsshon's *A Midsummer Night's Dream Suite,* to name only two. His last assessment is that, "film music is *almost* composing – but not quite."[113] Gorbman counteracts these assumptions, although not directly addressing Bazelon, stating, "To judge film music as one judges 'pure' music is to ignore its status as a part of the collaboration that is the film. Ultimately it is the narrative context, the interrelations between music and the rest of the film's system, that determines the effectiveness of film music."[114] This mindset is crucial to understanding film music and allowing it be taken seriously without relegating it to concert music ("pure") standards. In regards to Bazelon's unsubstantiated dismissal of film music concert suites, one must remember the debate between the validity of programmatic music versus

[112] Ibid., 9.
[113] Ibid., 12.
[114] Gorbman, 12.

absolute music in the nineteenth century. Programmatic music such as Liszt's and Richard Strauss's tone poems were criticized for the extramusical ties and lack of standard forms. They did not conform to the idea of music for music's sake, a Romantic ideal that obviously still carries over into the twentieth century. Yet, they have been accepted into the canon of concert works, because they were composed by established composers, are large scale works, and can stand alone even if they have extramusical ties. Programmatic pieces are still often analyzed using absolute music forms such as sonata form, but Ethan Haimo astutely points out in his discussion of Arnold Schoenberg's *Verklarte Nacht*, that,

> If the hunt for an appropriate absolute music formal model yields three different results for the same composition, then perhaps we are looking in the wrong place, in the realm of absolute music and not programmatic music. Perhaps if we stop trying to force this work into an absolute music model and instead try to understand the form in terms of the program, we can be far more successful.[115]

Haimo's statement attempts to aide music theorists in understanding programmatic pieces, but the general concept of using tools appropriate to certain pieces is appropriate for musicological writings as well. Programmatic pieces share much in common with film music. They both are more dramatic in nature and function to tell a story or support a story in the case of film music. Therefore, it is prudent to remember that film music must be approached differently and cannot be lowered beneath concert music simply because it does not adhere to concert music structures. Both are valid forms, and when film music concert suites are created, it is more beneficial to approach them like one would approach a programmatic piece per Haimo's comments.

The dichotomy between film music and concert music has been recognized by composers, critics, and scholars almost as long as film history itself. As already mentioned, film

[115] Ethan Haimo, *Schoenberg's Transformation of Musical Language*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006): 36.

music is often criticized for its lack of form or coherence. However, Eddy Lawrence Manson claims that "Form can point up transitions and development in the story line. I've seldom composed a music cue that did not have a beginning, a middle, and an end, as does a sentence, a paragraph, and, in an abstract way, a photograph or painting."[116] Manson draws attention to film music's form as informed by the film itself. Unfortunately, this can still be perceived as a fault, especially when composers that write predominantly for film try to then compose concert works. As Manson states, " … it is a working joy for him to compose music that stands on its own without the imposed architecture of a film. He must, however, deal with prejudice: film composers upon entering the concert hall are sometimes hurt by imperceptive critics. And he must achieve a mastery of extended forms."[117] Other comments focus on the difference in the actual process of composing for film or the skill set required for each. In this regard, Manson states, "Being able to compose in almost any idiom or period is a mainstay in the cine-composer's armament. At UCLA and other schools, I have often told film-scoring students: 'Learn to write the very music you hate: you never know when you'll need it.' Yet, this kind of pliability and versatility is often anathema to the concert composer."[118] Even with differences in form and process, some composers still see the validity of film music and its possible presence in the concert hall. Composer Maurice Jarre states that,

> But I do find that film music sometimes works very well in concert. When you hear film music in the concert hall, if the music is good both as music and as film music, the audience remembers certain sequences thanks to the music. I find that film music can certainly be heard in the concert hall, because in fact it is music that in a certain sense has become – and I exaggerate slightly – what the opera was in the nineteenth century.[119]

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[116] Manson, 261.
[117] Ibid., 267.
[118] Ibid., 257.
[119] Brown, *Overtones and Undertones*, 312-313.

Even if composers see the validity in film music in the concert hall, programming their film music in the concert hall is not as common as could be, because, more often than not, the composer does not own the rights to the film score. Composers who have enough clout, such as Copland and John Williams, are able to retain their rights. If they do not have the rights, composers might reuse some of the material in later concert works. The practice dates as far back as 1908. Cooke states that, "Prophetic too was Saint-Saëns' decision to recycle his film music for concert use (as Op.128, for the original ensemble scoring of wind, piano, harmonium and strings), a procedure later adopted by many composers who wished to rescue their film music from its ephemeral source … "[120] Fortunately, even if film music is not heard often in concert, there are some recording releases, which allow the music to live outside the film; but this is still not the main purpose of film music, nor should it be the composer's end goal.

Europe did not experience the dichotomy between film music and concert music to the same degree as in the United States. This is also true on a broader scope between art and popular music. A music dichotomy in European society is felt more between art music and folk music, although many art composers have incorporated folk melodies into their compositions. In regards to film music, Cooke points out that,

> As European cinema regained its strength during post-[World War I] reconstruction, it was not uncommon for established composers of concert music to compose film scores for major silent productions, this situation contrasting sharply with that prevailing in the USA. As Bernard Herrmann once remarked of later Hollywood practice, "America is the only country in the world with so-called 'film-composers' – every other country has composers who sometimes do films."[121]

A list of European art composers that worked in film would include Shostakovich, Prokofiev, Ralph Vaughn Williams, Hanns Eisler, Darius Milhaud, Arthur Honegger, Georges Auric,

[120] Cooke, 14.
[121] Ibid., 30-31.

William Walton, Arthur Bliss, Arnold Bax, Malcolm Arnold, and would still be far from complete. Darby and Du Bois point out that, "If such cinematic-concert hall collaborations have been the custom in Europe, in the United States such arrangements have, by and large, not developed … If anything, Hollywood has often been more willing to hire serious composers than such individuals have been willing to be hired."[122] Although there was a greater amount of European art composers working in film than composers in the United States, they still faced some prejudice. Cooke states that

> In the UK, for example, the stigma attached to commercial composition blighted critical perceptions of a number of composers who worked regularly in film; those who simultaneously attempted to forge careers for themselves as symphonists, such as William Alwyn, Malcolm Arnold and Benjamin Frankel, inevitably suffered from an establishment view that they were somehow prostituting their art when they entered the film studio, or (even worse) that their concert works were merely pretentious film music.[123]

Yet, early on, interest in film music outside of the film grew in the UK, with performances by the London Symphony Orchestra.[124] Economic differences was another factor in the contrast between the United States and Europe. Hollywood quickly became the dominant producer of films thanks to the systemization of production. As Bick explains,

> European composers, many from the art-music tradition, were not under the same controls imposed by the Hollywood studio system. As Copland put it, his European colleagues were able to create "serious" film scores because "they were composers first and film composers second." The truth, however, was that European composers were not threatened as much by mass-market production. European studios produced fewer films per year and spent much less money per production, with the result that the industry made less commercial investment and incurred less risk.[125]

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[122] Darby and Du Bois, 157.
[123] Cooke, 226.
[124] Ibid., 230.
[125] Bick, "Copland on Hollywood," 48.

Ironically, many of the prominent Hollywood composers during the golden age of film, such as Max Steiner, Franz Waxman, Erich Korngold, Miklos Rózsa, and Dmitri Tiomkin, were European emigres, and these composers had successful careers in art music. This further highlights the notion that it was mostly musicians in the United States that adhered to the hierarchies of music established at the turn of the twentieth century.

Although the careers of Copland and Herrmann demonstrate the dichotomy between film music and concert music in the United States during the twentieth century, they are not the only composers that reveal these tensions. Many composers before and since Copland and Herrmann have worked in both realms of music. Even many of the composers that worked solely in film had/have classical training. By acknowledging that there is a tension between film music and concert music and recognizing that this tension is grounded in a constructed rather than innate hierarchy, it is possible to move past the barrier placed between the study of film music and concert music and, on a broader scale, that of art music and popular and pragmatic music. Art music is but one portion of musical culture, and it often influences and is influenced by popular and pragmatic music. Composers do and should be able to navigate freely between all different kinds of music; therefore, scholars must account for this phenomenon.

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Appendix A: Aaron Copland's Filmography
Years are of the film's release date. *The City* and *The Cummington Story* are documentaries that were not produced by a studio.

Title	Year	Director(s)	Studio
The City	1939	Ralph Steiner and Willard Van Dyke	
Of Mice and Men	1939	Lewis Milestone	Hal Roach Studios
Our Town	1940	Sam Wood	Sol Lesser Productions
The North Star	1943	Lewis Milestone	Samuel Goldwyn Company
The Cummington Story	1945	Helen Grayson and Larry Madison	
The Heiress	1949	William Wyler	Paramount
The Red Pony	1949	Lewis Milestone	Republic Pictures
Something Wild	1961	Jack Garfein	Prometheus Enterprises Inc.

Appendix B: Bernard Herrmann's Filmography
Years are of the film's release date.

Title	Year	Director	Studio
Citizen Kane	1941	Orson Welles	RKO
All That Money Can Buy (or *The Devil and Daniel Webster)*	1941	William Dieterle	RKO
The Magnificent Ambersons	1942	Orson Welles	RKO
Jane Eyre	1943	Robert Stevenson	Fox
Hangover Square	1945	John Brahm	Fox
Anna and the King of Siam	1946	John Cromwell	Fox
The Ghost and Mrs. Muir	1947	Joseph L. Mankiewicz	Fox
Portrait of Jennie	1948	William Dieterle	Selznick International
The Day the Earth Stood Still	1951	Robert Wise	Fox
On Dangerous Ground	1951	Nicholas Ray	RKO
Five Fingers	1952	Joseph L. Mankiewicz	Fox
The Snows of Kilimanjaro	1952	Henry King	Fox
White Witch Doctor	1953	Henry Hathaway	Fox
Beneath the 12-Mile Reef	1953	Robert Webb	Fox
King of Khyber Rifles	1953	Henry King	Fox
Garden of Evil	1954	Henry Hathaway	Fox
The Egyptian	1954	Michael Curtiz	Fox
Prince of Players	1954	Philip Dunne	Fox
The Trouble with Harry	1955	Alfred Hitchcock	Paramount
The Kentuckian	1955	Burt Lancaster	Paramount
The Man Who Knew Too Much	1956	Alfred Hitchcock	Paramount
The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit	1956	Nunnally Johnson	Fox
The Wrong Man	1956	Alfred Hitchcock	Warner Brothers
Williamsburg: The Story of a Patriot	1956	George Seaton	Paramount
A Hatful of Rain	1957	Fred Zinnemann	Fox
Vertigo	1958	Alfred Hitchcock	Paramount
The Naked and the Dead	1958	Raoul Walsh	RKO
The Seventh Voyage of Sinbad	1958	Nathan Juran	Columbia
North by Northwest	1959	Alfred Hitchcock	MGM
Blue Denim	1959	Philip Dunne	Fox
Journey to the Center of the Earth	1959	Henry Levin	Fox
Psycho	1960	Alfred Hitchcock	Paramount
The Three Worlds of Gulliver	1960	Jack Sher	Columbia
Mysterious Island	1961	Cy Endfield	Columbia
Tender is the Night	1962	Henry King	Fox
Cape Fear	1962	J. Lee Thompson	Universal
Jason and the Argonauts	1963	Don Chaffey	Columbia

The Birds	1963	Alfred Hitchcock	Universal
Marnie	1964	Alfred Hitchcock	Universal
Joy in the Morning	1965	Alex Segal	MGM
Torn Curtain	1966	Alfred Hitchcock	Universal
Fahrenheit 451	1966	Francois Truffaut	Universal
The Bride Wore Black	1968	Francois Truffaut	Lopert
Twisted Nerve	1968	Roy Boulting	Rank
The Night Digger	1971	Alastair Reid	MGM
The Battle of Neretva	1971	Veljko Bulajic	AIP
Endless Night	1971	Sidney Gilliatt	Rank
Sisters	1972	Brian De Palma	AIE
It's Alive	1974	Larry Cohen	Warner Brothers
Obsession	1976	Brian De Palma	Columbia
Taxi Driver	1976	Martin Scorsese	Columbia