Voices Appeared:

Carl Theodor Dreyer's *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* and Early
Fifteenth-Century Music – Live Music, Silent Film and Vocal
Performance Practices

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Thesis submitted to The University of Nottingham for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

October 2018

Abstract

This thesis considers its material from both a historical-critical and a performative-creative standpoint. It brings together complementary approaches: historical research, knowledge of musical repertoires, performance studies and creative practice, and film-music studies. It addresses questions of silent cinema, of music and narrative, of music and image, of live musical performance and early fifteenth-century history in the context of a large-scale creative project, *Voices Appeared.* This project and the critical approach of the thesis are based on first-hand engagement with the 1928 Carl Theodor Dreyer silent film, *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* and with the polyphonic music performed and composed during Jeanne d'Arc's lifetime (c. 1412–1431). It suggests new perspectives for the understanding and critical reception of the musical and cinematic aspects of the creative project, and of the film itself. It also examines the use of music in Dreyer's later sound films and various alternative soundtracks for *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc*, setting all this in a wider relation to Dreyer's practice and *oeuvre*.

Acknowledgements

My debts of gratitude are many, but must begin with my supervisors, Professor Mervyn Cooke and Mr Philip Weller, both of whom responded to my various submissions with grace and in timely fashion. Their enthusiasm and encouragement sustained me and without them the final shape of this thesis would be considerably less attractive. Though it is not usual to thank institutions, I must acknowledge the University of Nottingham and the M3C committee, who accepted my application and extended me a full grant. Similar thanks are also due to the Arts Council of England, who provided funding for the Voices Appeared project. Without that, the idea of a live score for *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* would never have been realised. Other partners in that initial tour who deserve thanks, both from me and The Orlando Consort, are: the various concert promoters who were bold enough to commit to what was in the first instance, merely an outline; Eureka Entertainment, who provided the Blu-Ray for the performances; the Early Music Centre of Great Britain and Delma Tomlin OBE for their financial and practical support; the Film Studies department of King's College, London, who allowed us to test out the project on an unsuspecting audience; and Professor Emma Dillon of King's College, London, who organised a day seminar based around the project.

I owe all my colleagues in the Orlando Consort – Matthew Venner, Mark Dobell, Angus Smith and Robert Macdonald – a drink. Or two. They all showed faith in my vision and endeavoured to realise it. That is a polite way of saying that they put up with repeatedly asking them to see past the onscreen instructions and musical notation to the emotional purport of the drama.

Eliot Lindsell, my nephew and, at the time I was developing the project, a digital media

student, proved himself not just to be hard-working and diligent, but was also instrumental in finding inspired solutions to the weighty task of creating the 'flick track', the visual cueing system The Orlando Consort continues to use. He was also extremely calm in the face of the crisis that confronted us when it was discovered at the eleventh hour that the DVD, which we had used as the basis for the cueing system, ran faster than the Blu-Ray which was used for screenings by some five seconds.

Several friends have been good enough to indulge me in discussing both the project and film music more generally. Anna De Vere's early encouragement on a car journey down to Hastings is lodged in the memory and personal myth. John Frankish and David Williams were willing guinea pigs at an early rehearsal and were there at the premiere and subsequent performances. John, with whom I studied film 'back in the day' and whose knowledge of film music made him an exceptionally able and willing consultant, deserves particular thanks, as always. It was Dr Bridie Moore who first suggested that the project would form the basis of a PhD thesis. Thanks also to Ben Brewster, who was good enough to read through an early draft of Chapter Four and offer several valuable corrections, and Professor David Fallows, who was similarly helpful and direct about an early version of Chapter Five.

The staff of the Dreyer Archive – Birgit Granhøj and Lisbeth Richter Larsen – were kind enough to come to a performance of the project in Malmö in 2016 and were extremely helpful on my various visits to the archive. Professor Casper Tybjerg of the University of Copenhagen accompanied them and has generously shared his research on the Lo Duca project and the Cinéma d'Essai. Thanks also to the entire staff at the Deutsche Film Institut, particularly Christian Fleischhacker, for allowing me to consult Wolfgang Zeller's score to *Vampyr*. Sebastian Uttenreuther, who was conducting his own research at an adjacent desk, kindly acted as an on-

hand decoder and translator of some of Zeller's markings. The staff of the Kongelige Bibliotek made my visit to consult Poul Schierbeck's and Jorgen Jersild's scores for Dreyer's films particularly pleasant. I would also like to thank Angus Chisholm and Lone Skov for putting me up and putting up with me on my various trips to Copenhagen and for making my various visits so *hyggelig*.

Only some two weeks after my viva voce, I learned of the sad death of Philip Weller, one of my supervisors. It casts a pall over any celebration, though I am glad that he learned of the successful outcome of my studies. Our meetings were always immensely stimulating and his broad knowledge of seemingly everything under the sun, his effortless ability to distil and articulate complex arguments in fluid prose and his attention to detail continue to act as an inspiration. He will be greatly missed by colleagues, and by students like myself who were lucky enough to know him.

Abbreviations and acronyms

Archive abbreviations

KB Kongelige Biblioteket, Copenhagen

DA Dreyer Archive, Copenhagen

DFF Deutsches Filminstitut, Frankfurt

Other abbreviations

BFI British Film Institute

CUP Cambridge University Press

CMM Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae

EM Early Music

JAMS Journal of the American Musicological Society

MoMA Museum of Modern Art, New York

OUP Oxford University Press

Notes

- O All translations from the Danish and French are my own unless otherwise indicated.
- I have referred throughout to the historical figure of Jeanne d'Arc by her French name rather than its anglicised form. In part, this is an inheritance of working so closely with the film, *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc*, for so long, though it is worth noting that the Danish title of the film, *Jeanne d'Arcs lidelse og død*, maintains her original name.
- Film titles are followed by director and year of US release in parentheses, save for
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INTRODUCTION

What follows emerges in the first instance from *Voices Appeared*, a compiled score of music from the lifetime of Jeanne d'Arc (c. 1412–1431) designed to serve as a live accompaniment to Carl Theodor Dreyer's 1928 silent movie, *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc*. The idea of writing a thesis about the project came from a friend, Dr Bridie Moore. She had pursued a research-based doctorate, examining issues of age and ageism in theatre, and her submission consisted of practical and written components. Initially, such an approach appealed, but there were two immediate problems: by the time I began the thesis, I had already created what would have been the practical component, i.e. *Voices Appeared*, and numerous performances had taken place; furthermore, as one of the singers, I had never actually seen the production, nor was I sure that I could fully recover the required objectivity to analyse the object in question. I was also sensitive to the charge of retrospective and self-serving explanations of what I, as the designer of the score and the director of its performances, had created.

An alternative approach to the thesis would have been to examine retrospectively the development of the project, underlining the economic and creative tensions. Much of the preparatory work for *Voices Appeared* had involved the kind of day-to-day administration that keeps a performing group running – pitching ideas to promoters, seeking funding, negotiating fees, and so on. Despite its creative nature, the project was necessarily grounded in pragmatism, its development justified by The Orlando Consort, for whom it was created, not simply on aesthetic and imaginative grounds but by the performances and revenues that it might generate. I had not, though, kept detailed notes of either the administrative or creative processes, and while I could doubtless have recovered much of that history, I did not feel that such an account would

have been of particular interest or value to the academic community. Nor, indeed, was I interested in pursuing an ethnographical or even auto-ethnographical account. Yet both economic and social realities clearly impinged on, and to a certain degree, dictated the final object: *Voices Appeared*. And, by the same token, there were other factors that determined the form the project would take, and specific circumstances that allowed it to exist and flourish. After all, it was not simply that no-one had thought of the idea of adding music from the lifetime of Jeanne d'Arc to serve as a score for Dreyer's film – the idea was floated by Dreyer himself in 1952; such a project was only possible in an era when performance of early fifteenth-century repertoire had found its place on the concert stage and in recordings.

I thus fixed on an approach to *Voices Appeared* that focused on its various determinants and constraints. The thesis would address the project from various perspectives – social, economic, contractual, ideological, cultural and creative – and cast these as self-prescribed rules, constraints and prohibitions, thereby interrogating the implicit, explicit and even unconscious factors that underlay its creation, development and, ultimately, its success as a film-concert venture. This methodology is the guiding narrative thread through the following chapters: an examination of the preconditions of the project, an account of the inevitable tensions between creative freedoms and practical constraints, and an exploration of the project's various informing ideologies and creative synergies. In exploring the various assumptions and the historical and empirical constraints that underpinned the project's creation, I will inevitably highlight the working practices of The Orlando Consort, a group that performs medieval music in the early part of the twenty-first century. *Voices Appeared* thereby becomes the departure point, a recurring point of reference, an object of analysis, and a test case for various theoretical and critical issues.

Chapter One outlines the histories of La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc and of The Orlando

Consort. *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* is a work of film art that is unquestionably and securely part of the cinematic canon, moreover a film whose complex print history had all but rendered the version discovered in 1981 as a sacred *urtext*. Because the project was designed for The Orlando Consort and sponsored by it, repertoire would have to fit both the musical forces that constituted the group – in this case five voices – and also accord with the particular ideology of early-music performance to which the group subscribed and which the public might expect. The chapter thus traces the project's initial aesthetic restrictions, conceived here as textual/aesthetic – the film, its director, film form – and economic/aesthetic/ideological – the working practices of The Orlando Consort.

Chapter Two reviews a set of self-imposed rules that guided the development of the project in its initial stages, and outlines some of the pragmatic and creative solutions. In the first instance, many of these 'rules' were simply formalised descriptions of my approach to the project that gave it definition and focus, clarifying its aesthetic. Others acknowledged the various practical issues the group faced in its realisation.

Chapter Three places the project within the long tradition of live music and silent-film screenings in both the silent era and modern day. It addresses two central distinctive features of the project: live music for silent film screenings and the use of voices. Surprisingly, in an age in which the accompaniment of silent film continues to thrive, there is precious little theoretical or critical writing about the specific ontology of live music and silent film. This is in obvious contrast to the study of sound cinema where the relationship between diegetic and nondiegetic music has generated considerable debate. Perhaps as a consequence, assumptions about the diegetic efficacy of music in silent cinema have gone uncontested. I argue that the viability of music ever being convincingly diegetic is challenged in practice by the specific ontology of silent

cinema and live music. This continues Chapter Two's account of the aesthetic constraints of *Voices Appeared* in proposing that the economy of live music and silent film inevitably restricts the efficacy of the diegetic/nondiegetic system, so central to so much film-sound theory. The latter part of the chapter extends the ontological appraisal to choral voices in sound cinema.

Chapter Four progresses the ontological argument by considering a sonorised version of La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc created in 1952 by the Italian film historian Joseph-Marie Lo Duca. He added exclusively Baroque music from commercially available discs which had no original connection to the film. This version was to earn protracted censure, including from Dreyer himself, who criticised the project's ontological premise, which he saw as one of converting a silent film into a sound film, an ironic charge in that it prefigures perhaps the most common mode of viewing silent cinema today: not in the cinema with live accompaniment but with synced music (usually in a domestic setting). Dreyer also condemned the music on the grounds of anachronism, which prompts important questions of historical appropriateness and music's historicising potential, as well as the more specific question of the use of Baroque music as film music. If Dreyer himself doesn't address such issues in detail (though he was clearly aware of them), the Voices Appeared project and this chapter both do so.

The Lo Duca version also presents itself as an early example of the musical veneration of Dreyer's film, and provides a useful comparison with and contrast to *Voices Appeared* and how pre-existent musical performances accord or otherwise with the film's implicit narrative structures. This introduces the issue of narrative segmentation and its relationship to musical form, a further determinant in the creation of *Voices Appeared*.

Chapter Five surveys fifteenth-century musical culture and the modern discourses that serve to inform, define and describe it. As a group that emerged in the wake of the so-called *a*

cappella debate of the 1970s and in an era where debates on authenticity still resonated, The Orlando Consort was strongly associated with the discipline of musicology. From one perspective, such accord equates to the regulation of modern performance by the prescriptions of historical research. This chapter examines the occasionally divergent approaches of musicians and musicologists to advance the idea of a constructive co-dependency. Modern editions and, by extension, the performances that result from them are often the staging ground for such issues. The modern editor potentially stands between the performer and the manuscript sources in an act of mediation and intervention that is perhaps more regretted by editors than performers.

My interest here is not so much in the ethics of editorial practice or of modern performance, but how such debates are played out in practice and how they inform the understanding, realization and experience of these earlier repertories. In other words, I am primarily concerned with the ways in which some of these issues are both literally and figuratively rehearsed, and how they figure in a creative project wherein the original function of the music is put to new ends. Using specific examples from *Voices Appeared*, I consider various aspects of performance practice around which productive tensions are most obviously expressed – issues of interpretation such as *musica ficta*, mensuration, tempo and proportion. An historical overview of music, musicians and manuscripts in this era provides the context for this discussion.

Furthermore, it lays the foundations for an investigation of one of the sustained implications of *Voices Appeared*: that Jeanne herself might have encountered some of the repertoire and that its sound world, as well as many of its texts, would have been familiar to her.

Though we know virtually nothing about what music Dreyer himself wanted to accompany *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc*, a survey of his four feature sound films provides a more concrete sense of the role he assigned to music in sound film. In Chapter Six I extrapolate from

those films distinct functions of film music that characterise his film-music practice, placing that reading within the wider context of the ontology of silent and sound film. I then outline how music operates in *Voices Appeared* and consider how, and if, that project can be said to be Dreyerian, thus advancing the idea of a final authorial constraint: the Dreyerian approach to film music.

My account of the raw musical materials entails a more documentary approach, tracing the repertoire back to its manuscript sources, and considering its presentation in modern printed editions and its realisation in performance. Details of these sources and the precise use of music in *Voices Appeared* can be found in the accompanying appendices.

CHAPTER ONE The Histories of *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc*

Introduction

Voices Appeared was sold to concert promoters with a very simple descriptive line, one that in movie terms would be known as a pitch: a live score of music from the lifetime of Joan of Arc, performed by The Orlando Consort, for Carl Theodor Dreyer's 1928 silent classic, La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc. As such, it identified the key elements of the project – live early music and silent film – and advanced two broadly authorial images: that of the director – Dreyer – and that of the performing group – The Orlando Consort. An alternative project might have approached the Dreyer film differently, seen it not as an object to be commemorated with a new historically appropriate score than a departure point for a more radical reconsideration of the role of women in the #MeToo era, perhaps filming new footage and creating an entirely new film. Likewise, a different group, one whose identity was less bound up with the early-music movement and whose biography does not stress its commitment to historical performance practice, might have used fifteenth-century music in a very different way. Voices Appeared, though, was defined by a respect for the film and for the musical repertoire which from the outset dictated an abiding commitment to textual accuracy. In the case of the film, this meant using the now-accepted definitive print rather than the many incomplete or second-rate examples still commercially available. In the case of the music, this meant not just its careful research, but its presentation according to the working practices of The Orlando Consort. It is these textual, aesthetic and

economic concerns that this chapter addresses.

The production history of La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc

In 1925, in the wake of the international success of *Du skal ære din hustru* (*Master of the House*, Dreyer, 1925), the Danish film director, Carl Theodor Dreyer (1889–1968), was invited by the Société Générale des Films to make a film in France. Of the three subjects offered – Catherine de Medici, Marie Antoinette and Jeanne d'Arc – it was the last upon which he settled, apparently by drawing matchsticks, which is somewhat ironic given the role that fire played in both Jeanne d'Arc's personal history and in the destruction of the original negatives of *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc*.¹

The choice was timely: in 1920 Jeanne had been canonised and a new translation of the records of the Condemnation trial of 1431 published, and, in 1925, Joseph Delteil's gaudy novel, *Jeanne d'Arc*, was awarded the Prix Femina. Dreyer's first move was to acquire the rights to Delteil's novel, though he and the author soon fell out. What remains of that collaboration is a 1927 'screenplay' that Delteil claimed as his own, a novelisation though not of the final film, grandly described as 'born from a journey from the land of Literature to that of Cinema'. Both novel and screenplay drew explicitly on the 1431 trial and the later Nullification trial of 1455–6,

¹ Special issue on Dreyer, *Cahiers du Cinéma*, no. 207 (1968), 28. 'I had several interviews with the people at the *Société Générale* but we couldn't arrive at a choice of subject. Then someone said, "Let's take three matches and draw." I agreed. We drew, I got the headless match: it was *Joan of Arc*.' Translation from Mark Nash, *Dreyer* (London: BFI, 1977), 53.

² Joseph Delteil, *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* (Paris: Editions Grasset, 1925) and Joseph Delteil, *Jeanne d'Arc* (Paris: M.-P. Trémois, 1927). There was subsequently a novelisation of the film. See Pierre Bost, *La Passion et la Mort de Jeanne d'Arc* and Jan Baetens, 'Writing or Rewriting a Silent Movie. The Example of Carl Th. Dreyer's *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* and its Novelization', *Interférences littéraires / Literaire interferenties* 11 (2013), 27–34.

which declared Jeanne innocent.³ An entire chapter of the novel is devoted to quotations from the original trial and, scattered through the text, are excerpts in Latin from the later trial, cryptic in so far as no translation was provided.⁴ In later life, Dreyer maintained that he had all but abandoned Delteil's version, though the dramatically counterposed figures of Massieu ('la plus sympathique de ce procès') and the oleaginous Loyseleur ('un des plus tristes sires du monde'), the former a young, attractive priest, the latter Jeanne's deceiving counsel, owe much to the novelisation.⁵ Nor was Dreyer above using the final line of both novelisation and novel as an intertitle: 'You have burned a saint'. Dreyer consulted more sober biographies, notably Anatole France's 1908 La Vie de Jeanne d'Arc, a carefully researched and fully annotated two-volume hagiography.7 Almost all the material in the film can be found here, but perhaps with an eye towards authenticity and consistent with his lifelong commitment to research, Dreyer turned directly to the trial records, something set up by the film itself in its introductory sequence which shows the transcript of the first trial kept in the Bibliothèque de la Chambre des Députés in Paris. Dreyer employed Pierre Champion as historical consultant, who, as a young historian, had helped Anatole France with his biography and produced his own new translation of the original trial proceedings in 1920.

The first trial of 1431 is the source generally cited as that from which all the text in the

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³ As of 1 October 2018, translations of the first trial can be accessed in Fordham College's collection of medieval sources: https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/basis/joanofarc-trial.asp. A translation of the Nullification trial can be found at http://www.stjoan-center.com/Trials/null01.html (both accessed 20 July 2018).

⁴ Delteil, *Jeanne*, Chapter XVIII and Delteil, *La Passion*, 53 and 59.

⁵ Delteil, La Passion, 51 and 63.

⁶ Delteil, *Jeanne*, 140 and Delteil, *La Passion*, 132. The line in both is 'We have burned a Saint', a significant shift to accusation of the authorities from Delteil's tone of national guilt.

⁷ 'In addition to Bernard Shaw's ironical play, Anatole France's learned thesis aroused great interest too. The more familiar I became with the historical material, the more anxious I became to attempt to re-create the most important periods of the virgin's life in the form of a film'. Carl Theodor Dreyer, 'Realized Mysticism', in *Dreyer in Double Reflection*, ed. Donald Skoller (New York: Da Capo, 1973), 50.

film is taken, but even stretching the point slightly, only some 48 of the 174 original Danish intertitles derive from it, ranging from paraphrases of exchanges to exact quotations. Dreyer observes the chronology of that trial's various settings – the chapel, Jeanne's cell, the cemetery of Saint Ouen, the Old Marketplace – while condensing the four-month trial into a single day. It is the other major historical source, the later trial of 1455–6, that furnishes most of the drama and the profile of key Jeanne sympathisers: Massieu, Dean of Rouen; Martin Ladvenu; and Pierre Manchon, one of the notaries. The second trial is also the source for De Houppeville's banishment from the trial and the shadowy presence of Warwick, overseeing agent of the English crown. Such episodes are dramatized by Dreyer and all the dialogue for such scenes invented.

Historical research similarly informed Hermann Warm's production design and Valentine Hugo's costumes. ⁸ The miniatures in *Le Livre des Merveilles*, a fifteenth-century compendium of travelogues by Marco Polo, John Mandeville and others, are clearly the basis of the set designs, as Warm recounts:⁹

I found a history of Jeanne d'Arc illustrated with medieval miniatures in a Parisian bookstore. The simple renderings of buildings, landscapes and people, the naïve lines and distorted perspective, were the basis for the film's design. A combination of surrealistic elements provided the uncanny style that Dreyer endorsed.¹⁰

Champion was also involved, implied by his forceful comments made in an article about

⁸ Warm is best known today for the expressionist sets of *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari* (Robert Wiene, 1919).

⁹ Martensen-Larsen incorrectly suggests that the manuscript consists only of Mandeville's *Le Livre des merveilles du monde*. On Polo's and Mandeville's texts, see Simon Gaunt, 'Travel and orientalism', in *The Cambridge History of French Literature*, ed. W. Burgwinkle, N. Hammond & E. Wilson (Cambridge: CUP, 2011), 121–130.

¹⁰ 'I et parisisk bibilotek fandt jeg historien om Jeanne d'Arc illustretet af en miniaturemaler fra middelalderen. Den simple gengivelse af bygninger, landsakber og mennesker, de naïve streger og det forkerte perspektiv gav ideen til dekorationerne i filmen. En kombination af surrealistike elementer gav den uvirkelige stil, som Dreyer fuldt ud kunne gå ind for.' From Herman Warm, 'Dreyer brugte sandfærdigheden som stilmiddel', Kosmorama 90 (1969), 147. Jean Hugo, who worked alongside Warm as art director, has a different recollection, saying that Dreyer handed him a folder that contained copies of the miniatures. See Britta Martensen-Larsen, 'Inspirationen fra middelalderens miniaturer', Kosmorama, 13, no.204, (1993), 27

his experiences of working with Dreyer after the release of the film in France:

[Dreyer] consulted illuminated manuscripts to find the style of décor he had in mind. We had to provide him with drawings of gravestones compiled by Gaignières; he asked Jean Hugo to design costumes based on those documents and Mandeville and Marco Polo's charming *Livre des Merveilles*. 11

The book's suggestive history might also have appealed to the director: it was originally a gift from John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, to the Duc of Berry in January 1417, in gratitude for his help in relieving the siege at Bourges. It thus contained uncanny echoes of the captured Jeanne being handed from the Burgundians to the English and her role in the famous siege of Orléans. Held in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (BN2810) and available in reproduction, the miniatures were painted by the Boucicaut Master and his collaborators, the images of foreign lands owing more to local Northern architecture than to first-hand experience. This led to 'a scenery style that was content to *suggest* the era without imposing itself. If rooted in a form of painterly authenticity, it was the unsettling oneiric qualities that appealed, a channelling of fifteenth-century sensibility through expressionism and surrealism.

The set fulfilled a further expression of authenticity, becoming a place where medieval life itself could be lived by the actors, a Stanislavskyan (or Method-before-its-time) gesture of

^{11 &#}x27;[Dreyer] fait ouvrir les manuscript enluminés pour trouver la stylisation d'un décor qu'il devine. It faut lui apporter les dessins des pierres tombales recueillies par Gaignières; il demande à Jean Hugo de dessiner les costumes d'après ces documents et le joli "Livre des Merveilles" de Mandeville et de Marco Polo.' L'Intransigeant, 17 Nov 1928, quoted in L'avant-scène 367/8 (1988), 161. Gaignières is presumably François Roger de Gaignières (1642–1715), a French antiquarian whose collection included designs of tombstones for, amongst others, archbishops and bishops of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, including those from Rouen. See, for example, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10528975z (accessed 30 March 2017).

¹² The reproduction Dreyer might have consulted was most likely *Le Livre des merveilles: Marco Polo, Odoric de Pordenone, Mandeville etc. Reproduction des 265 miniatures du manuscript français 2810 de la Bibliothèque nationale,* ed. H. Omont (Paris: Berthaud, 1907). For more detail on the history of the manuscript, see Millard Meiss, *French Paintings in the Time of Jean de Berry (2)* (London, Phaidon, 1967), 49.

¹³ Carl Theodor Dreyer, 'My only great passion'. From a radio interview in *Dreyer in Double Reflection*, ed. Donald Skoller (New York: Da Capo, 1973), 144.

emotional verisimilitude. Unusually for any film, it was shot in sequence, the actors employed for the full six months of the shoot, the priests tonsured, faces unadorned by make-up, their lines delivered exactly according to the script, in French.¹⁴

This account sits rather oddly with some of Dreyer's comments about the film, made shortly after the film had been released:

Handling the theme on the level of a costume film would probably have permitted a portrayal of the cultural epoch of the fifteenth century, but would have merely resulted in a comparison with other epochs. What counted was getting the spectator absorbed in the past; the means were multifarious and new.

A thorough study of the documents from the rehabilitation process was necessary; I did not study the clothes of the time and things like that. The year of the event seemed as inessential to me as its distance from the present.¹⁵

Though Dreyer cites the Nullification trial, his seeming dismissal of a costume-film approach is contradicted by the unquestionable attention to historical detail (Dreyer would note with some delight how criticisms of the helmets worn by the English soldiers and the horn-rimmed glasses worn by a cleric, deemed anachronistic by some critics, were mistaken – the tin hats and glasses were, indeed, appropriate to 1431). The issue here seems to be one of *presentation*; a costume drama would foreground its historical research and Dreyer preferred to let it remain in the background. This was literally manifest in the way that the exterior sets figure in the final film. The budget for the sets took up one million of the original seven-million-franc budget yet they served only as backdrops, mainly in the hurly-burly of the riot in the last five

¹⁴ See Dreyer, 1929, 'Realized Mysticism' in Skoller, *Dreyer*, 50.

¹⁵ Ibid, 50

¹⁶ Carl Theodor Dreyer, 'My only great passion' in Skoller, *Dreyer*, 144.

minutes of the film.¹⁷ The much-noted close-ups, a focus on physiognomy which demands an intense underplaying by actors, are evidence of Dreyer's general preference for naturalism and the foregrounding of the human drama.

The print history of La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc

Though the film was released in 1928, it is no exaggeration to talk about the years 1952 and 1981 as of equal significance. These years marked the rediscovery and reissue of two prints of the film. Chapter and verse on the convoluted print history is provided by Tony Pipolo and Casper Tybjerg. Pipolo's doctoral thesis was written in 1981 before the discovery of an original positive of Dreyer's first edit, and he subsequently re-addressed his thesis in an extended article and in a supplementary response. Tybjerg wrote his own extended account of the print history, and a brief précis of events and accompanying notes for the Eureka Blu-Ray edition, the latter aimed at the lay reader.

Both scholars are in broad agreement: there were two negatives, A and B (to use Tybjerg's terms). A is Dreyer's first (preferred) edit, approximately 2,400 metres of film reduced from some 85,000 metres of footage. ²⁰ The original negative was destroyed in a fire at the UFA laboratories

¹⁷ David Bordwell, *Filmguide to* La passion de Jeanne d'Arc (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973), 20.

¹⁸ Anthony T. Pipolo, 'Carl Dreyer's *La passion de Jeanne d'Arc*: A Comparison of Prints and a Formal Analysis' (PhD diss., New York University, 1981); Tony Pipolo, 'The Spectre of Joan of Arc: Textual Variations in the Key Prints of Carl Dreyer's Film' *Film History*, 2 no. 4 (1988): 301–24; and Tony Pipolo, 'Response to T. A. Kinsey's article on Dreyer's *The Passion of Joan of Arc'*, *The Moving Image: The Journal of the Association of Moving Image Archivists*, 2, no. 1 (2002): 184–8.

¹⁹ See Casper Tybjerg, 'La Passione di Giovanna d'Arco: Molte versioni, un solo film?' in *Per Dreyer: Incarnazione del cinema*, ed. Sergio Grmek Germani and Giorgio Placereani (Milano, Il Castoro, 2004) and Casper Tybjerg, 'Two passions – one film?' in *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc*. Eureka Entertainment DVD 70085 and 70086 booklet, (2012). ²⁰ See Lisbeth Richter Larsen on the shooting of the film: 'Shoot (Joan of Arc)',

https://www.carlthdreyer.dk/en/carlthdreyer/shoot-joan-arc (accessed 21 August 2018).

in December 1928 (though Tybjerg questions this now-accepted narrative, noting that there is no mention of a fire in the trade papers of the time).²¹ Dreyer thereupon worked with his original editor, Marguerite Beaugé, to create a second negative: B.²² Tybjerg points out that it was common practice to have two cameras on set side-by-side; given the value of the film stock and its fragile nature, the nitrate base making it inclined to spontaneous combustion, this was insurance of the most basic kind, and a further safety net was provided by alternative takes.²³ Dreyer maintained that only he and the editor could have told the difference between this newly constructed negative, B, and the original, A.²⁴

In an ironic repetition of history, this second negative was also then destroyed by fire late in 1929. In 1951, Lo Duca, an Italian film historian, discovered a 16mm positive of the film and the following year released a sonorised version with Baroque music (this is the subject of Chapter Four). David Bordwell, writing in 1973, claims that the Lo Duca sonorisation was, in terms of commercial availability, the most common, while MoMA and the George Eastman House held silent copies.²⁵ There were thus four specific prints available between 1931 to 1981:

1) a 'work print' copy, which Pipolo believes was held by the Cinemathèque Française

²¹ Tybjerg, 'Two passions', 69.

²² A note on the technical background is possibly helpful here. The film that passes through the camera constitutes the negative. This is then edited, and once the censors have approved the cut, all prints, known as positives, are struck. These positives are sent to the various movie theatres. Such positives deteriorate over a period of time – the film snaps necessitating the removal of a frame or frames when the film is spliced together, it is scratched, or, as was invariably the case in the silent era when film stock was made of cellulose nitrate, the film perished or burned – all of which requires new positives to be struck. What this means is that the original negative is effectively the only source for future prints, and if that is lost then the movie itself is lost.

²³ In private correspondence, Ben Brewster suggests that the reason for the second camera was for overseas distribution: 'In the USA, at any rate, the main reason for the second camera usually cited is the need for a negative to be shipped abroad, in the first instance to Europe, for the preparation of foreign-language prints.' Email of 23 January 2017.

²⁴ 'I could tell the difference and she could tell the difference, but the executive director of the head of the Company could not'. Conversation with Knud Schønberg in *Ekstrabladet*, 1 February 1964.

 $https://www.carlthdreyer.dk/en/carlthdreyer/different-versions-jeanne-darc \ (accessed\ 4\ April\ 2018).$

²⁵ Bordwell, *Filmquide*, 20.

since 1928 and from which MoMA made their print; 26

- 2) a 1947 version, held by the National Film Archive in London, severely abridged, whilst at the same time including some shots not available in the A or B negative;
- 3) the Lo Duca version;
- 4) a print assembled from various sources by Arne Krogh of the Danish Film Institute, an attempt to recreate the 'lost' A negative. ²⁷

There was also an earlier sonorised print of the film made by Sherman S. Krellberg, which included a voice-over by David Ross, a radio celebrity, and a music score written by Massard Kur Zehne. We need not be detained by 2), 4) or the Krellberg film. The more significant event, both for the film and its associated musical history, is the 1981 phoenix-from-the-ashes discovery of a pristine, 35mm positive print, complete with the original Danish censor's stamp, in the unlikely venue of the Dykemark Sykehus, a psychiatric hospital near Oslo.²⁸ The discovery ushered in the film's more recent history and it is this print that is the basis for the Eureka Entertainment Blu-Ray, which was used for *Voices Appeared*.

Concomitant with each rediscovery has come a renewed critical interest and musical tributes or benedictions.²⁹ As noted, Lo Duca added a soundtrack of Baroque music to his 1952 re-release, and, since 1981, *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* has attracted further scores. Coming just one year after the 1980 restoration of Abel Gance's *Napoléon* (1927), coincidentally made one

²⁶ Pipolo, an American, consulted only the MoMA print, to which he had easy access. This, he says, is based on a 1928 copy of the print held by the Cinémathèque Française, which he seems not to have seen. What, though, of the 1955 copy of the print sought by Henri Langlois for the Cinémathèque Française, permission for which Dreyer writes to Jean Jay of Gaumont (letter 29 in Appendix 1)? Assuming this copy was made, it presumably remains in the Cinémathèque Française and would make for interesting comparison with its 1928 version.

²⁷ Pipolo, 'Carl Dreyer's', 306.

²⁸ See Nicholas De Jongh, 'Dreyer's La Passion Found in Cellar', *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 5 May 1985, 20.

²⁹ It is surely no coincidence that it came seventh in the BFI 10 top films of all time in 1952, since when it has made the top ten three times: seventh in 1972, sixth in 1992 and ninth in 2012. I would suggest that its absence in 1981 was due to critics withholding judgement till that had seen the new print. This argument is supported by the film receiving its highest rating in the next poll, some ten years later.

year before *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc*, the discovery of the Oslo print coincided with a renewed interest in silent film and its musical accompaniment.³⁰ In 1980 in Britain, a 13-episode series on silent film, *Hollywood*, had aired with music by Carl Davis, and it was he who was asked to provide a new score for *Napoléon's* re-release. In the USA, Carmine Coppola wrote his own score. Both offered the modern audience a parallel experience to that of many filmgoers of the late 1920s: watching a movie in a large space with a full orchestra.³¹ In 1982, *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* received a commissioned score by the Danish composer Ole Schmidt and others followed. From the classical world, Richard Einhorn's 1994 *Voices of Light*, described as an oratorio, is probably the best known, one that gives the film a woman's voice and a nod to modern performance practice of medieval music by using the American female ensemble Anonymous 4 to represent Jeanne.³² And from the pop world came scores by Cat Power, Nick Cave and the Dirty Three, and, more recently, a score by Adrian Utley of Portishead and Will Gregory of Goldfrapp.³³ *Voices Appeared* thus takes its place as one in a long line of live soundtracks that have been created since 1981.³⁴

³⁰ Dreyer visited the set of *Napoléon* in 1926 when he was preparing the screenplay for *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* and wrote an article that was published in the magazine supplement for *Politiken* on 1 May 1926. The article is reproduced as 'French Film', in Skoller, *Dreyer*, 36–46.

³¹The first performance of *Napoléon* with the score by Davis was in London in November 1980, followed in January 1981 by a performance with music by Carmine Coppola in New York. For details on the use of symphonic orchestras in silent-film exhibition in the USA, see Gillian B. Anderson, 'The Presentation of Silent Films', *The Journal of Musicology*, 5, no. 2 (1987), 264–5.

³² For a lengthy analysis of *Voices of Light* and Dreyer's film, see Rachel May Golden, 'Polyphonies of Sound and Space: Motet, Montage, *Voices of Light*, and *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc'*, *The Musical Quarterly* 96 no. 2 (2013). ³³ *Voices of Light* is an option in The Criterion Collection DVD version of *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* #62. This edition plays at 24 frames per second (fps), the industry standard of the sound era, producing a running time of 82 minutes. The Blu-Ray restoration of the film by Eureka Entertainment (EKA70267) plays at 20fps and therefore lasts longer, some 96 minutes. In October 2017 a new version was released by Gaumont in France with French intertitles, which plays at 20fps. The Criterion Collection Blu-Ray edition (#62), released in North America in March 2018, includes the Einhorn score, the Gregory/Utley score, and a further piano score composed and performed by Mie Yanashita. The edition also includes a version at 20fps with Danish intertitles.

³⁴ The cue-sheet system created scores by combining pre-existent compositions. See Altman, *Silent Film Sound*, chapter 17: 345–365.

Aside from Dreyer's various criticisms of the Lo Duca soundtrack (see Chapter Four), it is unclear exactly what the director himself envisaged as an accompaniment for his film. This is not necessarily because he didn't have his own view – the Dreyer archives reveal a continuing interest in music, attending concerts and buying recordings, and Dreyer had even fostered dreams of being a musician when he left school. 35 As a practitioner, sometime scholar and, later in life, manager of the Dagmar cinema in Copenhagen, Dreyer knew that music was under local control, based on the available musical forces and the views of the musical director.³⁶ This was true even for the two premieres of the film: the 21 April 1928 premiere of La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc in Copenhagen received an amalgam of unknown music, compiled and arranged by Jakob Garde (best known today for his tango Jalousie), at the time the musical director of the Palads Teatret; and the Paris premiere of 25 October 1928 presented a commissioned score for small orchestra and singers by Victor Alix and Léo Pouget, a version of which, held in the Library of Congress, bears the hopeful inscription 'L'éxécution de cette partition est OBLIGATOIRE pendant la passation du film'. ³⁷ Dreyer, incidentally, may not even have been present at the Paris premiere in 1928; when asked about the music used he expressed total ignorance.³⁸

That Dreyer even considered a soundtrack for screenings of *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* might seem surprising; many scholars and critics have implied, and sometimes insisted, that he

³⁵ Jean Drum and Dale D. Drum, My Only Great Passion: the Life and Films of Carl Th. Dreyer (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2000), 21.

³⁶ During Dreyer's tenure of the Dagmar Bio, a first-run cinema with an inclination towards art films, the only silent movies that he showed were Chaplin's. See Dan Nissen, 'The Dagmar Cinema': http://dfidk-carlthdreyer. d8v2.prod.ng.peytz.dk/node/41736?_ga=2.104485824.135186389.1534580950-94945638.1526300721 (accessed 3 August 2018).

³⁷ Gillian B. Anderson has performed the score recently. See Gillian B. Anderson, 'The Shock of the Old: the Restoration, Reconstruction, or Creation of "Mute" Film Accompaniments', in *The Routledge Companion to Screen Music and Sound* ed. Miguel Mera, Ronald Sadoff and Ben Winters, (New York: Routledge, 2017), 204–5.
³⁸ See the exchange with G. Carré of the Ciné-Club de Chartres, DA: DII, A: 299 and 300.

wanted his film to be exhibited in silence.³⁹ Although directors of silent film often used music on the set to prompt the appropriate emotional response in actors, a 1927 article by the critic Jean Arroy reported that Dreyer eschewed this practice as an artificial device, contrary to his search for emotional truth. More than this, according to Arroy, Dreyer was 'a believer in film projected without musical accompaniment' though the context of the interview in a special issue of *Cinémagazine* render his comments less doctrinal and the preference of one who was, at the time, spending his hours constructing the movie in silence in an editing suite. ⁴⁰

A more nuanced solution to the with/without music binarism comes from curator Eileen Bowser. Having staged a major retrospective of his work in 1964 at MoMA, where *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* was screened in respectful silence, she met Dreyer socially the following year, when he came to New York for the US premiere of *Gertrud*:

I think that it was one of the others, who quickly joined us, not me, who asked about music for Jeanne d'Arc. And my impression is that he did not exactly mean that he wanted it shown silent but rather, he did not like any of the musical solutions so far that had been used and had not found the music he thought was right for it. And until he did, he preferred it without music. That is a little different.'41

Writing in 1973, the film scholar David Bordwell advised readers to rent either the MoMA print or the Lo Duca version and switch the sound off the latter: 'La Passion de Jeanne

³⁹ A qualified version of this appears in the accompanying booklet to the Eureka Entertainment edition: 'As far as is known, Dreyer's preference was for *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* to be shown in silence, with no musical accompaniment.' *The Passion of Joan of Arc*, directed by Carl Theodor Dreyer, Eureka Entertainment Blu-Ray EKA70267 booklet, 2.

⁴⁰ Jean Arroy, 'Carl Dreyer' in *Cinémagazine*, (unnumbered special edition, 1927), 29–39. This edition falls somewhere between a magazine and trade promotion, with pictures of its stars and extensive space devoted to information on how to order the film. Rick Altman has argued that many films were exhibited without any musical accompaniment at all, though this was still the exception rather than the rule. See Rick Altman, 'The Silence of the Silents', *The Musical Quarterly* 80 no. 4 (1996).

⁴¹ Private correspondence. Email of 12 November 2014.

d'Arc is one silent film that doesn't suffer by being shown without music'.⁴² But retrospectives in museums and academic study bring with them a certain responsibility to screen the movie without what might be considered musical interpretations, even if music was an authentic part of cinema exhibition during the so-called 'silent' era. The negotiation of meaning between music and image, after all, potentially distorts the authorial image, which goes some way to explaining the contempt heaped upon the Lo Duca version by Dreyer-loving film critics.

The history of The Orlando Consort

The group was formed in 1988 by the (now defunct) Early Music Centre of Great Britain, with a brief to promote *a cappella* performance of medieval music. The four original singers – Robert Harre-Jones, Charles Daniels, Angus Smith and Donald Greig – were drawn from a pool of British singers who specialized in early music, their association with groups like The Taverner Consort, The Gabrieli Consort and The Tallis Scholars championed in the new group's hopeful biography. The terms of the arrangement were simple and limited: all marketing, artistic direction, music and funding would be provided by the Early Music Centre, to cover four concerts in the UK, culminating in a concert at the Wigmore Hall, London. After that, whether the group continued or not depended entirely on its members.

In practice this meant The Orlando Consort would either become an amateur venture or a professional concern. Given that the four members were all full-time professional singers and that none was enamoured with or fascinated by medieval music, the prospects weren't

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⁴² Bordwell, *Filmguide*, 79.

encouraging. ⁴³ Though the emerging early-music movement of the 1960s and 1970s had been to a large degree defined by amateurism, by the 1980s it had become a professional concern where performers could be expected to make a reasonable living as specialists, often supplemented by performing later repertoire. ⁴⁴ Self-employment was the model for individuals where paid work displaced unpaid interests and amateur pursuits were a costly indulgence. The initial problem, then, was to find further employment. Groups live or die by paid engagements; without concerts or recordings in the diary, there is no prospect of payment for administration, and without administrators there is no system in place to manage the group. In the case of larger groups – Academy of Ancient Music, The Sixteen – an administrative office can run to several staff working in rented premises; in the case of The Orlando Consort it meant Angus Smith and Donald Greig sharing administrative duties, working from home.

Fortunately, at the first two concerts The Orlando Consort was approached by two different record companies to make recordings. That meant 'work in the diary' and some hope for future concerts. Over the next few years, the group made several more recordings, both commercially and for the BBC, and was invited to give several concerts, a pattern that has continued to this day. Inevitably the group has forged relationship with various concert promoters, many of whom would find themselves on a list of potential partners for *Voices Appeared*.

Common to all the various members of The Orlando Consort was a background in the

⁴³ Only one member of the group had studied music at university: Robert Harre-Jones. Coincidentally, his replacement, Matthew Venner, also studied music.

⁴⁴ For a history of the transition see Nick Wilson, *The art of re-enchantment: making early music in the modern age*, (Oxford: OUP, 2014), 19–36.

⁴⁵ Alleluia Nativitas: Music and Carols for a Medieval Christmas, a recording of French and English twelfth-, thirteenth- and fourteenth-century music, including Perotin's Viderunt Omnes (Metronome 1001, 1990) and Philippe de Vitry and the Ars Nova, motets by De Vitry and an anonymous chasse (Amon Ra 049, 1991).

cathedral and collegiate system of choral scholarships, a key component of the British choral scene and an informing factor in the working practice of the group. In provincial cathedrals, the adult male singers and occasional choral scholars are not full-time employees of the church like their fifteenth-century counterparts and are employed only to attend and sing the various choral services and associated rehearsals. The same is true in the collegiate system (mainly, though not exclusively, Oxbridge colleges) where choral scholars are full-time students. In the case of the London cathedral and abbey choirs, ecclesiastical duties are merely part of a portfolio career as professional singers. All of these jobs are supplemented by 'deputies', i.e. ad hoc singers who can fulfil the demands of the salaried Lay Vicars or Vicars Choral. Rehearsal, in all cases, is minimal; for the great majority of services the music will not have been rehearsed in its entirety, thus requiring of the singers fluent sight-reading of modern notation and knowledge of repertoire and liturgy (often learned as choirboys). The main purpose of rehearsals is to get the notes right and iron out any obvious issues of ensemble or tuning; interpretation is secondary and is sometimes left to the moment of performance itself. 46 The prioritisation of the performance event is inscribed in economic terms in union agreements where the minimum fee for a concert includes a three-hour rehearsal on the day.⁴⁷ Rehearsals, then, exist only as performance-related events, be it church service or concert, a model that promotes an ideology of pragmatism and excludes experiment or improvisation. Though such practice has its roots in economic realities, it in turn promotes its own self-fulfilling ideology, shaping the mindset of British choral performers,

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⁴⁶ This model of music and performance as separate consequent categories is deeply inscribed in musical culture generally. See Nicholas Cook, 'Between Process and Product: Music and/as Performance', *Music Theory Online*, 7/2 (2001), http://www.mtosmt.org/issues/mto.01.7.2/mto.01.7.2.cook.html (accessed 3 May 2017); and Nicholas Cook, 'Music as Performance', in *The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction*, ed. Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert, and Richard Middleton (London: Routledge, 2003), 204–14.

⁴⁷ In the case of The Orlando Consort, and indeed of several other early-music groups such as The Tallis Scholars, rehearsals are not paid but included in a global concert fee.

defining a comfortable routine where the premium is on fidelity to the score. It is not surprising, perhaps, that the success of British early-music groups has been credited to the British choral scene in which singers have learned their trade. The point is forcibly made by Christopher Page who praises the unfussy realisation of the notes on the page and an almost unmediated sound, arguing that it is particularly suited to medieval and renaissance vocal repertoire. The resultant 'white' sound, uninflected by expression and notable for its lack of embellishment reproduces an acoustic analogue of early notation, which is notably devoid of dynamic and expressive markings. A social correlative to this is subservience of individual expression to the collective ideal. ⁴⁹

In contrast, continental groups like Ensemble Organum and Le Grain de la Voix are more experimental, gleefully reimagining the raw material, drawing on a more culturally diverse pool of singers and styles (Marcel Pérès's use of Corsican singers, for example). Unsurprisingly, such groups, in general sponsored by private and public funds, devote more time to rehearsal. And whilst their British counterparts will claim that the impediment to trying new methods is merely a consequence of a lack of rehearsal time, it is clear that a certain inherited attitude of British performers mitigates against experimentation.

Though the members of The Orlando Consort are steeped in the British choral system, rehearsal time has always been more generous than with other groups for whom its singers work. There is a greater emphasis on finding solutions to issues of performance practice, textual problems and more local issues of manuscript transmission and *musica ficta*. Close ties with musicologists have encouraged this, with each recording benefiting from the input of a music historian who has provided editions and sometimes attended rehearsals. Yet rehearsals have still

⁴⁸ See Christopher Page, 'The English *a cappella* Renaissance' *EM* 21 no. 3 (1993).

⁴⁹ I have argued that this approach also denies the corporeality of the singer, making him or her invisible. See Donald Greig, 'Sight Readings: Notes on *a cappella* Performance Practice', *EM* 23 no. 1 (1995): 125–148.

been tied to performance events, meaning that there has been very little experimentation *per se*. Projects on early polyphony and a collaboration with a jazz ensemble were notable exceptions. The first, inspired by a review of two new editions of Aquitanian polyphony by Hendrik Van der Werf and Theodore Karp, sought to investigate the suggested solution to issues of ensemble proposed by Richard Crocker in that article.⁵⁰ The second project, a collaboration with jazz ensemble Perfect Houseplants, was a way to understand and perhaps recover something of the hidden improvisatory world of medieval music by working with musicians for whom improvisation was second nature. In both cases, because no paid engagements had been secured, research and development grants from the Arts Council of Great Britain were sought. Both ventures bore fruit in the form of subsequent recordings and concerts, but it must be stressed that speculative projects do not proceed without funding in place.

When it came to *Voices Appeared*, therefore, part of my remit as administrator and designer was to draft an application under the 'Grants for the Arts' scheme. Angus Smith had successfully applied for two similar grants which provided funding for the development of projects and the subsidy of related performances: a project of a commissioned piece by Tarik O'Regan for choir and The Orlando Consort; and a collaboration with British-Asian musicians.⁵¹ I followed the same established template. Under the terms of the grant, any English concert promoters interested in taking the project became potential 'partners', their costs and any shortfall included in the application. There were three further promoters: King's College,

⁵⁰ Richard Crocker, 'Two recent editions of Aquitanian polyphony', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 3 no. 1 (1994).

⁵¹ Two recordings eventually followed: *Scattered Rhymes*, with Estonian Philharmonic Chamber Choir, dir. Paul Hillier, HMU 80 7469, 2008, compact disc; and *Mantra: Musical Conversations Across the Indian Ocean* with Kuljit Bahmra, Jonathan Mayer and Shahid Khan, KEDCD68, 2010, compact disc.

invited audience of friends, colleagues, academics, film and music students; Eureka

Entertainment, the owners of the Blu-Ray print, which waived screening fees for the first

performance and cut their rates for subsequent performances; and The National Centre for Early

Music, which contributed towards the marketing costs.

The design of the soundtrack would not begin unless and until the Arts Council grant had been awarded, which fortunately happened on 30 April 2014. The timeline was as follows:

5 September 2013: Donald Greig has a meeting with Louise Cleverdon at the Arts Council of England offices in London.

September–December 2013: conversations with potential Partners – English concert promoters, King's College, London, Eureka Entertainment, and Early Music Centre.

28 January 2014: submission to Grants for the Arts.

30 April 2014: notification of grant award.

15 January 2015: first performance at King's College, London.

25 February 2015: first paid performance, at University of Newcastle.

From the outset, the project was conceived to be designed by one person and realised by the group. An alternative approach would have been to develop it through 'workshopping', where the five performers would contribute equally with ideas and suggestions. This would undoubtedly have required much more rehearsal time, and therefore development costs. A further practical consideration was that trying to find mutually convenient times when five busy professional musicians might meet would prove difficult.

Five paid days of paid rehearsals in 2014 and 2015 (2 July, 21 October, 24 November and 1 December 2014, and 5 January 2015) proved to be insufficient. Not only did a great deal of new music need to be learned but solutions found to the various challenges of synchronisation between image and sound. Performing a live soundtrack was, after all, something that none of us

had done before. The standard practice of the group followed the fluid and mutable methods of concert presentation – time between pieces, time to clear one's throat, beginning a piece only when everyone is ready – whereas the soundtrack required unrelenting strict tempi dictated by a 'flick track', a digitised version of the film with the beats of every bar and other cues overlaid. These tempi needed to be relayed to other performers by conducting, again a new skill for most of us.

The more basic and familiar demand of learning new music was considerably helped by a separate venture: making a recording of selected pieces for release on CD. The five singers waived recording fees *in lieu* of an eventual profit split. The fixed charges of venue hire, producer, hire of equipment, editing and production were borne in the first instance by funds from The Orlando Consort.

The recording was made under standard 'studio' conditions, which for many early-music vocal groups including The Orlando Consort meant a church. Recording took place on 3 and 4 November 2014 at St John the Evangelist in Upper Norwood, South London, though traffic noise caused so many delays that a further day was added (19 January 2015). Hyperion Records, with whom The Orlando Consort has an ongoing relationship, kindly gave permission and even encouraged our venture.

The recording was made without any specific reference to the soundtrack, which is to say that tempi and performance decisions were arrived at in the same way that they would be if the repertoire were for release as a conventional commercial CD. The recording process provided further time to resolve manuscript and editorial mistakes, and essential performance issues of ensemble and tuning. In short, the recording allowed us to get to know the music better, making it an important footnote to *Voices Appeared*.

The first public performance was given on 15 January 2015. That same year, there were a further twelve performances as part of the Arts Council Grant, one in Scotland, four in the USA and three in Holland. The fiftieth performance took place as part of the Salzburg Festival on 21 July 2018. ⁵²

La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc and Voices Appeared

The narrative of *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* is organised around the clerics' interrogations of Jeanne in various locations: the courtroom, Jeanne's cell, a torture chamber, the cemetery, and the Old Market. Jeanne stands fast against the various bullying and empathising strategies but finally relents and signs the abjuration. Realising the implications of what she has done, she tries to reverse her decision though without success. She is led to the stake and burned. The crowd riot and a battle with the English soldiers ensues. The narrative ends on a shot of the charred stake. A complete scene breakdown of the film, including details of the music used, can be found online in the form offered to audiences of *Voices Appeared*, but this broad outline will, for the moment, suffice.⁵³

Before considering some of the film's stylistic features, it is important to understand something of the film's intensely personal presentation of its material, particularly as my earlier account might otherwise suggest that historical detail was paramount. As the opening intertitles tell us, the film presents 'the real Joan ... not in armour, but simple and human ... a young woman who died for her country'. Such an approach is evident from the outset, where there is

⁵² Full details of past and future performances can be found at http://www.orlandoconsort.com/concerts.htm.

⁵³ http://www.orlandoconsort.com/scene_breakdown.htm (accessed 30 December 2017).

no credit sequence that would allow us to identify the various characters:

We shouldn't take a credit for our films. Do we provide the names of extras in a film? And the electricians, the technicians, all the obscure though nevertheless indispensable collaborators? ... So, why name the director and the artists? We need to give the audience the convincing impression that they are viewing life through the keyhole of the screen. ⁵⁴

Such immediacy of unmediated perception is suitably furnished with the voyeuristic metaphor of looking through a keyhole, entirely appropriate to a film noted for its excruciating intimacy. While the spectator can easily discern the hierarchy that tells us that Cauchon is in charge of the trial and that Warwick oversees the entire proceedings, nowhere do we learn the names of the interrogators, captors or sympathisers. Indeed, Jeanne is the only named character. Nor does Dreyer provide any informing historical context that might afford us an understanding of the political background to the trial. This privileging of the personal over the political is also evinced in another oft-noted stylistic feature: the close-up. André Bazin described the film as 'a documentary of faces' and the frequent shots of Jeanne's face are often held painfully long, particularly in the context of a film of which the average shot length is just over three seconds.⁵⁵ This cutting rate is rapid for the time and, as we shall see in Chapter Six, in strong contrast to Dreyer's later films. While the latter part of the film in particular draws on the rapid cutting of the Soviet montage theorists, Dreyer's approach is rather more magpie-like. One can trace the influence of German Expressionism (in the canted camera angles), Murnau's moving camera,

⁵⁴ 'Nous ne devrions jamais signer nos films. Est-ce que les figurants sont nommés sur un film? Et les électriciens, les machinistes, tous les obscurs et pourtant indispensables collaborateurs? ... Alors, pourquoi nommer le metteur en scène et les artistes? Il faut qu'on arrive à donner véritablement l'impression au public qu'il voit de la vie par le trou de serrure de l'écran.' Cinémagazine (unnumbered special edition, 1927), 38.

⁵⁵ André Bazin, 'Theatre and Cinema, Part Two' in *What is Cinema vol. 1* trans. Hugh Gray, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 109. For comparative purposes, *Nosferatu* (F.W. Murnau, 1922) has an average shot length of 7.8 seconds, *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari* (Robert Wiene, 1919) 10.7, and *Strike* (S.M. Eisenstein, 1925) 3 seconds.

Gance's and Epstein's impressionism and Sjöstrom's naturalistic acting. For all that, the film has several unique features. Bordwell notes the foregrounding of abstract shapes, startling framings, and the fracturing of narrative space. He also draws attention to how characters are set against white walls in rooms where architectural features such as arches and diagonals intersect, intensifying the flatness of the two-dimensional image:

A new emphasis upon the face and a stylistic interrogation of the tableau work to bring space forward and to break abruptly with the very premises of classical scenography.⁵⁶

But the most distinctive peculiarity of the film is its forceful (dis)organisation of conventional filmic space. The film famously lacks any establishing shots, which would normally provide a visual-spatial template within which subsequent shots are placed. Only the first shot of *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* can be accorded this status, the durationally longest shot of the film. But even here, the view is perversely unhelpful, the camera passing *behind* the clerics, refusing the spectator once again the possibility of recognising characters.⁵⁷ A correspondingly frustrating strategy is apparent during Jeanne's swearing-in, to take just one example. Screen space in Western narrative cinema, and certainly at this period, generally observes the direction of movement and characters' looks according to the principles of the 180-degree rule. This is the imaginary line drawn between interacting characters which the camera does not cross, thus ensuring that when character A looks at character B, their look, offscreen right, say, will be 'answered' by character B's look offscreen left. In the first scene of *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc*, the camera continually crosses this line, so that Cauchon's enquiring look shuttles between looking

⁵⁶ Bordwell, The Films of Carl Theodor Dreyer (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 66.

⁵⁷ A careful analysis of the camera and character positions can be found in Edvin Kau, *Dreyers filmkunst* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1989), 149.

to his left and to his right though Jeanne has not moved. Similarly, when Jeanne places her hand on the Bible and swears to tell the truth the shots that bracket intertitle 5 ('I swear to tell the truth...'), namely shots 23 and 24, present Jeanne from a high camera position looking offscreen right and then from a low camera position looking offscreen left.



Figure 1.1: shots 23, 24 and 25, showing various angles on Jeanne

There then follows intertitle 6 ('...and nothing but the truth') and a repeat of shot 23. In other words, rather than describing the narrative space, Dreyer ignores it, offering us various views of the accused. One can argue several things here: that Dreyer is examining Jeanne in the same way that the clerics are; that the disorientation aligns the spectator with Jeanne's confusion; or one can simply say that Dreyer wasn't interested in the organisation of physical space. I would argue that all three operate: that Dreyer is prepared to subordinate and subvert the organisation of filmic space and harness its disorientating effect. This strategy continues throughout the film so that it is very difficult to ascertain the relative positions of characters. The shots of the exterior set are likewise fragmented, and the refusal of spatial coherence becomes a displaced expression of the chaos of the conflict.

Such features all tend to deny the spectator the surety of spectatorship that narrative cinema generally promises, but to assert, as both Tom Milne and Paul Willeman do, that they are part of a broader strategy of narrative reflexivity elevates such isolated elements to an abiding

principle.⁵⁸ What cannot be denied is that watching the film is an unsettling viewing experience, as Bordwell acknowledges:

The polite respect accorded a classic must not obscure the plain fact of the film's strangeness. It is one of the most bizarre, perceptually difficult films ever made, no less disruptive and challenging than the early films of Eisenstein or Ozu.⁵⁹

And the film is a classic, revered in various ways, cited and recommended by countless film critics. There is also, judging from the response of audiences who have attended *Voices*Appeared, no doubting the impact that the film continues to make upon audiences.

While its stylistic features remain constant, the film's various modes of musical representation have changed since its premieres in 1928 and particularly since 1981. K.J. Donnelly provides a useful more general survey of the more recent history of silent film music. This "debate" on the nature of history and objects sourced in the past' provides a useful context and presents four non-exclusive historical categories that describe the field.⁶⁰

The first is 'scholarly history', by which he means modern reconstructions of scores or types of scores used at the time of a film's early exhibitions, both specific compositions and reconstructions 'using primary information and often exploiting the musical compendiums of the period to furnish scores as close to what might have been as possible'. Such reconstructions appeal to notions of "authenticity" and fidelity to the historical context of the film's initial release', approaches that have a very obvious parallel with early music in the modern day,

⁵⁸ These are common themes in both of David Bordwell's studies of the film. See Bordwell, *Filmguide* and Bordwell, *The Films.* For Milne's approach, see Tom Milne, *The Cinema of Carl Dreyer*, (London: Zwemmer, 1971), esp. 101. '[T]he process of enunciation is foregrounded and at times aggressively impinges on the narrative.' Paul Willeman, quoted in Nash, *Dreyer*, 54.

⁵⁹ Bordwell, *The Films*, 66.

⁶⁰ K. J. Donnelly, 'How Far Can Too Far Go? Radical Approaches to Silent Film Music' in *Today's Sounds for Yesterday's Films: Making Music for Silent Cinema*, eds. K. J. Donnelly and Ann-Kristin Wallengren (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 24.

drawing as they do on musical manuscripts and historical performance practice. ⁶¹ In the case *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* this means the re-staging of the cue-sheet system as presented at the Danish premiere and the Alix/Pouget score commissioned for the Paris premiere. Gillian B. Anderson has reconstructed and conducted the Alix/Pouget score but a lack of documentation means there have been no equivalent re-enaction of the Danish premiere. ⁶²

Donnelly's second category touches on the first. It is an '[e]mpathetic history ... [that recreates] how it must have felt for audiences at the time of the film's release'. This includes any and all real or imagined live-music accompaniment that may have been witnessed or anticipated by regular cinemagoers in the silent era. Instances might be a single piano, organ or small-ensemble accompaniment. It is distinguished from the more historiographical approaches in Donnelly's last two categories by the use of music that existed at the time of or before the film's release. Typical examples would be the 'standard' presentation of silent film at the National Film Theatre, with pianists like Neil Brand and Stephen Horne, and the organ score by Karol Mossakowski for *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* on the new Criterion Blu-Ray.⁶³

Donnelly's last two categories are an '[i]ssue-based history [which] takes historical objects and narrative and imbues them with contemporary concerns' and a '[p]opulist' history ... which attempts to reformat and make accessible knowledge about the past to an audience who are assumed to need it structured in a 'modernized' and 'popular' manner'. While *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* resonates strongly in the era of #MeToo and while Jeanne d'Arc herself has

⁶¹ All quotes, ibid, 22–23.

⁶² See Gillian B. Anderson's account in 'The Shock of the Old: the Restoration, Reconstruction, or Creation of "Mute" Film Accompaniments' in *The Routledge Companion to Screen Music and Sound*, eds. Miguel Mera, Ronald Sadoff and Ben Winters (New York: Routledge, 2017), 205-6.

⁶³ Criterion Collection Blu-Ray disc #61 (2018). The organ accompaniment was first heard at Le Festival Lumière in Lyon in October 2015.

constantly been reclaimed by both progressive and reactionary movements (feminism/French nationalism), I am unaware of any similar attempts to re-stage the film in the way that DJ Spooky has done with his re-mixes of *Within Our Gates* (Oscar Micheaux, 1919) and *Birth of a Nation* (D.W. Griffith, 1915), both of which Donnelly cites. Donnelly's 'populist history' would include the aforementioned scores for Dreyer's film designed and performed by famous pop performers.⁶⁴

Voices Appeared, though, does not fit into any of these various paradigms, partly due to the very specific nature of its repertoire. Whereas a score like Carl Davis' for Napoléon (Abel Gance, 1927) deploys music specific to the period in which the film is set, i.e. the early nineteenth century, such repertoire was itself part of a library of classical music upon which music directors of movie theatres frequently drew. Music of the early fifteenth century, by contrast, has only with very rare exceptions figured in film and never, as far as I am aware, in silent cinema, a consequence of its notably late appearance on the modern concert stage, something I will consider in Chapter Five. Of Donnelly's four categories, perhaps that which it fits most closely is the fourth, though the contingent popular appeal on which that category is based is much more limited than that of pop performers. The Orlando Consort may have a certain cachet, but only in a very specialised and narrow field, that of early music. Even if many of the venues in which the project was staged were far larger than in the group's usual experience — in Los Angeles, for example, it played in 1,700-seater halls — the audience would unquestionably have been more familiar with the film than the group.

All this points to the originality of the project and the very specific nature of the musical

⁶⁴ See above, p.28.

⁶⁵ The Renée and Henry Segerstrom Concert Hall in Costa Mesa, CA (performance on 16 January 2016) and the The Soraya Great Hall in Northridge, CA (performance on 17 January 2016) both seat 1,700.

material. This provokes in the first instance a deeper consideration of the ontology of live music and silent film, and also requires a broader contextualisation of the music and its performance, to which I will turn in Chapter Three. First, though, I will examine in more detail some of the features of the project through a series self-imposed guidelines.

CHAPTER TWO Dogme and constraints: the case of *Voices*Appeared

Introduction

In the previous chapter I addressed the implicit and explicit realities of bringing together a classic film with a repertoire performed by a specific group. Here I examine this intersection drawing on eight rules or principles that I sketched out when designing the soundtrack. Some of these, such as the historical and geographical appropriateness of the repertoire, were statements of central features of the project. Others addressed the practical context, not merely the physical demands placed on the performers but the constitution of the Orlando Consort itself and its working practices. The principles also acknowledged the aesthetic precepts of the project's design, which were based on both the cue-sheet system and sound-film practices, the latter of which emphasised expressive interpretation over the group's more usual profile as exponents of historically informed performance. Whilst I cast them here as limitations or constraints, together they described the aims of the project and define some of its key details, painting a preliminary portrait of *Voices Appeared*.

The eight rules were as follows:

1) All music must have been written or performed in the period between 1419 and 1431 (i.e. Jeanne d'Arc's lifetime).

- 2) All the music used should be of English, French or Burgundian origin.
- 3) All music should have either a textual or emotional link to the scene in question.
- 4) Musical interpretation should serve both the image and the music, in that order of priority.
- 5) A composition need not be performed in its entirety though the piece should be recognisable to the composer and an informed listener.
- 6) Music and vocal expression could be diegetically and nondiegetically motivated.
- 7) It must be physically possible for the singers of The Orlando Consort to perform the score.
- 8) In contrast to traditional modes of concert performance, use of technology and all it had to offer would be encouraged.

There is nothing new in advancing practical limitations as an aesthetic credo. Indeed, when I drew up this list I had in mind the self-imposed rules of the Dogme '95 filmmakers, itemised as ten directives and known as the Vow of Chastity.¹ The now-international movement was founded by the Danish directors Lars Von Trier and Tomas Vinterberg. They wrote the Dogme '95 manifesto and presented it to a quizzical audience at *Le cinéma vers son deuxième siècle* conference in Paris. It championed economic and creative controls as a protest against the bloated budgets of Hollywood in particular. Both directors had early success, Von Trier with *Idioterne* (*The Idiots*, 1998) and Vinterberg with *Festen* (*The Party*, 1998), which won the Jury Prize at the Cannes Film Festival.

The link with Dreyer is not merely one of nationalistic identity. Von Trier sees himself very much as the inheritor of the Dreyer mantle, a metaphor made literal in that occasionally he wore Dreyer's tuxedo, which he had inherited. He also directed *Medea* (1988) from Dreyer's

¹ Dogme is the Danish word for dogma. For more details, see Mette Hjort and Scott MacKenzie, 'Introduction' to *Purity and Provocation: Dogma 95*, eds. Mette Hjort and Scott MacKenzie (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 1–29.

original screenplay.² Though Dreyer never belonged to any school of film-making and certainly never wrote any manifesto, in some ways he anticipated some of Dogme '95's directives. In the case of *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc*, he too felt that it was ridiculous to acknowledge the director, a pre-echo of rule ten.³ The telescoping of the three months of the trial into a single day prefigured the sixth Dogme rule, which specified that there be no 'temporal or geographical alienation', which essentially meant no flashbacks or intercutting between non-contiguous spaces. Like the Dogme filmmakers, he eschewed make-up and tried to make the set in all of his films an authentic environment for his actors. *Gertrud*, where nondiegetic music is virtually absent, anticipates the second rule, which dictated that all sound, including music, should be direct.

1. All music must have been written or performed in the period between 1419 and 1431 (i.e. Jeanne d'Arc's lifetime).

This rule established and amplified the project's main premise: a score of music coeval with the events depicted in the film. When pitching the project to concert promoters, I made reference only to 'known' composers like Dufay and Binchois, and more familiar pieces such as the Agincourt Carol, this to avoid any sense of it being merely an academic exercise. Such initial vagueness left me considerable interpretative latitude in the final choice of music.

My search for repertoire began with modern editions rather than manuscripts, a contingency of purpose rather than analytic inclination. This meant, in practice, a perusal of the

² For the full history of the dinner jacket see 'A Tale of Tailoring' by Torsten Grunwald: https://www.carlthdreyer.dk/en/carlthdreyer/about-dreyer/biography/tale-tailoring (accessed 30 July 2018).

³ 'We shouldn't take a credit for our films. Do we provide the names of extras in a film? And the electricians, the technicians, all the obscure though nevertheless indispensable collaborators?' *Cinémagazine* (unnumbered special edition, 1927), 38. For original French, see above: p.38, footnote 54.

opera omnia editions of Dufay and Binchois, five of the seven volumes of Music of the Early

Fifteenth Century, edited by Gilbert Reaney for the Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae series, and three earlier collections: those edited by John Stainer in 1898, Charles Van Den Borren in 1931 and Jeanne Marix in 1937.⁴

Further licence in the choice of repertoire was supported by an awareness that '[b]roadly speaking, the chronology of music between about 1380 and 1430 remains a thoroughly approximate art' and that the project's qualifying description spoke not only of music *written* in this era, but also of music *performed* then.⁵ This is a somewhat different and perhaps irresolvable argument. A famous line by Tinctoris in 1477 suggested that no music older than forty years was worth performing, which ironically refers to the very musical moment of the early 1430s beyond which the remit of music for *Voices Appeared* couldn't extend. The comment appears in the prologue to the *Liber de arte contrapuncti*:

Nor (what cannot astonish me enough) does there exist anything that was composed more than forty years ago which is deemed, by those who are trained (*eruditi*), to be worthy of the hearing.⁶

While this comment, cited by Rob Wegman as 'a cornerstone in the modern historiography of the musical Renaissance', comes nearly fifty years after Jeanne's execution, there is other earlier evidence which suggests that music had an equivalent shelf-life in the early part of the fifteenth century. ⁷ Machaut's music is found in the collections of the libraries of both Philip the Bold and John the Fearless and a 1420 inventory shows that John the Fearless even added

⁴ For a list of all modern editions consulted, see http://www.orlandoconsort.com/Manuscript_sources.htm. The two volumes of the *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* edition that I did not consult were numbers 5 and 6, this because they contained only music by Italian composers, which were not allowed according to Rule 2.

⁵ David Fallows, Bodleian Library, Manuscript, Canon. Misc. 213 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 2.

⁶ Quoted in Rob C. Wegman, 'Johannes Tinctoris and the "new art", Music & Letters 84 no. 2 (2003), 172.

⁷ Ibid., 171. See also 'Tinctoris on the Great Composers', Leofranc Holford-Strevens, *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 5, no. 2 (1996).

more works of Machaut, including the *Hoquetus David*. Wright also ventures that in 1376 Philip acquired the Trémoïlle MS, a collection that includes motets written some sixty years earlier.⁸ It is possible, of course, that repertoire, particularly that of Machaut, a renowned poet as well as composer, was intended for study, though it is surely equally possible that such compositions were performed.

Further circumstantial evidence of the extended life of music is provided by the manuscripts. Reinhard Strohm points out that that main manuscripts of the first part of the fifteenth century contain work from 'at least three generations'. Given this sketch, it would have been permissible under the self-imposed restrictions of the rule to include music from 1370 without stretching credibility. However, I was inclined to keep the music as closely as possible to the specific period, in part to avoid reference to historical events such as the Papal Schism.

The qualification of 'performed during' validated the plainchant repertoire and simple improvisatory systems based upon it, such as fauxbourdon.¹⁰ Aside from the appropriateness of plainchant for the various scenes where the Eucharist is staged, its unmeasured properties made it a very useful 'filler' and also offered moments of repose for the ear from complex polyphony.

2. All the music used should be of English, French or Burgundian origin.

⁸ Craig M. Wright, *Music at the Court of Burgundy, 1364–1419: A Documentary History* (Henryville: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1974),152–158.

⁹ Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music: 1380–1500* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993), 138.

¹⁰ For an overview, see Margaret Bent, "Resfacta" and "Cantare super librum", *JAMS* 36, no. 3 (1983) and Rob C. Wegman, 'From Maker to Composer: Improvisation and Musical Authorship in the Low Countries, 1450–1500', *JAMS* 49 no. 3 (1996). Wegman has even suggested that the famed contenance angloise may refer not to notated music but to improvisatory systems. See Rob C. Wegman, 'New Music for a World Grown Old: Martin le Franc and the "Contentance Angloise", *Acta Musicologica* 75 (2003), 234.

The second rule was a geographical correlative to the temporal constraint of the first rule.

The premise is once more biographical, designed to represent sonically Jeanne's involvement with the three ruling courts of France, Burgundy and England.

English music was used exclusively when English characters came to the narrative fore. Only three cues were required: the anonymous *O Redemptor, sume carmen*, an anonymous *Te Deum*, and the Agincourt Carol. In each case, dramatic action was focussed on the otherwise-background English forces: respectively, an argument between De Houppeville, who is ejected from the chamber by the English soldiers; an English soldier stealing Jeanne's ring from her finger while her English jailors look on; and those same jailors taunting Jeanne.

The use and identity of French and Burgundian music, and the distinction between them, was considerably more complicated. The shifting relationship between the Court of Burgundy and the French Crown, the itinerant lifestyles of singer-composers and continually changing national borders all mitigated against unambiguous national identities. Furthermore, the costs of the Hundred Years War considerably reduced employment opportunities for musicians. At the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, for example, the number of unbeneficed clerks of Matins declined from around eighteen in 1347 to only five in 1428. And both John the Fearless and Philip the Good cut the performing forces of their chapels at the beginning of their respective reigns in 1404 and 1419.

In a climate of political and economic uncertainty, it is not surprising that so many

French and Burgundian composers found their way to Italy: Salinis was a member of the Papal

Chapel in the 1400s; Reson was in Siena around 1430; Ferragut was on the payroll of Milan

¹¹ Craig M. Wright, Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris (Cambridge: CUP, 1989), 24.

¹² Wright, Music at the Court of Burgundy, 5 & 106.

Cathedral from 1425 to 1430; and Lymburgia worked in Padua in the 1420s and moved to Vicenza in 1431. Some composers remained in France: Grossin was a (singing) clerk at Notre Dame de Paris in the 1420s; Cesaris was maître des enfants at Bourges from 1407 to 1409 and organist at Angers in 1417; Reginaldus Libert was magister puerorum at Cambrai Cathedral in 1424. But working in France did not necessarily mean loyalty to the French cause and biographical details suggest pragmatism trumped nationalism. Tapissier, born French, established an école de chant in Paris and was employed by Philip the Bold at the Burgundian court; Dufay, born in Cambrai and eventually returning there, would work in Italy and Burgundy. Only Binchois, born Burgundian and joining the Burgundian court of Philip the Good around 1426 until his retirement in 1452, seemed, though only on the face of it, to remain loyal to his native country.

Nor is it viable to argue for contrasting stylistic traits of French and Burgundian composers. Though the Burgundian School is spoken of, it signifies not so much a discrete musical style as composers employed by and associated with the Burgundian court. With no defining musical correlation between Burgundian and French styles in *Voices Appeared*, Jeanne was thus no more associated with French composers than Cauchon was with composers employed in the court of Burgundy.

3. All music should have either a textual or emotional link to the scene in question.

The third rule argued for correlations between music and image. An alternative approach would have been to create a soundtrack where medieval music was merely background, something

allowed by the imprecise notion of the term 'soundscape', a term I used in early descriptive drafts to promoters. The audio-visual contract of *Voices Appeared*, to use Michel Chion's term, ultimately promised a closer integration of music and narrative rather than the more general wash of historicising music adopted by Lo Duca, something delivered in textual and emotional correspondences.¹³ I will consider specific examples in Chapter Six, but for the moment it will suffice to indicate that the film's sustained analogy between Jeanne's passion and that of Christ offer several associations between Marian texts and Jeanne, and between Jeanne's fate and that of Christ. Frequent iterations of 'Virgo Maria' or 'Sancta Maria' referenced Jeanne's virginal state, the object of two investigations.¹⁴ Similarly, hymns about Christ's suffering were pre-echoes of Jeanne's suffering. Various quasi-diegetic illustrations of liturgical events further underlined the integration of musical accompaniment and narrative.

Aside from moments when individual words were deliberately foregrounded, texts were not expected to be grasped in all their complexity as they might be in a concert where translations are provided. Instead, a note in the programme directed the audience to the Orlando Consort website where a detailed breakdown of scenes, the music used and the reasons for its inclusion could be consulted *after* the event.¹⁵

The generally opaque textual meaning in turn argued for a strong emotional congruity between film and music. However, medieval music occupies a very marginal place in the public consciousness, where it is more likely to evoke images of parallel fifths performed offscreen by

¹³ Michel Chion, *Audio-Vision* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), footnote 5, 215–6.

¹⁴ Jeanne was examined initially at the instruction of the Dauphin, by the Archbishop of Reims, Regnault de Chartres, and other clerics at Poitiers in 1429, and again in 1431 in preparation for the trial, the investigation conducted under the supervision of the Duchess of Bedford, wife to the Regent of France, Anne of Burgundy. See Helen Castor, *Joan of Arc* (London: Faber, 2014), 94 and 168.

¹⁵ See http://www.orlandoconsort.com/scene_breakdown.htm.

ethereal monks than the specialised repertoire of *Voices Appeared*. By the same token, the project could not call on cultural musical codes like sobbing violins for love themes and bassoons for comedy, oriental modes for Arabic cultures, etc.¹⁶ This situation shifted the burden of cultural connotation and musical affect to the level of (modern) performance. Ironically, the absence of notated expressive values in the original medieval manuscripts, together with a lack of knowledge of the finer points of performance practice, left the stage clear to apply more recognisable expressive codes and a considerable part of rehearsal was taken up with finding equivalent matches for the tone of onscreen events by performative means.

4. Musical interpretation should serve both the image and the music, in that order of priority.

The fourth rule was a reminder that the performing space was first and foremost an art-house cinema and that the purpose of music was as a support for the moving images and not an end unto itself. *Voices Appeared* was staged in concert halls, churches and cathedrals, the last two being standard venues for a great deal of early music. In all cases, though, the primary object was the film, this in contrast to classical concerts, well described by Christopher Small, where everything is directed towards the veneration of the composer and his work, or the worship of the performer. ¹⁷

Two related and non-mutually exclusive categories proposed by Lydia Goehr highlight the differences between the musical work and the use of music as a vehicle for performance: *the*

¹⁶ I borrow 'cultural music codes' from Claudia Gorbman, *Unheard Melodies: Narrative Film Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 13.

¹⁷ See Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1998), esp.19–29.

perfect performance of music and the perfect musical performance. ¹⁸ The first category, the perfect performance of music, foregrounds the work itself and the composers' intentions ascribed therein, making secondary the interpretative and expressive contribution of the performer. This results in a safe, contained mode of performance in which the musician's primary aim is the accurate rendition of the score. An example of this would be the particularly British style of early-music performance with which The Orlando Consort is associated. ¹⁹

The second category, the perfect musical performance, foregrounds the act of performance and the contribution of the performer in the process of realisation of the work; it highlights the *human* contribution, placing emphasis upon technique, skill and individuality, and invokes a transcendent notion of interpretation and musicality:

The perfect musical performance is conceptually broader than the perfect performance of music. It attends to the general, though elusive, dimension of musicianship inherent in a performance whether or not the performance is a performance of a work.²⁰

In the case of the perfect performance of music, the performer, is less an interpreter than a transparent window through which the work can be viewed, a kind of psychic channeller of the past. Overt expression is downplayed lest it disrupt this mediumistic connection and remind the audience of the here and now. The perfect musical performance emphasises precisely the dimension of performance that the perfect performance of music otherwise effaces. And, as such, it makes the performer more present, reminds the audience of their interpretative intervention. As Goehr is at pains to point out, it can be difficult to distinguish between the two regimes, and

¹⁸ Lydia Goehr, 'The Perfect Performance of Music and the Perfect Musical Performance', *New Formations*, 27 (1995–6). The article is, in many ways, an extended footnote to her earlier book, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works* (Oxford: OUP, 1992).

¹⁹ This is examined by Bonnie J. Blackburn in 'Tramline music' *EM* 41 no. 1, (2013). See also my response, Donald Greig, 'Sightlines and Tramlines: The Orlando Consort at 25', *EM* 43 no. 1 (2015). ²⁰ Goehr, 'The Perfect Performance', 14.

an awareness of both informs performers and audience alike.

With the performance space blacked out, the performers only dimly lit, and with the screen as the primary object of the audience's attention, *Voices Appeared* favoured the perfect musical performance. A convenient contrast to this approach is found in an accompanying commercial recording. There, the front cover places the performers in front of a faint image of Jeanne/Falconetti, immediately relativizing the film, the veneration of music is archly signalled by music folders held towards the camera:

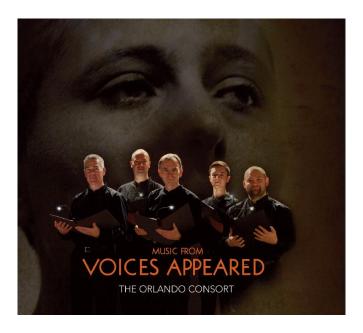


Figure 2.1: cover of the Voices Appeared CD

The liner notes included an essay on the music by Professor David Fallows (Emeritus Professor of Musicology, University of Manchester) though nothing about the film. The reverse cover gave full details of music and composers, making the entire package very much a traditional presentation of an early-music compact disc. Recorded, with only one exception, in their entirety, the musical work was paramount.²¹ Interpretation was arrived at collectively, in

²¹ The anonymous English motet, *O redemptor sume carmen*, is fifteen minutes long and, if performed in its entirety, would have taken up a quarter of the disc.

rehearsal and the recording space, with no reference to the film. Tempi and other performative articulations were thus determined organically and, in the first instance, from the work itself rather than from a separate narrative context.

Emphasis on the musical work makes the recording an example of the perfect performance of music and resulted in a considerably narrower expressive spectrum than in live versions of *Voices Appeared*. A generally sombre mode of piety pervades, deemed appropriate for both secular and sacred texts; hymns of praise or devotional offerings are approached reverently, and the tortured expression of suffering of secular texts is similarly muted. Vocal beauty takes precedence, dynamic range is compressed, sudden shifts of tempi or mood are avoided.

The film, in contrast, deals with violent emotional states – anger, threat, suffering, anguish, etc, – and performance reflected that. Stingers were synchronised with textual iterations, intertitles, and physical acts such as stones being thrown through windows. Dynamics were dictated by the narrative and not by the text or music.

Contrasting tempi between the film accompaniment and the recording can be observed. Loqueville's *Sanctus*, for example, used in the torture scene, proceeds at an unrelenting 114bpm, considerably faster than the 92bpm of the recording. At the opposite end of the spectrum, Libert's *De tristesse*, an expression of pained sympathy, was recorded at roughly 55bpm whereas for the film it was set at 47bpm. Similarly, the polyphonic verses of Dufay's *Vexilla regis* were taken at a stately 57bpm in contrast to the more functional 73bpm of the recording. The fast tempi were taken much faster and the slower tempi slower in the live event, producing a wider sweep of tempi in comparison with the recording.

A further conspicuous difference was that because several cues had *attacca* segues, the live performance often observed a strict pulse and eschewed slight *rallentandi* of final phrases and

lengthenings of final chords. Flexible tempi were applied in the fifteenth century and apply today, something that I will explore in more detail in Chapter Five, and this was a further significant instance of the image dictating musical interpretation and overturning musical convention.²²

5. A composition need not be performed in its entirety though the piece should be recognisable to the composer or an informed listener.

Abbreviation of musical works is a common feature of Orlando Consort concerts. In the case of a rondeau, to take one example, the musical material (AB) is roughly a quarter of the length of the poetry (AB-aA-ab-AB). A piece like Loyset Compère's *Mes pensées ne me lesse une heure* lasts nearly twelve minutes performed in its entirety, which equates to around a fifth of the length of an entire programme. ²³ On the grounds that an audience, particularly one unfamiliar with medieval and early renaissance repertoire, might want to hear a variety of musical material more than textual variation, cuts of various kinds are made. The group might, for example, sing all the text, producing a musical form of ABAAB, or perhaps only an A and a B section. The same rationale might also mean a three-fold rather than a nine-fold Kyrie.

Voices Appeared took such licence to considerably greater lengths. A piece could be stopped halfway through a phrase, hanging on an unresolved chord, and it might begin again

²² The notion that musicians are capable of keeping a strict beat is contradicted by experience. The speed of the pulse varies from bar to bar unless dictated by some kind of mechanical timekeeper. When rehearsing for *Voices Appeared*, performers constantly challenged the strict metronomic pulse dictated on the flick track, asserting that it either sped up or slowed down. When checked, it became apparent that on every occasion the beat was completely accurate and that our perception of real time was flawed.

²³ 'Mes pensées ne me lesse une heure', track 9 on The Orlando Consort, *Loyset Compère: Magnificat, motets and chansons*, Hyperion CDA68069, 2013.

later in the film, though not necessarily from the point where the piece was halted.²⁴ Musical material was also stretched or contracted to fit a predetermined narrative segment with rests occasionally omitted, chords shortened and sections repeated.²⁵ However, the overarching rule ensured that such licence could not be extended beyond certain limits. In this regard, the informed listener functioned as a sort of musical conscience, as did a sense of responsibility to the composer, even if that reflected an ideology to which I do not subscribe. Editing of the music to serve the film should not distort a composition's essential identity. Recognisable here is the concept of *Werktreue*, an ideology to which most promoters subscribe. Significant in this regard is the number of times I was asked, when selling the project to artistic directors, which composers would be represented in the final score. The Orlando Consort as a group also collectively subscribes to that ideology, irrespective of whether its individual members would advance or defend its precepts.²⁶

Pitch and voice types touch on the issue of musical identity but invited less self-interrogation.²⁷ The singers of the group are all familiar with the modern musical pragmatism of quotidian cathedral choirs, where pitch is agreed collectively on the day according to the state of voices and the number of performers. Pitch adjustment and inappropriate voice types seemed to us to be just as likely in the fifteenth century.²⁸ Such latitude served the film project well where

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²⁴ Grossin's *Imera dat hodierno* and Guillaume Le Grant's *Gloria* were treated in this fashion.

²⁵ Bars 71 and 72 of Reson's *Salve sancta parens* were halved in note value, and bars 26–29 of Franchois' *Amen* were repeated. The first ten bars of Libert's *De tristesse* prefigured a final rendition of all the poetic material in the musical form ABAAB.

²⁶ The obvious reference here is Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works* (Oxford: OUP, 1992).

²⁷ See, for example, David Fallows, 'Specific Information on the Ensembles for Composed Polyphony, 1400–1474' in *Studies in the Performance of Late Mediaeval Music*, ed. Stanley Boorman (Cambridge: CUP, 1983); Roger Bowers, 'To Chorus from Quartet: the Performing Resource for English Church Polyphony, c.1390–1559', in *English Choral Practice*, 1400–1625, ed. J. Morehen (Cambridge: CUP, 1995); and Roger Bowers, 'The Performing Pitch of English Fifteenth-Century Polyphony', *EM* 8 no. 1 (1980). On the specific issue of falsettists, see Andrew Parrott, 'Falsetto Beliefs: the 'Countertenor' Cross-examined', *EM* 43, no. 1 (2015).

²⁸ Though concerning a later period, there seems little to contradict the evidence of performance in the Papal Chapel that points to a very loose sense of perfect pitch, a locating note hummed by one of the choir, sometimes with

darker lower tones were associated with the male clerics and the higher tessitura with Jeanne and her sympathisers.

Such policies find their closest analogy in the 'cover' version of a modern pop song: the song remains the same, but the performer is licenced to rearrange it.

6. Music and vocal expression could be diegetically and nondiegetically motivated.

Strictly speaking, this rule is more of a permission than a prohibition. Drawing on the model of sound cinema, the aim was always to provide diegetic music as an occasional illustration of onscreen action. This was invited by the film itself, particularly by the various depictions of liturgical celebration – processions, the staging of Eucharist, and more tangentially in announcements made by the clerics to the crowd, such as when Jeanne's sentence is read out by Cauchon. However, the efficacy of such an approach is challenged by the ontological limitations of diegetic illustration in silent cinema where the presence of the performers undermines the perceptual integration achieved in sound cinema where the sound source is hidden from sight. (I will address this issue in theoretical and practical terms in Chapter Three in the section headed 'Silent cinema and the fantastical gap'.²⁹)

disastrous consequences. See Richard Sherr, 'Performance Practice in the Papal Chapel during the 16th Century', *EM* 15, no. 4 (1987).

²⁹ See above, pp. 73-9.

7. It must be physically possible for the singers of The Orlando Consort to perform the score

Given the close quarters at which a group such as The Orlando Consort works, that situation was unlikely to occur, but the project was always going to make new and challenging demands of mental and physical stamina. Sensitivity was required.

While the vocal ranges of the standard line-up of The Orlando Consort – countertenor, two tenors and baritone – conveniently covers the compass of the gamut derived from the Guidonian hand (G–e"), the ranges of individual voices mitigate against one of the standard formations of four-part music of the period: pairs of two equal upper and lower voices. The addition of a fifth singer – a bass, Robert Macdonald – enabled us to include this repertoire and also five-part pieces.³⁰ The low bass register also provided a timbre with obvious connotative values of threat and menace, useful in a drama where male combatants harangue a defenceless woman. However, the main motive for a fifth voice arose from the recognition of the physical and mental demands of singing uninterrupted for nearly 100 minutes. Through-scoring eliminated the occasional instances of repose typical of onstage behaviour – visible release of tension by moving, adjusting clothing and music, taking a sip of water, etc. Concentration was paramount, the more so because, when not singing, one was often required to conduct.

When compiling the score, I was careful to build in mental and physical breaks for every individual. Cues were carefully shared out so that everyone sang for roughly the same number of minutes. And, where feasible, longer breaks were programmed. An obvious instance occurs in the final ten minutes of the film, for which the four lower voices had to sing virtually continuously.

³⁰ Ultimately, only one five-part piece was used, the anonymous *Regina saeculi / Reparatrix*.

A break before this final vocal onslaught came in the form of the countertenor singing the *Veni* creator spiritus hymn as Jeanne is led to the stake.

The range of individual voices was also taken into account, following the standard working practice of consensual agreement of pitch rather than any adherence to its original notated pitch. And, for the first time in the long history of the group, rather than working from heavily annotated scores, individual pieces were set on computer and printed at concert pitch.

8. In contrast to traditional modes of concert performance, the use of technology and all it had to offer would be encouraged.

Synchronisation between sound and image has been a central concern of cinema since its earliest days. In 1893, Edison, writing in *The New York Times*, envisioned 'a man ... sit[ting] in his own parlour and see[ing] depicted upon a curtain the forms of the players in opera upon a distant stage, and hear[ing] the voices of the singers'. Since then, screenings of sound and silent films with live orchestras have adopted technical solutions to help conductors and performers to synchronise music with film action.

Other than for large-scale collaborative projects with extended forces, The Orlando Consort does not work with conductors.³² Ensemble is guided by an agreed pulse, sometimes indicated in the first instance by one of the group conducting discreetly, but generally achieved by listening and responding to body gesture. Such practice would not serve the careful cueing of

³¹ The New York Times, 13 May 1893.

³² Examples of work where the Orlando Consort has worked with conductors would be a performance of Notre Dame Polyphony with the BBC Singers for Radio 3 and performances of Tarik O'Regan's *Scattered Rhymes*, a commissioned work written for the four solo voices of the Orlando Consort and an eight-part SATB choir.

the soundtrack of *Voices Appeared*, a project premised on the fine-grained integration between music and moving image. In the pre-digital age of sound film, skilled conductors used streamers, punches and other inscriptions on the image track as aids: in the digital age, the same is achieved with SMPTE code, click tracks and tempi measured to the second decimal place. *Voices Appeared* opted for the latter approach.³³

The solution was a 'flick track', modelled in the first instance on the 'click track', a standard device in recording studios where a metronomic beat is relayed over headphones to performers often with a pre-recorded track. But because, as an *a cappella* group, hearing our own voices and those of our colleagues was essential for matters of tuning, the use of headphones was not feasible. The flick track was a visual rather than an aural representation of tempo, inscribed on the film and viewed on a laptop and a supplementary screen. ³⁴ The individual beats and numbers of the bar were provided in red on the right for cues and in green on the left once the piece began. For plainchant, red blips provided the initial pulse and a streamer progressed from right to left at the bottom of the screen as a rough guide.



Figure 2.2: examples of flick-track instructions

One long cue, the Epistle, consisted of progressing numbers from 1 to 193, which

³³ David Cooper provides a useful summary of the various pre-digital and digital methods in "Pictures that Talk and Sing": Sound History and Technology', in *The Cambridge Companion to Film Music*, eds. Mervyn Cooke and Fiona Ford (Cambridge: CUP, 2016), 40–46.

³⁴ In general, classical performers are not comfortable with headphones in contrast to their 'pop' or light-music colleagues. For more details, see Donald Greig, 'Performing for (and against) the Microphone' in *The Cambridge Companion to Recorded Music*, eds. Nicholas Cook, John Rink and Daniel Leech-Wilkinson (Cambridge: CUP, 2009).

allowed the text to be correlated at various moments as the reading unwound. The intention was for the performers to see 'beyond' such instruction to the determining instance of the narrative, which presented the all-important narrative context.

There remained the problem of synching the flick track with the film itself, i.e. the film that the audience was watching. There are various complicated (and expensive) systems that could have achieved a perfect synchronisation between the flick track and the film itself, but there is no guarantee that any such system would work consistently. Moreover, the various venues for which performances were planned ranged from 'pink-string-and-sealing-wax' semi-professional organisations to large concert halls; not all would be able to accommodate complicated systems. In the end, the solution was simple and human: the performers began singing and, at a pre-determined moment, a visual gesture to projectionist cued the start of the film. However, Blu-Ray players play at slightly different speeds and therefore on occasion it was necessary to make similar small adjustments to bring the flick track back in line with the film being viewed by the audience. A remote control advanced or retarded the flick track in quarter-second increments, small enough for singers to accommodate the slight tempo changes without anything being noticeable to the audience.

One final piece of technology was used: small in-ear headphones that provided pitch cues at various moments. Though the soundtrack was designed with no abrupt key changes, such cues served as reminders, particularly after silence, and occasionally corrected any small instances of wayward tuning. The sound and visual cues were added to a copy of the film using Sony Vegas Professional, the work outsourced to Eliot Lindsell.

CHAPTER THREE The ontology of live performance and silent film

Introduction

Voices Appeared had always intended to use music both diegetically and nondiegetically in order to illustrate certain onscreen events with music and also to fulfil music's more usual function as an expressive amplification of onscreen action. In the earliest stages of planning I discussed this in great detail with friends, wondering how this would work and how convincing it might be. My concern was that the physical presence of the performers in the hall challenged the illusionism on which diegetic music depends. In sound cinema, the real music source – recorded orchestra, band, etc. – is invisible, while the (fictional) source of the music – band, radio, record player – is visible onscreen, and it is the mapping of invisibly produced sound onto visible source that leads to the convincing illusion. In silent cinema the situation is different: both the onscreen source of sound and the real source of the sound, i.e. the playing musician, are visible. This produces a contradiction that cannot be sustained. It is the theory behind this nexus that is the focus of the following chapter, wherein I explore the differences between the two audio-visual contracts of silent and sound cinema and further consider the implications of this for Voices Appeared and silent cinema more generally.

Film Music and Cinema Music

Peter Larsen draws a useful distinction between 'cinema music' and 'film music'. Cinema music describes the operation of live music with silent film:

The music of the silent films is not film music in the modern sense – it is *cinema music*: an external addition to the moving pictures, part of the total *performance* more than part of the film and its narrative.³⁵ (original emphasis)

Film music, by contrast, denotes the more common use of music in sound film, where music is physically wedded to the image by inscription as an optical or magnetic portion of the celluloid as it passes through the camera, or, in the digital age, where both elements are part of the same digital file.

Emilio Audissino is one of the few theorists to address Larsen's distinction. Quite rightly, he has underlined the 'primarily' material premise of the opposition, though he also proposes that the concepts address:

the viewers' experience of the music as a part of the film narrative or not – with 'film music' being experienced as more narratively integrated with the film, and 'cinema music' being experienced more as a silence-filler of the film projection rather than a constituent of the filmic system.³⁶

Such a focus on synthesis leads him to suggest that the more carefully integrated scores of the silent era, such as Gottfried Huppertz's score for *Metropolis* (Fritz Lang, 1927) with over 1,000 sync points, anticipate the 'film music' paradigm. This contention not only invites a

³⁵ Peter Larsen, Film Music (London: Reaktion, 2007), 26.

³⁶ Emilio Audissino, 'Gottfried Huppertz's *Metropolis*: The Acme of "Cinema Music" in *Today's Sounds for Yesterday's Films: Making Music for Silent Cinema*, eds. K.J. Donnelly and Ann-Kristin Wallengren (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 45.

charge of value-judgement, wherein music of the silent era is seen as primitive and lacking in comparison to that of the sound era, which Huppertz's score and those like it anticipate; it also overlooks the important ontological properties of the distinction. It is neither the material property or the issue of synchronisation that are the keys to Larsen's taxonomy but the distinction between live performance (cinema music) and recorded performance (film music).

Larsen's opposition has recently been unsettled by screenings of sound films where the music is digitally subtracted from the soundtrack and provided instead by a live orchestra. Films that receive this treatment tend to be those with large symphonic and choral forces (Lord of the Rings, Independence Day, etc.), musicals (Frozen, Alice in Wonderland, etc.), films which feature notable soundtracks/composers (various Herrmann scores – Vertigo, North by Northwest, Psycho, etc.; and John Williams – the Harry Potter franchise, Jaws, Jurassic Park, Star Wars, E.T., etc). Properly speaking, and given Larsen's emphasis on the performance aspect of music in silent film presentation, such iterations would fall under the rubric of cinema music. However, Larsen further qualifies cinema music as music relating to silent film, not sound film. Sound film with live music offers the experience of live performance though with the 'advantage' of synchronisation through modern technology. That Larsen did not consider such forms of film presentation shows how recent this phenomenon is. His book was published in 2007 and today a helpful website that collates concerts and performances of film music, with or without accompanying images, shows how widespread the phenomenon is and how far it has come in a relatively short time.³⁷

For all this, there is a danger of submitting to seductive but misplaced notions of the

³⁷ The following website lists concerts of film music and live-music/silent-film events: http://www.moviesinconcert.nl/indExamplephp?page=concertlist.

ontological purity of live performance over mediatized forms. Philip Auslander expresses his frustration with this idea and warns of its implicit reductionism:

Investigating live performance's cultural valence ... I quickly became impatient with what I consider to be traditional, unreflective assumptions that fail to get much further in their attempts to explicate the value of 'liveness' than invoking clichés and mystifications like 'the magic of live theatre,' the 'energy' that supposedly exists between performers and spectators in a live event, and the 'community' that live performance is often said to create among performers and spectators ... [W]here these concepts are used to describe the relationship between live performance and its present mediatized environment, they yield a reductive binary opposition of the live and the mediatized.³⁸

Auslander's criticism of binary opposition does not, though, invalidate its perceptual validity, something that characterises the ontology of cinema music in contrast to film music.

Taking Larsen's basic opposition as a starting point, we can trace over the past thirty years related scholarly approaches. The study of cinema music has inclined towards the historical, providing careful accounts of the conditions of performance, including the way that scores were composed or compiled, placing the final product – the performance itself – in the realms of an imaginable past. Silent film music has thus suffered a similar fate to the study of performance within musicology more generally. Musicology of the medieval period, for example, is dominated by literature about notated music, while the various improvisatory practices that constituted a great part of daily musical practice – organum, discant, *cantare super librum* – has warranted considerably less attention.³⁹ Improvisation and musical performance in earlier eras are often

³⁸ Philip Auslander, *Liveness: Performance in a Mediatized Culture* (Abingdon: Routledge 2008), 2–3.

³⁹ Exceptions to this are: Anna Maria Busse Berger on the systems of improvisation that informed Notre Dame polyphony, in *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Richard Crocker on discant in 'Discant, Counterpoint, and Harmony', *JAMS*, 15 (1962); and, on *cantare super librum*, Philipe Canguilhem, 'Toward a Stylistic History of *Cantare super librum*', in *Studies in Historical Improvisation: From* Cantare super Librum *to* Partimenti, ed. Guido Massimiliano (Abingdon: Taylor and Francis, 2017) and Margaret Bent, "Resfacta" and "Cantare Super Librum" *JAMS* 36, no. 3 (1983).

implicitly deemed unrecoverable and therefore beyond study.

Ironically, film studies was similarly deaf and blind to live and recorded music for many years, despite sound film's reproducibility, which avoided the inherent ontological problem of lost musical repertoires. And though much has been done in the last thirty years to correct this imbalance, analysis of how live music operates and operated with silent film still lags some way behind. We must, though, acknowledge the pragmatic issues that make such study difficult. How do we both experience the 'liveness' of performance and, as it were, stop the moment in order to analyse it? The question to some extent explains the rather late response of musicology to the study of performance and also lies at the heart of performance studies more generally. When Peggy Phelan seemingly redundantly reminds us that performance exists in an unending present tense she is pointing to an ontological reality; but this need not be a theoretical blind spot. Film studies, after all, has generated a bewildering array of critical approaches, yet film reveals itself in an eternal present tense and is only ever fully experienced as such, even if the material of the signifier (in the Hjemslevian sense), namely celluloid, can be examined independent of its projection.

The study of film music, in contrast to that of cinema music, has inclined to the theoretical, albeit supplemented by valuable historical studies. Limited to narrative film and with a notable preference for French movies, Claudia Gorbman's *Unheard Melodies*, published in 1987, has justifiably earned the epithet 'seminal' and is still a major reference point for filmmusic studies. That book did much to outline and provoke future areas of study, not least by

⁴⁰ Tellingly, the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society in Rochester, N.Y. on 9 November 2017 featured a round-table discussion of the current state of film-music studies entitled 'Thirty Years Forward: The Past, Present, and Future of Film Music Scholarship,' a retrospective by eight leading film-music scholars surveying the field since the publication of Gorbman's book.

invoking a comprehensible model of sound narrative cinema that proceeded from a structuralist-semiotic viewpoint yet which touched only lightly on the more arcane manifestations of critical theory. Whilst making reference to Lacanian terms like the symbolic and the imaginary, Gorbman's wood-clearing exercise owed more to a formalist model of cinema and was singularly steadfast in keeping to the fore the need for simple methodologies rather than aligning the study of film music with any particular political or theoretical agenda. Such disarming neutrality made the book impossible to ignore, and the musical intelligence that she displayed, along with an eschewal of jargon, ensured that the study of film music soon took its place not only in film studies but increasingly as a subject within music departments.

Today it is difficult to find work on film music that doesn't implicitly or explicitly draw on many of the book's central assumptions and propositions, not least its synthesising model of narrative cinema. That model, theoretical variations of which are called the classical narrative system, the Institutional Mode of Representation, or the classic realist text to name but a few, suggests that '[c]lassical narratives emphasize the diegesis over the narration, efface narrational presence'. These are Gorbman's own words and are a pithy conflation of a complicated if demonstrable system inherited in part from the nineteenth-century novel. Crucially, the place from which the spectator views events is untroubled and unchallenged, a passive mode of reception that profits from the physical environs of the darkened cinema and the occlusion of the

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⁴¹ Gorbman's consideration of silent cinema is brief and set within an account of the transition from silent cinema to sound cinema. See Chapter Two, 'Why Music? From Silents to Sound' in Claudia Gorbman, *Unheard Melodies: Narrative Film Music*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 31–52.

⁴² Ibid., 3. The theorists with whom these various models are most associated are David Bordwell (the classical narrative system), Noël Burch (the Institutional Mode of Representation) and Colin MacCabe (the classic realist text). For Bordwell, see David Bordwell and Kristin Thompson, *Film Art: An Introduction* (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1979) and David Bordwell, *Narration in the Fiction Film* (London: Methuen, 1985); for Burch, see Noël Burch, *Theory of Film Practice* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1973); and for MacCabe, see Colin MacCabe, 'Realism and the Cinema: Notes on Some Brechtian Theses', *Screen*, 15 no. 2 (1974), all passim.

cinematic apparatus itself.

Films of the silent era broadly conform to Gorbman's implicit model of narrative cinema, but the regime of narration is more overt than in sound cinema. Consider dialogue intertitles, which, while standing in for the absent speech, are addressed directly to the spectator, thereby gesturing to the act of narration that heard dialogue otherwise denies. Similarly, music, in such practices as film-funning (see below), underlines cinematic artifice by referencing a channel of communication between accompanist and audience independent of the film text. Such features suggest that silent cinema is a more 'open' text than that of 'closed' sound cinema, one where construction and 'narrational presence' is often foregrounded. A consequence of this is that, together with the visibility of the performance source, there is an intrinsic ontological barrier to music's integration with the film text.

Michel Chion's notion of the audio-visual contract provides a useful further way to comprehend the differences between film music and cinema music. The audio-visual contract is:

a reminder that the audio-visual relationship is not natural, but a kind of symbolic contract that the audio-viewer enters into, agreeing to think of sound and image as forming a single entity.⁴³

In sound cinema, the contract requires little cognitive effort on the part of the spectator. Take a sound effect: when a character presses a doorbell and we hear a ringing, we immediately take the correspondence at face value: the sound we hear is that produced by pressing a doorbell. We have signed up to the audio-visual contract without even having to read it. In silent cinema, though, the sound of the doorbell is created by a percussionist, a supplementary, external and visual gesture. We glimpse something of this in a personal reminiscence of silent cinema

⁴³ Michel Chion, *Audio-Vision: Sound on Screen*, trans. Claudia Gorbman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), footnote 5, 215–6.

recounted by director and producer Alberto Cavalcanti:

An airplane was flying towards us [on screen]. The music director 'cut' the orchestra, and a strange, frightsome sound began, and got louder and louder. It was nothing like an airplane, but very frightening. When I got home I was still wondering how this noise was done. Then I got it. It was a noise I had known all my life – an open cymbal beaten with two soft-headed drumsticks. How familiar! Yet it had lost its identity, and retained only its dramatic quality, used in conjunction with the picture.⁴⁴

The onomatopoeic property of the percussion is here secondary to its dramatic purpose. Musical illustration is not determinedly consonant nor is there an expectation that it will be. Cavalcanti's awareness of the musical director's actions and those of the orchestra parallel the general experience of the silent-filmgoer. The spectator sees the source of the actual sound or locates it aurally in the movie theatre rather than perceiving it as coming from the filmic space. In silent cinema, the audio-visual contract thus involves a more fluid awareness of the construction of the film text which acknowledges cinematic illusionism. Put more simply, silent film sound entails a looser and thus more conscious alignment of the film text and its musical accompaniment. With this in mind, we can focus more closely on the issue of diegetic music.

The diegesis and the fantastical gap

Much has been written about the development of the notion of diegesis and its adoption by film studies. Its prehistory in Greek drama and poetry have little connection to its current use, which stems initially from Etienne and Anne Souriau's adoption of the term in the 1950s as part of a

⁴⁴ Alberto Cavalcanti, quoted in *Film Sound: Theory and Practice*, eds. Elisabeth Weis and John Belton (New York and Chichester: Columbia University Press, 1985), 109.

taxonomy designed to describe the entire filmic and cinematic experience.⁴⁵

Souriau *père*'s original typology consists of eight ontological realms: the afilmic, the creatorial, the diegesis (or diegetic), the screenic, the filmographic, the filmophanic, the profilmic, and the spectatorial (I have rendered the French terms in English as best I can).⁴⁶ Of these terms, his daughter, Anne Souriau, retroactively claimed authorship of the concept of diegesis and it has since become part of film theory vocabulary, this in tandem with nondiegetic (the profilmic is really the only other term that can make such a claim, though its use is rarer).

The term diegesis has not gone entirely unchallenged. Jean Mitry, for example, raised the spectre of jargon when he opined that:

Souriau's use ... of the term *diegesis* to refer to "all that is intelligible within the narrative, in the world implied or suggested in the fiction of a film" and *diegetic* to refer to "any event concerning the characters of a story which involves them in a change of position within the space contained in the narrative" would seem to be tautologous with the words drama and dramatic, which, etymologically speaking, are quite equal to the task of fulfilling M. Souriau's definitions.⁴⁷

Jean Mitry's misgivings aside, Christian Metz's more rigorous definition has served film studies unproblematically since the 1970s:

[Diegesis] designates the film's represented instance – that is to say, the sum of a film's denotation: the narration itself, but also the fictional space and time dimensions implied in and by the narrative, and consequently the characters, the landscapes, the events and other narrative

⁴⁵ The term first appeared in Etienne Souriau, 'La structure de l'univers filmique et le vocabulaire de la filmologie', *Revue internationale de filmologie*, 7–8 (1951) and soon after in Etienne Souriau, *L'univers filmique* (Paris: Flammarion, 1953). Anne Souriau's claim comes in Etienne Souriau and Anne Souriau, eds., *Vocabulaire d'esthétique* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1990), 581.

⁴⁶ The original French terms are: *Créatoriel, Diégèse* (and *Diégétique*), *Écranique, Fimographique, Filmophanique*, *Profilmique* and *Spectatoriel*.

⁴⁷ Jean Mitry, *The Aesthetics and Psychology of the Cinema*, trans. Christopher King (London, Athlone Press, 1998), 72.

elements in so far as they are considered in their denoted aspect.⁴⁸

This was the implied, standard definition of the term, often used without explanation or footnote. For example, David Bordwell in his 1985 study of film narratology could report that the term 'has come to be the accepted term for the fictional world of the story' and then move on with his argument.⁴⁹

Part of the reason for its continued use lies in a fundamentally satisfying ontological quality of the photographic image upon which most cinema is based. The premise was famously espoused by André Bazin in 'The Ontology of the Photographic Image'.

Photography and the cinema ... are discoveries that satisfy, once and for all and in its very essence, our obsession with realism.⁵⁰

Here Bazin is pointing to the convincing power of the moving image plausibly to represent reality. Put differently, the reality effect of the photograph lends cinema a particularly persuasive diegetic illusionism. When people purportedly ran to the back of the room when they witnessed *L'arrivée d'un train en gare de La Ciotat* (Lumière Brothers, 1896), what they were experiencing was not just cinema's realism – 'the art of reality', as Bazin puts it – but, to use Souriau's terms for a moment, the seemingly complete mapping of the profilmic to the real world, a sleight of hand to which the spectator was all too inclined to submit. Bazin again:

In spite of any objections our critical spirit may offer, we are forced to accept as real the existence of the object reproduced, actually re-presented, set before us, that is to say, in time and space. Photography enjoys a certain advantage in virtue of this transference of reality from the thing to

⁴⁸ Christian Metz, Film Language: A Semiotics of Cinema, trans. Michael Taylor (New York: OUP, 1974), 97–8.

⁴⁹ Bordwell, Narration, 16.

⁵⁰ André Bazin, 'The Ontology of the Photographic Image', in *What is Cinema?*, vol. 1, trans. Hugh Gray (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 7.

its reproduction.⁵¹

Cinema convinces us of the reality of fiction immediately and without any disturbing sense of loss. Striving for greater 'reality' has characterised film since its earliest years yet its ability to convince was really never in doubt – the Lumières' train proved that. So, what are characterised as contributions to cinematic realism – colour, sound, lip-sync, 3-D, Imax, stereo sound, 7:1 sound, etc. – are less compensations for any failure of narrative illusionism than instances of trying to live up to the photographic image's effortless propensity to convince us that we are looking through a window onto the real world.⁵²

This points us to what Noël Burch describes as 'the diegetic effect', this 'the true seat of cinema's "power of fascination", away from the ontology of the photographic image and back to the narratological origins of diegesis in Greek drama and poetry. 53 Narratological studies by Roland Barthes, Tzvetan Todorov, Umberto Eco and particularly Gérard Genette in the 1960s, had prepared the way by shifting the argument from the phenomenological towards the more rigorous ground of structural analysis.⁵⁴ Guido Heldt, in his recent study of narratology and film

⁵¹ Bazin, 'The Ontology', 8.

⁵² Here we venture on the Metzian notion of the imaginary signifier, bolstered by the same theorist's metapsychology of the spectator, and locate the moving image's ontological orientation toward cinema's eternal and unending presence and present tense – it's present absence. See Christian Metz, 'Part 1: The Imaginary Signifier' and 'Part III: The Fiction Film and its Spectator: a Metapsychological Study' in The Imaginary Signifier: Psychoanalysis and the Cinema (London: Macmillan, 1982a), 1-88 and 99-148. Note also that there is more than an echo in the Metzian notion of cinema as present-absence in Bazin's overstated assertion of the two terms in his account of photography: 'All the arts are based on the presence of man, only photography derives an advantage from his absence': Bazin, 'Ontology', 7. For an interesting discussion of the parallel effects of the photograph and cinema according to Barthes and Bazin respectively, see Chapter 3, 'The index and the moving image: Life and Death in Photography' in Laura Mulvey, Death 24x a Second: Stillness and the Moving Image (London: Reaktion, 2006), 54-66. ⁵³ All quotations from Noël Burch, 'Narrative/Diegesis — Thresholds, Limits', *Screen*, 23 no. 2, (1982), 16.

⁵⁴ Key works by Roland Barthes, Tzvetan Todorov and Umberto Eco appeared in a 1966 special edition of Communications, no. 8: Roland Barthes, 'Introduction à l'analyse structurale des récits', 1–27; Tzvetan Todorov, 'Les categories du récit littéraire', 132–138; and Umberto Eco, 'James Bond: une Combinatoire Narrative', 77–93. Todorov's key work, Poétique de la prose (Paris: Edition de seuils, 1971), was published in English as Poetics of Prose in 1977 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977) and Barthes' essay first appeared in Stephen Heath's anthology, Image-Music-Text (London: Fontana, 1977), three years after the English translation of S/Z (London: Farrar, Strauss and Genoux, 1974) and seven years after it was originally published in French (Paris: Editions de Seuil, 1970).

music, summarises it thus:

[N]arratology has never understood [the categories of diegetic and nondiegetic] as quasiontological categories, but as heuristic constructs in the reader's or viewer's mind, in a process of 'diegetisation'.⁵⁵

Narratology questions the simple opposition between the diegetic and the nondiegetic and discovers multiple operational levels – metadiegetic, juxtadiegetic, supradiegetic, homodiegetic, heterodiegetic, and peridiegetic, to name but a few. ⁵⁶ Genette's work was taken up by, amongst others, Christian Metz in film theory and his debt to narratology is evident when he speaks of the 'quilt of diegesis', a pillowy continuum that acknowledges the various levels of diegetic and nondiegetic operation. ⁵⁷ His study of enunciation is a response to more formalist approaches to film narratology by David Bordwell and Francesco Casetti. ⁵⁸ Whatever their theoretical inclinations, Genette is notably absent in Bordwell's study, as he is in Casetti's related study, *Inside the Gaze*, though it is difficult to imagine that either of these studies could have

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Genette developed his theories in *Figures I* (Paris: Editions de Seuil, 1966), *Figures II* (Paris: Editions de Seuil, 1969) and particularly *Figures III* (Paris: Editions de Seuil, 1972). A summation of the work was made available as *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980).

⁵⁵ Guido Heldt, 'Film-Music Theory' in *The Cambridge Companion to Film Music*, eds. Mervyn Cooke and Fiona Ford (Cambridge: CUP, 2016), 112.

⁵⁶ Genette generated several neologisms to describe these various levels. The intradiegetic, for example, refers to a first-person narrative and the extradiegetic to third-person narrative. The latter is further distinguished between the intradiegetic homodiegetic – meaning a narrative in which the character was part of the diegesis – and the heterodiegetic, where they stood outside (and the similarity to the original Platonic distinction between diegesis and mimesis is obvious). Further terms followed such as the metadiegetic, which described embedded narratives, i.e. separate stories told by characters within a story. In film studies, this topology was further elaborated with notions of the peridiegetic and the juxtadiegetic by Metz, and the supradiegetic by Altman. See Christian Metz, *Impersonal Enunciation, or the Place of Film,* trans. Cormac Deane (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), 41. Metz originally proposed some of the terms in an earlier article. See Christian Metz, 1987, 'L'énonciation impersonelle, ou le site de film: En marge de travaux récents sur l'énonciation au cinéma', *Vertigo* 1, (1987), 13–34. For Rick Altman's proposal of the supra-diegetic see Rick Altman, *The Hollywood Film Musical* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 70.

⁵⁷ Metz, *Impersonal*, 37.

⁵⁸ Bordwell's debt to Russian Formalism is quite explicit, his initial typology of *sjuzhet* and *fabula* based on Shklovsky's model, to which he adds a notion of film style. See Bordwell, *Narration*, and Francesco Casetti, *Inside the Gaze: The Fiction Film and Its Spectator* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998).

been written before Genette. Bordwell, Casetti and Metz all recognise and accept that the diegesis is the *experienced* result of narration, the levels of which point to the potential theoretical impasse of a simplistic opposition between the diegesis and the nondiegetic.

So why does this conception still have such hold, and why it is it that, by extension, the notion of the 'fantastical gap' between the two should have such resonance in film-sound studies some forty years after narratology had problematised the use of the terms?

Part of the problem must reside in the convincing use of the terms diegesis, diegetic and nondiegetic as descriptive noun and qualifying adjectives in film analysis. This is particularly obvious in their apposite and effective deployment within sound studies. Significantly, the first appearance of the term diegetic in David Bordwell and Kristin Thompson's film-studies primer, *Film Art*, is in the section on sound.⁵⁹ A later discussion is spread across eight pages where the authors break down diegetic sound into internal and external, these sub-categories relating to the thoughts of a character heard on the soundtrack or those of a voice-over commenting upon the dramatic situation.⁶⁰ In other words, it is in the context of sound that the authors choose to define diegesis. I would argue that this is because the conceptual challenge of diegetic and nondiegetic sound is not as great as the conceptual challenge of diegetic and nondiegetic images. It is easy, after all, to say what diegetic sound is: it is sound whose source is within the fictional world, and, by similar token, nondiegetic sound is sound of which the characters cannot be aware, whose sound source exists outside the diegesis.

The co-presence of the characters with narrative events, though, underlies the most common definitions of diegetic and nondiegetic sound, i.e. sound witnessed or otherwise by the

⁵⁹ 'Sound issuing from the story space (what we shall later call "diegetic" sound)' Bordwell and Thompson, *Film Art*,

⁶⁰ Ibid, 199–207 and, specifically about voice-over, 201.

characters. And this, I believe, is where the misunderstanding arises. Nondiegetic music will never be witnessed by the characters because it comes from an entirely different enunciative space, from a world 'after' or alongside the events, perhaps supportive of the scene's emotional content but beyond the grasp of the characters within the scene. Hence laughter when this assumption is broken in comedy (see below). Of course, characters may not actually hear diegetic music or even acknowledge it, though more often or not they do; a record playing in an empty room is still diegetic music. Narrative films often fret about diegetic noise, tracking it down in numerous horror movies where people go in search for the heard bump in the night, or having characters (redundantly) interact with the source of diegetic sound – turning the volume down on a radio, lifting the needle from the record. It is the potential for sound to be witnessed that designates it as diegetic, not the actual witnessing.

Recasting these points in a consideration of the camera, we discover the same paradigm. In narrative film the camera is a nondiegetic element, placed beyond the threshold of the character's (and actor's) perception and therefore not witnessed by them. But it is not this lack of coexistence that renders the camera nondiegetic; it is that, in the regime of the classical narrative film, the camera is *assumed to be absent*. One recalls here David Raksin's relayed response to Alfred Hitchcock when the director, who intended to have no score for *Lifeboat* on the basis that they audience would wonder how an orchestra came to be in the middle of the ocean, countered by asking how a camera might come to be there.⁶¹

But what would the nondiegetic shot be? Examples that spring to mind come from the realm of non-narrative cinema – reference to the 'real world' outside of the cinema, such as in

⁶¹ Cited in Robynn J. Stilwell, 'The Fantastical Gap between Diegetic and Non-diegetic', in *Beyond the Soundtrack* ed. Daniel Goldmark, Lawrence Kramer, and Richard Leppert (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 188.

Brechtian cinema where the here-and-now of social reality deliberately reminds the spectator of narrative cinema's illusionism and, with it, the spectre of false consciousness. A related example of the nondiegetic shot would be that of an image used as a metaphor. Consider, for example, the shot of the cow being slaughtered in Strike (S.M. Eisenstein, 1925). Here the image is linked to the diegesis only as an analogy with the cruel treatment of the workers and as such is related to the diegesis only rhetorically. Bordwell and Thompson describe this as a 'nondiegetic insert' and cite in the same context a missile being launched in *Deep Throat* (Gerard Damiano, 1972) to signify an orgasm, and the clucking of hens in Fury (Fritz Lang, 1936) to parody gossiping housewives. 62 In all these instances, while the characters do not actually inhabit the same physical and temporal space, one can imagine that they yet might. The workers may become aware of the slaughter of the cow, might later in the film even find themselves in the abattoir, in which case the nondiegetic shot would retroactively be figured as proleptic, a kind of flash-forward. So, whilst the main link between the metaphorical shot and the diegesis that it amplifies is rhetorical, it is still potentially an extension of that same diegesis, coterminous with it. The seemingly 'purely' nondiegetic insert is shaded by diegetic inference.

Optical effects, predicated on the materiality of film itself which, by definition, has no place inside the diegesis, are however truly nondiegetic. And together with such effects must be counted filmic elements such as the cut and the movement of the camera is as it tracks or pans – cinematic codes to use the Metzian term. Such codes are constantly present in narrative cinema though the regime of presentation works to deny their existence. These instances are nondiegetic intrusions that the system of invisible editing strives to deny, whereas the prior metaphoric

⁶² Bordwell and Thompson, Film Art, 17.

⁶³ Metz, Film Language, passim.

examples rely on the manifest status of (potential) nondiegeticity to make their point.

I labour the point about nondiegetic inserts because it relates to the question of the intertitle, a feature of silent cinema and of *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc*. Traditionally, intertitles are white writing on dark backgrounds and, as graphic intrusions, belong on the side of the nondiegetic. They also, though, illustrate and amplify the profilmic event and thereby participate in the diegetic effect, literally providing the words which otherwise remain unrealised. In a novel, dialogue would be considered diegetic (almost as diegetic as it gets – words from the characters' mouths seemingly unmediated by a narrator and bracketed as such by parentheses), though their graphic form and the participatory act that is demanded of the spectator in silent cinema (the reading the lines which acknowledges the fictionality of the fiction rather than the given-ness of the photographic image and its diegetic effect) place intertitles on the side of the nondiegetic.

It is clear, then, that the simple opposition of diegetic and nondiegetic, already questioned by narratology, is also difficult to sustain in practice at both the level of the image and of sound. Film-music studies has been more aware of this uncertainty and prepared to admit it than (formalist) image studies, perhaps because sound itself is so ambivalent. Claudia Gorbman might have outlined only three levels in *Unheard Melodies* – the diegetic, the nondiegetic and the metadiegetic – but she was quick to assert that 'the soundtrack takes many more liberties with the diegesis than does the image track'.⁶⁴

The fantastical gap

The previous section argued that the fixed categories of the diegetic and the nondiegetic have

⁶⁴ Gorbman, *Unheard*, 22. The same sentence first appears in Claudia Gorbman, 'Narrative Film Music', *Yale French Studies* 60 (1980), 196. The discussion of the three levels can be found Gorbman, *Unheard*, 20–26.

proven to be idealised and illusory in practice, and that the reality of their activity is a broad operational realm. The 'fantastical gap' outlines this same problematic though specifically with reference to music and denotes a correspondingly ambiguous zone of musical practice between the initial fixed theoretical distinctions of the diegetic and nondiegetic.

It is important to state at the outset that there was nothing new about the fantastical gap when it was formulated by Robynn Stilwell and James Buhler, then presented in an article by Stilwell in 2007, nor, indeed, did Stilwell make that claim. Michel Chion had already recognised how 'music enjoys the status of being a little freer of barriers or time and space than the other sound and visual elements,' describing this ontological property as a *passe muraille*, and Gorbman had noted 'the flexibility that music enjoys with respect to the film's diegesis'. Gorbman provided specific examples, such as Fellini's 'blur[ring] the line between the diegetic and the nondiegetic', and 'the strong Gallic tradition of exploiting the diegetic ambiguity inherent in film music'. She even cited the same sequence in *King Kong* that Stilwell did some twenty years later. Chion's work is peppered with similar examples; his work on sound frequently illustrates the nuance of sonic operations in cinema.

What Stilwell's article did was to focus film-music studies on 'the geography of the soundscape' and locate 'a gap in our understanding, a place of destabilization and ambiguity'. ⁶⁷

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⁶⁵ Ibid, 22 and Chion, *Audio-Vision*, 81: 'Another way to put this is that music is cinema's *passe-muraille* [passer-through-walls], capable of instantly communication with the other elements of the action. For example, it can accompany from the nondiegetic realm a character who is onscreen. Music can swing over from the pit to screen at a moment's notice, without in the least throwing into question the integrity of the diegesis, as a voice over intervening in the action would. No other auditory element can claim this privilege.'

⁶⁶ All quotations from Gorbman, *Unheard*, 20.

⁶⁷ 'The Geography of the Soundscape' is a sub-heading on page 187 and the second quote is from Stilwell, 'Gap', 186. The literature generated by 'The Fantastical Gap' includes: Guido Heldt, *Music and levels of narration in film: steps across the border* (Chicago: Chicago of University Press, 2013); Jeff Smith, 'Bridging the Gap: Reconsidering the Border between Diegetic and Nondiegetic Music', *Music and the Moving Image* 2, no. 1 (2009), http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5406/ musimoviimag.2.1.0001; David Neumeyer, 'Diegetic/Nondiegetic: A Theoretical Model', 2, no. 1 (2009), https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5406/musimoviimag.2.1.0026 (all accessed 15

It might, though, justifiably be asked if the ambiguity of the space between the diegetic and the nondiegetic promotes a parallel crisis in theory. For Chion and Gorbman, for example, this 'place of destabilization and ambiguity' is merely a defining feature of sound within the classical regime of narrative cinema; Heldt further argues that any theoretical cul-de-sac derives from a misconception of diegesis and the nondiegetic as 'quasi-ontological categories'.⁶⁸

The concept certainly has its place in film-music theory and is of value in the classroom. Stilwell notes how first-year students respond enthusiastically when they grasp the distinction between the diegetic and nondiegetic, and the 'gap' here stands as a refinement of that distinction, providing students the egalitarian and fairly pleasant task of rummaging through their favourite movie moments for examples.

Stilwell's analyses incline to the phenomenological, describing the experience of the spectator rather than analysing diegetic construction. Her examples of the conflation of diegetic and nondiegetic music include scenes from *King Kong* (Merian C. Cooper and Ernest B. Schoedsack, 1933) and from *The Winter Guest* (Alan Rickman, 1997).⁶⁹ In the former, the sound of diegetic drums on Skull Island merges with nondiegetic music, blurring the discrete sources: in the case of the latter, piano music that has been figured throughout the film as nondiegetic is retroactively revealed to have been diegetic. Stilwell stresses 'the destabilizing effect of *experiencing* the shift of perception' in the latter example, describing it as 'startling'.⁷⁰ But is it so startling'. The use of music is certainly inconsistent and illogical, but then a great deal of narrative

December 2017); Ben Winters, 'The Non-Diegetic Fallacy: Film, Music, and Narrative Space', 'The Non-Diegetic Fallacy: Film, Music, and Narrative Space', *Music & Letters* 91, no. 2 (2010).

⁶⁸ See footnote 19.

⁶⁹ Gorbman is intrigued by the appearance of the technical apparatus of the silent-movie camera in the scene and the absence of any sound recorded. See Gorbman, *Unheard*, 74–5, while Stilwell focuses on the apparent shift from nondiegetic to diegetic music in the same scene. Stilwell. 'Gap', 189.

⁷⁰ Stilwell, 'Gap', 190.

cinema crumbles on close examination. Why are characters suicidally drawn to danger? Simply because the plot requires it (Hitchcock's McGuffin reminds us of the flimsiness of plot mechanics). Similarly, how do we account for the presence of camera and music (Raksin, Hitchcock and *Lifeboat* again)? These are all part and parcel of cinematic and narrative convention, part of a more global cinematic contract. I would argue that moments such as those Stilwell cites, i.e. when we cross and become aware of the fantastical gap, are akin to other knowing gestures in narrative cinema when the narrative veil is lifted for a moment to acknowledge a narrating hand before restoring the spectator to the safe plenitude of the viewing (and listening) experience.

The two narrative genres where such moments are most evident are horror and comedy, genres whose identity is defined by the response that they endeavour to provoke – fear and laughter respectively – and which share the same structure of set-up and release. Such structure is evinced in the horror film in suspense sequences, usually when a character is being followed or whose immediate search for something or someone puts them in imminent danger. Characters in such situations are often accompanied by foreboding nondiegetic music with familiar tropes such as high, shrill strings, tinkling piano or ominous pedal notes. The release of tension comes when a sudden crashing musical 'stinger' coincides either with an attack or a reversal of such expectation, when the implied danger turns out to be something quite innocent. While there is no confusion of diegetic and nondiegetic sources, the music is 'on the side of' narration, knowing more than the characters and signalling that awareness to the spectator.

Two Mel Brooks gags show how the same structure operates in film comedy. In Blazing

⁷¹ The commonality of the provoked response often comes together in exploitation movies where shock gives way to nervous – or more knowing – laughter.

Saddles, Cleavon Little rides across the desert to the sound of (presumed) nondiegetic music only for the source to be revealed as the full Count Basie Orchestra marooned in the desert playing to nobody but themselves. In High Anxiety, Mel Brooks' limo driver announces that a recent death was the result of 'foul play'. We hear agitated orchestral music which we assume to be nondiegetic; but seemingly Brooks hears it too. He searches for the source, and the car is overtaken by players of the Los Angeles Symphony Orchestra on a tour bus. Here the reversal of the nondiegetic/diegetic provokes the release of laughter. In both cases, though, there is recognition and an acceptance of the diegetic/nondiegetic divide, something that, as Guido Heldt points out, is an essential property of film music that has been made more of than is necessary:

Part of the problem some film musicologists have with the diegetic/nondiegetic distinction may lie in basic features of film music. One such feature is that music is usually relatively peripheral and narratively flexible, often appearing on both sides of the diegetic/nondiegetic divide...[Music] can slip through the structure and show its constructed character from a position marginal enough not to topple the entire edifice.⁷²

Comedy and horror exploit Chion's *passe muraille* whilst other genres contain and contextualise it. The knowing moments of textual activity can be explained by metalepsis, a concept introduced by Genette in *Narrative Discourse* and adopted by Heldt in his study of music and narration. Genette's brief discussion of metalepsis embraces several examples which are commonly linked by confusions between the world of the narrative and the act of narrating, all of which are characterised by a 'taking hold of (telling) by changing level'.⁷³ Metalepsis affords the reader a glimpse of the narrating process. This may be overt, as when Diderot addresses the

⁷² Heldt, Music and levels, 56.

⁷³ Ibid, footnote 51, 235.

reader: 'If it gives you pleasure, *let us set* the peasant girl back in the sale behind her escort, *let us let* them go and *let us come back* to our two travellers'.⁷⁴ To this Genette adds more 'ordinary and innocent ... play[s] on the double temporality of the story' as when the narrator implies that the telling of the story is contemporaneous with events – 'Let us leave our hero hanging by his fingertips and consider for a moment what has brought him here' (my example). He summarises their commonality thus:

All these games, by the intensity of their effects, demonstrate the importance of the boundary they tax their ingenuity to overstep, in defiance of verisimilitude – a boundary *that is precisely the narrating (or the performance) itself*: a shifting but sacred frontier between two worlds, the world in which one tells, the world of which one tells.⁷⁵

When music crosses the boundary between the diegetic and the nondiegetic – when we cross Genette's 'sacred frontier' or are made aware of Stilwell's 'fantastical gap' – the operation of narration is revealed and the fictional pretence suspended. But in the case of horror and comedy, this is part of generic convention – fulfilled, justified and ultimately restored by laughter in the case of comedy and by fright in the case of horror. Genette too is aware of this generic inclination of metalepsis, noting that 'it produces an effect of strangeness that is either comical ... or fantastic'. We are dealing, then, not so much with an ontological impossibility as with a rhetorical ploy, something covered by the notion of 'play':

Rhetorical metalepsis opens a small window that allows a quick glance across levels, but the window closes after a few sentences, and the operation ends up reasserting the existence of the boundaries.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Genette, Narrative, 234.

⁷⁵ Ibid, 236.

⁷⁶ Ibid, 235.

⁷⁷ Marie-Laure Ryan, *Avatars of Story* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2006), 207.

Substitute the word 'moment' for 'few sentences' and we have a description of metalepsis in cinema. The various transgressions I have described are less disturbing than instances of textual games, to use Genette's word, jokey in some instances, challenging in others. And one of the paradoxical effects is that, in challenging the coherence of the diegesis, they confirm and bolster it, teasing us only to reassert its existence.

Silent cinema and the fantastical gap

Thus far I have only considered sound cinema, deliberately so, in part because the notion of the fantastical gap has only been explored in that context. Stilwell, however, does teasingly raise the specific ontology of live musical performance and silent cinema in her article:

silent cinema in particular highlights the divergent existence of black-and-white two-dimensional images, and living, breathing, blowing, bowing musicians in the theater. The two may converge, for instance, in a ballroom scene, where the live music is pretending to be that of the musicians seen or presumed on screen, but the physical separation is plain to anyone in the audience.⁷⁸

Though Stilwell doesn't pursue it, the observation identifies a profound ontological distinction between cinema music and film music, the former conceived as 'an event' with live music. This was a key part of the movie-going experience in the era of silent cinema: musical entertainment prefaced the main event in the form of songs, overtures and semi-staged musical illustrations, often linked thematically to the film.⁷⁹ Musicians were central to the film event and

⁷⁸ Stilwell, 'Gap', 188.

⁷⁹ Rick Altman describes how a typical evening at the movies in the 1920s consisted of a musical overture, a newsreel of 'scenic', this a travelogue of some kind, a music novelty act, a vocal solo, a two-reel comedy, and only then the feature, which was often followed by an organ solo. See Altman, Silent Film Sound, 'The Full Program', 379-88. See also Gillian B. Anderson's description of musical practice in deluxe theaters: 'The Presentation of Silent Films, or, Music as Anaesthesia' in *The Journal of Musicology* 5, no. 2 (1987), esp. 263–5.

co-extensive with it, present in the same space and time as the audience. This experience of staged musical events brings cinema music much closer to the social and communal context of the classical-music concert. Christopher Small's account of the 'ceremonies of music' describe well the formalities and social organisation of such events, and the famed glittering movie palaces of the era must have offered a similar experience to filmgoers in the 1920s. ⁸⁰

Ernö Rapée, the musical director of the deluxe musical director of the Capitol Theatre in New York City, advocates the following arrangement of orchestra and conductor in the movie theatre:

For a concert orchestra to be most effective it is essential that your audience see every member and not only their heads but also the upper part of their bodies. The average theatre-goer will want to watch the mere mechanics of the playing quite as much as to listen to the results of the musicians' endeavours. Just how high you can place your orchestra will depend upon the height of the stage opening, but it should under no condition be so high as to interfere with the vision of your audience while the picture is on. The same holds true for the placing of the leader who in very many instances spoils the sale of several seats directly behind him as he is placed right in the direct line of their vision. Where it is financially possible I would advise the installation of a hydraulic pit which would elevate the musicians above the audience during the overture and would lower them sufficiently during the picture or stage numbers to permit unobstructed vision.⁸¹

Though Rapée may be talking about overtures and other pre-film musical entertainments, it is significant that the hydraulic device he envisages does not remove the performers from sight during the film. He is thus intent on the visibility of performance in musical accompaniment of silent film. And such a situation obtains today in the concert

 ⁸⁰ See Christopher Small, Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1998), esp. Chapters 4 and 5, 'A separate world' and 'A humble bow', 64–74 and 75–86 respectively.
 81 Ernö Rapée, Encyclopedia of Music for Pictures (New York: Belmont, 1925; repr., New York: Arno Press, 1970), 23.

presentations of sound films, where the orchestra is placed in front of the screen on a concert stage. (*Voices Appeared* followed this example with the performers ranged immediately beneath the screen when space permitted, or off to one side.)

This visibility of the performers conforms to what Philip Auslander describes as the 'traditionalist' view of the relationship between audience and musician. ⁸² To a degree, the livemusic audience requires to see the 'proof' of sound, both in terms of how it is produced and also in terms of an ethics of commitment to performance. Silent cinema draws upon this common audiovisual economy while sound cinema, by contrast, other than figuring it only diegetically (or even supradiegetically, in the sense of 'heightened' reality), denies musical performance. The performance space is thus separate from the film *and* the audience. There is a sense, then, of a double diegesis, that of the film and that of the performing musicians, the latter linked with the events on the screen but not a part of them. Nor is it entirely part of the world that the audience occupies, isolated as an area of work, only acknowledging its audience when the bows are taken.

The conductor's physical attitude is different to that of the players. S/he will be facing the screen, perhaps with some technology to aid synchronisation.⁸³ The conductor, like the spectator, watches the film but also parses it through an act of musical interpretation, a relay between audience and film. The physical set-up invites the audience to be aware of the process while watching the film, quite different from the concealed musical practice of sound cinema or those of transitional practices such as Vitaphone.

⁸² See Philip Auslander, 'Sound and Vision: the Audio-visual Economy of Musical Performance', in *The Oxford Handbook of New Audiovisual Aesthetics*, ed. John Richardson, Claudia Gorbman and Carol Vernallis, (Oxford: OUP, 2013), 605.

⁸³ There were several such devices, from a device that provided a read out of footage to more complicated synchronising machines like the 'music-chronometer'. See Fiona Ford, 'The Film Music of Edmund Meisel', (PhD diss., University of Nottingham, 2011),145–6.

All of this creates a paradox in cinema music: the performers represent diegetically, and underscore nondiegetically, the fictional world that the film depicts; but they also partake in the collective social process of observing the flickering onscreen images. Other factors underline the separation of performer from audience and film: the paratexts that inform the audience about the performers; the conventions of concert performance which determine how they enter and exit; the acoustic properties of live rather than recorded sound; and the lack of technical manipulation of sounds.

Such context has important consequences for the metapsychology of the spectator, another concept that has really only been theorised in relation to sound cinema. The social context of the performance environment makes it difficult to sustain the notion of individual spectatorship that prevails in models of Western sound cinema. Spectatorship in sound cinema is premised on a darkened room and an oneiric state together with a specific (ideological) mode of address. This theorises a single, isolated subject.⁸⁴ Against that, the spectator of musical event upholds the idea of the social organisation of an audience. We might therefore expand Larsen's initial ontological distinction between cinema music and film music to include a conception of the *audience* in silent cinema and the *spectator* in sound cinema. Such realization, incidentally, replaces the connoted visual orientation of the term spectator about which film-music studies still frets, yet nevertheless uses freely, with a word that references the acoustic dimension.

There is a further specific consequence of the use of live rather than recorded music. The premise of diegetic music is, as I argued earlier, based on a learned convention. In the case of diegetic music in the sound film, all that is required to enable comprehension is reference to a sound source, e.g. record player, radio, band, etc. Note, though, that such diegetic specification is

⁸⁴ See Metz, 'Part III: The Fiction Film'.

not necessarily reliant upon a *visible* sound source; acoustic spatialization and sonic manipulation play a significant role in the denotation of diegetic sound – we never hear tinny nondiegetic music – and simple logic also plays its part (if we hear a concert orchestra over an exterior shot of small house we do not expect to find the orchestra inside). What this means is that the default setting of music in sound cinema is nondiegetic *unless otherwise indicated*. This is essentially Raksin's point about *Lifeboat*: the audience will not be unsettled by the presence of nondiegetic music because it is part of the audio-visual contract. It also explains the comic effect of a reveal in the Mel Brooks examples; we assume that music is nondiegetic until it is proved otherwise.

In silent cinema there is, though, little sonic manipulation or spatialization of musical accompaniment. 85 What the orchestra plays the audience hears without any technological mediation or alteration of acoustic perspective. A visual assertion of separate sources obtains: the (assumed) visual source *and* the actual musicians. Many of the codes that denote music as diegetic are thus missing in silent cinema, which is enough to undermine the very illusion of diegetic music. To use Stilwell's example of the dance orchestra, all the musicians in the theatre can hope to do is provide a representation of a representation: an analogue not a simulacrum. In Peircean terms, diegetic music in silent cinema is less an icon (where physical resemblance prevails) than a symbol (i.e. reliant on convention for its meaning). Or, to put it more forcefully: there is no diegetic music in silent cinema.

Here we touch on Chion's line that 'there is no soundtrack' (original emphasis). 86 He argues that the aggregation of sounds that we commonly designate the soundtrack is not a

⁸⁵ An exception would be the screenings in Belfast of *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* (Rex Ingram, 1921) where trumpets were placed at the back of the hall to create an echo effect. See Mervyn Cooke, *A History of Film Music*, (Cambridge: CUP: 2008), 19.

⁸⁶ Chion, *Audio-Vision*, 39–40 and Michel Chion, *The Voice in Cinema* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 3.

coherent entity even if we commonly deal with it as such. Only when combined with the image track do sounds receive their full meaning. The image thus explains sounds. In silent cinema there is no sound, by definition, or what sound there is exists outside of the filmic event, either in the form of music or distracting noises from fellow spectators. A further important consequence emerges: not only is diegetic music ontologically challenged in silent cinema; nondiegetic music is similarly constrained. Music in silent cinema is thus ineluctably commentative, outside the event looking in at it alongside the spectator. Again, it is worth stressing that this is not a failure of silent cinema or a demonstration of filmic or musical primitivism, but merely an ontological property of cinema music. Silent cinema advances a diegesis that cannot avail itself of the standard tripartite construction of sound cinema – speech, sound effects and music. We do not hear the actors when they speak, nor do we hear the sound of a car revving. Nor can music piggyback on spectatorial assumption of a covalent sonic world; it emerges from a different space and is only loosely tied to the diegesis and the nondiegetic realm.

In *Voices Appeared*, several cues strove to be diegetic. Musically, these are limited to scenes in which the liturgy is referenced or celebrated. Jeanne's recitation in Latin of her *Pater noster* is lip-synced by the countertenor voice and two separate stagings of the Eucharist received distinctly diegetic gestures. Both religious services begin with processions, which are accompanied by plainchant. During the first mass, in Jeanne's cell, an *Agnus Dei* is heard as the host is held temptingly before her, this her reward if she signs the abjuration. When she refuses, Mass is abruptly ended by a *Deo gracias* ('Thanks be to God'), the response to *Ite, missa est* ('Go, the dismissal is made'). When, later, Jeanne is finally granted communion after signing the

⁸⁷ It is easy to lip-read the first few words, *Pater noster*, *qui es in coelis*, and the final *Amen*, though the second phrase is certainly not *sanctificetur nomen tuum*.

abjuration, a priest blesses the congregation and again elevates the host, both standard parts of the drama of Eucharist, here illustrated by solemn communion tones and responses. A different *Agnus Dei* is now heard, the repeated liturgical form, underlining the narrative rhyme.

But, for all the careful lip-syncing of Jeanne's *Pater noster* and the careful synchronisation of the shot of the procession with the first note of the plainchant antiphon *Loquebantur variis linguis*, diegetic music is consistently undermined by the presence of the performers in the same physical space as the audience. Jeanne does not sing her *Pater noster* – a singer does – and nor do the choirboys we see in the film sing the plainchant in procession. The illusion of diegetic sound cannot be achieved because the ontology of cinema music does not allow it.

A subliminal awareness of this problem informed two very obvious and unmissable diegetic intimations in *Voices Appeared*, one of Cauchon shushing his fellow priests and one of d'Estivet spitting on Jeanne. Both are provided with obvious correlates – a shush and the sound of spitting – the only instance in the film of sound effects rather than vocal performance. These moments sometimes induce nervous laughter in much the same way that laughter emerges in horror cinema, the laughter of identifying the process and sharing an acknowledgement of it. It is more than simply the audience finding the gesture inappropriate; it is a moment where diegetic illusionism fails. The sounds, though, serve a different purpose: they act as a signal that subsequent music *aims to fulfil a diegetic function*. They are thus a signal to the spectator that a projective effort is required of them, and a plea for a far more willing suspension of disbelief than that of sound cinema.

The ontological limitations of cinema music in particular means that the polarities of the diegetic and nondiegetic music between which the fantastical gap ranges cannot obtain; the fantastical gap does not exist in silent cinema. However, the 'startling' effect of the gap is

recovered by another means and in reverse: rather than music revealing the mechanics of narration, the narrated events reveal the construction itself of diegetic and nondiegetic music in silent cinema.

Cinema music and address

The previous section proposed a specific ontology of cinema music premised on the relationships between musical performers, the audience and the film text. I would like to extend this consideration to particularly salient features of narrative address in silent film.

Earlier, I referenced a model of narrative cinema that underpins Gorbman's study of film music. That model draws implicitly on a theory of narrative sound cinema that I provisionally described as a 'closed' text. The main characteristic of that system is the effacement of the construction of the narrative, a denial of its production. Metz's equation of Benveniste's distinction between two modes of narrative address, *histoire* and *discours*, and his subsequent alliance of this distinction with two equivalent modes of voyeurism in cinema is relevant here.⁸⁸ *Histoire* describes the seemingly impersonal presentation of narrative where the narrative source is hidden. In written fiction this is manifest in third-person narration and, in the French language, in the use of the past historic tense. Benveniste contrasts this with *discours*, a mode of address where the narrator is obviously present, the equivalent linguistic markers being deictics (words such as 'I', 'you', 'here' and 'now', dependent for their meaning on the moment of their

⁸⁸ Christian Metz, 'Story/Discourse: A Note on Two Kinds of Voyeurisms' in *The Imaginary Signifier: Psychoanalysis and the Cinema*, trans. Alfred Guzzetti (London: Macmillan, 1982).

speaking) and the present tense.⁸⁹ Histoire denies its operation: discours acknowledges it.

Metz's extension of these two terms to the scopic regime in cinema equates the former with voyeurism and the latter with exhibitionism. *Histoire*, as a hidden mode of address, encourages a secretive engagement with the film text, 'looked at' but seemingly unaware of the spectator. *Discours*, by contrast, acknowledges the spectator's observation of the film text and thereby manifests an exhibitionist admission. ⁹⁰

These distinctions are not absolute or mutually exclusive – Metz is arguing for the coexistence of both regimes in narrative cinema – but I would propose that silent cinema is a more
openly discursive mode of presentation than sound cinema, which inclines more to the historical.
Though Metz does not himself argue this, it is implicit in various theatrical and communal
metaphors that pepper his brief article. *Discours* is a 'furtive feast' while *histoire* is a 'festive feast'.
An extended paragraph equates *discours* with theatre itself:

what [the exhibitionist film] exhibits is not exactly the exhibited object but, via the object, the exhibition itself ... This is a different economic regime, and a different turning of desire: not that of the fiction film but the one which classical theatre sometimes comes close to, when actor and spectator are in each other's presence, when the playing (of the actor, and the audience) is also a distribution of roles ... in a game, an active complicity which works both ways, a ceremony which is always partly civic, involving more than the private individual: a festival. ⁹¹

There are two things to note immediately: firstly, how the notion of play and games (which I noted earlier about horror and comedy) figure here as an 'active complicity' between

⁸⁹ The key essays here are Emile Benveniste, 'Les relations de temps dans le verbe française' and 'De la subjéctivité dans le langage' in *Problèmes de linguistique générale, tome 1* (Paris: Gallimard, 1966), 237–250 and 258–266 respectively; and 'L'appareil formel de l'énonciation', in Emile Benveniste, *Problèmes de linguistique générale, tome 2* (Paris: Gallimard, 1974), 79–90.

⁹⁰ Warren Buckland, The Cognitive Semiotics of Film (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), 52.

⁹¹ Shorter quotations from Christian Metz, 'Story/Discourse', 96, and longer quotation, ibid, 94.

film and spectator; and, secondly, that theatrical metaphors echo the performance-based theatricality of the silent-film event.

Other formal features, such as the 'film funner', further situate silent cinema on the side of exhibitionism/discours. The film funner was a musician who made specific reference to the lyrics of a popular song to create a secondary joke. Daniel Goldmark cites the case of a film funner accompanying 'a dramatic scene where burglars are craftily entering the heroine's home with the strains of the romantic love-song, "Meet Me in the Shadows". 92 Music here is neither diegetic nor nondiegetic because it seeks no convergence with the fictional events. Rather it treats the film as the butt of a shared joke between audience and musician. The song here is an aside, a nod to the shared alliance of the performer and the audience who are watching the film together. This is similar in structure and effect to the knowing disruptions noted above in relation to horror films and comedies, and once more it points to a shared referential space occupied by musician and audience, which separates them from the diegesis, revealing the diegesis for what it is: an artificial construct. When similar moments occur in sound film, 'When You Wish Upon A Star' quoted in John Williams' score for Close Encounters of the Third Kind (Stephen Spielberg, 1977), for example, the popular song is motivated and thereby diegetically contained; Neary tries to take his children to see Pinocchio earlier in the film and leaving with the aliens is the fulfilment of his wish. The closest we come to the film funner's jokey references are found in Hitchcock's films. In Rear Window (Alfred Hitchcock, 1954), for example, the score of which features a great deal of diegetic song on the radio, we hear the popular song 'Lady Killer' (Livingston-Evans) when Detective Doyle presents apparently incontrovertible proof that

⁹² Daniel Goldmark, *Tunes for 'Toons: Music and the Hollywood Cartoon* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005) 15, quoting Charles Merrell Berg, *An Investigation for the Motive for and Realization of Music to Accompany the American Silent Film, 1986–1927*, (New York: Arno Press, 1976).

Thorwald could not have killed his wife. And in *North by Northwest* (Alfred Hitchcock, 1959) as Cary Grant crosses the lobby, the band is playing 'It's a most unusual day'. However, such winks to the audience can easily be explained as Hitchcockian hallmarks, similar to his cameo appearances, rather than a dialogue between musician and audience. Indeed, this points again to the ontological distinction between cinema music and film music: in the former the relationship of musician to audience is extrinsic whereas in film music the performers are part of the film text.

Intertitles operate in a similar way. They are intrinsic to the film, both materially and textually, though expository or explanatory intertitles adopt a metadiscursive position and thereby presume something of the same collective participation in narrative events.⁹³ These 'paths of address', as Metz calls them, range from basic and ultimately redundant commentary on events that the film already demonstrates - 'It is night', 'They were left alone' - to more overtly commentative material - 'Later. The grim reaping begins,' this from *The Birth of a Nation* (D.W. Griffith, 1915), where intertitles are further narratorially marked by the distinct 'DG' and 'Griffith' inscriptions. Further examples are metaleptic intertitles – the 'let us now' moments noted earlier – and, particularly in Soviet film of the 1920s, more generalised invitations to share the narrator's position, perhaps condemnation of imperialism or oppression, instructions such as 'Remember, proletarians!' in Strike (S. M. Eisenstein, 1924). Such signalling of shared reference is also found in the practice of identifying not just the character when they first appear, but also the actor playing them. Examples are found in Orphans of the Storm (D.W Griffith, 1921), Wings (William Wellman, 1927) and Robin Hood (Douglas Fairbanks, 1922), to name but a very small selection. And before 1917 such open admissions of narration were even more common:

⁹³ Metz's definition of metadiscursive in this context is 'a secondary discourse, commenting on the discourses that the images are conveying'. Metz, *Impersonal*, 47.

An expository title would name and describe the character and attach the actor's name: then a shot might show the character striking a pose in a non-diegetic setting (e.g. a theatre stage). After several characters were introduced this way, the fictional action would begin. After 1917, such signs of narration diminished.⁹⁴

Diminished but not lost. Kristin Thompson points to a fashion for the so-called 'literary intertitles' pioneered by Anita Loos. These were small jokes and witty asides that 'add[ed] point, verve and connection'. ⁹⁵ Certainly these intertitles are tied to the fictional world in a way that film-funning is not, but they share with that practice an awareness of the act of narration and, by extension, of a coherent and constructed diegesis, placing such intertitles outside it.

(Unsurprisingly the intertitle has been co-opted as a didactic tool by radical film-makers in the sound era, who have harnessed its potential to lay bare filmic construction.)⁹⁶

The intertitles of *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* accord with this model. Though almost all are dialogue, the opening and closing rolling titles directly address the spectator, informing them of the fate of the heroine and celebrating her life respectively. The opening of the film, too, is distinctly nondiegetic: shots of an anonymous hand turning over the pages of the records of the trial acknowledge the ensuing action as artifice. So, whilst *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* is, in the popular consciousness, avowedly naturalistic, it nevertheless contains elements of the more open regime of silent film.

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⁹⁴ Kristin Thompson, David Bordwell, and Janet Staiger, *The Classical Hollywood Cinema*, (London: Routledge, 1985), 27.

⁹⁵ Kristin Thompson, et al. *The Classical Hollywood Cinema*, 186. Also, 'Rather than trying to blend seamlessly into the film, Loos' intertitles were deliberately conspicuous, creating a distinctive narrative voice that broke the fourth wall. Such intertitles displayed what Kristin Thompson calls a "double functioning", performing an extra-diegetic role via their witty commentary on the action.' Katherine Nagels, "Those funny subtitles": Silent film Intertitles in Exhibition and Discourse', *Early Popular Visual Culture*, 10 no. 4 (2012), 271.

⁹⁶ 'In comparison to voice-off, intertitles involve a kind of effect of distanciation ... This why it is essentially in militant cinema that intertitles are utilized.' Pascal Bonitzer, 'The Silences of the Voice (*A propos* of *Mai 68* by Gaudi Lawaetz)', 'The Silences of the Voice (*A propos* of *Mai 68*)'. In *Narrative, Apparatus, Ideology* ed. Philip Rosen, trans. Gudi Lawaetz (New York: University of Columbia Press, 1986), 321–2.

Returning now to more general features of silent cinema, I would like to consider the use of existent musical material from the classical canon. Once more, and partially because of the problems inherent in studying a lost practice, i.e. music in silent cinema, it will be helpful to outline the operation of sound cinema first.

In general, film music strives not to acknowledge its presence (*unheard* melodies), and even if the composer is well known and part of the promised pleasure of the film (arguably this is the case for someone like John Williams in so far as his identity as is often marked as The Star Wars Composer, or The Indiana Jones Composer) music is secondary and effaced, its presence concealed. Pre-existent music, though, operates more like the film funner does in silent film: resisting integration.

[T]he excerpts of classical music compositions that replace the original film score no longer function purely as backing for key emotional situations, but rather exist as a kind of parallel emotional/aesthetic universe.⁹⁷

Michel Chion's reading of 2001: A Space Odyssey, perhaps the most famous example of the use of classical music in film, offers something similar in proposing that classical music there acts 'outside' of the film text. 98 Similarly, Gorbman's reading of Kubrick's use of classical music casts it as ironic, which argues for a rhetorical space of parallel enunciation and promotes the idea of music as a separate level outside of the film text, commenting upon it in much the same way that film funning does.

We find, then, in the use of pre-existent musical material in film music, something of the same commentative function I earlier argued characterised cinema music. Pre-existent music's

⁹⁷ Royal S. Brown, *Undertones and Overtones: Reading Film Music*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 239. His consideration of pre-existent music in film is set explicitly in a postmodernist perspective.

⁹⁸ Michel Chion, Kubrick's Cinematic Odyssey, (London: BFI, 2001), 90.

epistemological precedence situates it outside the film text, as an observer or commentator, as an alternative channel of address, thereby resisting the integration of the spectator into the fiction by music. Mike Cormack argues that such musical material, rather than promoting a fixed spectatorial position 'allows a greater range of audience interaction with the films themselves ... [and] [t]he experience of watching a film is enriched'. ⁹⁹ Arguments for polysemic plurality can certainly be sustained but it does not invalidate the formal operations I have outlined. Pre-existent music in narrative film threatens to rupture the fiction and various ways must be provided to bind the classical music cues back into the filmic experience. In the case of Kubrick the strategy becomes part of an authorial signature, placing his films, for all their commercial success, very much within the paradigm of the art or independent film at a time when the director was becoming a superstar. ¹⁰⁰ And in that same category of art/indie cinema come other auteurs who use classical music (Scorsese, Coppola, etc.) and a generation of directors who preceded them (Bresson, Pasolini, Visconti, Godard, etc.). In such cases, pre-existent classical music cues in sound cinema are bound back into the film text as part of the authorial image.

All of this stands very much in contrast to the use of classical music in silent cinema, where, contrary to the restrictions of sound cinema, classical music was a staple ingredient. An oft-repeated quote from Max Winkler, an early compiler of musical cues for use in silent cinema, makes the point:

We began to dismember the great masters. We began to murder the works of Beethoven, Mozart, Grieg, J. S. Bach, Verdi, Bizet, Tchaikovsky and Wagner – everything that wasn't protected by

⁹⁹ '[W]hat these accounts miss out is the ambiguity, and indeed, lack of fixed meaning in much non-vocal classical music, and how that ambiguity is increased'. Mike Cormack, 'The Pleasures of Ambiguity: using classical music in film' in In *Changing Tunes: The Use of Pre-existing Music in Film*, ed. Phil Powrie and Robynn Stilwell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 20.

¹⁰⁰ The obvious reference here is Joseph Gelmis, *The Film Director as Superstar* (New York: Doubleday, 1970), a book of interviews with film directors, amongst whom were Coppola, Kubrick and Polanski.

copyright from our pilfering.¹⁰¹

Such appropriation was not intended to bring to bear on the movies the cultural values that such music carried or even to enter into a dialogue with existent musical meaning; this was a pragmatic exercise in amassing musical material to produce an inventory of stock cues that offered immediate programmatic associations. 'Murder', to use Winkler's word, signifies the abandonment of *werktreue*. Tempi were dictated by the mood of the drama rather than according with the composer's instruction – Winkler describes how slowing down Meyerbeer's 'Coronation March' to 'a majestic pomposo [gave] proper background to the inhabitants of Sing Sing's deathhouse', for example. ¹⁰² The principal determinant here was not musical integrity but screen time: Winkler's music cue sheet for *The Magic Valley* specifies 90 seconds of Minuet in G by Beethoven rather than 40 bars. Sections were thus extracted from longer works and lengthened or shortened (he talks of adding beats of rest to Delibes' 'Pizzicato Polka'). *Werktreue* withers in the face of such pragmatism; cue-sheet collections are organised not by the (revered) name of the composer but by mood and affect so that 'great' composers stand shoulder-to-shoulder with 'lesser' composers.

Voices and ontology

The foregoing disquisition on the ontology of cinema music and film music would not be complete without some account of the performing forces of *Voices Appeared: a cappella* voices.

¹⁰¹ Quoted variously in Roy M. Prendergast, *A Neglected Art. A Critical Study of Music in Films* (New York: New York University Press, 1977), 9, and Max Winkler, 'The Origin of Film Music' in *A Hollywood Film Reader*, ed. Mervyn Cooke, (Oxford: OUP, 2010), 11.

¹⁰² All examples from Max Winkler, 'The Origin of Film Music' in Cooke, *Hollywood*, 5–13.

Chion defines cinema as vococentric. This designation is premised on the place of the human voice at the top of a hierarchy of sound, and it has invited theorisation of the diegetic speaking voice and the diegetic singing voice as the primary components of the soundtrack. The role of the nondiegetic voice, both speaking and singing, is rarely addressed and, in the case of nondiegetic singing voices, almost never. It is not my intention to explore this potentially fruitful area in detail here – it is, perhaps, deserving of an entire doctoral thesis of its own – but a few observations are in order.

While singers were commonly used in accompaniment and as part of the related pre- and post-feature entertainment in silent cinema, in sound cinema their use is often generically determined. Save for the musical, the most common genres where voices are heard are historical and Biblical epics, films about religious or supernatural subjects, horror films and, in recent years, big-budget films.

In the historical or Biblical epic, voices are used in a way that would sit oddly in other genres, functioning as a sort of choral army. Such is the case in John Barry's score for *The Lion in Winter* (Anthony Harvey, 1968) and James Horner's score for *Troy* (Wolfgang Petersen, 2004), which replaced the original, similarly chorus-heavy Gabriel Yared score. Comparable motivation applies to the offstage voices in Biblical dramas, where voices represent the spiritual realm.

Instances are the choral voices that enter when Mary Magdalene proclaims that Christ is arisen in *King of Kings* (Nicholas Ray, 1961) or the use of Handel's 'Hallelujah' chorus from *Messiah* in *The Greatest Story Ever Told* (George Stevens, 1965).

Similar evocations of the incorporeal presence of angels are found in films about religion

¹⁰³ See, in particular, David Neumeyer's recent study, *Meaning and Interpretation of Music in Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015).

or (Christian) redemption. The conclusion to *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (Victor Fleming, 1941), when Hyde is slain and Jekyll's physical form is restored, invites a setting of the words of Psalm 23 for SATB chorus by Franz Waxman. This is a case of what we might call a 'soft supernatural', something we also find in *Wuthering Heights* (William Wyler, 1939) and *The Song of Bernadette* (Henry King, 1943), both of which have scores by Alfred Newman with choral arrangements by Ken Darby. In *Wuthering Heights*, high female voices are heard early in the film to prefigure Cathy's calling from the moors, and at the film's conclusion when Cathy dies they rise to a top B to waft her upwards to heaven. In *The Song of Bernadette*, high female voices announce the appearance of the Virgin Mary to Bernadette. A similar design applies in melodramas like *Magnificent Obsession* (Douglas Sirk, 1954) where the undefined altruistic credo defined by the character of Randolph summons an orchestral and a wordless, choral rendition of Beethoven's setting of the 'Ode to Joy'.

The obverse of this, generically at least, is the 'hard' supernatural of the horror film.

Snarling and rumbling choral voices there often signify an absent monster or malevolent Other.

In *The Omen* (Richard Donner, 1976), for example, when Ambassador Thorn approaches

Damien's bedroom, we hear the chanted whispering of Jerry Goldsmith's satanic Mass ('Sanguis bibimus, corpus edimus' – 'we drink the blood, we eat the body'). The voices are silenced when

Thorn contains the family dog, signalled as the source of the threat. Voices return, though, when a new menace approaches in the form of Mrs Blaylock, prompting a nondiegetic shrieking cacophony. Supernatural danger can also be more subtly signalled, such as the child's voice

¹⁰⁴ The story of Bernadette Soubirous has obvious echoes to the life of Jeanne d'Arc. Both were French peasant girls who later became Saints, both experienced visions and voices, both were tried by church authorities. The film also adds a sympathetic Dean, an echo of Massieu.

singing a lullaby in *Poltergeist* (Tobe Hooper, 1982).¹⁰⁵

When choral sounds occur in big-budget franchise movies, they generally serve as a supplementary orchestral colour, doubling the existing orchestral parts, a signifier of production values and excess. The two main London-based choirs, London Voices and Metro Voices, have over the past twenty years, contributed to nearly all of the Marvel Studio films, as well as to the *Star Wars, Lord of the Rings* and *Harry Potter* series.

On some occasions, choirs may be heard singing specific words – Psalm 23 in *Dr. Jekyll* and Mr. Hyde, the Latin text of Goldsmith's satanic Mass for *The Omen*, the words 'Sancta Maria, Mater Dei' in *The Song of Bernadette* (words that the real-life Bernadette Soubirous is reputed to have uttered on her deathbed). More often than not, though, nondiegetic choral voices sing invented, deliberately incomprehensible languages, a strategy that denies the denotative while placing emphasis on connotative values such as the fantastical or ritualistic. Thus, Elvish in the *Lord of the Rings* cycle, bowdlerised Latin in Hans Zimmer's score for *The Da Vinci Code* (Ron Howard, 2006). The very feature that distinguishes the voice from the instrument, its capacity for language, is notably attenuated: notes are often hummed or sung on single or cycling vowels, while consonants fulfil only textural and percussive functions. The salm of the sunday of the

This is in strong contrast to the use of choral voices diegetically. Hugo Friedhofer's score for *Joan of Arc* (Victor Fleming, 1948) includes in its coronation scene Guillaume Dufay's alternatim arrangement of *Veni creator spiritus*. The same scene includes a late-thirteenth/early-

¹⁰⁵ Chion points to *The Exorcist* (William Friedkin, 1979) as one of a series of films of the 1980s and 1990s that marked a new fascination with the voice. Chion, *The Voice*, 164.

¹⁰⁶ Michael Giacchino occasionally uses the names of crew members as text, e.g. *Jurassic World: Fallen Kingdom* (J. A. Bayona, 2018).

¹⁰⁷ A useful summary of the acoustic properties of vowels can be found in Christopher Page's analysis of the most suitable for the vocalising of untexted parts of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century vocal music. See Christopher Page, 'Going beyond the Limits: Experiments with Vocalization in the French Chanson, 1340–1440', *EM* 20 no. 3 (1992), 455–6.

fourteenth-century motet from the Montpellier Codex, the three-part *Alle psallite cum luya*. 108

Likewise, the arrival of the clergy before Isabella's execution in *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*(William Dieterle, 1949) occasions a faux-Palestrina arrangement of a cod-plainchant Kyrie.

Such instances call on the 'authenticity' of sung foreign languages, an approach quite different to that of the nondiegetic figuring of choruses.

The films cited above reveal that voices assert human agency in a way quite different from instrumental sounds. While a musical instrument is unquestionably metonymically and physically connected to its human player, the sound emanates from the instrument's body, not directly from the human body as is the case with a singer. As such, instrumental sound is, as it were, perceptually at a stage removed from human agency; the voice is a purer synecdoche of human presence.¹⁰⁹

The unseen singing voice also draws on another feature of sound cinema: a potency that the located voice, already hierarchised by Chion as the top of the cinematic perceptual tree, does not possess, a notion that he develops as the *acousmêtre*. The word derives from Pierre Shaeffer's idea of the acousmatic as the realm of sound without an identifiable source and applies specifically to the offscreen voice of an overseeing, all-powerful character (Dr. Mabuse or The Wizard of Oz, for example).¹¹⁰

This points to a contradiction: voices, by their humanness, are both a threat and of value;

¹⁰⁸ Faculté de Médecine, Montpellier, H 196, fol. 392. The piece had appeared in modern transcription as number 33a in *Historical Anthology of Music, Vol. 1: Oriental, Medieval, and Renaissance Music*, eds. Archibald T. Davison and Willi Apel (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1946), 35; and also as number 339 in *Polyphonies du XIII* siècle: Le manuscrit H196 de la Faculté de Médicine de Montpellier, Tome III, ed. Yvonne Rokseth (Paris: Editions de l'oiseau lyre, 1936), 256-7.

¹⁰⁹ The peculiar uncanniness of the Theremin may stem in part from the fact that there is no physical connection with the player.

¹¹⁰ Chion's translator, Claudia Gorbman, notes that the *acousmêtre* is a neologism and as such not easily rendered in English, though she helpfully returns the reader to its derivation from *être acousmatique* to suggest 'acousmatic being' See the translator's footnote: Chion, *The Voice*, 20.

of value because they imply a humanness or corrupted human form (ghost, malevolent spirit, i.e. a supernatural Other); and a threat because, by virtue of human agency, they potentially reveal the otherwise-hidden address upon which the classical narrative system is built. 'Sound carries with it the potential risk of exposing the material heterogeneity of the [filmic] medium,' writes Mary Ann Doane.¹¹¹ Voices double that threat.

This brief outline explains why nondiegetic choral voices are almost never heard *a cappella* in sound cinema. The materiality that the 'unheard' music of soundtracks seeks to deny is foregrounded by the insistence of voices as an assertion of human agency. As far as I am aware, the only feature film that consistently uses *a cappella* voices is *Lady in the Lake* (Robert Montgomery, 1946).¹¹² But this film is itself notably idiosyncratic, an experiment in filmic narration that takes the principle of the private eye to its logical – or extreme – conclusion, presenting the action ostensibly through the eyes of the detective, Raymond Chandler's Philip Marlowe. ¹¹³ *A cappella* performance thus occurs in a film marked as an experimental admission of filmic narration. The distinct mode of cinematic address extends to the musical realm, allowing voices that would otherwise be suppressed or attenuated by the classical narrative regime to be heard in isolation. (Interestingly, the score turns to more conventional form for its love

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¹¹¹ Mary Ann Doane, 'The Voice in the Cinema: the Articulation of Body and Space', *Yale French Studies* 60 (1980), 35.

¹¹² David Snell wrote the score and Maurice Goldman was the choral director. Snell spent twenty-one years working at MGM as composer, conductor and music director, mainly for B-movie series films, and while *Lady in the Lake* was probably his most famous film, Goldman, in an unsourced quotation, takes credit for the score. 'I never got credit for being the composer of the choral score for *Lady in the Lake*. In those days, young, unknown composers who were hoping for a career writing film scores got their foot in the door by letting someone else take credit for their work. We had to agree, as long as we received some musical credit for our part in the film's music.' https://m.imdb.com/name/nm0325853/quotes?ref_=m_nm_trv_trv (accessed 20 May 2018.

¹¹³ Though not unique in Hollywood cinema nor entirely aberrant – the strategy of first-person camera, first used by Rouben Mamoulian in *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, was more fully essayed in the first forty minutes of *Dark Passage* (Delmer Davies, 1947), released some nine months after *Lady in the Lake* – the film is certainly experimental by the standards of the narrative film in Hollywood in the 1940s. The US release dates for *Lady in the Lake* and *Dark Passage* were 24 January 1947 and 27 September 1947 respectively.

scene. When Adrienne Fromsett's uncertain status as *femme fatale* is overturned – 'I want to be your girl ... that's what I want for Christmas' – we hear strings for the first time.)

In the case of *Voices Appeared*, with its notable innovation of *a cappella* performance, the use of voices as a silent-film underscore is appropriate to silent-cinema music's ontological distinctiveness: its commentative role. This combines with the more obviously conventional choric function of voices to situate the performance of the score of *Voices Appeared* 'outside' of the film text, irrespective of its exact synchronisation with onscreen images. Beyond this ontological compatibility, though, are more obvious associations between the drama and its accompaniment. Jeanne heard voices and her own voice was effectively silenced, her evidence invited while her sentence was predetermined. The film also multiplies images of the voice and the object of the voice, speaking and hearing. Judges cup their ears, Beaulieu casually clears his ear with an index finger and examines the wax, priests pass messages down the line by whispering, and d'Estivet delivers a gob of spittle close to Jeanne's ear. And all of this is part of a courtroom drama, a genre reliant on speech and thus already an extraordinary choice of subject for a silent film.¹¹⁴

Conclusion

I have argued that the ontologies of cinema music and film music determine specific conditions

¹¹⁴ James Schamus fascinatingly relates D'Estivet's spit to images of *conceptio per aurem* in the medieval era. He traces the 'rhetorical history' of immaculate conception through the ear, 'a forced entry of language into the woman's body'. See James Schamus, 'The Moving Word' (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2003), 2; and James Schamus, *Carl Theodor Dreyer's* Gertrud: *the moving word* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008) esp. 64-90.

of music in the exhibition of silent cinema. I have considered this in terms of cinematic address, textual play, the efficacy of diegetic illustration, the use of pre-existent music, and the acousmetric properties of choral voices.

While cinema music amplifies the openness of the silent film text, the separation of elements allows for multiple states of liveness. In the case of *Voices Appeared* we discover three overlapping temporal realities, each of which in its own way offers the audience an experience of 'authenticity'. These three levels are: the period in which the film is set, i.e. the fifteenth century, to which the music and its performance adds an image of a specific musical culture; the period in which the film was made, the silent-film era and a practice of cinemagoing where a culture of live-musical performance prevailed; and the period in which the event is taking place, the hereand-now of live performance and of the screening itself, an essentially historicising event that embraces historical practices and offers a modern interpretation of them. In this, the presence of live musicians to a degree offers an immediacy that contrasts with the stasis of the recorded cinematic event, bringing to the film a soundtrack that the director may have envisaged but was never able to realise in his lifetime.

Live musical accompaniment of silent film re-enacts the original film's performance conditions and at the same time provides an act of musical veneration, restorative and commemorative. It also recovers a sense of liveness and promotes music as spectacle, and cinema music as concert event. However, it is music's commentative role that abides. In the case of *Voices Appeared*, diegetic gestures are made, textual, emotional and liturgical correspondences advanced, but synchronisation, rather than producing convincing verisimilitude, underlines the separate realms of live performance and film, and the dissociation of music and image.

CHAPTER FOUR Sonorisation and Segmentation: the case of Lo Duca

Introduction

I suggested in the introduction to the thesis that *Voices Appeared* was merely one of several possible approaches. From the outset, though, the project professed deference to the 1981 rediscovered print of the film, an allegiance to the historical research of repertoire from the lifetime of Jeanne d'Arc together with an acknowledgement of historical performing practice, and an awareness of and commitment to the working practices of The Orlando Consort. Such aspects are examined in separate chapters; here my focus is on an alternative approach of a similar project, specifically a sonorisation of an earlier discovered print of the film made in 1952 by an Italian film historian. The correspondence between he and Dreyer provides some clues about the director's view of an appropriate score for his film; and his reservations about the sonorisation of a silent film recapitulate some of the ontological issues addressed in the previous chapter. The Lo Duca version also raises issues about dramatic structure and narrative rhythm of film and of segmentation more generally, issues with which Voices Appeared too had to engage. In the case of Lo Duca, I will argue that the choice of Baroque music presented specific problems which go some way to explaining why such repertoire is used rarely as film music. This chapter thus considers the various dramatic, emotional and filmic rhythms of La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc, presented here as formal restrictions.

The Lo Duca sonorisation

Of all the scores that have been added to La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc, that which has probably been heard most is the version created by Joseph-Marie Lo Duca, a film historian. His sonorised version of Dreyer's film was the main print in circulation from the year of its release in 1952 to 1981. But it is also the version of the film that has been most derided, initially by Dreyer himself and subsequently by film scholars. It has been recently re-released on Blu-Ray in an unrestored state by Eureka Entertainment, where it is presented as a curio, of interest only as a readily available alternative negative of the film.²

Almost all the criticism is warranted: Lo Duca deformed the original print by cropping the image to allow space for a soundstrip and thereby robbed the viewer of a true appreciation of Dreyer's radical visual compositions.³ Surprisingly, Dreyer himself passed no comment on the cropping but was forthright about the removal of some intertitles and their substitution with (illegible) subtitles. He was also scathing about the 'banal' backgrounds for the remaining intertitles, shots of what he presumed (wrongly) to be a cityscape of Rouen, stained-glass

¹ Jean Sémolué talks of the 'pretentious and absurd commentary' added by Lo Duca and condemns the fast frame rate (24fps rather than the generally accepted 20fps rate), the subtitles and the backgrounds to the intertitles: Jean Sémolué, Dreyer (Paris: Editions Universitaires, 1962), footnote 2, 53. David Bordwell simply describes the Lo Duca version as 'notorious' and 'objectionable': David Bordwell, The Films of Carl Theodor Dreyer (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), xi. Pipolo's criticisms are along similar lines as Sémolué, though considerably more detailed. See Pipolo, op. cit., 44-50; and Tony Pipolo, 'The Spectre of Joan of Arc: Textual Variations in the Key Prints of Carl Dreyer's Film' Film History, 2 no. 4 (1988), 308-10.

² This is the line taken by Casper Tybjerg in his essay on the film in the Eureka Entertainment edition. Casper Tybjerg, 'Two passions - one film?' The Passion of Joan of Arc, booklet to Blu-ray (Region B), The Masters of Cinema Series, # 50, EKA70085 and EKA 70086 (London: Eureka Entertainment, 2012), 72.

³ 'The point is not simply that the Lo Duca print reduces material for academic critical analysis, but that it alters and reduces the optical impact of the visual material as composed, framed, and shot by Dreyer and his cameraman, Rudolph Maté.' Pipolo, 'The Spectre', 73.

windows and flames, and criticised the addition of an explicatory voice-over. 4

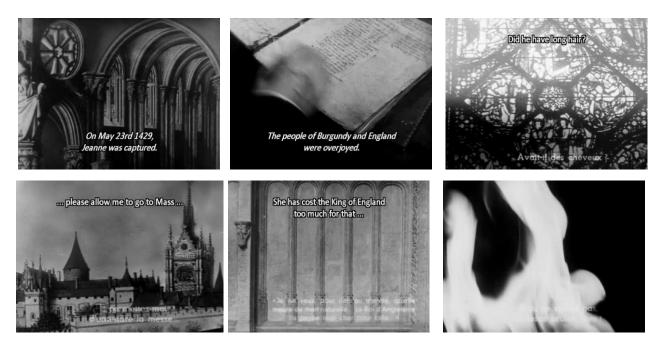


Figure 4:1 various backgrounds with intertitles in Lo Duca version

Further distortions to Dreyer's film were new intertitles with text that didn't appear in the original film or screenplay.⁵ For Pipolo, such alterations are evidence of 'attempts to make his silent film "easier" to watch and hence more commercially viable'.⁶ This chimes with Dreyer's opinion: 'The editor has tried to make the film more accessible to the general public – by appealing to the public's bad taste'.⁷

⁴ See Appendix 1, letter 37 for details. The cityscape is actually a detail from a black-and-white silhouette, part of a view of the royal palace on the Ile de la cité in Paris seen from the fields adjacent to l'Hôtel de Nesle (i.e. the left bank – just west of the island), one of the calendrical illustration for the month of June in the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*. The prefatory calendar of the *Très Riches Heures* illustrates the various residences occupied by Charles V and his brothers (Philip the Bold of Burgundy, Louis of Anjou and Jean de Berry). Created for Jean de Berry between c. 1410 and 1416, by a team of painters led by the Limbourg brothers, it is thus produced during Jeanne's lifetime. Such historical exactitude is not displayed by a shot of a Rose Window, which is that of the north transept rose window at Chartres Cathedral. Created around 1230, it would nevertheless have existed during Jeanne's lifetime, though she never visited Chartres and it plays no part in her personal history. I am grateful to Dr. John McNeill of the British Archaeological Association for his help. The opening credits unfurl over a more generic picture of the interior of a church that I have been unable to identify.

⁵ When Warwick, for example, instructs the doctors that on no account must Jeanne be allowed to die a natural death, the original Danish intertitle adds that she has cost him too much already for that to happen ('dertil har jeg betalt hende for dyrt'). Lo Duca however reminds us of Warwick's relationship to the King: 'She has cost the King of England too much for that ...'

⁶ Pipolo, 'The Spectre', 309.

⁷ See letter 37.

Intrinsic to this notion of modernisation is a charge of anachronism; a 'classic' silent film from the late 1920s is remediated in the familiar garb of the sound film, its status as an historical artefact compromised. And perhaps this updating is the rationale behind Lo Duca adding Baroque music, a more recent and familiar music than that of music from the period in which the film is set. On this, Dreyer is direct: 'Why did [Lo Duca] choose music from an epoch later than that of Jeanne herself?'8 It's doubtful that Dreyer knew very much, if any, of the repertoire from that period – the performance in the 1950s of medieval music of the early fifteenth century was very much in its infancy. 9 However, the appeal to musico-historical authenticity is significant and the use of Bach, Scarlatti and others raises interesting questions about the challenges and vicissitudes of using extant music with moving images. While the practice of cuesheets and the associated encyclopaedias and anthologies, one of the standard methods for prescribing silent-film accompaniments together with the various instruction manuals, provide information on how the system worked, essentially all that survives are the traces of performance practice. Again, similar to the study of medieval music, we have no recordings of performance events, which, in the case of silent film, would tell us a great deal about the reality of synchronisation. The Lo Duca version, for all its obvious problems, at least offers itself as a stable example, by which I mean that the vagaries of alternate musical performances are avoided by a single, synced, recorded version which broadly follows the cue-sheet method.

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⁸ Ibid.

⁹ The first of the eventual seven volumes of Gilbert Reaney's Early Fifteenth-Century Music, part of the Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae series, was only published in 1955. Until then, the main sources for editions in modern notation were: J.F.R. Stainer and C. Stainer, Dufay and his Contemporaries: Fifty Compositions ... transcribed from MS Canonici misc.213 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (London: Novello, 1898); Charles Van Den Borren, Polyphonia Sacra: A Continental Miscellany of the Fifteenth Century (London: Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 1932); and Jeanne Marix, Les musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne au XVe siècle (Paris: Éditions de l'Oiseau-lyre, 1937). On performance, see Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, The Modern Invention of Medieval Music (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), 77–87.

The correspondence

The correspondence between Lo Duca and Dreyer provides the fullest history of the development of Lo Duca's plan to sonorise *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc*. While most of the letters are held by the Dreyer Archive in Copenhagen and a private source provides four more, at least one letter is missing from the record. A letter from Lo Duca on 22 May 1944 to Tage Nielsen, the producer of *Vredens Dag* (*Day of Wrath*), refers to information Lo Duca had received from Dreyer, advising him that Nielsen would be the person to provide materials about this film.

Dreyer must therefore have written to Lo Duca sometime between 30 March and 20 May 1944.

Full details, including the languages used in the correspondence, are provided in Appendix 1, and bracketed numbers in this chapter provide quick reference points. Broadly, the correspondence can be broken down into five periods between which there are gaps of a year to three years:

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30 March – 1 October 1944 (1–3)

15 May 1946 – 21 May 1946 (4–6)

1 February – 4 February 1949 (7 & 8)

13 April – 17 September 1950 (9 & 10)

20 September 1951 – 3 September 1952 (11–28)
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There is nothing to suggest that the larger gaps in the correspondence are due to anything other than Lo Duca being busy with other projects, and each time it is he who re-initiates

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¹⁰ Four letters between Dreyer and Lo Duca are for sale for US\$2,250 and their authenticity appears to be unquestionable. Besides the consistency of the typewriters used, the letters show the same water damage in the form of a stain on the right-hand side of the page as other letters currently held in the Dreyer Archive. https://www.royalbooks.com/pages/books/139112/carl-theodore-dreyer-joseph-marie-lo-duca/archive-of-four-letters-discussing-a-sound-version-of-the-passion-of-joan-of-arc (accessed 03 October 2016).

contact. For all the conventional expressions of respect and amity in their salutations and valedictions, there is no genuine friendship between the two men and they never met. Lo Duca is certainly a fan of Dreyer's, committed to his films as critic and exhibitor. Dreyer is very curt with Lo Duca on various occasions, often with good reason: Lo Duca consistently fails to honour his promise to send a copy of *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc*; he doesn't heed Dreyer's objections to Lo Duca's proposed changes; and Lo Duca's offers to help with the Dane's Jesus film are uninvited and obtrusive. It comes as no surprise that the correspondence ends with Dreyer's abrupt dismissal: 'Please kindly, don't bother me anymore with these matters' (28).

The one consistent thread throughout the sporadic correspondence is the sonorisation of *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc*. The plan is a long-held fantasy for Lo Duca – when he first conceives of the idea, he doesn't have a print – and involves the magical discovery, many years later, of a pristine negative that nobody knew existed, and for which Dreyer will congratulate him (20).

Lo Duca, as he refers to himself, or Giuseppe-Maria Lo Duca to give him his full name, was a journalist, novelist, a writer on the arts in general, and, most obviously, a cinephile. When he first makes contact with Dreyer, he is working on a 1,000-page book on the history of cinema and when he declares himself infatuated with *Vredens Dag*, it is difficult to doubt him (4).¹¹ He was connected with various journals and organisations, in particular the Cinéma d'Essai, the cinema of the Association Française de la Critique de Cinéma (now the Syndicat Française de la Critique de Cinéma, the French Union of Film Critics), that would ultimately screen the film in February 1952, and also one of the founding editors of *Cahiers du Cinéma*, the first issue of which was released in April 1951. As a critic and academic, and as an associate administrator of a

¹¹ Whether this is the second edition of either *Histoire du cinéma* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1942) or of *Technique du cinéma* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1943) both published by in the "Que sais-je?" series is unclear.

cinema, Lo Duca is interested in all of Dreyer's work and during this period he writes extensively about it for *Comoedia*, *Sight and Sound*, *Cahiers du Cinéma* and *Cinema* (an Italian film magazine).¹²

Dreyer was no less industrious during the time of their correspondence. In 1944 he was in Sweden, having moved there the previous year, directing the feature film *Två Människor* (*Two People*, 1945) for Svensk Filmindustri, before returning to Copenhagen in 1945 when the war had ended.¹³ Between 1946 and 1951 he made nine short documentaries for Dansk Kulturfilm, researched and wrote screenplays for two unmade films, *Mary, Queen of Scots* and the famous film on the life of Jesus, as well acting as manager of the Dagmar movie theatre from 1952.¹⁴

Letters from the Italian critic to the Danish director follow a consistent pattern, beginning with specific questions about Dreyer's films, before addressing the plan for sonorisation. Lo Duca asks for authorisation on three occasions. The first is a formality ('un authorisation . . . de pure forme') because he hasn't yet been able to find a print (1). The purpose at this stage is purely educational: the film will be shown as part of a class in aesthetics that Lo Duca teaches at La Sorbonne. Some fifteen months later, Lo Duca thanks Dreyer for giving permission, so we can safely assume that Dreyer has provided it (2).

The second request is on 20 May 1946 (5), this in response to Lo Duca's letter which speaks of a copy of the film printed at 24fps (4). Dreyer grants permission for 'printing and sonorising'. Costs will be the responsibility of Lo Duca and his associates, and Dreyer will retain

¹² The last edition of *Comoedia*, a general arts journal, was on 5 August 1944.

¹³ Shooting took place between 5 July and 23 August 1944, and the film was eventually released on 23 March 1945. Jean Drum and Dale D. Drum, *My Only Great Passion: the Life and Films of Carl Th. Dreyer* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2000), 202 and 309.

¹⁴ 'The Dagmar Cinema' by Dan Nissen, http://english.carlthdreyer.dk/AboutDreyer/Workplaces/Dagmar.aspx (accessed 23 February 2018).

half of any resultant takings in perpetuity.

The third request comes in 1949 and proposes to make a 16mm print from a positive for 'friends of cinema (schools, cinema clubs, etc.)' without any profits (7). Lo Duca also asks if the idea of adding music by J. S. Bach meets with Dreyer's approval. Dreyer quickly agrees to the submission and asks for a copy to be kept in Copenhagen (8). He adds: 'I think it an excellent idea to choose J.S. Bach for a musical accompaniment provided that you do not introduce any other sounds' (8).

There will be one further request for authorisation, in 1951 when Lo Duca asks Dreyer for what are, in effect, the commercial rights (11). Lo Duca's plan is to defray the costs by organising screenings further abroad (Lyon, Brussels and Paris), of which Dreyer will get 25% of the profits. Dreyer refuses, saying that he doesn't own the commercial rights (12). This is true, yet, assuming the copy of the agreement drafted on 20 May 1946 was actually sent, Dreyer has earlier granted Lo Duca commercial rights and potentially stood to receive 50% of the profits (5). Lo Duca's new proposal cuts that in half to 25%, so perhaps this is a negotiating stance. If so, it is a very punchy one, leaving little room for a counter-proposal. Perhaps, then, it was designed to close down the Lo Duca version. There is, after all, no encouragement, no alternative suggestions. Frustrated by Lo Duca's wilful deafness to his objections, Dreyer may simply be at the end of his tether given that, in his previous letter, Lo Duca had outlined further changes – adding credits and new intertitles.

Whatever the reality, the authorisations, such as they are, are all strikingly loose for an industry in which contracts are notoriously complex, as Dreyer knew to his cost, having fought and lost a battle with the Société Générale de Films over breach of contract when alterations were made to the final negative of *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* before the Paris première in October

1928. The final exchange between the two men shows Lo Duca informing Dreyer that Gaumont intends to take out a lawsuit against the Cinémathèque Française and the Danish Stätsfilmcentral for illegally printing a copy of the film, and selling or ceding the rights (26). Dreyer retorts, none too politely, that he never ceded anything other than 'le droit moral', the specifically French article of copyright that preserves the spirit of a creative person's work, independent of any financial arrangement. Indeed, Gaumont retained the rights: the print Dreyer finally receives in 1956 is sent by Gaumont and bears their ident. Moreover, it is with Gaumont whom Gunni Dreyer, Dreyer's daughter, will settle out of court over the ownership of the rights in 1988, leading to the film being withdrawn from circulation.³³ All of which means that Lo Duca had given up any claim to ownership himself.

Dreyer explicitly outlines his reservations about the project on two separate occasions. The first is in the spring of 1944 when Lo Duca earned what he referred to as Dreyer's 'approbation' for wanting to sonorise the film (4). Sadly, we do not have the details, but, whatever the criticism, two years later, in May 1946, he does so again. His comments are worth quoting in full:

I wish to be sincere to you and for this reason I must say that it in my opinion artistically [it] is a great, great mistake to try to transform "Joan of Arc" in [sic] a talkie. This film is built up as a silent film and not as a sound film, and if you will follow my advice the only thing to do is to keep the film as a silent film. Do your best to rebuild the film in its original shape but keep it silent. As such it will be more valuable for every year, documentarily and artistically. Besides that: by studying the film closely you will discover that the movements of the lips in almost all the close-ups have been cut away and replaced by printed titles. If you take away the printed titles there will be some terrible gaps whose effect will be tremendous. (6)

³³ 'Gaumont Will Withdraw Its Sound Version of Dreyer's "Joan of Arc". Variety, 28 June 1989.

Lo Duca's plan at this stage is much vaguer than Dreyer's outline implies. The latter part of the quote describes the film's consistent approach to dialogue, specifically:

- a) a shot of the speaker;
- b) the intertitle/their speech;
- c) a shot of the person speaking.

Dreyer thinks that Lo Duca wants to remove the intertitles and that the resultant cut from shots a) to c) will produce a seamless image of the sentences spoken, which he can then dub. Dreyer points out that this will not work: the two shots, while of the same speaker and the same composition, are not continuous but contain the beginnings and ends of dialogue only. Any dubbed dialogue thus will not fit and run over unrelated pursuant footage.

It is also notable what Dreyer doesn't say. He doesn't, for example, object to the frame rate of 24fps that Lo Duca proposes. That particular issue still rages today, most obviously in the original Criterion Collection version being screened at 24fps and the Eureka Entertainment version preferring 20fps, yet Dreyer didn't really seem to mind. More relevantly, Dreyer could easily have raised the issue of music if it offended him, yet he doesn't. Indeed, he was enthusiastic about the choice of Baroque music (8). The final qualification is once more on the side of the architecture of silent cinema, arguing against spoken dialogue (as well as sound effects) and underlining Dreyer's main objection, which is ontological: this is a silent film, constructed like a silent film; the sonorisation that Lo Duca envisages is fundamentally different.

Dreyer makes no further objections to the sonorised version in the ensuing years, even while Lo Duca gradually reveals further distortions. In September 1951, Lo Duca speaks of adding credits and new intertitles, though he never makes mention of the change in plan from music solely by J. S. Bach to the final compendium of music by Bach, Albinoni, Scarlatti,

Torelli, Geminiani, and Sammartini (11).

Strong as Dreyer's reservations are, they are as nothing to his public criticisms. The earliest of these is reported by James Card in an interview with the director sometime in 1953: '[audiences] are not seeing the original version. The cutting has weakened many scenes'. ¹⁵ Two years later, in an interview with Lotte Eisner for *Cahiers du Cinéma*, he goes further:

I knew that my rhythm would be destroyed, it is not the rhythm of the music of a Bach or a Beethoven; what concerned me was that the actual texts of the trial would not function as a rhythmic pause, because in silent film titles were more than simply explanatory – they were embedded organically, like pilasters in a building.¹⁶

Given his endorsement of Lo Duca's original suggestion of Bach, this is somewhat disingenuous. Later comments, to Jean and Dale Drum, would go further still.¹⁷

But Dreyer had not seen the Lo Duca version when he made these comments. Lo Duca in fact created two versions: the one screened at the Cinéma d'Essai in February 1952, and the final sonorised print that premiered at the Venice Biennale on 12 September in the same year. Evidence for this can be found in the Dreyer archive in a collection of clippings from French newspapers, a flier from the Cinéma d'Essai, sent to Dreyer by the office of Ejnar Wærum, the Danish ambassador to France, who was guest of honour at the Paris premiere, and also in the correspondence between Dreyer and Lo Duca.

¹⁵ James Card, 'Visit with Carl Th. Dreyer', Image 2, no. 9 (1953), 61.

¹⁶ 'Je savais que mon rythme serait détruit, ce n'est pas le rhythme de la musique d'un Bach ou d'un Beethoven; cela m'effraie que le texte veritable du procès ne serve plus de pause rythmique car dans le film muet, les titres étaient plus qu'une explication, ils étaient encastrés organiquement, tels des pilastres dans un bâtiment.' Lotte H. Eisner, 'Rencontre avec Carl Th. Dreyer', Cahiers du Cinéma 48 (1955), 2.

¹⁷ Conversation with Jean Drum, 16 January 2016. In their book, the Drums state that Dreyer made a long statement on the subject that was printed at the beginning of the Lo Duca version in later years, but I have been unable to verify this. Drum & Drum, *My only*, 246. Jean Drum has also been unable to provide evidence: private correspondence, 19 September 2016. Similar uncorroborated personal recollection about Dreyer's dislike of Lo Duca's film comes in the comments of, Arne Krogh, an archivist at the Danish Film Institute, who claims that Dreyer was very angry about it. Pipolo, 'Carl Dreyer's', 9

In two letters, Lo Duca speaks of music being provided 'on tape' ('sur magnètophone')

(11, 15). In the first, scribbled in the margin, is a further note that the music will be adapted by Edgar Bishof. 'Bishof' is presumably Edgar Bischoff, a composer of scores for, amongst others, Le silence de la mer (Jean-Pierre Melville, 1949), though there is no indication what Lo Duca means by 'adapted'. In the second letter, Lo Duca says music will be recorded on tape for the moment ('pour l'instant'). Though time has not permitted him to record any new music, he has clearly acted very swiftly if, since 3 December 1951, he has discovered the print, had a 35mm print struck, and also added subtitles to it. Lo Duca also seems to have had the idea of an all-Baroque score in mind by now. A preview in Arts of 1 February 1952 refers to Lo Duca adding new subtitles and 'a musical commentary of Vivaldi, Tomas Albinoni and Johann Sebastian Bach'. The same list appears in an interview by Børge Rudbeck with Lo Duca in Ekstrabladet on 25 February 1952.

A three-fold flier for the premiere lists music by J. S. Bach, Tomaso Albinoni, Vivaldi, Palestrina, Beethoven and César Franck, and the various reviews corroborate this:²¹ France Soir and Le Parisien (20 February 1952) refer only to Bach; a long review by Nino Frank in Arts on 22 February 1952 mentions Bach and Vivaldi; La Croix omits only Vivaldi; and an unidentified French newspaper review by Michel Braspart refers to Palestrina and Bach.²²

In general, these reviews of the premiere are positive, praising the film in recognisable terms, emphasizing the story of the rediscovery of the print, and, where music is mentioned,

¹⁸ Lo Duca must have discovered the print before 24 January 1952. An unidentified clipping in the Dreyer archive from a Danish newspaper reports the discovery and Dreyer's pleasure at learning the news.

¹⁹ DA: DI, A: Jeanne d'Arc, 6.

²⁰ DA: DI, A: Jeanne d'Arc, 2.

²¹ DA: DI, A: Jeanne d'Arc, 2.

²² DA: DI, A: *Jeanne d'Arc*, 2. Braspart was the pseudonym of the French writer Roland Laudenbach, who wrote for *La Nation française* in the 1950s.

commending it. The music was not, though, attached to the image track. Rather, it was provided from a separate source, by a wire recorder in the cinema itself. Casper Tybjerg has independently come to the same conclusion:

From Lo Duca's writings, it would appear that he usually presented silent films with music played back on a wire recorder, and so he probably used substantially similar music from available recordings.²³

Wire recorders were the forerunners of the cassette tape, a relatively cheap way of recording and playing back music using a thin wire passed over magnetic heads. Sound quality was quite impressive, in part because there was no tape hiss. Although one could make recordings of several hours on a single wire, the metal would tend to stretch and thereby alter the pitch. Generally, then, wires came in thirty or fifteen-minute lengths, so one assumes that there were additional silences while the wire was changed, and that syncing with the image was rather hit and miss.

The music for the final sonorised print was in all likelihood assembled in response to an invitation to show the film at the Venice Film Festival in September 1952. News of this invitation comes in a letter from Lo Duca to Dreyer in July 1952 that also refers to a recording of organ and choir made in Saint-Eustache in Paris on 26 June 1952 (23). Given the forces, this was probably a recording of Alessandro Scarlatti's *St John Passion* and possibly some of the organ pieces as well. The music heard on the existent print was thus added sometime between July and September 1952.

Dreyer does not seem to have seen the final sonorised version until 1956. In March 1955, spurred by a correspondence with Henri Langlois at the Cinémathèque Française and by a

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²³ Private correspondence: email of 1 September 2016.

further request from the Danish Film Institute to preserve the film, Dreyer writes to Jean Jay, Directeur Générale of Gaumont Actualités requesting that permission for the Cinémathèque Française to strike a print from the (discovered) negative (29). ²⁴ Dreyer explains that this is purely for reasons of historical preservation and he is careful to point out that he doesn't intend to interfere with the exhibition of the sonorised version. He adds that the silent version had never envisaged 'speaking intertitles' ('cadrages parlants'), and, given that Lo Duca's version did not have any dubbing, this is further evidence that Dreyer did not seen the sonorised version before 1956. Jay duly sends Dreyer a print, and Dreyer's response has an immediacy that suggests a first acquaintance:

Why did [Lo Duca] print subtitles on pictures of stained-glass windows, on a cityscape of Rouen (I suppose) and on some ecclesiastical stonework? None of the backgrounds matches the film's style, never mind that most of the subtitles are rendered illegible by such backgrounds.²⁵

Though reviews mention the new subtitles, I question whether they had the flowery backgrounds that we see in the sonorised version. The question is worth asking, if nothing else to venture that the film so many people saw at the Cinéma d'Essai and the Lord Byron – Lo Duca

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²⁴ The exchange between Langlois and Dreyer is conducted entirely in English between 24 March and 25 April 1955. Langlois is following up on a promise made to Lotte Eisner, with whom Dreyer conducts an interview – *Cahiers du Cinéma* 48 (1955) – to send scripts of *Vampyr* and *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* for the Cinemathèque's 60-year Jubilee Exhibition. He also provides Dreyer with a template letter for Gaumont for permission to strike a complete copy of 'your wonderful Jeanne d'Arc': DA: DII, A: 1596. The final letter, DA: DII, A, 1599, from Dreyer to Langlois quotes a letter from Jean Jay: 'I completely understand your interest and that of the *Histoire du Cinéma* in acquiring a silent copy of *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* in order to preserve an exact record of your original work. To that end, our production department will contact M. Langlois of the Cinémathèque Française.' ('Je comprends très bien tout l'interêt que prèsente pour vous et pour l'Histoire du Cinéma le tirage d'une copie muette de la PASSION DE JEANNE D'ARC, en vue de conserver l'image exacte de votre oeuvre. Nos services de production vont se mettre en rapport avec Monsieur LANGLOIS, de la CINEMATHEQUE FRANCAISE, afin de vous donner satisfaction.'

²⁵ 'Why did he print the subtitles on [images of] stained-glass windows, a silhouette of the skyline of Rouen (I

presume) and a piece of church woodwork? None of those backgrounds corresponds with the film's style, besides which the backgrounds render most of the intertitles completely illegible.' ('Pourquoi a-t-il imprimé les sous-titres respectivement sur un vitrail d'église, sur une silhouette de la ville de Rouen (je suppose) et sur une pièce de boiserie d'église? Aucun de ces fonds s'accorde avec le style du film, sans compter que la plupart des sous-titres à cause de ces fonds sont complètement illisible.') See letter 37 in Appendix 1.

reckons some 28,000 at the Cinéma d'Essai alone by April 1952 (19) – might well have seen a version of the film considerably closer to Dreyer's original than that assumed by Lo Duca's critics. Evidence for this comes in Jean-Luc Godard's *Vivre Sa Vie* (1962), which includes an excerpt from *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc*. The version that Nana watches in the *Jeanne d'Arc* cinema is certainly derived from the Lo Duca version: the shot lengths are the same and the cropping of the image is entirely consistent with that of the Lo Duca print.²⁶





Figure 4.1: comparison of shots between Lo Duca version and *Vivre sa vie*, showing respective positions of subtitles

Note, though, that the French subtitles are in a different position, one inscribed over Jeanne's tunic, the other over her jaw. These subtitles can't be toggled on and off, like their digital offspring – they are inscribed on the print – and though further prints could and would have been made from the Lo Duca negative, there would have been no reason to alter the subtitles. Perhaps, then, the version that Nana sees in *Vivre sa vie*, was Lo Duca's first print, the one that was shown in the Cinéma d'Essai and the Lord Byron. If so, it would have had the simple black

shortens. He then cuts to a shot of Nana, thereby explaining that Nana's reaction is to Jeanne's suffering and death

rather than to Massieu's sympathy.

²⁶ The Cine-Tourist, a website that provides information on movie locations, suggests that 'Godard ... decided to make a little joke about the place of cinema and cinemas, placing one cinema, the Panthéon, within another, the Jeanne d'Arc, just as he was placing one film within another film.' The exterior is the Cinéma Jeanne d'Arc, 45 boulevard Saint Marcel, in the 13th *arrondissement*, and the interior that of the Panthéon, 13, rue Victor-Cousin 75005, Paris's oldest cinema: http://www.thecinetourist.net/the-place-of-cinema-cinema-as-location-in-vivre-savie.html (accessed 6 July 2016). The only shot that is different in length is the final shot of Massieu, which Godard

lettering on grey backgrounds that the intertitles bear in *Vivre sa vie*, an altogether more acceptable version than that cobbled together in the summer of 1952 which history has inherited.

Pipolo asserts that Lo Duca's instinct was always to abbreviate the film, so the question must be asked as to whether this was a strategy designed to accommodate the musical choices. The most obvious abbreviation was the removal of intertitles and the following shot of the speaker. But in other respects, Lo Duca seems to have remained true to the print that he discovered. A comparison of the hair-cutting scene in A negative, the MoMA print and the Lo Duca version, for example, shows that in Lo Duca's version two shots are considerably longer than in either of its forerunners, and that the scene itself is longer by some 12 seconds. Though Lo Duca may not have had any comparison to work with, there is nothing to suggest that he made any further cuts other than those dictated by his intertitle strategy. It also means that he also seems not to have made any cuts to accommodate his chosen music cues; rather, the music was 'layered' onto the film.

Further evidence is provided by the strange case of shot 1019. This is the shot of a bound man being thrown into the moat by two soldiers. However, the shot has been temporally reversed so that the troublemaker magically rises from the water into the soldiers' arms, his bonds loosening. The music however, imprinted on the filmstrip, continues playing forwards. This obvious printing error must come from something that happened before the music was added. But why did none of the 28,000 spectators that Lo Duca claimed saw the film in the first few months of 1952 spot the error and point it out? Why wasn't it corrected? I contend that it wasn't there then; that this was a mistake made in the summer of 1952 in the rush to add music to the print in time for the Venice festival.

The music

And why did he add music from an era considerably later than Jeanne's? Music, moreover, that is too dominant. Believe me, the silence of the silent version would make a much greater impression on the public than the violent fortissimo of the chosen music.²⁷

This was Dreyer's peevish complaint to Jean Jay when he finally saw the Lo Duca version. Lo Duca's answer to the rhetorical question of why music from a later epoch was added would surely have been: 'because you thought it was a good idea'. The charge of anachronism has some legitimacy but it sets the bar far higher than pretty much all film music in the sound and silent era, as we have seen in the earlier survey of films about Jeanne d'Arc in Chapter One.²⁸ The criticism of the dynamic of the music is also unfair; none of the cues implies any marking louder than *forte* and the performing forces – strings, organ, woodwind and voices – hardly strike violently upon the ear.²⁹ *Fortissimo*, it seems, metaphorically expresses Dreyer's annoyance rather than describing the music itself.

As we have seen, Lo Duca went beyond his original brief of using the music of J. S. Bach and included a host of other Baroque composers. The move is signalled in a significant reshaping of a sentence in an article about *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc*, *Vampyr* and *Vredens Dag*. In 1949, Lo Duca asserted that Dreyer had granted him permission to 'immerse' the film in Bach's music; three years later he says that Dreyer wanted the film to be 'immersed' in the music of J. S. Bach,

²⁷ See letter 37 in Appendix 1. For original French, see footnote 25 above.

²⁸ Arguably, the notion of musical authenticity is introduced by Miklos Rósza. See Stephen C. Meyer, *Epic sound: music in postwar Hollywood biblical films*, (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2015), esp. Chapter Three, 'Spectacle and Authenticity in Miklós Rózsa's *Quo Vadis* Score', 74–95.

²⁹ It seems safe to assume that Dreyer would have had control over the volume, being at this time in charge of the Dagmar cinema. The volume is presumably calibrated to the voice-over at the beginning of the film, under which the music is faded.

Vivaldi, and Tomaso Albinoni.³⁰ The first comment is at best misleading, the second dishonest: at no time did Dreyer express a belief that his work would benefit by being submerged in Baroque music, and the only composer mentioned in the correspondence between the two men was Bach.

'Immersion' is certainly what the print received. To all intents and purposes Lo Duca provided a through-compiled score, a confection of Bach organ pieces, sections from Alessandro Scarlatti's *St John Passion*, and movements from Baroque concerti. In the added credit sequence, Albinoni, Vivaldi, Geminiani, Torelli and Sammartini are accorded a status as 'lesser' composers ('et oeuvres de') whilst, in a nod to musicological authenticity, the Albinoni *Adagio* in G minor is qualified as 'transcrit par Giazotto'. A starring role is given to Alessandro Scarlatti – the credits read: *Accompagnement Musical: Passio D. N. Jesu Christi secundum Joannem de Scarlatti* – and the reason for the inclusion is obvious: it amplifies the theme of the Passion, common to both Christ and Jeanne, as stated in the title(s) of the film, *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc, Jeanne d'Arcs lidelse og dod*, etc.³¹

It is possible that Lo Duca had in mind one of Bach's Passions when he first proposed music to Dreyer. The resultant choice of Scarlatti's Passion might, then, have been motivated by economics of scale, both of performing forces and length (one hour compared to the two hours for Bach's John Passion and around three hours for the Matthew Passion). In any event, J.S. Bach is held until last in the credits, his status marked out in time-honoured tradition accorded

³⁰ Compare Lo Duca, 'Triologia mistica di Dreyer', *Cinema* 14 (1949), 423, with Lo Duca, 'Trilogie mystique de Dreyer', *Cahiers du Cinéma* 9 (1952), 62.

³¹ The etymology of the word 'passion' is 'suffering', from the Latin word *pati*. The Danish title translates as 'Jeanne d'Arc's suffering and death', which would be understood as a reference to the Passion story. The introit of Heinrich Schütz's *Johannes-Passion* (SWV 481), for example, begins with a setting of the words 'Das Leiden unsers Herren Jesu Christi'.

to stars playing cameo roles, introducing him respectfully at the end with an understated 'et'.

After the list of composers come the names of the soloists (without any indication of instrument or voice type) and the musical director.³²

Probably the most identifiable piece of the music track is the Albinoni *Adagio* in G minor. Its popularity was considerably less assured in 1952 – its status as 'Baroque classic' came much later and in was in no small way due to its use in films – but nevertheless likely to have been known to the Cinéma d'Essai audience. It had been the signature theme for a Radiodiffusion-télévision Française weekly programme called *Sinfonia Sacra*, presented by Jean Witold and Carl De Nys and was a big hit with listeners. ³³ The only version then available on disc was that of the Orchestra dell'Angelicum di Milano conducted by Ennio Gerelli released on the Angelicum label in December 1950,³⁴ while that used by Lo Duca was directed by Witold with L'Ensemble Instrumental 'Sinfonia', leader Philippe Lamacque, for the Éditions Phonographiques Parisiennes label, issued as SLP1.³⁵ The album was recorded on 24 March 1952 in the Schola Cantorum, Paris, with Giuseppe Tomasini as the organist and Gino Nucci as the oboe soloist and released later that same year.³⁶

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³² The full credit is as follows: 'Avec le Concours de Philippe Lamacque, Maria Ferès et Flavio Benedetti, Michel Angeli, et L'Ensemble Instrumental "Sinfonia". Réalisation et Direction Musicale: Jean Witold: Enregistrement sonore: J. Boutron et R. Rora'. Philippe Lamacque was a noted violinist, who appeared on several recordings of Baroque music in the 1950s. Maria Ferès was a mezzo-soprano who worked in opera, contemporary music and French folk music. Flavio Benedetti, also known as Flavio Ferri-Benedetti was a contre-tenor, and Michel Angeli, one assumes from his place in the billing, is the baritone. The musical director, Jean Witold (1913–1966), originally Comte Jean Witold Jedlinski, was a noted composer, conductor and critic, and several recordings with the L'Ensemble Instrumental 'Sinfonia' were issued in the 1950s and 60s, including their second recording of the Albinoni *Adagio* in G minor in 1957, with the same ensemble. http://www.orchestredemarly.com/witold.htm (accessed 21 July 2016).

³³ A generally favourable review by Jean Germain refers to the signature theme. *Disques, nouvelle série*, vol.V, 50/30 (September 1952), 457.

³⁴ Tomaso Albinoni, 'Adagio per archi e organo; elaborazione di Remo Giazotto', with the Orchestra dell' Angelicum di Milano, conducted by Ennio Gerelli, Angelicum 76506, 1950, 12", 78 rpm.

³⁵ There is no reference to EPP on the LP, though subsequent discs in the series bear the name 'Allegro', which was a subsidiary of EPP. My thanks to Nick Morgan for his help on this and related discographical issues.

³⁶ Tomaso Albinoni, 'Musico di Violino dilettante Veneto', EPP SLP1, 12", 33¹/₃ rpm.

These details provide important clues and my research shows that this LP and EPP SLP 2 were the main sources for Lo Duca's project. ³⁷ These two albums were part of a series of recordings that championed the music of Albinoni in particular, SLP 1 being dedicated entirely to his work. ³⁸ Presumably permission to use both recordings was part of some lease arrangement. (A full list of the music used is found in Appendix 2.) Only the Scarlatti *Passio* and possibly the organ pieces were recorded exclusively for the sonorised version.



Figure 4.2: covers of EPP SLP1 and EPP SLP2

Lo Duca's choices were thus not the result of careful and eclectic selection that drew on a specialised knowledge of Baroque repertoire but an act of expediency, perhaps encouraged by the current popularity of the Albinoni. With the potential soundtrack now dominated by Baroque repertoire, the Scarlatti provided a historically consistent choral source. No credits are given for the recording but Lo Duca's reference to Saint Eustache in Paris suggests that it might have been Le Chœur des Chanteurs de Saint-Eustache (23). That choir was founded in 1944 by Révérend

³⁷ It is unclear when EPP SLP2 was released. It doesn't appear in the 1952 edition of *The World's Encyclopaedia of Recorded Music*, eds. Francis F. Clough and G.J. Cuming (London: Sidgwick and Jackson), but does appear in the 1953 edition. That publication, though, only indicates its UK release.

³⁸ EPP SLP 3 includes Albinoni's Op.5, nos 7 (D minor), 11 (G major) and 12 (C major), and EPP SLP 6 includes the Sonatas à 3, op.1. EPP SLP 4 and EPP SLP 5 include works by C.P.E. Bach and W.F. Bach.

Père Martin (R.P. Emile Martin) and made several early-music recordings in the 1950s on labels such as Lumen. Certainly its singers would have been capable of performing the Scarlatti, though it is by no means clear that Witold and his Ensemble were the players. There is also no credit for the organist. It is tempting to think that André Marchal, the famous blind organist, who was resident organist at Saint Eustache between 1945 and 1963, played on this recording and, as a famous interpreter of J. S. Bach who made several recordings of the organ at Saint Eustache for the Lumen label before 1952, was the performer of the three chorale preludes. ³⁹ There is one other cue of note: the plainchant, Agnus Dei XVI. ⁴⁰ The rhythmic interpretation, vocal and acoustic properties are consistent with other recordings made by the Monks of Solesmes in the 1950s and indicate that they are the performers. ⁴¹ It is used when Jeanne finally receives communion, an attempt on Lo Duca's part to furnish the scene with diegetic music.

I have thus been able to identify all the cues save for two, both organ pieces. The first is a simple chordal progression and is probably improvised. On the first occasion it fulfils a convincing dramatic function, aligning with Massieu's urgent warning to Jeanne that her answer about being in a state of grace is dangerous, though no such apparent design applies to its second occurrence. The second cue, in G minor, is a threatening descending phrase in imitation that leads to dotted phrases in thirds driving downwards, this over an ominous pedal G. It is more than mere Baroque pastiche and bears a potent musico-dramatic force that sees it used in three scenes: when the English soldiers physically remove De Houppeville; the scene in the torture

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³⁹ http://www.academieandremarchal.org/topic2/indExamplehtml (accessed 7 October 2016).

⁴⁰ Graduale Triplex (Paris-Tournai: Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Solesmes, 1979), 763–4.

⁴¹ I have made a comparison with a four-LP set, *Chant Grégorien*, with the Choeur des Moines de l'Abbaye de Solesmes, dir. Dom J. Gajard, released 1953, Decca 133.112, 12", 33½ rpm. Several tracks can be heard here: http://gregorian-chant.ning.com/group/enregistrements/forum/topics/abbaye-saint-pierre-de-solesmes-chant-gregorien-2-lp-fr-decca-143 (accessed 8 March 2017).

chamber; and in the final assault of the English soldiers on the crowd. I have consulted widely but no organist or musicologist has recognised it, which suggests that it is an improvisation.

A broad musical design is evinced across the music track in a general preference for G minor and related keys. Occasional brief cues link otherwise harmonically disconnected movements. Even the very occasional (bad) edits that serve dramatic demands receive at least some musical thought. The clunkiest of these occurs in the Bach choral prelude, *O Mensch, bewein' dein' Sünde gross*, used in the scene where Jeanne finally signs her abjuration. (There is an obscure textual link here, *O Mensch, bewein' dein' Sünde gross* being a Passion text, though forethought is thrown into doubt by another chorale prelude, *Nun komm das Heiden Heiland*, which uses an Advent text.) While Cauchon and Loyseleur read out Jeanne's sentence, the prelude continues on its way, unrolling according to the gentle logic of a decorated melody before cutting abruptly from a diminished 7th chord with F in the bass to Eb major, hardly an elegant musical dismount, but presumably considered preferable to cutting the piece halfway through. This leads to a cue from the Scarlatti *Passion*, an organ introduction, and carries us to a shot of the crowd that synchronises exactly with a choral entry that explains the earlier edit.

Elsewhere choral interjections, whatever their text, are used to illustrate the crowd's baying dissent, an inherent contradiction in that the crowd in the Scarlatti are Jesus's detractors whilst in the film they are Jeanne's supporters. When Jeanne is tied to the stake, for example, the crowd sing '*Iesum Nazarenum*', which is a choral expression of hostility in the John Passion, the chorus offering up Jesus' name to the High Priests' question as to whom they seek, here recycled as veneration. If, though, Lo Duca shows a somewhat cavalier attitude to the musical material at a local level, what of his broader approach to dramatic structure?

The dramatic structure of La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc

In Chapter Six I will consider the issue of segmentation in more detail, but for the moment I will address the broader dramatic structure of *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* to determine Lo Duca's approach.

Given the definitive status of the 1981 Oslo print, it is to that we must turn first. A special edition of the journal *L'Avant-Scène cinéma* provides a list of the original Danish intertitles.⁴² These are exactly those that are found in the Eureka print and presumably reflect the original print. However, they also specify five acts, indications of which do not appear in the film, but which must have accompanied the reels, perhaps as a guide to musical directors.

Because these indications of act occur between intertitles rather than between shots, it is impossible to say exactly where the divisions fall. Act 2, for example, occurs between intertitles 49 and 50, which describe a conversation between Loyseleur and Warwick:

- 49: Since she could not be made to confess easily we will have to be clever ...
- 50: Go find a letter bearing the signature of King Charles.

This conversation is intercut with the priests leaving the chamber and Jeanne being led back to her cell, so how one Act ends and another one begins in the middle of a speech is not clear. The positions of Act 3 and Act 4 are unambiguous: Act 3 precedes the only intertitle in the entire film that signals a location – 'In the Torture Chamber'; and Act 4 marks the moment when the action moves outside for the first time. Act 5 is slightly indeterminate. The first shot of the procession is the most likely point (Godard ends his quotation of *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc*

⁴² L'Avant-Scène cinéma, 367/368 (Jan-Feb 1988), 150-2.

here). The structure, then, is as follows:

Act 1: From the opening rolling intertitles to the conclusion of the first court session.

Act 2: From the inception of the plan to forge a letter to Jeanne from King Charles, through the taunting by the English soldier and Jeanne's second court hearing, ending with the instruction to prepare the torture chamber.

Act 3: The scene in the torture chamber where Jeanne faints, followed by Jeanne's conversation with Cauchon in her cell. Her further questioning ends when she rounds on her accusers, leading Cauchon to say that they should prepare the execution.

Act 4: The drama moves outside to the cemetery. Jeanne is harangued by Lemaître and signs the abjuration. She is sentenced. Back in her cell, she realises what she has done and summons Cauchon. Left alone with Massieu, she explains the nature of her martyrdom.

Act 5: Jeanne receives communion and is burned at the stake. The film ends with the crowd rioting.

Does the music in any way acknowledge this structure? Looking first at the indeterminate case of Act 2, the music playing between intertitles 49 and 50 is the first movement of Geminiani's *Concerto Grosso* op.3 in G minor (*Spiritoso*). This has already been playing for some two minutes and it continues over what we might consider a transitional section, finishing on a close-up of Jeanne seated in her cell. We then cut to Loyseleur, who, in the previous shot, had been addressing a priest as he exited screen left in search of the scribe and now is speaking down to someone offscreen right. Loyseleur's look coincides with silence and the result of that is that for a moment it seems as if he might be speaking to Jeanne and that the cut was a temporal and spatial ellipsis. However, just as a new music cue begins, the *Adagio* from the same concerto grosso, the camera tilts down to reveal the script that is being forged. We have neither jumped in time nor space. It's therefore possible that Lo Duca deliberately underlined a potential ambiguity and used music to enhance it. Given the playing with narrative space noted in Chapter One, this might not be quite as fanciful as it seems. Either way, the musical cue does not acknowledge the

beginning of Act 2, though that in itself doesn't mean that Lo Duca was unaware of it; music is often used to bridge locations and carry the viewer from one space to another.

Act 3 follows a scene set in Jeanne's cell where the English soldiers taunt her and is accompanied by the Albinoni *Adagio* in G minor. The abrupt announcement of 'In the Torture Chamber', either the first shot of the torturer and his instruments or intertitle, calls for a 'stinger'. There is none. Furthermore, a cue begins some moments before this, the jaunty first movement of Sammartini's *Sinfonia* in G major (*Allegro ma non tanto*), a strange choice given Jeanne's anguish and the threatening environment. Lo Duca thus ignores the change of act and shows himself insensitive to the dramatic context of both scenes.

He is not, though, entirely blind to dramatic structure. When the action moves outside for the first time, this the beginning of Act 4, there is a new explanatory intertitle: 'And yet it was decided that Jeanne should be led to the churchyard and questioned at the gravesides'. There is, though, no obvious musical synchronisation. The *Sinfonia* in G major by Sammartini enters some ten seconds earlier.

The beginning of Act 5, like earlier acts, is similarly unmarked by music: the Bach chorale prelude *Nun komm' des Heiden Heiland* plays over prior shots of Massieu and Jeanne, and leads us into the procession. It might be argued that this sound is meant to be diegetic, that Ladvenu has initiated the beginning of Mass and that the organ is accompanying the procession, but the cue begins much too early for that.

Perhaps, though, Lo Duca deliberately chose to ignore the five-act structure or he was responding to a convincing alternative like the one that David Bordwell provides:

⁴³ Whether the intertitle was deleted or missing from the original 16mm print is impossible to say. The intertitle is itself odd in its redundancy, the only use of an intertitle in the entire film that indicates a location. I can only surmise that the effect is meant to be startling.

[O]n the basis of change of setting, we arrive at a scheme which alternates scenes outside Jeanne's cell with scenes inside it: (1) the court; (2) the cell; (3) the torture chamber; (4) the cell; (5) the cemetery; (6) the cell; (7) the castle courtyard.⁴⁴

But again, the exact beginnings and endings are inevitably blurred given that this model, like the five-act structure, involves transitions (Appendix 2 sets Bordwell's outline against the music cues).

It appears, then, that the relationship between the music cues and the dramatic structure is only loosely paralleled. And this disjunction is highlighted by the use of complete movements and the correlative moments of silence between each. The problem with such silences is noted by Michel Chion in a different context, that of the inadequacy of sound design in early sound cinema:

[M]usic in *The Informer* [John Ford, 1935] often gets interrupted bluntly and suddenly, in midphrase, producing a silence in which the subsequent dialogue resonates strangely. By stopping and passing the baton to speech, it seems as if the music is pointedly referring to itself rather than remaining unobtrusive.⁴⁵

Because music is used to amplify, comment upon and underscore the drama, when silence replaces it the spectator searches for significance. Put differently, when the music stops we want to know why. Lo Duca's deliberate attempts to integrate drama with music, whether the overt sentimentality of the Albinoni or the textual association of the Passion reveal a rather indeterminate cutting-and-pasting of existent recordings.

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⁴⁴ Bordwell, The Films, 86.

⁴⁵ Michel Chion, *Audio-Vision: Sound on Screen*, trans. Claudia Gorbman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 54.

Inherent problems of Baroque music

Baroque music is rarely used as film music and when it is, it generally functions anempathetically as 'neutral continuity music'. 46 There are exceptions, of course, even in the silent era. Hugo Riesenfeld, the New York-based arranger/conductor, created a combinative score for Ernst Lubitsch's *Anna Boleyn* (1920, released as *Deception* in the USA). It included music by J. S. Bach, Rameau, Vivaldi, Handel and Corelli amongst others, and featured harpsichord, oboe da caccia and viola d'amore. The purpose is broadly historicist; Baroque music invokes a broad historical otherness while its stately formality is deemed appropriate for a drama set in a Royal court: 'While the modern work might have served technically well enough', Riesenfeld wrote, 'it would not have given the effect of antiquity'. 47

In the sound era, we have Pasolini's distinctive use of Bach and Vivaldi in a series of films in the 1960s: to distancing effect and as a signifier of cultural otherness in *Accattone* (1961) and *Mamma Roma* (1962), and to more traditionally emotive and motivated effect in *Il vangelo secondo Matteo* (1964). Bach is frequently used by Bergman, often diegetically, and one can also cite Martin Scorsese's almost ironic use of 'Wir setzen uns mit Tränen nieder' from Bach's Matthew Passion in *Casino* (1994).⁴⁸ There are also any number of Baroque-inspired scores, amongst which we can include Legrand's score for *Vivre Sa Vie*.⁴⁹

Lo Duca's first proposal was more specific than the programme entirely of Baroque music

⁴⁶ Mervyn Cooke, A History of Film Music (Cambridge: CUP, 2008), 452.

⁴⁷ Musical Courier, 5 May 1921, 56. See also Altman, Silent, 315-6

⁴⁸ See Anyssa Neumann, 'Sound, Act, Presence: Pre-Existing Music in the Films of Ingmar Bergman' (PhD diss., King's College, London, 2017).

⁴⁹ The cue bears more than a passing resemblance to the accompaniment to recitative no.12 of Bach's *Matthäus-Passion* (BWV 244), 'Wiewhol mein Herz in Tränen schwimmt'.

he ultimately created: music by J.S. Bach. He perhaps intended to exploit a sustained connotation of equivalent aesthetic merit: La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc is, after all, a 'classic' in much the same way that Bach is a 'classic' classical composer, and, as Cooke, notes, Bach's music is often used in film 'to suggest class and cultural distinction'. ⁵⁰ What, then, are the consequences of choosing an all-Baroque score? When such an approach has been used in many of the above examples, such repertoire often functions as commentary, diegetically so in the case of Bergman, which suggests that one of the essential properties of Baroque music is an inherent resistance to narrative integration. This property derives from a certain rhythmic consistency and autonomy. The movements from concerti, sinfonia and organ pieces that Lo Duca chose are subject to specific organising principles that are sustained across entire movements: tempo – Adagio, Largo, Allegro, Andante, etc.; and originating dance forms – Minuet, Gavotte, Courante, etc. Sections are clearly marked by an obvious beginning and even more obvious endings, with rallentandi and fermata limited to cadences. Metres are duple or triple with no change within movements, the downbeat always obvious. Stylistic features include arpeggiated movement, sequences, and the prominent use of dotted rhythms which further add to a sense of an independent teleology. In terms of timbre, the palette of available sounds is clearly more limited than the symphony orchestra: instruments are generally quieter – brass instruments have smaller bores, keyboards such as the harpsichord lack sustain – and the range of dynamic contrast is considerably narrower. Contrasting moods are evident, then, not within movements but between them, and orchestral variety is subordinate to the concerto form itself, i.e. variety between defined groups or solo instruments.

The music of narrative film in the 1950s is very different. In such repertoire there are

⁵⁰ Cooke, A History, 452.

frequent metre changes, held chords, and tempo shifts, all of which accommodate music to film rhythm. Themes are organised by principles of organic musical coherence only in credit sequences, thereafter, subordinate to filmic logic (editing patterns, emotional underscoring, etc.). Cadences are generally avoided, and musical sections often end on suspensions.⁵¹ And sound film, of course, avails itself of sound design, dipping the music beneath other sonic elements, rising in volume to match emotional intensity, etc.

But perhaps Lo Duca, a film historian, was trying to emulate the practices of the silent era. The organisation of his musical material seems, at first sight, to bear the hallmarks of the cue-sheet system. There music was categorised by individual character or tempo, such designations a shorthand for the dominant mood or affect of specific narrative sequences.

However, the cue-sheet system allowed for considerable flexibility within cues. Tempo could be altered, timbres contrasted, dynamics applied, suspended chords held, sequences repeated, and multifarious other performative articulations coaxed different readings and moods from the same musical material.⁵² Lo Duca, however, is dealing not with raw notation but with recorded cues, wherein performance is fixed and unalterable. He also chooses not to avail himself of any sound design, other than fading the opening cue under the voice-over.

If Baroque movements with their relentless rhythms are ill-suited to the rapidly shifting emotional landscape of narrative film, then there are exceptions. One such is the Albinoni *Adagio* in G minor, whose appearance in the Lo Duca version may well be the first of many in film history, appearing most recently in *Manchester by the Sea* (Kenneth Lonergan, 2016). It

⁵¹ Coincidentally, *Vivre sa vie* is the perfect example here: its twelve musical sections all lack cadences. See Royal S. Brown, *Undertones and Overtones: Reading Film Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 188–200.

⁵² To give just one example, see Edith Lang and George West's discussion of musical variation in *Musical Accompaniment of Moving Pictures: A Practical Manual for Pianists and Organists and an Exposition of the Principles Underlying the Musical Interpretation of Moving Pictures* (Boston: Boston Music, 1920), 8–12.

underscores Welles' voice-over in the introduction of *The Trial* (Orson Welles, 1962), is used in *Rollerball* (Norman Jewison, 1975) as background to a mawkish video of the hero Jonathan E's former wife, and is a signifier of the futility of war in *Gallipoli* (Peter Weir, 1981). Indeed, its standing as an old warhorse in films is signalled by a coy reference to *Gallipoli* in *Inbetweeners 2* (Damon Beasley and Iain Morris, 2014), when the appearance of an excrement-spattered character prompts a panicked exodus from a swimming pool. Bach's *Toccata and Fugue* in D minor is another film-music Baroque evergreen, having its own place in the canon of film music, harnessed to horror films in particular – *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (Rouben Mamoulian, 1931) and *The Black Cat* (Edgar G. Ulmer, 1934), for example. Again, it is easy to see why: its *grand guignol* opening statement is an assertion of terror like a slashing blade.

Both of these pieces, however, are spurious: the Albinoni *Adagio* was actually composed by Remo Giazotto in 1945; and the Bach *Toccata* has generated a not-dissimilar musicological controversy.⁵³ Each in its own way is Baroque music passed through a Romantic filter and each is characterised by a more flexible formal and metrical organisation than much Baroque music (with the obvious exception of solo recitatives), with suspended chords, musical hesitations and sudden forceful entries that lend themselves to the fluid demands of drama.⁵⁴ The Albinoni is described by Michael Talbot as 'unashamedly lachrymose'⁵⁵ with 'a pizzicato bass in striding

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has no hesitation at all in dismissing it, noting that 'its style is so totally unlike Albinoni's that it invites us to explore

⁵³ See Peter F. Williams, 'BWV 565: a Toccata in D minor for Organ by J. S. Bach?', *EM* 9, no. 3. (1981). See also Wulf Dieter Lugert and Volker Schütz 'Adagio à la Albinoni', *Praxis des Musikunterrichts*, 53, (1998) 13-22. The authors include a photograph of a letter from the Sächsische Landsbibliothek dated 27 August 1990 which confirms that there is no supporting evidence for Giazotto's claim.

⁵⁴ In this context, one can also note the dense overlay of modern strings in Pachelbel's *Canon and Gigue* in D major, made famous by a 1968 arrangement and recording by the Orchestre de Chambre Jean-François Paillard, which has made this another popular Baroque 'classic', lending itself to a predictably empathic use in *Ordinary People* (Robert Redford, 1980). See Robert Fink, 'Prisoners of Pachelbel: An Essay in Post-Canonic Musicology', *Hamburg Jahrbuch*, 2010. https://www.academia.edu/581670/Prisoners_of_Pachelbel (accessed 21 July 2016).

⁵⁵ Remo Giazotto was an Italian musicologist (1910–1998), who wrote the first full-length book on Tomaso Albinoni in 1945. The Adagio was reconstructed by him on the basis of two fragments that he claimed to have discovered in a library in Leipzig in 1945, though when challenged he was unable to present them. Michael Talbot

octaves (evocative of sobbing)', this latter feature modelled on the sequential descending string lines of the second movement of Bach's Orchestral Suite No. 3 in D major, BWV 1068 ('Air on a G string', itself popularised by August Wilhelmj's arrangement in the nineteenth century), answered in parallel motion by a rising bass line, has frequently been used as an illustration of hope, yearning and melancholy. A further familiarising gesture is the opening harmony borrowed directly from Beethoven's Piano Sonata no.14 in C# minor (op.27 no.2), the Moonlight Sonata.

Lo Duca uses the Albinoni cue on two occasions: over the opening sequence (which I will address in the next section); and, later in the film, when the English soldiers taunt Jeanne. The latter scene highlights one of the problems that confronts any accompanist of scenes such as this: does the music adopt the perspective of Jeanne's accusers or Jeanne herself? 'Neutral continuity', to cite Cooke's description of the occasional use of Bach, would be one solution, affording the viewer an uninflected underscore.

The Albinoni cue clearly makes a play for sympathy. But while this works well with the long-held shots of Jeanne's stoical saintliness, it sits oddly with the soldiers' actions. For example, a held suspended dominant 7th chord aligns with the moment when one of the soldiers picks up the crown with his sword, lending the action a contrived ominousness. A comparison with the Alix/Pouget score for the 1928 Paris premiere is instructive. There the music underlines the comic element of the soldiers' boorish teasing with a solo, farting bassoon (*très détaché*) and offbeat pizzicato giggles. (The soldiers bear more than a passing resemblance to The Three Stooges.)

his music under false premises' Michael Talbot, *Tomaso Albinoni: the Venetian Composer and his World* (Oxford: OUP, 1994), iii.



piano reduction.



Figure 4.3: comparative shots of the three English soldiers and The Three Stooges

Interestingly, the Alix/Pouget score must have been treated by musical directors in much the same way that cue sheets were, i.e. the score was designed to be extended or cut to fit the scene. The four indications in the score of physical acts – 'the soldier picks up the crown with his sword', 'he puts the crown on Jeanne's head', 'the arrow', and the intertitle 'She really looks like a daughter of God, eh?' – do not align at all if we follow the tempo marking of crotchet=88.

Indeed, at that speed the cue lasts only two minutes while the cue itself is marked c. 3 minutes.

There is, though, a recording of the music on disc, which fits the scene almost exactly. Two distinct repeats extend the cue to 98 bars in total. While lengthening might have been motivated by the desire to make it fit on one side of a 78rpm, it would have been far easier to repeat just one section rather than this fiddlier solution. Moreover, when laid over the film (at 20fps) not only do the sync points work almost perfectly, but the rising string phrase, which introduces a more lyrical tone, coincides with the appearance of Jeanne's sympathiser, Massieu.

⁵⁶ Six recordings of cues from the score, originally issued on Columbia (D 19253-54-56) can be heard on an online encyclopaedia of music used in French theatre and radio between 1918 and 1944: http://194.254.96.55/cm/?for=docum&cledocum=alix_jeannedarc (accessed 12 Oct 2017). The performance is credited to the Orchestra Symphonique of Lutetia Wagram, a cinema in Paris (since demolished), though the October premiere took place in the Cinema Marivaux in Paris. There are several similar recordings in the Columbia series of silent film music, all on 78rpms, performed by the same orchestra and almost always conducted by J. S. Zamecnick. Zamecnick oversaw music for silent film at the Sam Fox organisation in Paris, which also published the

Lo Duca, however, while having at his disposal a piece that has greater metrical flexibility than all the other Baroque movements he uses, had made himself hostage to fortune: the logic of the cue was fixed by performance and its musical gestures fell where they would.

The credit sequence and first scene

I will now address the integration between music and film in a more detailed fashion, focusing on the opening credit sequence and the first few shots.

In general, musical rhythm is not aligned with edits to avoid an otherwise distracting sense of artifice. Where such alignments do occur – stingers, rapid-montage sequences – the disruption of naturalism is deliberately used to dramatic effect. This can also apply in credit sequences such as that for *Gallipoli*, which also uses the Albinoni *Adagio*. Here the cue begins in the middle of a section (a later section than that used by Lo Duca), at bar 81 in the full score. As the diagram below shows, there are two obvious sync points: the first is the unexpected shift to Db major, which coincides with a title card of 'Peter Weir's film of; the second is the ominous unison string bridge, marked *ampio* (grandly) in the organ score and *senza fraseggiare* (without phrasing) in the full score, the first note of which synchronises exactly with the title of the film:



Figure 4.4: detail of credit sequence from *Gallipoli*, showing synchronisation of cuts with downbeats⁵⁷

Synchronisation like this is obviously easy to do, shot-lengths of credits being particularly malleable, but Lo Duca does not avail himself of such potential.⁵⁸ (For the following, see Appendix 3.) The title of the film fades in from black, accompanied by solemn pizzicato striding octaves in the cellos and basses over gently embellished organ chords. Subsequent shots, all over a background of a side aisle of an unidentified church, emerge not according to any musical logic but according to the amount of information they contain. Lo Duca's attitude to the credits, though, is more than a little melodramatic and provides licence for histrionics of which he does not avail himself: Falconetti is separated from the rest of the cast, the star of the film, with her own mythology, rather like Garbo identified here only by her last name: 'avec Falconetti (Jeanne)'.⁵⁹ Once more, though, visual logic is primary and any synchronisation of cutting and musical structure coincidental.

⁵⁷ Transcription from full score.

⁵⁸ Note the use of music in the opening credits of *The Chronicle of Anna Magdalena Bach* (Jean-Marie Straub and Danielle Huillet, 1968), an altogether different approach to narrative historical reconstruction, where the music – Brandenburg Concerto No. 5, BWV 1050: Allegro 1 (First Movement), bars 147–227 – begins some thirty seconds into the credit sequence.

⁵⁹ Lo Duca follows the conventions of the 1920s, which saw many actors identified only by their last name.

Nor do the credits evince any correspondence with the broader musical structure of introduction and main theme. The cast credit emerges during the final chord of the introduction, not on any downbeat. Similarly, the stentorian voice-over enters during the conclusion of the main theme and not on any equivalent musical statement. And while the voice-over ends partway through the shot of Cauchon reading the charges, the Albinoni continues across Jeanne's swearing-in and initial interrogation as if indifferent to it.

Music here, loosely allied with the images, fulfils a common phatic function, a reassuring communicative presence that carries us across the various narrative regimes of the credit sequence - historical documents, informing voice-over, and the drama itself. At most it is a murmuring litany of anticipatory sympathy for our heroine. Once the drama begins, though, music and image occasionally interlace. One such moment is the first shot of De Houppeville which coincides very obviously with the first beat of a bar. The effect is to privilege him for a moment through musical pointing: 'this character is important'. We then cut to Jeanne (on no specific beat) and, over a held chord, cut to a priest who puts his finger in his ear and, just at the moment the music pauses, examines the wax he has retrieved. The caesura underlines the casual, rathertoo-human act and its inappropriateness in the serious context of the trial. Soon after, the music moves towards a cadence on G minor, the home key, as Cauchon leans forward and asks Jeanne a question, but the promised resolution never arrives: a sustained chord of Gmin7 plays as Jeanne hesitates. The unexpected cadential interruption, when combined with a cut to the vulnerable Jeanne, carries with it considerable dramatic force, emphasising a sense of Jeanne's perilous state. Cauchon nods, massages his chin, and asks a further question. The organ continues to hold the chord under this action; then, just as Jeanne begins to speak again, telling us her age and that she

is called Jeanette, begins a slow sequential movement.⁶⁰ When the organ finally settles on a chord of C minor, the camera pulls back to reveal Cauchon and his neighbour, Jean d'Yd, who now takes over the questioning. Again, though entirely coincidental, the alliance of musical and dramatic structure rescues the music from the charge of indifference. Such moments suggest a local design and affirm a sense of a deliberate hand on the narrative tiller, steering image and music on a parallel course. This is, though, illusory. Lo Duca seems to have determined only a broad sequence of musical material with the film's narrative structure. Where image and music coalesce at a micro-level it is merely coincidence:

music because of the great ambiguity of its 'signifiers' is ... easily 'captioned' ... by almost any moving picture. This is a phenomenon anyone can observe today simply by turning down the sound on a television and putting almost any disc on the record player ... There will invariably be effects of visual and psychological 'synchronisation', and sometimes sound and picture will 'match' for minutes at a time.⁶¹

And perhaps such 'psychological synchronisation', to use Burch's term, is a precondition of the convincing function of narrative film music. Lea Jacobs has shown that the early days of sound cinema placed great emphasis on exact congruity and that there then followed a transitional period when 'the synchronisation between music and movement became more selective'. ⁶² Such connection between physical action and musical beat has also been noted by Chion and Kathryn Kalinak about John Ford's *The Informer*, a film made in 1935 and therefore

⁶⁰ This is the first and only variation to the music as defined in the various editions from which Witold worked. In the Giazotto edition, it is a moment for a cadenza, which moves through C min, C maj 7th, F min and D maj 7th back to G min, the entire sequence over a pedal G. In the very simple sequence used in the film, the organ moves from G min 7th, through C min, back to G min 7th, thence to C min, though there seems to be no change in the sound. It's thus entirely possible that this sequence was part of the original recording.

⁶¹ Noël Burch, Life to Those Shadows (London: BFI, 1990), 236.

⁶² Lea Jacobs, *Film music after Sound: Technology, Music and Performance*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 107.

still in the relatively early years of sound cinema.⁶³ Music in the classical narrative film braids itself to narration not just emotionally and referentially but rhythmically too. It otherwise runs the danger of floating free of the narrative system and thereby drawing attention to itself (an effect exploited most consistently and obviously, and to different ends, by Godard and other anti-illusionist filmmakers).

There is no question that Lo Duca proved himself to be a poor judge when it came to choosing the music for his version. The basic approach, one of adding pre-existing cues to the image track, was hopeful at best. But the opprobrium heaped upon him remains disproportionate to the net result, and there are moments of convincing underscoring which, even if by luck rather than judgement, remind us that the operation of music and film is considerably more imprecise and at the same time fortuitous than we often allow.

Careful matching of drama with music, both on a micro-and a macro-level, was the aim of *Voices Appeared*, achieved using digital technology but coincidences of musical rhythm and onscreen action – stones crashing through windows on downbeats in the later part of the film, for example – and even coincidences of text and intertitles – the word *comme<u>mor</u>ationem*, sung at the same time as the intertitle 13, 'min Mor' (my mother) – were pleasing examples of unintended synchronicity.

⁶³ See Kathryn Kalinak, *Settling the Score: Music and the Classical Hollywood Film*, (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, 1992), 114–117, and Chion, *Audio-Vision*, 53–4.

CHAPTER FIVE

Fifteenth-century musical culture, performance practice and modern working practices

Introduction

The realisation of musical notation in sound in real time, what we commonly define as performance, is neither innocent nor undetermined. Rather, it arises from a complex dialectic of knowledge, convention, learned musical behaviour ('instinct'), as well as individual study. In the specific case of early music or, to be more precise given the parameters of this study, in the case of *a cappella* vocal performance of late-medieval music, the various aspects of this negotiation can be traced in a productive tension between musicology and performance. Performers of medieval music have over time enjoyed particularly close ties with academia, most obviously manifest in the visible relationships between singers and musicologists of medieval music, the latter sometimes functioning as directors of groups. But even when groups do not work directly with musicologists, the impact of the discipline is never far away.¹

Chapter One explained how The Orlando Consort was formed. Essentially, four singers all of whom had a profile as early-music singers through their work with groups that perform Renaissance and Baroque repertoire but who had minimal experience of performing medieval

¹ The most obvious example in the United Kingdom is that of Christopher Page and Gothic Voices. Further recent examples are Edward Wickham and The Clerks (formerly The Clerks Group), and Andrew Kirkman and The Binchois Consort. The Orlando Consort has worked on various projects with many musicologists cited elsewhere in this chapter: Margaret Bent, David Fallows, Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, Jaap van Benthem, to name but a few.

music, were brought together to form a group. The singers' contribution was, at the time, limited to performing; we worked with a musicologist who provided editions for us and advice on how to perform the music. Two features of that approach were highlighted in the group's biography: a commitment to tuning and to historical pronunciation. These two principles clearly fall under the general rubric of 'authenticity', or Historically Informed Performance (HIP), and this, together with the fashion in which the first concerts were rehearsed, established a profile of the group as one that paid its respects to academic research. There have been many occasions since when we have regretted the extra work that such historical exactitude has entailed, but if it has been a straitjacket then it was one that we had willingly donned. The reader will here recognise in this extended metaphor the continuing narrative of constraint that informs the organisation of this thesis, and it is indeed this theme that forms this chapter's starting point.

The following is a critical consideration of several key areas within the musicology of medieval music, focused on a specific period: 1400–1450. The aim is to address and assess what we know about musical culture of this period and how we know it. I will adopt the perspectives of the modern academic and the modern performer. In so doing, I hope to view specific topics through the prisms of theory and practice, showing how historical knowledge shapes and to a degree controls the contributions of performers. A central contention here is that musicology's advisory stance has sometimes extended to a regulatory role in the performance of medieval music. This can all too easily be dismissed as a mental projection determined not by reality but by the performer's paranoia, or at least it can be so viewed if the observation is made by the performer.² When it is made by the musicologist it is perhaps more difficult to disregard:

² I make this charge in Donald Greig, 'Sightlines and tramlines: The Orlando Consort at 25', *EM* 43 no. 1 (2015), 140–1.

Instead of seeing performance as a context for meaning production and seeking to understand its operation, the role of scholarship in HIP was to discipline practice.³

The charge here is that musicology has operated unwittingly as an internalised agency of conscience, a superego to the unruly id of performers. I have argued elsewhere that, in its most extreme form, the theoretical and historiographical elements of music history have occasionally echoed the prescriptive guise of medieval treatise writers. It results in what I would like to term the Performance of Musicology, this being understood as the practical demonstration of the findings of historical performance practice. The approach is familiar, originally in the form of the authenticity movement and now in its more carefully articulated offspring, HIP:

While [Historically Informed Performance] recognizes that performance practices changed, and that music sounded and felt different in the past, its solution is to get back to it and tie it permanently to the score, in other words to outlaw change in interpretation and meaning.⁶

This dynamic has played itself out in various forums over the years, but perhaps nowhere more obviously than in the pages of *Early Music*. In its infancy, *Early Music* was avowedly inclusive, a magazine rather than a journal, aimed at the musicologist, the performer and the lay audience: 'a link between the finest scholarship of our day and the amateur and professional listener and performer', as J.M. Thomson, the founding editor, put it.⁷ It was content to leave the challenges of a technical, critical musicology to more overtly academic publications such as

³ Nicholas Cook, *Beyond the Score*, (New York: OUP, 2013), 27.

⁴ Greig, 'Sightlines', passim.

⁵ A similar conception informs John Butt's approach. See John Butt, 'Acting up a Text: The Scholarship of Performance and the Performance of Scholarship', *EM* 24, no. 2 (1996); and John Butt, *Playing with History: The Historical Approach to Musical Performance* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002).

⁶ Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, 'Compositions, Scores, Performances, Meanings', *Music Theory Online* 18.1 (2012), unpaginated (accessed 20 March 2017).

⁷ J. M. Thomson, Editorial, *EM* 1, no. 1 (1973), 1. The shift from 'magazine' to 'journal' was noted by the then editor, Tess Knighton, in the twenty-fifth anniversary issue. Tess Knighton, 'Foreword: 25 years of *Early Music*', *EM* 25, no. 4 (1998), vii.

the Journal of the American Musicological Society, Music & Letters and others. Unlike those, Early Music featured review articles of recordings and also introduced topics such as 'Listening Practice', this in its twenty-fifth anniversary issue, which simultaneously opened up the space for a discussion of the horizons and limitations of performance practice and shifted the focus from the production of the musical work to its reception.8 A section entitled 'Performing Matters' further acknowledged the importance of performance to scholarship. Over that same period a Musicology of Performance has developed, somewhat independently of the more historically focused approach of Early Music.9

The hoped-for process of dialogue between performers and academics could occasionally become tetchy, induced in part by the value judgements that underlay seemingly objective academic commentary. Richard Sherr's article on the Tallis Scholars' recordings of Josquin's *L'homme armé* masses and Fabrice Fitch's article on the same group's recording of Obrecht's *Missa Maria zart* are cases in point, the latter provoking a cranky response from Peter Phillips, the director of the group. Such confrontations identify an inherent problem: whenever historical performance practice is used as an aesthetic yardstick the Musicology of Performance inclines towards the Performance of Musicology. Daniel Leech-Wilkinson's book, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music*, outlined something of this process in his account of the development of the *a cappella* theory of the performance of medieval chansons in the late 1970s and 1980s, arguing that the performance of medieval music was here inseparable from a

⁸ In many ways this concept seems designed to shift attention away from performance practice. See Shai Burstyn, 'In quest of the period ear', *EM* 25, no. 4 (1997).

⁹ The literature is extensive and well surveyed in Nicholas Cook, 'Music as Performance', in *The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2003), eds. Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert, and Richard Middleton, 204–6.

¹⁰ See Richard Sherr, 'The Performance of Josquin's L'homme armé Masses', *EM* 19 no. 2 (1991); Fabrice Fitch, 'O Tempora! O Mores!: A New Recording of Obrecht's *Missa Maria zart*', *EM* 24 no. 3 (1996); and Peter Phillips, 'Obrecht's *Maria zart*: Scholarly Opinion versus Subjective Interpretation', *EM* 25 no. 1 (1997).

musicological agenda.¹¹ All this suggests that there is no innocent academic discourse or, ultimately, any hope of re-creating music in any image other than our own, whether or not we have the required data (which we certainly don't in the case of medieval music). Exciting as this is – it means, among other things, that over the next one hundred years there will be new performance approaches as yet unimagined – it is a serious charge against a supposedly neutral historical discourse and must give us considerable pause for thought. Nevertheless, placing performance at the centre of debates within the pages of *Early Music* produced a welcome reciprocal influence of performance on musicology. Responses to recordings of, in particular, Gothic Voices, not only led to a different perception of the music, but also spurred musicologists to consider performance as an appropriate object of analysis and not merely its visual analogue, the score.¹²

Both modern and historical performance practice, then, play a major role in the study of music from a period in which our knowledge about composers and the practical side of their activity is limited. Biographical detail and compositional sketches constitute the 'stuff' of authorial intentionality without which the standard critical model struggles. Arguably, that void is filled by the study of historical performance practice, which proposes an original (perfect) performance, or type of performance, that existed in the composer's mind's eye and which the modern performer aims to recreate.

My initial focus will be on the musicological discourses that serve to explain the music of the early fifteenth century and how those played their part in *Voices Appeared*. For while that

¹¹ See Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 99–156.

¹² Examples include Daniel Leech-Wilkinson's analysis of Machaut's *Rose lis*: Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, 'Machaut's "Rose, Lis", and the Problem of Early Music Analysis', *Music Analysis* 3, no. 1 (1984). Further examples are the review articles by Fitch and Sherr cited above.

project gave the performance of medieval music a new purpose – as an accompaniment to a film – the role and influence of musicology was ever-present. *Voices Appeared* thus presents itself as a particularly interesting demonstration of the practices that underlie the realisation of music from a specific musical period, the early fifteenth century, in the twenty-first century. Such practice is usually hidden from view with rehearsals and performance decisions taking place *in camera*, recollections of which are subject to selective memory and personal agenda. The interpretation of the music of this project, by contrast, is manifest in very specific instructions, determined by the needs of synchronisation and repetition in a way that does not usually obtain. This fixity of interpretation thus provides a more concrete instance than the more evanescent manifestations of concert performance or even recording.

The further aim of this survey of musical culture is as a prolegomenon to the interesting if difficult question of Jeanne d'Arc's exposure to music in her lifetime, this being one of the implied premises of *Voices Appeared*. Of humble origins and thrust into the world of royal courts and national cathedrals, Jeanne d'Arc (c. 1412–1431) lived in a period of notable musical cultural change:

Late medieval Europe witnessed an unprecedented expansion of the means of artistic creation and the access to art ... The archives continuously document the introduction of new forms and uses of music, the ever-greater expenditures on music, and its greater availability to lower social classes.¹³

Her experience of liturgy and music thus presents itself as a potentially privileged view of a musical world in flux.

I will address four specific topics. The first two – composers and manuscripts – describe

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¹³ Reinhard Strohm, The Rise of European Music: 1380-1500 (Cambridge: CUP, 1993), 4.

the evidence about the lives of composer/singers, including the institutions that employed them, and the transmission of their compositions. The second pair of topics – musica ficta and tempo – are issues of historical performance practice. I will consider the operation of both, first in purely historical terms – how *musica ficta* operated, the principles of original notation including tempo, mensuration and proportions – before going on to consider editorial issues confronted by those who provide modern transcriptions from which a great majority of modern singers perform (whether or not they also consult the original manuscripts, in facsimile). This raises the issue of what Margaret Bent has called 'the dilemma of translation', a notion that brings with it the implication that something essential is lost if performance is from modern transcription. Throughout I will aim to use examples from composers and compositions used in *Voices* Appeared and thereby bring to bear on the debates and my critical discussion of them something of the experience of the modern performer. Where compositions cited here are part of the score of Voices Appeared, they are identified by the designation 'VA' followed by the number of the composition, e.g. (VA12), (VA 25), etc., as itemised in Table A4:1 available on The Orlando Consort website.14

<u>Composers</u>

In general, we have considerably more information about music in the second half of the fifteenth century than the first. This is due essentially to two factors: the survival of records and the investment of research by music historians. As a consequence of the relative lack of evidence, few biographically inclined studies of composers during the period between 1400 to 1450 will

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¹⁴ http://www.orlandoconsort.com/Manuscript_sources.htm

run to book length, obvious exceptions being Susanne Clercx's study of Ciconia, and David Fallows' and Alejandro Planchart's monographs on Dufay.¹⁵ In the case of Dufay, who was certainly recognised in his time, his pre-eminence today is due in no small part to the fortunate survival of significant records of his life and career.¹⁶ Scholarship about composers of Dufay's generation, for whom less information exists, take an alternative form of collections of essays, usually a summation of an earlier conference.¹⁷

For the latter half of the fifteenth century, where considerably more information is available, there are correlatively more book-length studies: Fallows' on Josquin des Pres, Rob Wegman's on Obrecht, Sean Gallagher's on Regis, etc. as well as collections of essays on individual composers (Ockeghem and Busnois, for example).¹⁸

The concept of the composer in the modern day is secure and almost unassailable; s/he is the creator of work, the undisputed source of musical invention. But the veneration of the composer in the late medieval period was by no means as stable or as all-commanding as it is today. 'We may be handicapped in our attempts to establish the biographies of musicians by a mental habit of seeing them too exclusively as musicians', warns Nino Pirrotta.¹⁹ Composers were

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¹⁵ Suzanne Clercx, Johannes Ciconia: Un musicien liégeois et son temps (Vers 1335–1411), vol. 1. La vie et l'œuvre, vol. 2. Transcriptions et notes critiques (Bruxelles: Palais des Académies, 1960); Frank A. D'Accone, The Civic Muse: Music and Musicians in Siena during the Middle Ages and Renaissance (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); David Fallows, Dufay (London: J.M. Dent, 1982); and Alejandro Enrique Planchart, Guillaume Du Fay: The Life and Works (Cambridge: CUP, 2018).

¹⁶ 'That we know more about the early life of Guillaume Du Fay than is the case with most other composers of his time is merely because from early on his family was connected with an institution, the Cathedral of Cambrai, that kept copious and detailed records, and those records, unlike those of other northern French cathedrals, have survived.' Alejandro Enrique Planchart, 'The Early Career of Guillaume Du Fay', *JAMS* 46, no. 3 (1993), 341.

¹⁷ Andrew Kirkman and Dennis Slavin, eds. *Binchois Studies* (Oxford: OUP, 2000).

¹⁸ David Fallows, Josquin (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009); Rob C. Wegman, Born for the Muses: The Life and Masses of Jacob Obrecht (Oxford: OUP, 1994); Sean Gallagher, Johannes Regis (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010). See also Philippe Vendrix ed., Johannes Ockeghem: Actes du XLe colloque international d'études humanistes: Tours, 3–8 février 1997 (Tours: Klincksieck, 1998) and Paula Higgins ed., Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music, (Oxford: OUP, 1999).

¹⁹ Nino Pirrotta, 'Music and Cultural Tendencies in 15th-Century Italy', *JAMS* 19 no. 2 (1966), 131.

not necessarily paid for their compositions; rather, composition was an implicit part of their brief and, as far as we can tell, a major reason for their employment. ²⁰ Most commentators, though, have not questioned the notion of the composer, attributing the modern age's fascination with music and its authors to the scribes of manuscripts such as Ox 213 and Bol Q 15. Such a view has been challenged in recent debates about the musical work, as well as in more post-modern interrogations of the ideal of the author. ²¹

Whatever the problems of an authorial approach, the life of Dufay provides a useful template of the career of the early fifteenth-century musician and composer from the Franco-Flemish region: training in a *maîtrise* or choir school, initial employment in their home country, travel to the courts, collegiate churches, royal and ducal chapels, and cathedrals of Italy (acknowledged in the common appellation of *oltramontani* – those from beyond the mountains), the consolidation of future income through benefices, and, towards the end of their lives, a return to their homeland, either to take up positions granted to them by a benefice or to see out their final years in the service perhaps of the very church in which they had received their original training as choirboys.²² Barbara Haggh traces a marked change in the fifteenth century, a 'transformation of the itinerant singer paid for occasional services into the resident professional

²⁰ 'Rob C. Wegman argues that it is not till Heinrich Isaac in 1497 that composition is part of any employment contract: 'From Maker to Composer: Improvisation and Musical Authorship in the Low Countries, 1450–1500', *JAMS* 49 no. 3 (1996), 434–5. Note that Wegman is talking about the latter part of the fifteenth century.

²¹ See Margaret Bent, 'Polyphonic sources, ca. 1400–1450', in *The Cambridge History of Fifteenth-Century Music* eds. Anna Maria Busse Berger and Jesse Rodin (Cambridge: CUP, 2015); Reinhard Strohm, 'Looking back at ourselves: The Problem with the Musical Work-Concept' in *The Musical Work: Reality or Invention* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), ed. Michael Talbot; and Leeman L. Perkins, 'Concerning the Ontological Status of the Notated Music Work in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries', ibid. On the issue of the author more generally, the key essays are Roland Barthes, 'The Death of the Author' in *Image, Music, Text* (London: Fontana, 1977) ed. and trans. Stephen Heath; and Michel Foucault, 'What is an Author?' in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977) ed. and trans. Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon.

²² See Paula M. Higgins, 'Musical Politics in Late Medieval Poitiers: A Tale of Two Choirmasters', in *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music* (Oxford: OUP, 1999) ed. Paula M. Higgins. Again, I am extrapolating backwards in time. Higgins is talking about the latter part of the fifteenth century and her specific enquiry is the rise of the role of the choirmaster (*magister puerorum*).

with a salary or benefice', but for many of the singer-composers of the early fifteenth century payment for singing was precarious – annual in rare cases, semi-annual, quarterly or even by service. ²³

Professional itineracy afforded singer-composers considerable social and professional interaction and exchange. In the case of the composers of *Voices Appeared*, Fallows contends that Dufay may have had significant contact with Nicolas Grenon (fl. 1418–21), who taught grammar to the choirboys though his actual overlap with Dufay was only two months. More significant figures are Gilles Velut (fl. early fifteenth century) and Franchois Lebertoul (fl.1409–?1428 – VA48), both of whom served as *petit vicaires* (adult singers) at Cambrai. There is no way of telling what contact they had with the young Dufay, but it seems likely that he would at least have heard their music. Musical style also suggests that Richard Loqueville (d. 1418 – VA12 & VA28) probably taught Dufay composition.²⁴

This brief account of Dufay's early life is provided by several different documentary sources and a range of interpretative methodologies. Archival research is the basis of the broad chronology, this in the form of documents such as wills (a copy of Dufay's exists), property records, payments listed in account books for professional duties (Dufay was employed as master

grounds of nationality for Voices Appeared as a composer.

²³ Barbara Haggh, 'Itinerancy to Residency: Professional Careers and Performance Practices in 15th-Century Sacred Music', *EM* 17, no. 3 (1989), 364. Haggh provides considerable detail on *ad hoc* payments and benefices in various institutions of Northern France and the Low Countries. On benefices in general, see Pamela F. Starr, 'The Beneficial System and Fifteenth-century Polyphony', in *The Cambridge History of Fifteenth-Century Music* eds. Anna Maria Busse Berger and Jesse Rodin, (Cambridge: CUP, 2015). For details about Dufay's enjoyment of the system's provisions see Alejandro Planchart, 'Guillaume Du Fay's Benefices and His Relationship to the Court of Burgundy', *Early Music History* 8 (1988), esp. 130–140. See also Planchart 'The Early Career'; Planchart, (1988) 'Du Fay's Benefices', 119–22; and Planchart, (2000) 'Concerning Du Fay's Birthplace', *Revue belge de Musicologie Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap*, 54 (2000). The last is a response to Barbara Haggh's 'Guillaume Du Fay's Birthplace: Some Notes on a Hypothesis', *Revue Belge de Musicologie*, 51 (1997). It is of particular interest here because it raises the issue of Dufay's nationality, which Planchart takes to be French, thereby qualifying him on the

²⁴ Fallows, *Dufay*, 13–14. The source for such early biographical information, including Dufay's date of birth and training as a choirboy at Cambrai Cathedral, are various archives in Northern France, mainly the Bibliothèque Municipale in Cambrai and the Archives départementales du Nord in Lille.

of the *petits vicaires* and as treasurer of the *petit coffre* at various times), and letters containing requests for leave of absence or benefices. Supplementing this are recorded interactions with the lives of institutions, employers, patrons, colleagues and other peripheral figures,²⁵ evidence of which emerges from research into institutions or cities: Marix and Wright on the Burgundian court, Wright on Notre Dame de Paris, Andre Pirro on Paris during the reign of Charles VI, D'Accone on Siena, Strohm on medieval Bruges, etc.²⁶ Underlying such studies is a strong academic pragmatism: an institution or city is a delimited area of archival research (one set of records in one city/town) and also acts as a synchronic anchor to a diachronic approach.

Again, evidence comes from archival documents: listings of choir members, letters that reference the presence of composers in particular places and times, inscriptions in manuscripts with compositional dates, church records that list pieces performed, etc. The compositions themselves are a further source. Occasionally they will reference the commissioner of the composition or the text may provide useful associative material that ties it to an event or location. But whilst compositions 'themselves can often function as biographical documents', it is dangerous to equate the first-person of the text with the composer. ²⁷ In the case of the later composer Busnois, for example, assertions of heterosexuality are based on solid identification of the addressee; in Dufay's case, and that of all other composers of the period, we know nothing at

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²⁵ The *personalia* section in Fallows' biography is a particularly useful summation. See Appendix C in Fallows, *Dufay*, 243–248.

²⁶ Jeanne Marix, *Histoire de la musique et des musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne sous le règne de Philippe le Bon* (Strasbourg: Heitz, 1939); Craig M. Wright, *Music at the Court of Burgundy, 1364–1419: A Documentary History* (Henryville: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1974); Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris* (Cambridge: CUP, 1989); Lewis Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400–1505* (Oxford: OUP, 1984); Frank A. D'Accone, *The Civic Muse: Music and Musicians in Siena during the Middle Ages and Renaissance.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Andre Pirro, *La musique à Paris sous le règne de Charles VI* (Strasbourg: Heitz, 1930); and Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, (Oxford: OUP, 1990).

²⁷ Alejandro Enrique Planchart, 'Guillaume Du Fay: evidence and interpretation', in *The Cambridge History of Fifteenth-Century Music* eds. Anna Maria Busse Berger and Jesse Rodin, 93, (Cambridge: CUP, 2015). For more on the psychoanalytic concept of fantasy and its role in musicology and performance, see Greig, 'Performance Practice'.

all about their sexual orientation or practice.²⁸

There is still more biographical material to be discovered about singer-composers of the first half of the fifteenth century, to which end online digital databases will undoubtedly help.²⁹ For the moment, though, a combination of good luck, aesthetic evaluation, compositional output, and scholarly interest means that an obvious imbalance prevails among the roster of names. Dufay's biography runs to some 300 lines in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* while entries on Richard Loqueville and Johannes Le Grant (VA9) (not to be confused with Guillaume Le Grant: VA20, VA23 & VA45) run to 14 lines each. Billart, whose only surviving work is the four-voice Marian isorhythmic motet *Salve virgo virginum/Vita via veritas/Salve Regina* (VA55) merits only 9 lines. Many composers used in *Voices Appeared* thus figure more often as footnotes: Richard Loqueville is celebrated today more for being Dufay's teacher than for his compositions; we learn about Salinis' biography (1378–84; fl. 1403–9 – VA2 & VA43) by reading about Ciconia and Zacara da Teramo.³⁰ In the same fashion, an article about the Bourges chapel in the fifteenth century provides details about the ecclesiastical career of

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²⁸ On Busnois, see Higgins, 'Parisian Nobles'. A related case is the purpose of Dufay's Missa *Ave regina coelorum*. 'Alejandro Planchart's suggestion that Dufay composed his last Mass, "Ave regina coelorum" for the dedication of Cambrai Cathedral on 5 July 1472, has found wide acceptance, without there being any evidence.' Strohm, *The Rise*, 284. Strohm goes on to argue that Dufay probably composed the Mass for his own endowment. Note that both scenarios rely to a degree on Dufay's *emotional relationship* to either his own death or to the institution, Cambrai Cathedral, around which a great deal of his life revolved.

²⁹ Directed by Philippe Vendrix and David Fiala, the aim of The Prosopography of Renaissance Singers is: 'to centralise and publish the biographical data of professional singers trained to perform polyphony active in Europe between 1350 and 1600, on the basis of a census of the principal choral institutions of that period: the princely chapels and the groups of singers (of widely varying constitutions) in the paid employment of the most important ecclesiastical chapters (cathedrals or collegiate churches)'. The focus is on 'individuals connected to the Kingdom of France and the Low Countries (present-day Belgium and Netherlands), with a particular focus on the years between about 1440 and 1530'. All quotes from http://ricercar.cesr.univ-tours.fr/3-programmes/PCR/ (accessed 20 March 2017). The project is funded by the French National Agency of Research (ANR), the University of Rouen, the Centre for Renaissance Studies (CESR) at the François Rabelais University, Tours, and Le STUDIUM, an agency of the CNRS in the Région Centre.

³⁰ See G. Di Bacco, and John Nádas, 'The Papal Chapels and Italian Sources of Polyphony during the Great Schism', in *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome* ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: OUP, 1998).

Cesaris (fl. 1406–17 – VA25).³¹ The disconnect between contemporary reputation and modern knowledge is evinced in the cases of Cesaris, Tapissier (b. c. 1370; d. before Aug 1410 – VA51) and Carmen (fl. 1400–20). It was these three composers who, according to Martin Le Franc in *Le Champion des dames*, a poem that celebrates Jeanne d'Arc and the still-elusive *contenance angloise*, 'astonished all of Paris', yet today the surviving music of all of these composers would comfortably fit onto a single compact disc.

Manuscripts

The sequence of music from *Voices Appeared* was assembled from modern editions. Given that the selection principles were suitability for the performing forces and the dramatic context rather than value judgement or a coherent design (composer, style or era), the resultant sample was relatively random. Nevertheless, it is representative of the most important sources of the early part of the fifteenth century, including what Bent calls the *'tre corone'* of Veneto manuscripts – Q 15, Ox 213 and Bo 2216.³² (Full details of all the pieces, their manuscript sources and the modern editions used can be found online.)³³ There are three notable absences here: the Chantilly manuscript (Musée Condé, Chantilly, France, MS 564); the Codex Squarcialupi (Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Florence, Italy, MS Mediceo Palatino 87); and the Old Hall manuscript (British Library, London, Add. MS 57950). Repertoire from these collections was

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³¹ See Paula M. Higgins, 'Music and Musicians at the Saint-Chapelle of the Bourges Palace, 1405–1515' in *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia: Trasmissione e recezione delle forme di culture musicale*, coord. Angelo Pompilio (Turin: Edizioni di Torino, 1987). For a sober account of the *contenance angloise*, see Fallows, *Dufay*, 189–208, and for a more contentious approach see Wegman, 'From Maker to Composer', 425.

³² Bent, 'Polyphonic sources', 622.

³³ http://www.orlandoconsort.com/Manuscript_sources.htm

excluded on the grounds of the chronological and geographical restrictions of *Voices Appeared*, which, from the outset, was described as a soundtrack of English, French or Burgundian music composed or performed in the lifetime of Jeanne d'Arc. The repertoire in Chantilly is almost exclusively from the fourteenth century, something reflected in its dating of the 1410s (Q 15 is from the 1420s, Ox 213 and Bo 2216 from the 1430s), and the pieces collected in the Codex Squarcialupi were predominantly Italian, apart from the French composers Egidius and Guilielmus de Francia. In the case of Old Hall manuscript, the reason was more prosaic: ultimately only three English pieces were used in *Voices Appeared*, the sample too small to have any significance.

Music manuscripts from this and most other periods of music history are essential to our understanding of the music and the methods and working practices of musicians. They provide clues and evidence of dating, performance practice, provenance, and a host of other corroborative evidence that contributes to our wider, as well as more detailed, knowledge of musical culture. High-quality facsimiles published over the past fifty years bring us closer to the composers, scribes and compositions whilst paradoxically distancing them by virtue of a fiscal aura. A pragmatic corrective to both such mystified values is DIAMM (Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music: www.diamm.ac.uk), which has made many manuscripts available for online viewing, providing scholars and performers with free, high-quality colour images.

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³⁴ Fallows' facsimile edition of Ox 213, for example, would now cost \$300 from the University of Chicago Press, whilst Bent's two-volume introduction and facsimile of Bologna Q 15 was an eye-watering €1,000 when it was released. David Fallows, *Bodleian Library, Manuscript, Canon. Misc. 213* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995) and Margaret Bent, *Bologna Q15: The Making and Remaking of a Musical Manuscript* (Lucca: Genesi Gruppo Editoriale, 2008). For more on the aura of manuscripts see Michael Long's brief discussion of the organisation of the Squarcialupi Codex in 'Singing Through the Looking Glass: Child's Play and Learning in Medieval Italy', *JAMS* 61, no. 2 (2008). Long here draws on the work of James Clifford in the field of cultural studies.

³⁵ 'The University of Oxford, and Royal Holloway, University of London created this portal to worldwide collections of medieval polyphonic music manuscripts (the resource does not include plainchant). The music and the manuscripts date from approximately 800 to 1550, and the original documents are kept in libraries and archives

The surviving manuscripts from the early fifteenth century fall into two types: large-scale institutional choir books and physically smaller, personal collections of music.³⁶ The function of the former, such as Cambrai 6, Cambrai 11, Modena B and Cappella Sistina 15 is obviously institutional and liturgical; the church may have been a great patron of music, but the *raison d'être* of notated polyphony was above all its specific use in divine service.³⁷ Unsurprisingly, such books are large enough for a group of singers to gather round and read the notation at some distance, and the seemingly anachronistic use of black rather than void notation (in Ca 6, Ca 11 and Bo 2216) might be explained by a requirement of legibility rather than formality.³⁸ Cappella Sistina 15 is one of the many choirbooks held in the Vatican library *repertorium* and one of the sources of Dufay's hymn *Vexilla regis* (VA14). Whilst the copying date in this source is put at between 1495–1500, this hymn was most likely composed much earlier, probably dating from Dufay's period in Savoy from 1433–5.³⁹

From its large size, it can be deduced that Mod B was also designed for performance

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around the globe. This website includes detailed information for all the known sources of European polyphonic music (which is almost entirely vocal) and high-quality colour images of some manuscripts.' http://primary-sources.eui.eu/website/digital-image-archive-medieval-music-diamm (accessed 21 March 2017). Note the charged use of the word portal in this context, recalling Michael Long's imaginary walk through the various doorways and halls of the Squarcialupi Codex. Long, 'Singing', 258–260.

³⁶ An exception to this generalisation might be the St Emmeran manuscript (Munich 14274), which Strohm describes as being of 'a rather miscellaneous nature ... many of the pieces served only for teaching purposes.' Strohm, *The Rise*, 291.

³⁷ I direct the reader once more to http://www.orlandoconsort.com/Manuscript_sources.htm for details of manuscript sources.

³⁸ '[W]hite notation was quicker, more informal, and generally associated with cursive scripts, black notation was used for more formal purposes.' Liane Curtis, 'The Origins of Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale Manuscript 6 and its relationship to Cambrai 11,' *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 44, no. 1 (1994), 9.

³⁹ See Charles E. Hamm, 'Dating a Group of Dufay Works', *JAMS* 15, no. 1 (1962). Hamm argues that the hymns were written during this period. He thus contests Besseler's original suggestion that they were written during Dufay's first employment in the Papal Chapel between 1428–1433, which he thinks is unlikely given the lack of *alternatim* performance of hymns at this time. Hamm adds further notational details that point to a date after 1430. However, Hamm's study is of the Dufay hymns collected in Q 15 in which *Vexilla regis prodeunt* does not appear. For all that, it seems highly likely that *Vexilla regis prodeunt* was composed after Jeanne d'Arc's death in 1431. See Fallows, *Dufay* 32–43 and 135–150.

around a choir lectern, and its particular history tells us much about the circumstances in which some manuscripts were compiled. James Haar and John Nádas argue that the possible principal copyist of Mod B was the composer Benoit (fl. 1436–55 – VA21) and that he brought the manuscript to Ferrara in 1448 where it was to remain in the possession of Leonelle d'Este. 40 Prior to that, he was resident in Florence, his stay lasting from 1436 to 1448, a period that saw the dedication of the cathedral for which Dufay wrote the motet Nuper rosarum flores in 1436 and the establishment of the city as the site for the Council of Florence in 1438, convened (among other things) to unite the churches of East and West. 41 Benoit was thus resident in the city during a period that saw a particular commitment to culture generally and music more specifically. In December 1439, the operai of Santa Maria del Fiori ordered the copying of new chant manuscripts. Benoit, already at work on Mod B, was thus prompted to lavish otherwise unnecessary care and detail on work-in-progress.⁴² The authors cite a letter from the singer, De Monte, one of four originally subcontracted by Benoit, to Piero de' Medici asking for support for his colleague, Benoit, to finish an unspecified work. Haar and Nádas speculate that this meant the addition of illuminated initial letters and the texts to Mod B, something that would have required the services of a professional scribe. Mod B was not, then, specifically a commission or 'made for' the court chapel of Leonelle d'Este in Ferrara in the way that it is described by DIAMM, but 'testimony to [Benoit's] ambition, in the end sadly frustrated, to make his chapel in the Florentine Duomo a widely admired and respected institution'.43

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⁴⁰ See James Haar and John Nádas, 'The Medici, the Signoria, the Pope: Sacred Polyphony in Florence, 1432–1448', *Recercare* 20, no. 1/2 (2008).

⁴¹ For more on this, see Craig Wright, 'Dufay's Nuper rosarum flores, King Solomon's Temple, and the Veneration of the Virgin', *JAMS* 47 no. 3 (1994).

⁴² Haar and Nádas, 'The Medici', 30.

⁴³ Ibid, 40.

Mod B shows manuscripts functioning in much the same way that compositions did.

Creating a manuscript was sometimes 'on spec', an unpaid commission and an investment of time and energy calculated to enhance the reputation of a singer and lead to a more elevated position. This contrasts with 'exclusively personal projects' such as Ox 213 and Bo Q 15.44 Ox 213 is compiled by 'a musician fascinated by the collecting of any music he could obtain' while the music in Q 15 'represented the taste and habits of a single educated musician of the fifteenth century'. 45

Both manuscripts contain a mixture of sacred and secular polyphony (what Besseler called 'Mischhandschriften'). This was by no means unusual at the time. Ox 213, described by Fallows as 'the most comprehensive surviving collection of secular songs from the first half of the fifteenth century,'⁴⁶ inclines markedly towards the secular chanson, and with 20% of the music ascribed to Dufay. It also includes religious music. Such miscegenation of sacred and secular, alien in many ways to modern sensibilities though unremarkable in the fifteenth century, suggests that singers of sacred and secular music were essentially one and the same, something occasionally documented, such as in the Burgundian court records, and implicit in the known practice of singer-composers writing in both fields.⁴⁷

While it is generally accepted that the scribes of Ox 213 and Q 15 were collecting music for their own personal study and pleasure, it may yet be the case that, as with Benoit and Mod B, we do not understand the full institutional context. Such collections, and to a lesser extent the

⁴⁴ Bent, 'Polyphonic Sources', 622.

⁴⁵ Fallows, *Misc. 213*, 4, and Bent, *Bologna Q15 vol.1*, 96.

⁴⁶ Fallows, ibid, 2

⁴⁷ There are numerous examples of this in music of the period, in the use of secular chansons as tenor models for Mass movements (Josquin's *Missa L'Ami Baudichon* springs to mind, the secular text being particularly obscene) and also in the way that sacred buildings hosted secular events. James Haar and John Nádas discuss this dual use of Florence Cathedral in Haar and Nádas, 'The Medici'.

choirbook collections, pose several unanswered questions about the circulation of compositions in the fifteenth century. Charles Hamm first proposed the idea of the fascicle-manuscript, this being an exemplar possibly copied from the composer's manuscript, which served as the models for larger manuscripts. 48 It is an attractive hypothesis, not least because of a connection to the original composer and also the seductively egalitarian image of music circulating like 'freeware', as Wegman describes it.⁴⁹ There are, though, problems with this model: there is no direct evidence of a relationship between any copyist and composer, and the wide variety of paper and parchment sizes mitigates against the idea that it was these same 'fascicle-manuscripts' that were bound into larger collections other than in a few exceptional cases, such as the so-called 'Battre' fascicles in Trent 87. New sections were added at later stages, such instances occurring in Ox 213, Mod B and Ao 15. In other words, we are dealing, in general, with copies of copies. Margaret Bent is surely right when she says that 'it is quite possible that such manuscripts could have been selected, rearranged and copied from other larger compilations as often as they were copied from small, separate fascicles'.50 Similar caution is expressed by Liane Curtis, writing about the relationship between the two Cambrai choirbooks Ca 6 and Ca 11, though she concludes that the theory of fascicle-manuscripts as 'independent gatherings for music

⁴⁸ 'These were 'small collections of double sheets containing single compositions, several compositions by one man written at about the same time, or a group of compositions by several men who had some connection with one another when the pieces were written and first copied—"fascicle" because they are similar in size to the fascicles which make up the larger complex manuscripts and because they were sometimes bound into these manuscripts as fascicles, "manuscript" because they were originally separate, self-contained collections of music.' Hamm, 'Manuscript structure', 167.

⁴⁹ Wegman, 'From Maker to Composer', 465. See also Wegman's consideration of a slightly later era: Rob C. Wegman, 'Publication Before Printing: How Did Flemish Polyphony Travel in Manuscript Culture?' in *Books in Transition at the Time of Philip the Fair: Manuscripts and Printed Books in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Century Low Countries*, ed. Hanno Wijsman (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).

⁵⁰ Margaret Bent, 'Some Criteria for Establishing Relationships between Sources of Late-Medieval Polyphony', in *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts*, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge: CUP, 1981), 301.

transmission remains viable'.51 'For Bent, 'each case must be decided on its merits'.52

Whatever the reality, manuscripts have considerable evidentiary value for issues of chronology, most obviously when they contain specific dates. Fallows opines that the nine dates ascribed to various compositions in Ox 213 'are what the Ox copyist believed were compositions dates, even though nos. i and ii are plainly wrong [the *Patrem* by Guillaume Legrant and Antonio da Cividale's motet *Strenua/Gaudeat*]'. ⁵³ This means that two chansons used in *Voices Appeared*, Gautier Libert's *De tristesse* (1423 – VA47) and Dufay's *Je me complains piteusement* (2 July 1425 – VA1 & VA56) have composition dates. Of *Je me complains piteusement*, Fallows writes: 'it is theoretically possible that the scribe copied what was in fact a copying date on his exemplar, but his own placing of it makes it clear enough that he himself thought it a composition date'. ⁵⁴ Yet even if we can't be entirely sure about such specific dates, dating of the manuscript itself by watermarks and other physical features often provides us with *terminus ante quem* for compositions, allowing us to fill in otherwise missing details.

While manuscripts may occasionally furnish valuable chronological detail, they are of less help with the geography and circulation. Even a cursory survey of the sources used reveals a strange anomaly: all the early fifteenth-century Continental sources for French composers come from Italy and southern Austro-Germanic lands (Trent, in the Südtirol, now the Alto Adige). This might be consistent with the image of Northern composers travelling south for employment, but it is nonetheless perplexing that there are no equivalent manuscripts of any note that have survived from Northern Europe. What sources there are appear after 1440 in the

⁵¹ Curtis 'The Origins of Cambrai', 30.

⁵² Bent, 'Polyphonic Sources', 634.

⁵³ Fallows, *Misc. 213*, 19.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 19.

form of choirbooks in Cambrai. The common explanation is that the Councils of Constance (1414–18) and the Council of Basel (which was moved to Ferrara in 1448 and Florence in 1439) provided a clear opportunity for musicians and scribes to meet, but such social interaction does not entirely explain why no such equivalent manuscripts have been discovered further north. It is clear, then, that almost everything has been lost through historical depredations of different kinds.

Historical Performance Practice

Alongside the study of composers and manuscripts, historical performance practice forms a major component of the academic study of early music. It is the study of the working practices of musicians, more often than not singers, within performing ensembles, and also draws on archival study of institutions and contemporary music treatises to understand the attitudes and assumptions of performers, and the performing conditions under which they worked. Such historical study seeks to describe the verifiable and stable systems of thought that underlay the performance of repertoire but inevitably confronts contradictions and local variances in both theory and practice. As ever, with scant accounts of performances and no recordings, such study presents problems of evidence and verifiability. In contrast to the rational approach of music historians, modern performers to an extent play a role of speculative empiricists, providing examples of how the music might have been performed, such examples in turn inviting questions of accordance with the findings of historical performance practice. Viewed differently, we

⁵⁵ Strohm draws suggests a direct relationship between Johannes Lupi, the scribe of Trent 87 and 92, and Basel. See Strohm, *The Rise*, 252–5 and Peter Wright, 'On the Origins of Trent 87¹ and 92²', *Early Music History* 6 (1986).

discover a fault line between normative historicism and performative deviation, which encourages an unhelpful distinction between theorists and practitioners and, at worst, reheats the condescension of the musicus/cantor distinction.

It is not my intention here to be overly detained by these debates or, indeed, to outline in excessive detail the principles of *musica ficta*, tempus and proportional relationships. However, these debates unquestionably played an important part in the *Voices Appeared* project. In that project, though, the intention was not primarily to invoke or evoke the ethics and ideology of historically informed performance, an image which defines the mainstream output of The Orlando Consort, but to yoke a more general notion of medieval music to a film set in a specific period. The performance of *Voices Appeared* was thus less obeisant to musico-historical principles than other Orlando Consort projects, even if a creative accordance with historical performance practice obtained.

Musica ficta

The study of *musica ficta*, broadly understood as the application of unnotated accidentals, has been described as 'one of the frontier problems of musicology' and 'one of the defining topics for twentieth-century musicology'. ⁵⁶ A full-length book on the subject by Karol Berger serves as the main textbook for the discerning student, the author's aim being to provide 'a comprehensive picture of the whole practice'. His study is limited to the period 1300–1560 on the grounds that

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⁵⁶ From a very large literature, I cite at the outset for these quotations: Lewis Lockwood, 'A Sample Problem of *Musica Ficta*: Willaert's *Pater Noster*', in *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk*, ed. H.S Powers, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 161; and Thomas Brothers, *Chromatic Beauty in the Late Medieval Chanson: An Interpretation of Manuscript Accidentals* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), viii.

the practice of *ficta* 'entered a mature and relatively stable phase after [1300]'⁵⁷ and the development of chromaticism in the early sixteenth century necessitated a more unambiguous notation of accidentals. A recent dissertation by Clóvis Afonso de André expands Berger's historical survey by some sixty years and reads the treatises with a more forensic eye.⁵⁸

Around these texts circle interpretative essays by a number of eminent musicologists – Margaret Bent and Andrew Hughes, to name but two – whose interest in the subject springs in the first instance directly from their experience of preparing modern editions and the realisation of late-medieval notation in modern written form, thence in sound.⁵⁹ Such authors demonstrate that *musica ficta* is available to us through the reconstruction of medieval thought derived from treatise writers in conjunction with detailed reading and analysis of the music itself and its variant versions in the surviving manuscripts.

There is a third approach, aimed squarely at the modern performer, essentially taking the form of 'How to' guides that explain the practice of the original performers in realising the music and aim to provide the critical tools that allow a modern singer to engage with the suggestions of modern editors and with the original manuscripts.⁶⁰

Both the scholarly and the more pragmatic articles imply that the modern performer, like the original performer, should have a working understanding of an important aspect of

⁵⁷ Karol Berger, Musica Ficta: Theories of Accidental Inflections in Vocal Polyphony from Marchetto Da Padova to Gioseffo Zarlino (Cambridge: CUP, 1987), xiii.

⁵⁸ See Clóvis Afonso de André, 'Inscribing Medieval Pedagogy: *Musica ficta* in its texts' (PhD diss., SUNY, 2005).

⁵⁹ Margaret Bent, 'Musica Recta and Musica Ficta', Musica Disciplina 26 (1972); Bent, 'Diatonic ficta' Early Music History 4 (1984); Bent, 'Diatonic ficta Revisited: Josquin's Ave Maria in Context', Music Theory Online 2.6 (1996); and Andrew. J. Hughes, Manuscript Accidentals: Ficta in Focus 1350–1450 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1972).

⁶⁰ See Nicholas Routley, 'A Practical Guide to *Musica Ficta'*, *EM* 13 no. 1 (1985); Daniel Zager, 'From the Singer's Point of View: A Case Study in Hexachordal Solmization as a Guide to *Musica Recta* and *Musica Ficta* in Fifteenth-Century Vocal Music', *Current Musicology* 43 (1987); and Rob C. Wegman, '*Musica ficta'* in *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, ed. Tess Knighton and David Fallows, (Oxford: OUP, 1992).

performance practice. The aim, then, is that:

the next generation of early-music singers will ... not need ... full instructions on the operation of *ficta*, [just] as continuo players of the present generation have advanced on their predecessors in preferring to make their own realizations.⁶¹

There are also notably more maverick approaches to the study of *musica ficta*, ones that are aimed neither implicitly nor explicitly at the performer. Rather than seeking to describe a complete, coherent, foolproof system, something of a pipedream as we shall see, their approach reframes the subject within a chromatic conception of polyphony. Edward E. Lowinsky's *The Secret Chromatic Art* today stands as a misguided if engaging *Da Vinci Code*-like romp through the Franco-Flemish motet, and Thomas Brothers' *Chromatic Beauty* offers some of the same spirited imagination. What these two authors share is a primary focus on the music and the manuscripts. This contrasts with the approach taken by Berger, Afonso de André and others, who read from the treatises towards the music. I will return to Brothers in more detail later on, but for the moment I will begin with the broad areas of agreement in the *ficta* debate.

Musica recta is the starting point for the original performers, defined not as a series of notes on the keyboard or on treble and bass clefs (the modern performers' touchstones) but as hexachords, a series of interlocking six-note scalar phrases that cover a range from G to e". The compass of these notes – the gamut (beginning on the low G) – was given immediate visible and mental context by the Guidonian hand. Images of it appear regularly in music treatises from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries, and though there are different stresses and points of

⁶¹ Margaret Bent, 'Editing Early Music: The Dilemma of Translation', EM, 22, No. 3 (1994), 382.

⁶² See Edward E. Lowinsky, Secret Chromatic Art in the Netherlands Motet (New York: Columbia University Press, 1946); Lowinsky, Secret Chromatic Art Re-examined' in Perspectives in Musicology, ed. Barry S. Brook, Edward O. D. Downes and Sherman Van Solkema (New York: Norton, 1972); and Bonnie Gordon, 'The Secret of the Secret Chromatic Art', The Journal of Musicology 28, no. 3 (2011).

musical thought. Named after Guido of Arezzo, though not necessarily invented by him, it assigned every note in the system of *musica recta* to a knuckle, joint or tips of fingers of the hand. The pupil could thus both reference the note they were singing and indeed any other note (such as that sung by someone else) by pointing to the note on their own or another's hand. It acted not just as a practical mnemonic device for negotiating the pitch-space and intervallic contours of music, particularly by indicating where the semitones fell, but would also serve the same function as an image of the piano keyboard or modern notation does today for the literate performer, creating an expectation of sound based on a based on a notational and practical/cognitive musical map.

Hexachords that begin on a C are designated 'natural' because they contain no tritones; those beginning on G are designated 'hard' because of the squared off shape of the B-*mi* in that hexachord; and that beginning on F is described as 'soft' because, to avoid the melodic tritone, B
fa is sung, indicated by the more rounded 'soft' B that has become the modern sign for a flat. In contrast to the modern tonic sol-fa system, where do (or ut) remains in a fixed position until a key change, the singer shifts from one hexachord to another by a process called mutation, undertaken where possible and according to context. What the two signs of hard and soft (B durum and B molle) indicate is not so much the specific use of a Bb or a Bb but a helpful reminder of which hexachord the singer is using at that moment. This contextual orientation is a key feature of an earlier musical mindset and one which underpins mensural notation.

A common assumption is that singers raised with the Guidonian hand and the

⁶³ De André outlines three difference modes of mutation – mutation itself, transmutation and permutation. See de André, 'Inscribing', Chapter 7, 'Figures of solmisation and figures of rhetoric: the musical discourse', 252–272.

hexachordal system continued to use their internalised musical training in their adult years. Though there is no indisputable evidence, it is certainly possible yet perhaps too simplistic to assume that they thought exclusively in such schematic hexachords. A performer in the modern day, for example, raised on a different diet of major and minor scales, will not necessarily consult that training when reading a melodic phrase. Rather, they draw on a plethora of contextual information – the musical mode, harmony, previous phrases, etc. In other words, they draw on various aural prompts and unconsciously and instinctively consult a more complex mental map. And such instinctive and immediate processes surely also applied in the case of the original performers. While hexachords may be used to explain the tritone as mi contra fa, for example, an awareness of that harmonic tritone comes above all from the sense and experience of *hearing*. That is certainly the case in the modern day: the tritone sounds odd, and it is the sound that first alerts the performer. In the case of the melodic tritone, a similar sense of inappropriateness applies. Put simply, experience makes it very difficult to sing a melodic tritone when performing medieval music. And given that modern performers, who sing many different styles of music, find harmonic and melodic tritones counter-intuitive in the context of performing medieval repertoire then performers steeped only in that tradition would surely have experienced that more forcefully.

The hexachord system would have guided the choristers' understanding of (horizontal) melody and its contours, initially through the study of plainchant, and subsequently informed their understanding of (vertical) harmony through the study of discant (vertical counterpoint by control of interval). Two principles guided the application of *musica ficta*: *causa necessitatis* and *causa pulchritudinis*. *Causa necessitatis* refers to the avoidance of harmonic tritones (in modern terms) or, to put these both more positively and in medieval conceptual terms, the maintenance

of perfect consonances through the prohibition of *mi contra fa*. Example 5.1 is a section from Gautier Libert's *De tristesse* (VA13 and elsewhere). Though in this instance the manuscript indicates clearly and explicitly what the singers would in any case have done, the point of *mi contra fa* holds. The cantus is singing a Bb which, if the contratenor did not inflect their note, would make the octave imperfect. It is thus incumbent on the contratenor to flatten their B (as redundantly notated in the manuscript).



Example 5.1: bars 9 and 10, Gautier Libert, De tristesse, cantus and contratenor

There is a second supplementary rule of *causa necessitatis* known as *fa super la*. It applies where a phrase exceeds the boundary of a hexachord by one note, immediately followed by a melodic return back into the same hexachord. In such instances the note that exceeds the hexachord should be flattened, thus avoiding the melodic tritone that would otherwise be created between it and *fa* within the hexachord. Example 2 illustrates this:



Example 5.2: bars 1–6, Gautier Libert, De tristesse, cantus

The principle of *causa pulchritudinis* applies in cases where an imperfect consonance leads to a perfect consonance at cadences. Here, one part must approach the perfect consonance by a semitone step, resulting more often than not in the sharpening of the 'leading note' (seventh

degree of the scale, prior to the octave) in the upper part.⁶⁴ Example 5.4 shows the end of the 'A' section of Libert's rondeau. The B flats derive from a context of implied inflections, the phrase being virtually a repeat of bar 9. My focus here, though, is the simple progression from an otherwise imperfect consonance of a minor sixth to that of the perfect consonance of the octave, the F sharpened to facilitate and 'grammaticalise' this melodic and intervallic move:



Example 5.3: major sixth to octave

The tenor might conceivably flatten his A but in the context of the piece, where the cantus has already been resting on a (manuscript) F# in the previous bar, the solution offered below is almost inevitable.⁶⁵



Example 5.4: bars 11–12, Gautier Libert, De tristesse, cantus and tenor

The certainty with these examples, or indeed of any of the shorthand promises offered by

⁶⁴ Richard Crocker explains the centrality of discant to the medieval mindset in Richard Crocker, 'Discant, Counterpoint and Harmony', *JAMS* 15 no. 1 (1962). Much of the same ground is covered by Bent in her notion of dyadic harmony, which inevitably touches on issues of *musica ficta* but recasts the subject more in the context of counterpoint. See Margaret Bent, 'The Grammar of Early Music: Preconditions for Analysis' in *Tonal Structures in Early Music*, ed. Cristle Collins Judd (New York: Garland, 1998).

⁶⁵ Brothers notes a chronological shift, though the solution here is surely F#. '[W]ithin the chronological frame that Oxford 213 provides, it is possible to detect, however dimly or inconsistently, some patterns of use. There is some evidence of an early favouring of sharps, then a later favoring of flats'. *Chromatic Beauty*, 172.

theory, is in practice short-lived. One soon discovers that there are not only multiple possibilities but also contradictions within the system, some of which, such as the preference for avoiding a harmonic tritone over that of a melodic tritone, are addressed by the treatise writers and further systematized. But even the prohibition of melodic tritones, taken almost as a standard rule in practice, is questionable, as Andrew Hughes points out:

Almost no evidence of the period supports the conventional modern claim that melodic tritones were prohibited in early music: if anything, there are more hints suggesting the opposite conclusion in certain circumstances ... Sources of polyphony, and indeed occasionally plainsong, transmit numerous instances of tritones caused by written-in accidentals ... It is my belief that there is more evidence from all areas to suggest that the interval was melodically acceptable in certain contexts, and that within them the evidence of the music and of manuscript accidentals unmistakably confirms [the melodic tritone's] not infrequent use ... 66

'Hints', 'beliefs', the careful double negative of 'not infrequent' – such language admits that the theory is far from watertight. So, though we can systematically outline the principles of *musica ficta*, the practice of its application is considerably more ambiguous in practice. This is acknowledged in the modern-day editorial application of a hierarchy of notated accidentals: manuscript accidentals are marked within the stave, accidentals that the editor deems essential are marked above the note, and accidentals that they would recommend, but which might justifiably be argued against, are parenthesised.⁶⁷ The implication is that differences between realised performances are inevitable, both in the medieval and the modern eras:

The learned and often obscure language of medieval and Renaissance music theory suggests that the concerns and motivations of musical performers on the one hand, and those of musical theorists on the other, were no less divergent then as now. That these differences should

⁶⁶ Hughes, 'Manuscript Accidentals', 85–6.

⁶⁷ When Berger articulated it in 1987, the system was already in use. Berger, *Musica ficta*, 171–2.

somehow have concurred to produce a single cohesive and integrated strain of regulatory language governing all musical situations – practical or theoretical – seems hardly likely. And yet, modern *ficta*-scholarship has been grounded for the most part in precisely such an historiographical construction.⁶⁸

The distance between theoretical knowledge and practical application is evinced in rehearsals today. But in contrast to the extended debate and judicial consultation of the texts and precepts of earlier times, economic vicissitudes demand quick and dirty rules. And musicologists are kind enough to accept this and, on occasion, happy to provide them. ⁶⁹ In performance, a similar economy prevails: one cannot sing two notes simultaneously; nor are consecutive solutions 'allowed' on commercial CDs or in the concert hall. ⁷⁰ Decisions have to be made and adhered to, at least for the occasion and duration of a given performance. The process of analysis thus remains hidden; what the audience witnesses are inactive conclusions rather than debate, like an answer to a maths question without its reasoning. Bent's generous suggestion, that modern performance is 'analysis in action' is better rendered as 'analysis inaction'. ⁷¹

All of this highlights the complex dialectic of theory and practice operating within the early fifteenth century and the modern day. It also raises questions about the access of performers to music theory in both eras. A common unspoken assumption is that we can read directly from the treatise to performance practice. Setting aside for a moment the many vagaries of *musica ficta*, such an assumption is clearly flawed. For one thing, whilst certain composers owned treatises –

⁶⁸ de André, 'Inscribing', 277.

⁶⁹ Giving a concert to an audience consisting of mainly musicologists, The Orlando Consort collectively agreed at the eleventh hour that they needed help on an issue of *ficta*. Knowing Margaret Bent, I approached her and she gave us a 'quick and dirty' solution.

⁷⁰ An obvious exception here are re-packaging of jazz CDs where the extra time afforded, in comparison to the original LP, is often filled with alternative takes of the same track. Examples are Miles Davis' *Kind of Blue* (Sony B001O1ADFQ, 2009, compact disc, originally released in 1959) with its alternative take of 'Flamenco Sketches' (track 6) and Thelonious Monk's *Straight, no chaser*, with its alternative take of 'I Didn't Know About You' (track 8, Sony B000024RO2, 1996, compact disc, originally released 1967).

⁷¹ Bent, 'The Grammar' 52.

an inventory of Dufay's property includes Guido's *Micrologus*, for example – the rarity and cost of such manuscripts suggest they were probably read and studied only by the few. ⁷² If this was indeed the case, then we must assume that knowledge was imparted by teachers of various kinds, which raises issues of how, and to what degree, the rules were shaped by such transmission. In the modern day, performers potentially have direct access to a great deal of theory and at the same time are considerably more exposed to alternative practices by listening to recordings and working with different groups. In reality though, very few performers have ever read the treatises or, indeed, academic articles about *ficta*. Instead, they learn the theory piecemeal, constructing their own *ad hoc* version.

So, when musicologists urge singers to consult the treatises it is less a case of preaching to the choir than talking to a brick wall. Bent, for example, regrets that 'at the present time, the editor must still act for the performer, suggesting decisions which the medieval performer would have made himself .73 Wegman is less adamant, saying that early notation was to ambiguous though 'there is no reason for modern notation to represent it as unambiguous'.74 In other words, editors should be bold in their advice, though that does not mean that 'there is no room for more initiative on the part of present-day musicians' and that '[m]odern performance ... could benefit substantially from the restoration of solmization as a living practice' which would in turn 'stimulate a more critical attitude towards editions'.75

Given such pedagogical prescriptions, it is hardly surprising that Brothers' study should be more attractive to the modern performer. The premise of performance practice, after all, is to

⁷² Fallows, *Dufay*, 81.

⁷³ Bent, 'Musica Recta', 73.

⁷⁴ Wegman, 'Musica ficta', 274.

⁷⁵ Ibid, 274.

do things as they have always been done, in contrast to which the idea of invention is more attractive. Envisaged thus, *ficta*, which by its very nature suggests secrecy and hints at hidden meanings, invites the historian and performer towards an alluring arena of scholarly and performative play.

Though certainly not in any way offering a free-for-all approach to *musica ficta*, Brothers loosens the theoretical straitjacket and encourages the performer to enjoy some of the music's stranger harmonic implications, in particular in the case of Machaut, by abandoning any search for a strict universal system or code.⁷⁶ His introduction lays out his belief 'that the likelihood of a universally understood performance practice has been greatly overestimated for the period c. 1275–1450'.⁷⁷ He elaborates:

[T]he book is shaped first by emphasis on the expressive potential of accidentals rather than *musica ficta* as a topic for performance practice; second, by emphasis on manuscript evidence rather than on imagined performance practices or on the testimony of music theorists.⁷⁸

His focus is thus on the visual evidence of the manuscripts, which, he argues, should be taken more at face value than it has been. He offers a deeper and more intimate communion with the sources, reading from the manuscripts first rather than reading from the treatises to the manuscripts, this to rediscover the lost practice of *causa pulchritudinis*, as described by Anonymous 2. Rather than outlining rules and principles, the composer and composition come to the fore: 'My interest is in how we might best make sense of what the manuscripts say in terms

⁷⁶ There is a notable frequency of the use of words like 'freedom', 'imagination', 'interpretation' and 'enjoyment' in Brothers' book, in contrast to the recurrence of words like 'correction', 'rules', 'study' and 'convention' in the other literature.

⁷⁷ Brothers, *Chromatic*, ix.

⁷⁸ Ibid, x.

of compositional practice rather than performance practice'.⁷⁹ This approach inevitably invites the criticism that he is ignoring a wealth of literature that documents the widespread practice of unnotated accidentals, and there are indeed moments in Brothers' text where he simply ducks the issue, adding accidentals when he wants them whilst elsewhere arguing against their very existence.⁸⁰

In an otherwise chronological study of chromatic beauty (trouvère tradition, Machaut, Dufay), Brothers begins by outlining his methodology using Binchois' rondeau, *De plus en plus*, contrasting the transmissions of the *ouvert* cadence in Esc A and Ox 213. In the former, the manuscript instructs the cantus to sing an F# (F *mî*), this being a notable and important feature of a piece that begins in C and ends in G. In the later case of Ox 213 though, the manuscript accidental has disappeared which Brothers argues is a 'brief though significant trivialisation of Binchois "difficult" reading ... [The F½] smooth[s] over the transition between the two halves'. He thus takes the manuscript as evidence of a compositional hand and reads the absence of the accidental as a mistake. For both Bonnie Blackburn and Elizabeth Leach, this overstates the case. Both believe that notating the F# (F *mî*) in Esc A is a redundant act: singers would automatically have sharpened it. Nothing has been lost in Ox 213; rather, something has been gained in handing over the manuscript to singers who would have known what to do.

This does seem to be a false step in Brothers' argument, a positivist reading of the state of

⁷⁹ Ibid, ix.

⁸⁰ Bonnie Blackburn is very clear about this: 'From various quotations above it will be clear that the author is selective in accepting the evidence of the sources, and rather too willing to explain away evidence that does not fit his theories. I do not deny that there is much of value to be learned from investigating the compositional strategies used to shape a work of music, and that one can profitably focus on the degrees of closure at cadences in relation to form. Imperfect knowledge of what the composer expects of singers, however, makes it very difficult to achieve near certainty in this matter'. Bonnie J. Blackburn, review: 'Chromatic Beauty in the Late Medieval Chanson: An Interpretation of Manuscript Accidentals by Thomas Brothers', JAMS, 51, no. 3 (1998), 634–5.

⁸¹ Brothers, 'Chromatic Beauty', 20.

the manuscripts that doesn't allow for the working practice of unnotated accidentals. For Blackburn, not applying an F# to the *ouvert* cadence is 'perverse'. But, of course, performers like to be perverse; they like to unsettle an audience, to challenge preconceptions, to ruffle a few feathers and, unlike the notion of reproduction inherent in the notion of performance practice, to make the music their own.

Elizabeth Leach delves deeper:

Two possibilities present themselves: either F-*mi* is sung for the return, which represents a resolution, and F-*fa* for the continuation, because it does not resolve, or the F is *mi* both times (the resolution is more delayed in the continuation (bars 15–16 or 17) but can still be understood as resolving the held imperfect at the midpoint).⁸³

She concludes that F *mi* should obtain at all times, that the absence of signs in Ox 213 is proof, in its way, of an unwritten tradition, and that the original performer didn't need guidance. In other words, Esc A provides the kind of helping hand we saw in the Libert examples above: the notated accidental is a redundant, if helpful, reminder.

More provocatively, Leach's argument offers an interesting midway solution: the F-mi could be sung for the *ouvert* ending and the return to the A section whilst the F-fa could be sung for the *clos* ending/continuation to the B section. The historian will justifiably have problems with this – there is no evidence at all of such a convention –but it seems at least worth experimenting with interpretative detail, particularly in performance to demonstrate the possibility and artistic viability of alternative readings. Indeed, at one level it recovers for

^{82 &#}x27;I would say that the singer familiar with Binchois' music would know that all midpoint cadences closing with a third or tenth between cantus and tenor have major thirds, usually by virtue of the key signature: that sound is wanted at this point. It would be a *difficilior lectio*, indeed perverse, not to sing F# here.' Blackburn, op cit., 631.
83 Elizabeth Eva Leach, review: 'Chromatic Beauty in the Late Medieval Chanson: An Interpretation of Manuscript Accidentals by Thomas Brothers', Music & Letters 80, no. 2 (1999), 276.

performance the accolade of 'analysis in action' that Bent offers.

As noted in the introduction, it is my contention that historical performance practice has come to play a regulative role. Brothers' approach at first sight comes as a breath of fresh air in offering a more personal relationship with the composition. In terms of critical theory though, it merely displaces one form of authority in favour of another, rediscovering the author/composer and related notions of intentionality that play a different regulative role in the promotion of the work-concept. And, paradoxically, of the two models – compositional or performance practice – compositional is the most orthodox, premised as it is on the notion of the author. Brothers and the advocates of a systematising theory of music *ficta* impose limits, not just on the realisation of the text in the modern day, but ultimately on our acceptance of variance within medieval musical practices.

What I am advancing here is a slightly messier version of history than either will allow, one that reminds us of the perverse (to use Blackburn's word) intervention of personal choice, and of the openness of the theory of *ficta*. There is enormous value in understanding the conventions and Brothers' interpretative strategies, but there must be allowance for the rejection of both through choice, ignorance or misunderstanding. Which is not to say that one should repeat earlier 'mistakes', just that we should acknowledge that they may have occurred.

What the models of compositional and performance practice potentially stifle is, then, what Roland Barthes calls a practice of writing. For Barthes, the role of criticism is not to limit the text but (quite differently) to continue it, 'open it out, *set it going*'. 85 This rather opaque description is perhaps better suited to the realm of musical performance than to the

⁸⁴ Greig, 'Sightlines and tramlines', 137.

⁸⁵ Roland Barthes, 'From Work to Text', ed. and trans. Stephen Heath in *Image, Music, Text* (London: Fontana, 1977), 163. A fuller demonstration is Roland Barthes, *S/Z* (London: Farrar, Strauss and Genoux, 1974).

'performativity' of literature, which was its original context: it argues for a practice of modern performance rather than for (historical) performance practice. It recognises and celebrates the dimension of realisation of a (literary) text, the realm of performance.

By way of a preliminary demonstration of this kind of open practice of writing, I would like to look in a little more detail at my first example, Libert's *De tristesse*, and how *ficta* was addressed in *Voices Appeared*. The editorial suggestions by Gilbert Reaney in *CMM* 11/2 are so startling that, at first sight, they suggest themselves as perfect examples for Brothers' approach. The opening phrase is set as follows by Reaney, with editorial *ficta* marked above the notes:



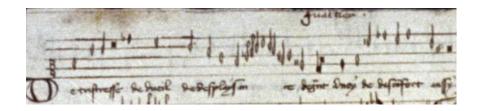
Example 5.5: opening phrase of *De tristesse* as it appears in *CMM* 11/2, 93

Example 5.6 shows the full phrase, as set in the score for *Voices Appeared*:



Example 5.6: extended opening phrase of De tristesse

The original manuscript of the Cantus part reads as follows:



Example 5.7: cantus part from De tristesse, Ox.213. fol 121v

What is particularly striking in the opening phrase is the rising melodic tritone in the cantus part. There is no explanation for the *ficta* in Reaney's minimal editorial notes and, since it appears as an *unicum* in Ox 213, there are no variant readings to suggest why the *ficta* has been added. One can only assume that the principle being followed here is *causa pulchritudinis*. Clearly there would be a case for Reaney's *ficta* if this were a closing phrase, but this is the opening. And even if we accept the allowance for melodic tritones noted by Hughes and others, it is, as experienced in sound, an exotic assertion, the more so for being placed at the very begining of the chanson. If Reaney's intention was to treat every progression from a sixth outwards to an octave as a cadential figure then he wasn't consistent. In bar 19, for example, which follows the same outline as bar 3, there is no editorial sharp in the tenor part, which suggests that, if this is not a simple oversight, he is treating the opening phrase as a cadence.⁸⁶

⁸⁶ Notable in this context is the opening phrase of Binchois' *De plus en plus*, already discussed, which shares with the opening of *De tristesse* the same sense of beginning in mid-air (a tonally uncertain G) and coming to rest convincingly on a C cadence, this within the space of three bars:







Example 5.9: bars 3-4, De tristesse

Example 5.10: bars 9-20, De tristesse

The net effect becomes an example of what Brothers would call, after the title of his book, 'chromatic beauty'. Advanced as the application of an interpretative principle of *musica ficta* rather an addition of literalistic manuscript evidence, it is no less chromatic or beautiful. But something as dashing as this would almost inevitably give any performing group schooled in the principles of *musica ficta* pause for thought, as it did me. Echoing the Roman tenor and bass reaching to an authority for adjudication, I wrote to David Fallows, who acts as a Trustee to The Orlando Consort:

Dear David

I wondered if you'd mind having a look at the first two bars of this edition. As you'll see, the editorial *ficta* is bold, to say the least, though having heard it in my head so many times now, I think it's really effective and striking. Indeed, for the film I'm inclined to use it with those sharps, not least because we can, with this project, push the envelope slightly more than our usual pofaced presentation. However, I know that at least one of my colleagues will raise an eyebrow and ask if I'm sure. I'm not, of course, so I thought I'd seek your opinion.

He replied as follows:

Dear Don

Well: the notes are correctly transcribed and there is actually a certain logic to the *ficta*, though it's not at all what I would want. But I take your point about the film, and perhaps you should

try it.87

Had I not 'checked' in this fashion, considerable time would have been spent discussing it in rehearsal. The final decision would have come down not just to personal taste but also to a certain shared self-awareness of the group's image, one that calls attention to a commitment to research and musicological correctness. My guess is that The Orlando Consort would perform it in concert as Reaney suggests, but that on a recording we would be more cautious, singing an interval of a perfect fourth.

In *Voices Appeared*, the opening ten bars of *De tristesse* are sung three times before the chanson is heard in its entirety.⁸⁸ It occurs at moments of her suffering and thereby functions leitmotivically as 'Jeanne's Theme'. In this context, the arresting contour of the opening four notes helps fix it more forcefully in the memory and makes it resonate more obviously when it returned.

Mensuration, Proportion and Tempo

Mensuration is, according to Anna Maria Busse Berger, 'one of the least understood and most controversial topics in music history'. 89 Yet the subjects of mensuration and proportion generally provoke less controversy than questions of *musica ficta* and for fairly obvious reasons: mensuration is part of a notated system while *ficta* is an unwritten tradition. A certain empiricism, then, applies to issues of mensuration. When two different mensuration signs appear

⁸⁷ Personal email correspondence 10 October 2014.

⁸⁸ The final form is slightly different from the standard rondeau. See Chapter Six, p.257.

⁸⁹ Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Mensuration and Proportion Signs* (Oxford: OUP, 1993). Throughout I will refer to this author as Busse Berger to distinguish her from Karol Berger, to whom I have already referred as Berger.

simultaneously in two different parts, for example, it is easy to determine the proportional relationship between them. Similar assurances are offered by the musical 'proof' of decoding mensuration signs: if the resultant composition is incoherent then in all likelihood the act of decoding is faulty. Nevertheless, 'the question how all these signs were related to one another is not so easy to solve,' and it is here that the interpretative bent of musicologists and performers occasions exploratory debate. ⁹⁰

While mensuration is sometimes taken as evidence of an authorial fingerprint, its study is more often theoretical, either synchronically to explain how it was used, or diachronically to trace its development. ⁹¹ Those studies that relate mensuration to tempo show an interest in performance, with tempo the fourth dimension that sets the model going. ⁹² Such study entails a broader understanding of local variables:

The choice of tempo is often dependent not only upon aspects inherent in the work itself, but upon external circumstances such as the acoustical environment and on such imponderables as the familiarity of the work to performers and audience alike as a cultural artefact.⁹³

The very human context of shaping and varying tempo applies no less today than it clearly did in the medieval period:

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⁹⁰ Ibid, 51.

⁹¹ 'I believe, for instance, that a comparison of the *modus cum tempore* signs with cut signs might yield interesting results for the chronology of Josquin's music', Busse Berger, ibid, 163. See also Hamm, *A Chronology* and Rob C. Wegman, 'Mensural Intertextuality in the Sacred Music of Antoine Busnoys' in *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music*, ed Paula M. Higgins (Oxford, OUP, 1999).

⁹² E.g. Ross W. Duffin, Chansons: Forty-Five Settings in Original Notation: from Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Canonici 213 (Miami: Ogni sorte, 1984), Alejandro Enrique Planchart, 'Tempo and Proportions' in Performance Practice: 1. Music Before 1600, ed. Howard Mayer Brown and Stanley Sadie (London: Norton, 1989) and Ruth De Ford, Tactus, Mensuration and Rhythm in Renaissance Music (Cambridge: CUP, 2018). De Ford is quite explicit about the limitations of her summary: 'Mensuration signs and theoretical advice can be useful inputs in performance decisions, but rhythm is too complex to reduce to a set of rules. Interpreting it will always be an art, not a science', 474

⁹³ Planchart, 'Tempo', 126.

And this notated *mensura* is called one *tempus*. Still, this *mensura* is not fixed, not exceeding limits. But according to the judgement of the singer [is] here more broad and now more strict ... the singer, not much accelerating the song or extending the note lengths, stamps the front part of the foot, keeping the heel still, or claps one hand to the other or the back of the student as regularly as possible.⁹⁴

So, while music may be measured exactly on the page, it is clear that in performance it is an unrulier beast. Any summary that fails to acknowledge such relativism, particularly in the discursive context of historically informed performance, potentially raises the exactitude of the mathematical foundation of theory to a prescriptive tenet and implies a strictness of execution which the treatise writers did not intend and to which neither modern musicologists nor performers would subscribe.

With such caveats in place, we may now look at the mensural system as it existed in the early part of the fifteenth century. Music at this time in the form of *Ars subtilior* repertoire and some of the compositions of the Old Hall was emerging from a particularly charged moment when musical complexity and its visual representation were almost on equal footing. Coloration – literally the colouring of notes in blue and red to adjust the duration and relational structure of note values – produced dazzling musical manuscripts, whilst a tradition of improvised embellishment engendered flamboyant coloratura.

While such fashion was in decline in the early fifteenth century, the same basic mensural system applied. The value of notes was not, as it is in the modern day, determined by the notes themselves, but by the mensural system that governed them.⁹⁵ The values of minim, semibreve

⁹⁴ From Giorgio Anselmi's treatise, *De musica*, quoted by Busse Berger, *Mensuration*, 78.

⁹⁵ 'The mensural system of rhythmic notation used in the fifteenth century ... was laid by Franco of Cologne and other theorists in the second half of the thirteenth century, and the theoretical innovations of the fourteenth-century *Ars nova* established all of the system's rules and procedures'. Anne Stone, 'Measuring Measurable Music' in *The Cambridge History of Fifteenth-Century Music*, eds. Anna Maria Busse Berger and Jesse Rodin (Cambridge: CUP,

and the breve were not, then, absolute, but context dependent, or orthochronic, to use Jacques Chailley's term.⁹⁶

When transcribing the notation into modern form, then, the editor always and inevitably surrenders the valency of the mensural system; they may also render the note values closer to the common modern-day forms by reducing their values by a half or a quarter. In the case of tempus imperfectum with minor prolation, where a breve consists of two semibreves which in turn consist of three minims, quartered note values are commonly transcribed in 6/8, the semibreve now worth a crotchet and a minim a quaver. In so doing, the editor does not merely cloak less familiar forms in more accessible garb: they also arguably imply a fairly brisk and flowing tempo.

To sum up: the conventions of modern notation serve to aid efficient reading, speaking to performers' existing skills, and promote a fluent interpretive view of the notated form of the piece – embracing thereby both its original notation, and also its modern equivalent (or at least the most advantageous forms of its modern equivalent).

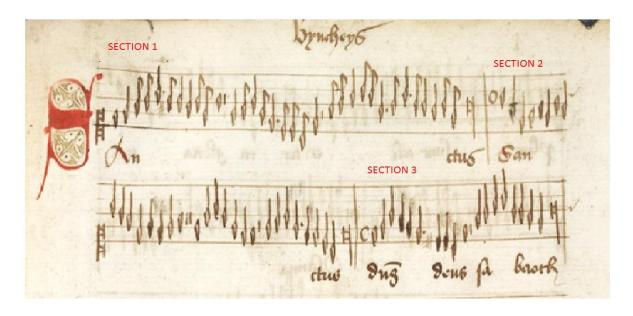
So much for transcription of mensuration, mensural relationships and note values, but what of the interpretation of proportional relationships? I will take as an example here the discant part of a Sanctus by Binchois (VA4), found originally in Ao 15 and transcribed by Philip Kaye in

^{2015), 563.} Stone provides a clear account of the four most common mensural organisations (*integer valor*) of the early fifteenth century.

⁹⁶ Jacques Chailley, *Les Notations Musiques Nouvelles* (Paris: Alphonse Leduc, 1950), 8. See Richard Rastall's brief comment in *The Notation of Western Music*, (London: J.M. Dent, 1983, repr. 1998), 104–5.

⁹⁷ This is not a requirement though most singers prefer it. The New Josquin Edition and many of the other editions in the KVNM series, for example, make no such reduction and, once a singer has understood that large note values last less time than in modern scores the system is not difficult to master. David Fallows cites the New Josquin Edition as the moment when editors turned their back on transcribing music of the fifteenth century in reduced note values: '[W]ith the New Josquin Edition, under the general editorship of Willem Elders (starting in 1987, though not really taking flight until about 2000), there were several new developments. The first of these was the principle of using unreduced note values, a principle that at first spread slowly to other editions but that has now become standard'. David Fallows, 'Recent Trends in the Study of Music of the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Centuries', *Renaissance Quarterly* 68 (2015), 200.

his edition of Binchois' sacred works. 98 Example 5.11 shows the discantus part as it appears in the manuscript source with the three sections indicated in type:



Example 5.11: discantus part from Binchois, Sanctus Ao 15, 147r Section 1 is transcribed by Kaye thus:



Example 5.12: transcription of discantus part from Binchois, *Sanctus*, section 1, in Kaye, *The Sacred Music of Gilles Binchois*, 131

For the second iteration of the word 'Sanctus' in section 2, there is a change of mensural organisation from C-dot to O. Now the breve consists of three semibreves, which in turn consist of two minims each. Kaye transcribes this section in 3/4 with the same reduction in note values as in the previous section, such that the semibreve is once again transcribed as a crotchet:

⁹⁸ See Philip Kaye, ed., The Sacred Music of Gilles Binchois (Oxford, OUP, 1991), 131–3.



Example 5.13: transcription of discantus part from Binchois, *Sanctus*, section 2, Kaye, ibid.

This invites the modern performer to think of a crotchet pulse, just as the previous section implied a dotted-crotchet pulse. Equivalence between the two sections is not at the crotchet and the dotted crotchet, but at the quaver (minim in the original). In *Voices Appeared* this equivalence was observed, with a quaver pulse inscribed on the flick track at 118bpm and the crotchet pulse of 59bpm indicated for the second section.

In section 3 where the word 'Dominus' begins, there is another mensural change, marked as C. Now both breve and semibreve consist of two units of the lower value, i.e. semibreve and minim. Kaye transcribes this in 2/4:



Example 5.14: transcription of Discantus part from Binchois, Sanctus, section 3, Kaye, ibid.

The quartered values again apply and, following Planchart, equivalence is found at the level of the minim in the original manuscript (quaver in transcription). Again, in *Voices*Appeared this is observed, the crotchet pulse of 59bpm marked on the flick track in bars of two beats each.

Performers will heed the suggestions of editors, seek their advice and even consult

⁹⁹ Planchart provides a succinct summation of temporal equivalences: Planchart, 'Tempo', 136–138. In the section on mensuration signs with *integer valor* he suggests that in the early fifteenth century C-dot 'has minim equivalence with C, O and O-dot')', 136.

¹⁰⁰ See Planchart, 'Tempo', 137.

summaries such as that provided by Planchart, but almost invariably will still be guided by a learned and sometimes shared musical instinct. Compositions can, after all, 'work' at various tempi. A fauxbourdon setting of 'Salve sancta parens' by Binchois from Ao 15 is a case in point. It is sung twice in *Voices Appeared*, first by the higher voices (VA3) at 58bpm and then by the lower voices (VA11) at a more languid 42bpm to suggest a new obsequious mode of questioning by the priests. I would argue that both performances – in themselves and in context – sound and feel convincing.

All of this points to an ironic paradox: *Voices Appeared*, with the metronomic instruction of a flick track in tandem with one of the singers acting as a conductor, makes possible in practice the strictest theoretical application of mensural and proportional properties that only the closest, most literal and obedient interpretation of musical theory, ancient and modern, would propose. Such mathematical fastidiousness is, though, surely alien to the very human dimension of both practice and even the most rigorous theory.

Notation and the issue of loss

Transcribing from original notation into modern notation is, according to Bent, analogous to translating from one language to another. The loss that this entails, she believes, is so significant that modern performers should learn to read from original notation so that they can fully and actively appreciate the intrinsic systems. ¹⁰¹ She is not the only one to advocate performance from original notation; the call also comes from directors of groups. Marcel Pérès, director of Ensemble Organum, offers the most extreme case: 'Nothing,' he writes, 'is more noxious than

¹⁰¹ See Bent, 'Editing Early Music', passim.

the use of transcriptions in modern notation'. 102 Anne Stone is more circumspect, telling us that '[t]he experience of singing or playing fifteenth-century music from manuscript facsimiles is exhilarating ... inspir[ing] a kind of thrill in the recognition of historical and cultural difference', adding that modern editions 'mask important insights'. 103 Setting aside the self-congratulatory pleasure of reading from original notation at sight and communing with the past, what exactly is lost and what can be recovered by singing from the original notation?

As noted above, modern transcription eliminates the context-dependency of the original notation. However, the context-dependency of note values applies only to ternary organisations; in binary groupings the value of minim, semibreve and breve are to all intents and purposes absolute. In the case of *musica ficta*, the application of the hexachordal system is theoretical rather than proven. I have argued that an assumption that it applies presents a very narrow view of the complex mental operations by which singers realise notation in sound. Furthermore, the argument that *ficta* is an unwritten tradition is itself an exaggeration. Manuscripts often indicate *ficta*, albeit sometimes redundantly, a situation that prefigures the educated modern performer's confrontation of editorial *ficta*.

The fixity of pitch in modern terms is cited as another unwelcome consequence of translation. Bent points out that clefs were designed to accommodate vocal ranges rather than indicate precise pitch-frequency. But in the modern day, and certainly in the case of The Orlando Consort, the imprecision of pitch is continuously recovered in the frequent transpositions required to 'fit' the collective voices of the group. Transpositions of a minor third are common and as much as a minor sixth not unheard of.

¹⁰² Liner notes to *Polyphonie Aquitaine du XIIe siècle*, with Ensemble Organum, dir. Marcel Pérès, released 1984, HMC 901134, compact disc.

¹⁰³ Stone, 'Measuring', 563.

A further criticism of the use of modern notation is the addition of anachronistic barlines. The argument appears to be that a regular barline imposes an unavoidable regular metre on the singer. This image haunts descriptions such as that offered by Stone:

fifteenth-century syncopation was not understood against *the fixed pattern of regularly occurring hierarchy of strong and weak beats that a barline implies*. Rather, it most often resulted from a scrambling of note values so that strong and weak beats were disposed in an irregular way.¹⁰⁴ (my emphasis)

If this were the case, then imitative entries that begin on an offbeat would materially differ from those that occur on the downbeat. Consider the opening of the Franchois *Amen* (VA42). Here it is as it appears in the edition by Van den Borren:



Example 5.15: Franchois, Amen, in Polyphonia Sacra, ed. van den Borren, 108.

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¹⁰⁴ Stone, 'Measuring', 567.

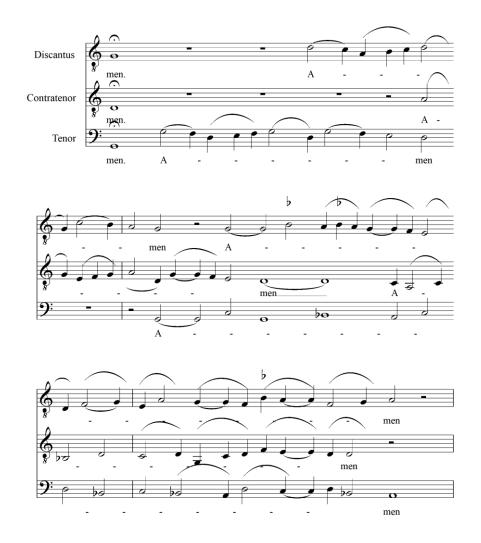
By the measure of Stone's and others' arguments, the contratenor entry in bar 9 would be qualitatively different from that of the tenor part that enters in bar 6 and the cantus part in bar 8. It is, though, highly improbable that the contratenor would *not* be aware of this imitation and very unlikely that s/he would sing a lighter initial note with a thumping accent on the second, particularly after hearing the tenor part. The barline might act as a guideline, but the singer reads and applies the contour of the musical phrase first, not the implied accents of the grid. As Fallows points out, this conception of a regular metre was no less important for the original performer and possibly more so because, working from parts, the singer would be considerably more reliant on a transmitted physical beat such as that described by Anselmi:

[A] nything in triple time required that the musician reading it was aware of those regular triple groupings, for otherwise he would probably misread the notation. ¹⁰⁵

In modern practice it is in fact very simple to ignore the barline and discover alternative rhythmic organisations. Indeed, discovering cross-rhythms is one of the singular pleasures of the repertoire. To return to the Franchois *Amen*, if we assume for a moment that barlines impose metre, the singer would automatically perform everything in a four-square, duple rhythm. However, in *Voices Appeared* we performed the piece with the following groupings:

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¹⁰⁵ Fallows, *Dufay*, 97. For Anselmi, see Greig, 'Sight Readings', 132–133.



Example 5.16: alternative reading of Franchois, Amen, ibid.

Useful as this example is, it doesn't address a major intrinsic property of text, namely word stress. This often cuts 'across' barlines and invites slight accents on offbeats.

One further aspect of the translation argument that is often overlooked is the organisation and layout of the vocal parts in part-book format. There, parts were written out separately, usually on facing pages, the cantus line at the top right, the tenor beneath it. There were exceptions such as the score-like arrangements in English sources, as for example in the *Te Deum* from the Ritson manuscript (VA15) – though, even there, the vertical alignment is less to do with musical than textual correspondence. The modern score is a more careful spatial arrangement and a far more intuitive mapping of the musical event. It provides a clearer image of

the composition, one that lends itself both to study and performance, the twin purposes of modern editions. ¹⁰⁶ The horizontal axis provides figurative outlines of melody together with a spatial approximation of rhythm, both improvements on the part-book system. The vertical axis, only otherwise configurable from part books through a complicated mental process, provides an immediate visual analogue of rhythm, harmony and counterpoint. There is, though, a downside: such visual reference obviates or at least reduces the great benefits of an aural orientation by performers. ¹⁰⁷ I have written elsewhere about this and concluded that

singers brought up on partbooks and choirbooks would have a far more acoustic relationship with the music than their modern counterparts, in that their appreciation and understanding of harmony and counterpoint was primarily an aural one rather than the visually aided one of the modern sight-reader.¹⁰⁸

James Grier makes much the same point when, in arguing the case for the Ogni Sorte Editions, some of which adopt Petrucci's notation, he ventures that such presentation 'serve[s] to focus more attention on the melodic aspects of the individual lines'. What we potentially lose, though, is in the end outweighed by the practical value of scores to the musical practices of the modern age. When rehearsing and recording, the system is invaluable simply because it is much quicker to indicate the place from which a particular moment of music should begin by specifying a bar number than it is to cross reference four parts from original notation. A

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¹⁰⁶ Bent spells this out unequivocally: 'The expressed goal of editions has usually been to bring music to performers and secondarily to scholars'. Bent, 'Editing Early Music', 390.

¹⁰⁷ The Italian group, Odhecaton, directed by Paolo Da Col, takes the principle of part books to an extreme, the individuals learning their individual lines but only performing the music as an ensemble in the concert itself. ¹⁰⁸ Greig, 'Sight Readings', 131.

¹⁰⁹ James Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music: History, Method and Practice* (Cambridge: CUP, 1996).

¹¹⁰ Performers in small groups generally play their part in the editing process by commenting on first edits. In larger groups that is not always the case. For more details, see Donald Greig, 'Performing for (and against) the microphone' in *The Cambridge Companion to Recorded Muisc*, eds. Nicholas Cook, Eric Clarke, John Rink and Daniel Leech-Wilkinson (Cambridge: CUP, 2009), 23.

further benefit of modern transcription is legibility; original manuscripts, tarnished by time, are simply difficult to read.¹¹¹

Though singers can learn to read original notation it requires considerable time. The Clerks Group is, to the best of my knowledge, the only British group that has set out to read and perform from fifteenth-century notation and they could only master the steep learning curve with financial backing from the Arts Council of Great Britain. There are further practical issues. Most groups that perform medieval music cover repertoire from a wide historical and geographical range, which raises the question of which particular system of notation a singer should learn. Aquitanian neumes are a world away from the notation of *Ars antiqua*, which is itself different from that of Italian and northern late fifteenth-century traditions.

An implied though rarely stated benefit is that singing from original notation sounds better than singing from modern transcription. Again, though, notation is not something fed into the performer-machine like a piano roll; the realisation of music from notation is a complex mental and physical process that references a second text, that of memory, inscribed not just in the brain but also in the body – what performers and athletes refer to as muscle memory. Rehearsal and repeat performances render the notation more a mnemonic than a prescription. Bent herself acknowledges this:

Sight-singing is quite possible for an experienced reader, but repeated attempts would gradually result in a half-memorized piece, for which the written book serves as a reminder and point of reference.¹¹³

The debate is not helped by an occasional weighting of the argument against the

¹¹¹ A halfway house is Duffin's transcription in Duffin, *Chansons*.

¹¹² The Orlando Consort learned to read Aquitanian notation as part of an Arts Council funded project in 1996.

¹¹³ Bent, 'Polyphonic Sources', 633.

performer, as in Bent's example of the canon in a Byttering Gloria:

[T]he canonic indication [is no] more than a *fragile signum* ... If that sign were absent, one could imagine singers knowing and enjoying the four-part version before (if ever) noticing the missing canon.¹¹⁴

The only reason, though, that the sign would be absent in transcription would be if an incompetent editor had failed to spot it, not because the singers had misread it, in which case blame should note be laid at the door of the 'inattentive singers', as they are described. She presents a parallel case in Josquin's motet, *Inviolata*. '[I]t could,' she says, 'take some time to realize that, in this five-part piece, the second tenor and altus parts are in strict canon'. Bent's premise is once more singers reading from a poor modern edition or, ironically, from original notation, not from a good edition.

Many of the arguments for reading from original notation do the modern editor a disservice; the modern performer does not 'obey' the dictates of modern notation in any mechanical, literalistic way but is aware of editorial intervention such as beamings, spacings, text underlay and note values, and actively engages with it. As Grier points out, editorial intervention is unavoidable; the good modern edition is reflexive, signalling its intervention, in the case of text underlay by using italics, in the case of editorial *ficta* by adding the accidental above the note and sometimes in brackets, and emendations to text or notes acknowledged in critical commentaries. Something is lost but much is gained from the good modern edition, not least the extra time granted the performer by the modern editor from whose labour the performer benefits.

¹¹⁴ Bent, 'Editing Early Music', 379.

¹¹⁵ Ibid, 381.

¹¹⁶ Grier, The Critical Editing, 4.

Postscript: Jeanne d'Arc and early fifteenth-century musical culture

Earlier in this chapter I indicated that a survey of fifteenth-century musical culture would, among other things, serve as an extended introduction to the question of Jeanne d'Arc's exposure to the music of her era. As we have seen, polyphony was largely the province of educated and highly trained musicians who, for the main part, were employed as singers or instrumentalists in the churches and courts of Europe. The Condemnation trial informs us that Jeanne knew her (Latin) Credo, Ave Maria and Pater Noster, and if she learned them initially in spoken form then the Nullification trial indicates that she subsequently and regularly heard the sung texts of these items and of the wider liturgy. 117 That same source describes how she was accompanied on her travels from Blois to Orléans by monks singing the plainchant hymn Veni creator spiritus, and how on other occasions she sang Marian texts at dawn and dusk.¹¹⁸ Whether Jeanne, a devout Christian who attended Mass daily, encountered any of the rich polyphony by named composers is obviously more conjectural. Her various travels through France would, though, have afforded her some opportunity to do so. After raising the siege at Orléans, there were celebrations in the streets and services in the cathedral, an obvious opportunity for an ad hoc group of singers to assemble and perform, if only 'singing upon the book' (cantare super librum). 119 The later journey

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¹¹⁷ The testimony of Frère Jean Pasquerel is that he sang Mass to her: 'The next day, he heard confession and sang mass for her.' ('Le lendemain, il l'entendit en confession et chanta la messe en sa presence.')

http://www.stejeannedarc.net/rehabilitation/dep_jean_pasquerel.php, unpaginated (accessed 6 June 2017).

¹¹⁸ See the testimony of Frère Jean Pasquerel: http://www.stejeannedarc.net/rehabilitation/dep_jean_pasquerel.php, unpaginated. Jean d'Orléans, Comte de Dunois, formerly the Bastard of Orléans, cites other occasions where Jeanne surrounded herself with singing: http://www.stejeannedarc.net/rehabilitation/dep_dunois.php, unpaginated (both accessed 6 June 2017).

¹¹⁹ 'Cantare super librum' continues to be a contentious issue. See Margaret Bent, "Resfacta" and "Cantare Super Librum" *JAMS* 36, no. 3 (Autumn, 1983) and Wegman, 'From Maker to Composer'.

with Charles VII to Reims for the Coronation took Jeanne to Auxerre, where the Cathédrale Saint-Pierre et Saint-Paul had its own choir. Charles's forces subsequently laid siege to Troyes for four days, and were finally admitted within its walls on the fifth, another opportunity for some kind of sacred celebration in the Cathedral and elsewhere. It seems likely that on some or many of these occasions, she must have heard professionally sung polyphony.

We can be fairly sure that Charles VII, the Dauphin, disparagingly referred to as the King of Bourges for his residency in that town, was unable to maintain a royal chapel. However, his Coronation on 17 July 1429 in Reims, even if it didn't live up to that of his grandfather Charles V on 19 May 1364 for which Machaut almost certainly wrote his *Hoquetus David*, might not have been such an austere occasion. Cathedrals kept a body of singing men (typically junior clerics, or vicars) and a proud tradition of highly trained soloists at Reims Cathedral dated back to the 1350s.¹²¹ The *dernier ordo capétien* that Patrick Demouy claims was the basis for the ceremony certainly called for several musical contributions, including processional chants (*Ecce mitto angelum meum* and Psalm 20: *Domine in virtute tua laetabitur rex*), a Te Deum, and several plainchant hymns specifically allocated to a choir, though whether any polyphonic settings, improvised or otherwise, were heard remains conjectural.¹²² Jeanne may not have been familiar

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¹²⁰ We have the tantalising glimpse of a singer called Michel Dart, or d'Arc – no relation – who had connections with the choir of the Chapel Royal, having sung at the funeral of Charles VI in Paris on 21 October 1422. He was a Canon at Auxerre. See David Fiala, 'Michel d'Arc [Darc]', Prosopographie des Chantres (Tours: CESR / Ricercar), (accessed 5 March 2017). Fiala offers a not dissimilarly teasing prospect with the case of an English singer praising Jeanne in the Nullification trial, though it turns out to have been a case of mistaken identity. See David Fiala, 'La musique à la cour de Bourgogne', *Annales de l'Est* no. 2 (2015), 59–60.

¹²¹ In 1285 the Chapter founded what was effectively its choir, consisting of twelve clerics, all of whom were required to sing. See Pierre Desportes, *Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae 3 Diocèse de Reims: Répertoire prosopographique des évêques, dignitaires et chanoines des diocèses de France de 1200 à 1500* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 20. A bull of 1352 led to an expansion of performing forces in the 1350s and 1360s that went hand-in-hand with the development of complexity and technical demands in Machaut's compositions. See Anne Walters Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims: Context and Meaning in his Musical Works* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 48–52.

¹²² Patrick Demouy suggests that the Mass setting may have been Machaut's *Messe de Notre Dame*, a not inconceivable idea given its obvious connection with Reims Cathedral, though he is surely wrong to suggest that boy

with any of that music or the Mass proper to the day (Ninth Sunday after Pentecost) which followed the Coronation service, but she would surely have been heartened to hear the plainchant hymn *Veni creator spiritus* again, an integral part of the service. One might also wonder if, when captured by the Duke of Burgundy's forces and before being handed over to the English, Jeanne was deliberately taunted by the wealth and symbolic power of the Burgundian court in the form of the famed Burgundian chapel choir. Again, the exact details of the state of that institution are unclear; Philip the Good disbanded the Burgundian Chapel choir in 1419 and only began reassembling a permanent membership late in the 1420s or perhaps around 1430. More speculatively still, the scenes in *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* of the Eucharist might perhaps echo a real encounter with the mighty musical forces of Rouen, where some one hundred and fifty *chapelains* were resident. 124

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choristers. of which there were six in the early fifteenth century, played any part in the polyphony. See Patrick Demouy, 'La liturgie du sacre de Charles VII', *Annales de l'Est* no. 2 (2015), 119.

¹²³ Like his father, John the Fearless, before him, Philip the Good cut the size of his chapel when he became Duke but descriptions of his wedding to Isabel of Portugal in January 1430 and the commission of the motet *Nove cantum melodie* in January 1431 suggest a healthy chapel choir, earlier than the date for which archival evidence exists. See Wright, *Music at the Court of Burgundy*, 106, and Fiala, 'La musique', 45–60.

¹²⁴ Not all of these *chapelains* would have been singers, but the Cathedral's commitment to choral polyphony is demonstrated in the expansion of its numbers from four to six in 1413 and six to eight in 1471. See Vincent Tabbagh, *Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae 2 Diocèse de Rouen: Répertoire prosopographique des évêques, dignitaires et chanoines des diocèses de France de 1200 à 1500* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 14–15.

CHAPTER SIX

Toward a Dreyerian Aesthetic of Film Music

<u>Introduction</u>

Carl Theodor Dreyer made several short films, most of them documentaries; my focus here is the dramatic and structural functions of music in his four narrative sound films. The purpose of this is twofold: to propose a Dreyerian aesthetic of film music; and to assess this against the aesthetic of *Voices Appeared*. It is important to stress once again the timeline of *Voices Appeared* and the current thesis: while the project involved a certain amount of academic research, the following chapter was not part of its development. As opposed to earlier chapters, any conclusions that this chapter offers can only be described as constraints or determinants in so far as they are *post facto* assessments rather than factors in the project's development. However, I watched Dreyer's movies while assembling the score and cannot discount the possibility of unconscious influence. Nevertheless, the following is a more considered and broader critical enquiry, one that expands the authorial image of Dreyer that earlier chapters have proposed and focuses on the use of music in his films. The final section compares the resultant critical construct with *Voices Appeared*.

¹ For the following chapter, I direct the reader to plot summaries of the four films as follows: *Vampyr*: https://www.carlthdreyer.dk/en/node/41815; *Vredens Dag*: https://www.carlthdreyer.dk/en/carlthdreyer/day-wrath; *Ordet*: https://www.carlthdreyer.dk/en/carlthdreyer/word; and *Gertrud*: https://www.carlthdreyer.dk/en/carlthdreyer/gertrud (all accessed 20 July 2018).

Dreyer's Film Music

We confront various practical and theoretical problems when constructing a theory of film music across Dreyer's oeuvre. Most of his full-length narrative films were made in the silent era when musical accompaniment was in the hands of the exhibitor, and we have no record of what Dreyer wanted. This was true for La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc and even for the two premieres in his home city of Copenhagen and in Paris. And whilst *Vampyr* was conceived and realised very much as a silent film, which singles it out as of particular value in the context of Voices Appeared, we are potentially thwarted by Dreyer's strong conviction that every subject brought its own specific set of problems that required specific cinematic solutions. Nevertheless, critics have noted convincing Dreyerian cinematic traits – slow delivery of dialogue, lengthy tracking-and-panning shots that reframe subjects rather than cutting within narrative space – and my hope here is to discover a similar continuity in his approach to film music.

That Dreyer's use of music has elicited scant comment is in part explained by the apparent minimal role it plays in his films.² It is used primarily diegetically as an illustration of religious and working life – hymns, folk songs, plainchant, lieder, chamber music – and nondiegetically in the form of transitions between scenes rather than as emotional underscoring. (Full details of the music are provided in Appendix 4.)

² Exceptions to this general rule are a chapter on the music in *Vredens Dag* in a doctoral thesis by Knud Wissum.

Wissum sent a copy of his thesis to Dreyer and it remains in his archive: 'Filmmusikkens særlige kompositionstekniske problemer, herunder vekselvirkningen mellem billede, replik og music', MA diss., Københavns Universitet, 1949. DA: DI, A: Vredens Dag, 5. David Bordwell makes passing comments about music throughout The Films of Carl Theodor Dreyer (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981). See also a recent essay on the Dreyer archive website by Peter Schepelern, 'Når ordet kommer til kort – Carl Th. Dreyer og musikken', https://www.carlthdreyer.dk/carlthdreyer/om-dreyer/filmisk-stil/nar-ordet-kommer-til-kort-carl-th-dreyer-ogmusikken (accessed 31 July 2018). Schepelern quotes from an early draft of my Chapter Three, this without my knowledge or permission.

The small number of sound films – four spread over thirty-five years: Vampyr (Vampire, 1932), Vredens Dag (Day of Wrath, 1943), Ordet (The Word, 1955) and Gertrud (1964) – is often explained by Dreyer's demands for artistic autonomy combined with fiscal irresponsibility. Both were apparent with La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc: he had complete artistic control and, at a time when the average cost of a narrative film was close to half a million francs, the initial budget of seven million increased to nine million.³ Though Dreyer was disinclined to compromise his artistic vision he was not autocratic and throughout his career developed fruitful partnerships with actors and key members of his production team.⁴ This is also true of his musical collaborations. He worked with the Danish composer Poul Schierbeck on two shorts, Mødrehjælpen (Good Mothers, 1942) and Vandet på Landet (The Water for the Land, 1946), and one feature, Vredens Dag. Dreyer also invited him to write the music for Två Människor (Two People, 1945) and, with the help of his widow, Sylvia Schierbeck, sections of the late composer's music provided the score for Ordet. Dreyer also effectively bequeathed a filial extension of trust by inviting Schierbeck's pupil Jørgen Jersild to write the music for Gertrud.⁵

³ David Bordwell, *Filmguide to* La passion de Jeanne d'Arc (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973), 20. Dreyer's defensiveness about fiscal excess is very obvious in the various approaches made by him, Poul Knudsen and Kris Winther to Harry Cohn at Columbia Pictures in 1941. DA: DI, A: *Vredens Dag*, 5, 6.

⁴ Rudolf Maté and Hermann Warm, cinematographer and production designer for *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc*, were reunited for *Vampyr*, just as Henning Bendtsen, the cinematographer for *Ordet*, was asked to work on *Gertrud*.

⁵ Poul Schierbeck (1888–1949) was a composer, organist, and teacher of composition at the Royal Danish Academy of Music from 1931. A pupil of Carl Nielsen and Thomas Laub, he is known today as the composer of Denmark's unofficial national anthem, 'I Danmark er jeg født' ('I was born in Denmark'), a musical setting of Hans Christian Andersen's patriotic poem. His output included a variety of small-scale orchestral pieces, one opera – *Fête Galante* – and several sparse, folk-like song cycles.

Jørgen Jersild (1913–2004) was a professor at the Royal Danish Academy of Music from 1943 to 1975 where he lectured in aural skills, instrumentation and composition. He composed mainly chamber music, though he also wrote choral works and works for harp. He acknowledged the influence of French music, particularly that of César Franck, though his music is considerably more chromatically and rhythmically developed than Franck's, unsurprising for a composer working in the modernist tradition. Grove describes his *Trois pièces en concert* (1945) as 'among the most important Danish postwar piano compositions' written in 'a brilliant French neo-classical piano style.' *Grove Online* (accessed 20 March 2018). In a somewhat unlikely twist, Jersild was the composer of the Danish entry for the 1965 Eurovision Song Contest with the song 'For din skyld' (it came a respectable seventh).

I treat *Vampyr* separately from the three later sound films on the grounds that is straddles the silent and sound eras and is thus a hybrid film. This has three advantages: it presents us with a model of how Dreyer might have wanted his silent films scored; it underlines the continuities of the three sound films; and it underlines the ontological distinctiveness of silent and sound film. Such an approach is further justified on the grounds that *Vampyr* is a horror film, Dreyer's only venture into the genre, structurally, thematically and dramatically very different from *Vredens Dag, Ordet* and *Gertrud*, all adaptations of stage plays. *Två Människor*, though similarly conceived, must be set aside: it had a melodramatic score added without Dreyer's permission and was brusquely disowned by the director on more than one occasion. ⁶

Dreyer's musical background is fairly typical for a member of the bourgeoisie in

Denmark in the early years of the twentieth century. He received free piano lessons and even for
a while entertained the possibility of becoming a professional musician, though that seems to
have been summarily curtailed after only one engagement as a piano player in a bar. The various
clippings about recordings, radio broadcasts and concerts found in his archives show a
continuing interest in music, attending concerts and buying records. Of his various
collaborations, we know most about that with Schierbeck. There is very little remaining
correspondence between Dreyer and the composers of his other two films, Wolfgang Zeller
(Vampyr) and Jørgen Jersild (Gertrud), explained perhaps by face-to-face contact with them – in
Berlin with Zeller and presumably Copenhagen with Jersild.

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⁶ 'That film doesn't exist' was Dreyer's blunt assessment to Andrew Sarris. Cited in Bordwell, *The Films*, 19.

⁷ Jean Drum and Dale D. Drum, My Only Great Passion: the Life and Films of Carl Th. Dreyer (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2000), 21.

⁸ James Schamus, 'Dreyer's Textual Realism' in *Carl Th. Dreyer* ed. Jytte Jensen (New York: MoMA, 1988), 61.

⁹ Wolfgang Zeller (1893–1967) was a German film composer and violinist, and the in-house composer for the Berlin Volksbühne orchestra in the 1920s. He wrote the score for the first full-length German sound film, *Melodie der Welt* (Walter Ruttmann, 1929).

The few comments Dreyer made about his method reveal a picture of a director placing faith in the composer:

I talk about [the film] with him. The composer, of course, is the man who is always in the right. I shall try to meet him in places I feel important. I come with suggestions. In "Gertrud" I suggested that a village church bell come into the final scene – he accepted it.¹⁰

This brief account is borne out by Schierbeck's uniformly positive experience of working on *Vredens Dag*. He received the script in advance and, after shooting concluded, spent two days spotting the film with the director in Schierbeck's summer home in Ålsgårde in late July. The score was completed sometime before 3 September. ¹¹

Close friendly contact also characterised the working relationship between Dreyer and Sylvia Schierbeck, Poul's widow, on the construction of the score for *Ordet*. Sylvia Schierbeck (1896–1977) was a former professional singer and helped Dreyer choose the music; she is also credited as vocal director and coached the extras from Verdersø in a rendition of 'Synder, stop ej mer dit øre', for which she had written the music, their performance sustained by schnapps.¹²

Dreyer initially approached Sylvia Schierbeck having recently heard her late husband's Kantate til Ribe Katedralskoles 800-års jubilæum (1945). This choral work has no opus number and was not ultimately used. Sections of it, though, had been recycled by Poul Schierbeck as Radio-rapsodi (op.49) for orchestra only and were used in Ordet. It is my strong suspicion that the few unidentified cues – the background to the montage of scenes that precede the funeral (7);

¹⁰ Interview with Dale Drum: DA: DII, A: 3120. The aforementioned bell is marked in Jersild's score. KB: Jørgen Jersilds arkiv XXV, 05, mu 0703.0600.

¹¹ Details provided in Oddvin Mathisen. *Bogen om Schierbeck* (Copenhagen: Nyt Nordisk Forlag Arnold Busck, 1988), 293–6.

¹² Sylvia Schierbeck tells how, when Dreyer first contacted her about using her husband's music for the film, she remembered a poem by Kaj Munk and subsequently set it to music. The lyrics are actually from an early draft of Munk's play, *Ordet*. Mathisen, *Bogen* 340.

when the Petersen family visit the Borgens at Borgensgård for Inger's funeral (8); and finally, the closing music (9) – come from the earlier piece. Sylvia Schierbeck suggested sections from:

Natten (op.41) for piano solo and orchestra, Largo for strings (op.33), published posthumously in 1955 as music from Ordet though originally composed in 1935 and dedicated to the violinist Valdemar Esbensen, Poul Schierbeck's friend, whom he called 'uncle'; Andante Doloroso for strings, flute, trumpets and French horns (op.57, no.2); a setting of the words 'Det er i dag et vejr et solskinvejr', which Inger hums.¹³

While the music, like Lo Duca's experiment with *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc*, might have come from extant recordings, the consistency of acoustic and balance between different sections suggests it was recorded afresh, probably arranged by Emil Reesen (1887–1964), a noted Danish film composer who met with Dreyer at Sylvia Schierbeck's house in 1954 at her suggestion.¹⁴

The archives shed little light on Jersild's experience of working with Dreyer, but every politeness seems to have been observed. Given that virtually all the music in *Gertrud* was to be diegetic, most of the score had to be written before filming began on 1 May 1964. To this end, Dreyer sent Jersild a list of the music on 13 December 1963. What will become 'Sang i natten' ('Song in the night') is there entitled 'Nattens Bøn' ('The night prayer'), and there is a perplexing reference to cue for barrel organ cue (Lirekasse), perhaps another diegetic cue for the scene where Gertrud meets Jansson in the park. The final cue, an epilogue that references a musical setting of

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¹³ Largo and Andante Doloroso were both published by Edition Wilhelm Hansen (Copenhagen) WH27364 and WH27381, copies of which Sylvia sent to Dreyer. The edition of Largo is inscribed in her hand: 'Dear Carl Th. Dreyer. Thank you for the happiness you gave to Paul, as he much enjoyed working with you. Thanks also for not forgetting him and for recreating 'Ordet.' With my heartfelt good wishes and hope that the film will be a great success worldwide. Yours devotedly.' 'Sovang 18/8 -1955. Kære hr. Instruktør Carl Th. Dreyer. Tak fordi De gav Poul så stor en glæde, som det rar for ham at samarbejde med Dem. Tak fordi De ikke glemte ham, da De genskabte "Ordet." Med mine hjertelgste hilsner og ønsken om at filmen må blive forstået ude it den store verden. Deres hengivne. Sylvia Schierbeck.' DA: D I, A: Ordet, 78

¹⁴ Mathisen. Bogen, 340.

¹⁵ KB: Jørgen Jersilds arkiv XXV, 05, mu 0703.0600.

the Norwegian poet's 'Og ræven lå under birkerod', is jettisoned in favour of an orchestral cue. Scribbled on the letter is a handwritten notation of 'Vignetter 7' which must refer to the rejected poems and musical settings, more on which below.

Dreyer's more general comments about the role of film music offer further insight. He was not a film theorist in the way that, for example, Sergei Eisenstein was, and the closest he came to a manifesto was the 1943 essay 'Lidt om filmstil' published in *Politiken* on 2 December 1943. Written shortly after the completion of *Vredens Dag* but before *Ordet* and *Gertrud*, it shows Dreyer grappling with various issues that he has still not entirely resolved, including the use of music:

I cannot talk about film without saying a couple of words about music. It is Heinrich Heine who has said that where the words come out short there the music begins ... Correctly used, it is both capable of supporting the psychological development and of deepening a frame of mind that has been previously produced either through the pictures or through the dialogue. When the music really has meaning or an artistic intention, it will always be a plus for the film. But we must, nonetheless, hope for – and work to bring forth – more and more spoken films that have not the need of music, film in which the words do not come out short.¹⁷

Dreyer here seems to be describing a conventional use of nondiegetic music, that of amplifying the dramatic context. At the same time, music admits to a failure, that of a defective screenplay. It is thus logical for him to hope ultimately to do away with music entirely. As we shall see, underscoring plays a minimal role in Dreyer's films and, for the most part, dialogue and music operate independently of each other.

The slow pace of Dreyer's film, for which *Vredens Dag* was criticised on its release, may

¹⁶ Translated as 'A little on film style' in *Dreyer in Double Reflection*, ed. Donald Skoller (New York: Da Capo, 1973).

¹⁷ Ibid, 141.

have prompted him to write the essay in which these comments appear and raises the related issues of tempo and rhythm as conditioning factors of the cinematic experience. Here is Dreyer responding to Lo Duca's sonorisation of 1952 of *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc*: 'I knew that my rhythm would be destroyed, it is not the rhythm of Bach's music, or Beethoven's'. ¹⁸ We might instinctively understand that Dreyer is speaking of the rhythm of editing in his film, yet elsewhere he talks of further rhythmical configurations – rhythm of actors' movements, rhythm of speech – which in turn produce further rhythms with cutting. ¹⁹ Narrative also has its own rhythms – the various disjunctions between screen time and real time, the rhythm of narrative events, etc. ²⁰ The reference to Beethoven and Bach's rhythms is, though, confusing; neither Bach nor Beethoven showed a preference for one rhythm and both employed a wide range of tempi. Dreyer is using the word 'rhythm' loosely, as it so often is in everyday language, as a synonym for pace, as the following shows:

The sound film in the last few years has conscientiously worked toward a new, specific sound-film rhythm. There is an aim in these films for a quietness in the rhythm that makes it possible for the spectator to rest on the pictures and listen to the words.²¹

This last observation points to an important ontological distinction between Dreyer's conceptions of silent and sound film: 'Short scenes, quick cuts in my view mark the silent film, but the smooth medium shot – with continual camera movement – belongs to the sound film'.²²

¹⁸ Lotte H. Eisner, 'Rencontre avec Carl Th. Dreyer,' Cahiers du Cinéma 48 (1955), 25.

¹⁹ '[T]here is a certain accordance between a human being's walk and speech. Just look at Lisbeth Movin: there is the finest coordination between the rhythm of her walk and the rhythm of her voice.' Skoller, 137. For more on film rhythm, see Lea Jacobs, *Film Rhythm after Sound: Technology, Music, and Performance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014).

²⁰ Bordwell lists seven modes of rhythm. Bordwell, *The Films*, 140.

²¹ Dreyer, 'A Little on Film Style', 129.

²² Ebbe Neergaard, 'The Word', Sight and Sound 24 (Summer 1955), 172–73.

A glance at the average shot lengths of his films confirms this: ²³

Film	Year of release	Duration	Number of shots	Average Shot Length in seconds
La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc	1928	01:36:26 (at 20fps)	1343	3.72
Vampyr	1932	01:10:37	482	8.8
Vredens Dag	1943	01:36:47	441	13.2
Ordet	1955	02:04:03	114	65.3
Gertrud	1964	01:54:02	83 ²⁴	82.4

Table 6.1: comparison of shot lengths in Dreyer's films

There is a huge difference in the average shot lengths of *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc*, his last silent film, with an ASL of less than 4 seconds, and *Gertrud* with an ASL of over 80. A comparison with Hollywood films provides a useful context. There the ASL rose from about 8 or 9 seconds in the late 1930s, through 10 to 11 seconds in the period of 1940–45, thence to 12 to 13 seconds in the period from 1946–50. ²⁵ In Dreyer's last three sound films, there is a striking increase in the use of gliding camera movements, many of which feature a distinctive concurrence of panning and tracking, something Dreyer saw as the appropriate mode of presentation of sound film, resulting in durationally long shots and few cuts. Created over a period of more than thirty years, the trajectory of the four sound films is marked by a movement away from cutting within scenes. And given his assertion that the film of the future will consist of only 'six, seven eight shots', Dreyer's vision is hardly realised even in that most ascetic of films,

With these preliminary thoughts in mind, I will now examine *Vampyr* in detail before turning to the last three sound films.

²³ Statistics are from a variety of sources, including http://www.cinemetrics.lv/.

²⁴ According to James Schamus, there are 89 shots. James Schamus, *Carl Theodor Dreyer's* Gertrud: *The Moving Word* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010),10.

²⁵ See Barry Salt, 'Film Style and Technology in the Forties', Film Quarterly 31, no. 1 (1977), 47.

²⁶ Neergaard, 'The Word', 172.

<u>Vampyr</u>

By any criteria, *Vampyr* is a bizarre film. It shuns some of the more obviously erotic and suspenseful pleasures of the horror genre and concentrates on building a particular aura of strangeness and inexplicability, some of it due to technical constraints but much of it more deeply structured. The source material is Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu's collection of short stories, *In a Glass Darkly*, specifically 'Carmilla', a suggestively lesbian tale. Dreyer's distinctly androgynous vampire is a long way from the flamboyant portrayals in *Nosferatu* (F. W. Murnau, 1922) and *Dracula* (Todd Browning, 1931), and though completed before Browning's version it was released after it. The explanations of the vampire myth in *Vampyr* are laboured and even unnecessary, particularly when set against the film's unresolved plot points and loose ends, which cannot even generously be excused as horror tropes. Some narrative ellipses may be the result of cuts made in the material after the premiere in Berlin on 6 May 1932. David Rudkin identifies the relationship between Gisèle and Gray as one example and certainly, the couple's peremptory idyllic flight into the world of 'happily ever after' is not adumbrated by prior events. Three moments of abrupt silence add weight to an argument of re-editing.²⁷

Dreyer preferred the film to be known by its subtitle, *The Strange Adventure of Allan Gray*. The German subtitle, *Der Traum des Allan Gray*, is more instructive, signalling the film's oneiric orientation, echoed in Dreyer's description of it as 'a daydream'. Dreyer and Rudolph Maté, the cinematographer for *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc*, developed an over-exposed and hazy

²⁷ Between 0:41:04 and 0:41:09, 0:52:13 and 0:52:19, and 0:52:35 and 0:52:50 the music is suddenly interrupted only to pick up again at its departure point seconds later.

²⁸ The translation of 'Strange Adventure' seems to derive from the first intertitle, which in German describes the 'phantasie-erlebnis' of Allan Gray. Note that Gray is also identified as David Gray in the French title. David is also the designation that Zeller uses in his score.

²⁹ The quotation is from an interview in *Berlinske Tidende*, 13 May 1931.

look to the film, partially by filming through tulle, creating a world of 'white ghost-night'.³⁰ The film thus appears impossibly alive and also indistinct, a paradox which further adds to the unsettling atmosphere and lends it an air of a terrifying daymare where one is awake yet cannot scream. This is actualised in in the celebrated sequence where Gray observes himself being sealed in a glass-topped coffin, apparently dead yet still seeing.

Undoubtedly some of the technical failings of the film contribute to the atmosphere. All of the dialogue was dubbed, in three separate languages (German English and French), not always convincingly. Voices thus tend to speak as if from another realm, partly because the spoken words do not match the mouth movements or because the speakers' mouths are obscured. This stilted unreality is likewise engendered in the physical stiffness and expressionless delivery of the amateur leading man, the film's financier, Baron Nicolas de Gunzberg (credited as Julian West).

The film's schizophrenic construction as both silent and sound film is a further factor, and one can imagine it existing in both states. Intertitles betray the film's debt to the silent era as does its heavily marked exposition. 'This is the tale of the strange adventures of young Allan Gray ... His aimless wanderings led him late one evening to a secluded inn by the river in a village called Courtempierre', announces the first intertitle, a rhetorical redundancy given that we know it is an inn and we can see the river close-by.

What also marks *Vampyr* as a silent film is Wolfgang Zeller's virtually through-composed score, the holograph of which is held in the Deutsches Filminstitut in Frankfurt.³¹ *Vampyr*'s

³⁰ The phrase comes from an English translation of Ebbe Neergard's commentary on the film in the Dreyer archive: DA: DI, A: *Vampyr* 2

³¹ All transcriptions were made from Zeller's holograph: WZ 39 Nachlass Wolfgang Zeller/Deustsches Filminstitut, Frankfurt am Main.

small orchestra is comprised of strings (violins, violas, cello, double basses), woodwind (clarinet, bass clarinet, bassoon, alto saxophone), percussion (piano, celesta, cymbal, timpani, bass drum, quijada) and brass (trumpets, trombones, tuba). The score runs to some two hundred pages and consists of sixty-one cues, nearly all of them in pencil save for three, which are overwritten in black ink. Some cues are very short – cue 7, for example, is merely a direction to supply the sounds of a tolling bell and a knock on the door, and cue 50 simply specifies tam tam and cymbals to produce an eerie sound – while other cues run to as much as seven pages. Rehearsal cues are added in red pen and various conducting marks in pencil. Synchronisation points in the form of characters ('David', 'Gisele'), locations ('Schloss',) dialogue (Gray's 'Wer sind Sie' to the Châtelain, sometimes the word 'Text'), identifying features ('Trappe' for staircase, 'Tür' for door), and intertitles ('Karte') indicate that the music was recorded in a studio while the film played. Some cues are missing and others were presumably improvised in the studio. The manuscript for cue 4, for example, lacks any indication of the throbbing pedal point that accompanies the shot of the unidentified man with a sickle. Similarly, some cues are performed differently from the notation, standard practice even today when, for example, chords may be respaced, and effects added. The vocal impressionists who added the sounds of animals were apparently present when the music was recorded, as was the voice which shouts 'Ruhe', though this last assertion is more disputable.³²

While many of the cues are musically complex, a notably simple feature is the use of pedal points or paused chords. In nearly all cases, these coincide with spoken dialogue and are a consequence of the technical limitations of the early sound era. Martin Koerber, who worked on

³² According to Koerber, the voice shouting 'Ruhe!' was cued by Zeller from his score. However, there is no such indication there, only an instruction: 'Plötzlicher abbruch' (abrupt stop). Koerber, 'Some notes', 59.

the restoration of the film, learned directly from the film's editor, Paul Falkenberg, that
Falkenberg dubbed the dialogue onto the first of two optical soundtracks. The second was
reserved for the music and other effects, many of which, such as thunder, a rifle shot, bells, and
other basic Foley sounds, are notated in Zeller's score. A primitive editing machine combined the
two optical tracks though this led to a distinct loss of quality. With music potentially clouding
dialogue, complexity is accordingly attenuated.³³ For example, only when Gray hears indistinct
voices, i.e. voices without significant dialogue, coming from above his room does the music essay
a more complicated design:



Example 6.1: chromatic wandering under voices

An analysis of the opening sequence demonstrates further key features (0:00:00–0:02.23). The film begins with a black screen. An octave B in double basses and violas crescendos then descends to a pedal G over which clarinet, strings and harp establish a chord of G7 as the title of the film emerges in ghostly white script.

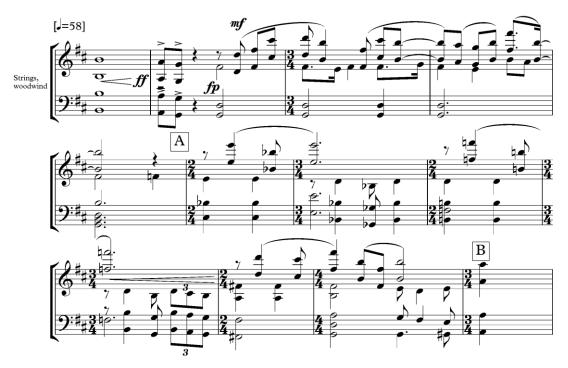


Figure 6.1: opening title of Vampyr

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³³ See Martin Koerber, 'Some notes on the restoration of *Vampyr*', Eureka Entertainment DVD EKA40215 booklet, (2008). An earlier version of this appeared in Danish in *Film*, 7 (2000). I am grateful to Martin Koerber for clarification on this issue in a private correspondence of 23 March 2018.

We now hear the first of two themes that accompany the credit sequence. The first is a yearning three-bar melody played by the violins, followed by a short three-bar sequential passage and resolution to A major.



Example 6.2: Vampyr, cuel 1

The second part of the theme introduces the augmented fourth. It is easy to overstate the interval's significance. It continues to distract early-music theorists and practitioners given its recurrent treatment in medieval and renaissance treatises, and in sound cinema is commonly associated with horror films, harking back to its designation as *diabolus in musica* in the eighteenth century.² In Zeller's score it is often highlighted melodically and harmonically to

¹ My transcriptions make no distinction between the original notation and the cues as performed, though in all cases I favour the latter over the former. This extends to providing key signatures where appropriate; Zeller provides no key signatures and writes out all accidentals.

² J. J. Fux is the most commonly cited source, this from his famous counterpoint treatise *Gradus ad Parnassum*. 'I do not doubt that you have often heard the trite proverb, "Mi contra fa est diabolus in musica". Oliver Strunk, ed. *Source Readings in Music History: The Baroque Era* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1965), 182.

signify the uncanny.

The composer's credit ushers in a short linking passage, violins playing mainly in thirds, leading to a transitional B7.



Figure 6.2: Zeller's credit in Vampyr



Example 6.3: link between first and second themes, Vampyr, cue 1

A new theme begins with an E in the high strings, a resolution from B7 that is immediately challenged by a further recurrence of the augmented fourth in the form of an octave Bb in the lower strings. A descending sequence follows, this the second theme, the upper strings tracing a plodding path, mirrored by heavily bowed offbeats that insist on the augmented fourth.



Example 6.4: Vampyr, cue 1, third theme

The convention in later film is that two main themes heard during the credit sequence will turn out to be the main musical themes of the film, but that is not the approach taken here.³ The credits fade to black over a held pedal E, and out of the murk loom the first intertitle and a new theme, played on a clarinet.

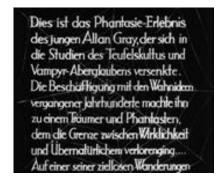
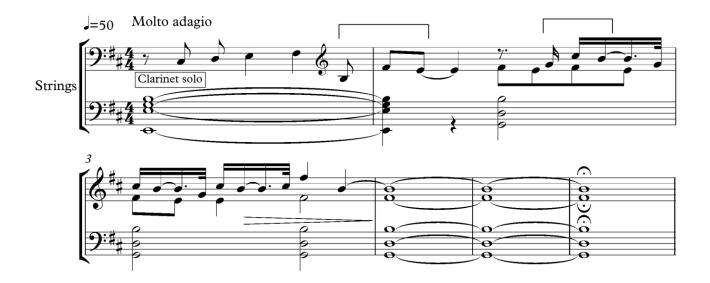


Figure 6.3: opening scrolling title of *Vampyr*

³ Justin London summarises the standard Hollywood approach as an A theme followed by a B theme, usually signifying the male hero and a love theme or female character. See Justin London, 'Leitmotifs and Musical Reference in the Classical Film Score' in *Music and Cinema*, eds. James Buhler, Caryl Flinn and David Neumeyer (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2000), 87–8.

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Example 6.5: theme to accompany first intertitles in Vampyr

The arching leaps of a fifth from B to F#, and G to C# (marked in Ex. 5.7 with a square bracket) echo the same melodic contour of the first theme:



Example 6.6: Allan Gray's theme?

The repetition of cell-like figures like this is a key feature of the score, a process that can be likened to the oft-cited Wagnerian notion of leitmotif and musical themes, a standard feature of film music in the 1930s.⁴ The common use of the fifth as a standard signifier of heroism here suggests an association with our hero, Gray, However, when this theme returns in a slightly variant form some forty-seven minutes later, Gray is not present:

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⁴ See London, 'Leitmotifs', 85–96. James Wierzbicki points out that film-music studies has tended to conflate leitmotif and theme, the former being properly a smaller musical element which themes will often develop. See James Wierzbicki, *Film Music: A History* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 144.



Example 6.7: Courtempierre

Rather, it accompanies the old servant's point-of-view shot as he reads from the book of vampire lore: 'Just 25 years ago, a murderous epidemic claimed 11 victims in the village of Courtempierre'. The association of this theme now is with Courtempierre, also mentioned in the first intertitle. For all that, the echo of heroism still applies when it is first heard. This recycling of small cells and themes to fulfil related but different ends establishes a metonymic associative chain and also imbues the score with an abiding organicism. A further example is a theme which we first hear when Gray studies a painting hanging on the wall. The picture depicts a deathbed scene – a woman crying, men praying, and a priest delivering the last rites whilst a skeleton signifying death hovers behind – and parallel sixths in the violins and violas suggest the more comforting world of Christianity where fauxbourdon-like harmony promises salvation:



Figure 6.4: details of picture on wall



Example 6.8: the picture

The theme returns when Gray studies the mysterious package the Châtelain has given him, its connotations thickening. Now it signifies the Châtelain is not the threatening figure that his unannounced appearance in Gray's room might initially have suggested, but a potential ally and saviour of what we will come to understand is the fate of Léone's soul.

The use of pedal points under dialogue fulfils a similar double function. If dictated by technological conditions, the vibrating or pulsing bass presence connotes uncertain menace. Such conventional use of music is also found in the mimicking of movement. Having heard indistinct voices, when Gray climbs the stairs to investigate, pizzicato strings mickey-mouse his anxious ascent in a cue marked *vivace*, and when he scuttles back to his room descending pizzicato strings similarly ape his return. Such conventional use of music in film extends to 'stingers', as in the opening sequence when Gray's sight of a figure dressed as the Grim Reaper elicits a stabbing F# minor chord.

The second narrative sequence (6:30 to 10:02) illustrates further features of the score: the ceaseless introduction of new musical material and how musical material mirrors dramatic segmentation. It begins in silence, with Gray in bed. The sound of knocking wakes him and he turns to look at the door (6:38). A close-up shows the key in the lock turning of its own accord and as the door opens an octave G in the strings crescendos and moves to an Ab, a now-familiar interval of a minor second (6:50 to 7:02), followed by a slightly faster sequence of B natural to C (7:07 to 7:13). The cellos play a sequence of minor seconds over which offbeat chords in the upper strings sound while the Châtelain walks around the room (7:15 to 7:32). Over a pulsing pedal point, the Châtelain urges Gray to listen (8:03), telling him that 'she' must not die (8:22). There follow two new musical ideas: the first is a sequence of descending augmented fourths in the violins and violas (8:27 to 8:51):



Example 6.9: augmented fourths in the bedroom

When the Châtelain begins to write on his mysterious package (8:52), a related cue follows, gentle parallel thirds in the violins and violas providing an elegant classical string-quartet accompaniment as the cellos descend sequentially to an obvious cadence when the Châtelain leaves Gray's room (9:38). There now follows a short silence, a rhyme with the silence with which this segment began.

Parenthesising silent punctuation like this occurs in a slightly later scene when Gray leaves the inn, though here musical form also plays a part. The action, of Gray crossing the lobby and exiting (10:17 to 10:40), is presented in a single, dramatically inconsequential panning-and-tracking shot, exactly temporally matched by the musical cue. Pizzicato movement in cellos and violas followed by staccato clarinet and pizzicato violins, familiar elements of Zeller's musical palette, are metaphorically linked to his furtive tiptoeing across the room.



Example 6.10: Gray crosses the lobby and exits the inn

In Gray's subsequent investigation of the inn's outhouses, there are no fewer than four new and distinct musical/sound ideas: an ambiguous noise, possibly created by running a wooden stick around the rim of a cymbal; a low, funereal brass motif at 12:25 which will return at 55:10 and 57:48; a Mazurka played on a violin to accompany the shadows of dancing marionettes; and finally a circus-like rasping tuba and trumpet that ends with the rattle of a quijada and the cry of 'Ruhe' by the vampire.



Example 6.11: funereal brass

In contrast to the scene-setting use of music in the credit sequence, each new narrative event is distinguished by discrete and contrasting musical idioms. Some musical ideas are often very brief indeed, as short as three seconds. In a later scene we cut from the interior to a shot of the man leading a horse out of the stables, and low pizzicato strings describe him hurrying down a ramp. This shot and the music last less than two seconds. We cut back to Gray and Gisele in the living room for some eleven seconds as Gray lights a candle. This scene, illustrated with calm, legato strings, is interrupted by a clarinet playing simple dotted phrase of two notes a major second apart over pizzicato strings as we cut to the exterior again. This musical idea lasts for four seconds. Such cliched phrases draw on earlier associations – pizzicato strings for hurrying, for example – and in turn contribute to the score's satisfying cohesion even when the music oscillates so quickly from idea to idea.

The recycling of musical material to different ends does not prevent a more obvious

association of musical themes with specific characters and places. The Châtelain's concern for his daughters, for example, expressed while he oversees the sleeping Leone and Gisele, is signalled by the following exclusive theme:



Example 6.12: the Châtelain's concern

The Doctor also has his own theme, its pizzicato offbeats musically related to material used elsewhere but distinct in itself:



Example 6.13: the Doctor

Léone is consistently identified not just thematically but also timbrally by the use of the alto saxophone (cues 31, 35, 37 and 38). Occasionally, though, themes do not cohere around figures and merely 'fill' narrative time. The following cue, for example, begins on a shot of a man digging, the film reversed in printing so that earth flies into his shovel then back into the earth:



Example 6.14: man digging/dogged investigation

There is certainly something both eerie and odd about the chromatic shifting,

particularly the reiterated tension of augmented fourths (between E natural and Bb, and D and Ab). It is used in a more extended form in Gray's search of the outhouses and there the *pesante* pizzicato bass line becomes an appropriate musical manifestation of his dogged yet hesitant investigation.

This cue is a further instance of a broader musical argument that operates across the film between unresolved harmonies and triadic coherence. Most obviously, there is a tension between the taut predictability of perfect fifths, fourths and octaves and the more striking augmented fourth in particular. The end of the opening phrase, for example, articulates an open arpeggiation around these intervals:



Example 6.15: end of opening theme in cue 1

Compare this with a later figure that occurs as part of cue 28 when Gray reads from the book of vampire lore:



Example 6.16: opening of cue 28

Here two augmented fourths divide the octave to emphasise and exploit an uneasy lack of resolution. This struggle between perfect and imperfect intervals plays out dramatically across the

film and is finally resolved when Léone's soul is saved, heralded by a sugary sweet musical confection of divided, triadic strings:



Example 6.17: cue 53

Assertions of positive tonal coherence are also found in another recurring theme, reminiscent of a Mozart string quartet. It occurs first when Gray re-enters the Château after the return of the carriage (39:52), and again in variant minor-key form, in Léone's bedroom (43:27). Note, though, the presence once more of the augmented fourth, though here it is safely bound by functional harmony, a containment of the diabolic interval that the score elsewhere dramatizes.



Example 6.18: first iteration of Mozartian sweetness

Its final appearance is as the immediate prequel to Gray and Gisele's soaring escape across the river, now resolving positively.



Example 6.19: escape

Beyond the way silence operates as punctuation in *Vampyr*, in this through-composed score silence also serves an expressive function. At 38:40, for example, a cut to a louring sky is made more sinister by the ominous lack of music or sound effect. Similarly, when Gray is sealed in the coffin, all we hear is the 'close-up' grating of screws biting into wood, and as the coffin passes silently on its way, affording us Gray's skyward point-of-view, there is only the muffled, distant tolling of bells. Music here would weaken the effect rather than adding to it; silence heightens the horror, halting musical mediation and bringing the spectator closer to the reality of events.

An expectation that music might accompany the dramatic scene when the vampire is slain may well be influenced by more recent examples of the horror genre, making it easy to imagine some *Sturm und Drang* musical outburst, but here the total absence of music is particularly effective. Cue 52 in Zeller's score instructs the conductor to 'follow hammer blows on film' (*'Folgen hammerschläge nach Bild'*) and all we hear are effects – the metallic thud as the stake is driven into the body, the scrape of a cymbal. It is perhaps this chilling documentarism that led the censors to insist on cuts (15 metres –around 30 seconds – was removed). Even in his first sound film, Dreyer seems to be committed to the eschewal of overt musical expressivity, a feature of the last three films.

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⁵ Koerber, 'Some notes', 60.

Vredens Dag, Ordet, Gertrud

After living in France between 1926 and 1934, making *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* and *Vampyr*,

Dreyer began one of his several unfinished projects, a film entitled *L'Homme ensablé*, co-written with the Italian journalist Ernesto Quadrone and shot in Somalia. Dreyer abandoned the film, frustrated by the attitude of the producers, and returned home to Copenhagen where he supported himself writing film reviews for *B.T.*, a Danish tabloid newspaper.

His next film would be the first of many shorts, Mødrehjælpen (1942), this part of a project to return the Danish director to film-making. 8 Mogens Skot-Hansen and Poul Knudsen (who ultimately would share a screenplay credit with Dreyer) owned the film rights to the play by Wiers-Jenssen upon which Vredens Dag was based, and Skot-Hansen was in charge of short film production unit of the Ministeriernes Filmudvalg in Copenhagen. To demonstrate that Dreyer could work within budgets, Skot-Hansen invited him to make the short documentary, the music for which was written by Poul Schierbeck. Subsequently, Skot-Hans pitched Vredens Dag to Nordisk, who turned them down. Vredens Dag was eventually made for Palladium Film, the first of a three-picture deal that would include Ordet and Gertrud. Palladium was best known at the time for its comedies and, later, for sex comedies. Sponsorship of Dreyer's more obviously artistic excursions afforded them a licence to operate cinemas, a role otherwise prohibited for production companies. 9

⁶ https://www.carlthdreyer.dk/en/carlthdreyer/about-dreyer/working-method/dreyer-goes-africa (accessed 20 July 2018).

⁷ Drum, *My only*, 168.

⁸ For this and the following see Drum, My only, 179–184.

⁹ See Isak Thorsen, 'Palladium', https://www.carlthdreyer.dk/en/carlthdreyer/about-dreyer/workplaces/palladium, (accessed 20 July 2018), and Kevin Heffermnan, 'From "Sex Entertainment for the Whole Family" to Mature Pictures: *I Jomfruens Tegn* and Transnational Erotic Cinema' in *Grindhouse: Cultural Exchange on 42nd Street, and Beyond*, eds. Austin Fisher and Johnny Walker (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 131.

The three last feature films share certain commonalities. All derive from stage plays and bear marks of the *kammerspiel* tradition: *Vredens Dag* was based on *Anne Pettersdotter* by the Norwegian playwright, Hans Wiers-Jensenn (1866–1925), a play that had international success, showing on Broadway and spawning two operas in its afterlife; Ordet was an adaptation of *I Begyndelsen var Ordet* by Kaj Munk (1898–1944), a Danish playwright and Lutheran pastor; and *Gertrud* was based on the 1907 play of the same name by the Swedish playwright, Hjalmar Söderberg (1869–1941).

In all cases, Dreyer's first exposure to his source material was the theatre: he attended the premieres of *Anne Pettersdotter* in 1909, the Copenhagen premiere of *I Begyndelsen var Ordet* in 1932, and dated his interest in Söderberg's work to the 1920s. ¹¹ Clearly all of the dramas resonated strongly with him; in the case of the first two plays he immediately tried to obtain the film rights. ¹²

He made several changes to all the plays. In the case of *Vredens Dag*, he transposed the story to May 1623, which placed it in the post-Reformation Lutheran era, specifically during a particularly febrile period of the persecution of witches in Denmark between 1617 and 1625.¹³ Counterbalancing these historical relocations were geographical specificities, such as *Ordet*'s six weeks location shooting on the west coast of Jutland, where Munk had lived and the play was set. In line with his general practice of removing redundancies, something that extended to

¹⁰ *La fiamma* of 1934, libretto by Claudio Guastalla, music by Ottorino Respighi; and *Anne Pedersdotter*, libretto by Hans Kristiansen, music by Edvard Fliflet Bræin, first performed in 1971.

¹¹ Drum suggests the play was written in the early 1930s: Drum (2000) 221–223. On Dreyer's interest in Söderberg, see ibid, 249–50.

¹² The cost was prohibitive and it fell to another to make the film, the Swedish director Gustaf Molander in 1943, which meant that Dreyer had to wait until the rights became available again.

¹³ An English synopsis sent to Columbia Pictures explains that 'Day of Wrath are the introductory words in the famous Latin hymn about the Day of Judgement which even after the Protestant Reformation – though in altered form – was sung at the burnings of witches in Denmark', DA: DI, A: *Vredens Dag*, 2. Jans Peter Larsen, who had acted as liturgical advisor, presumably provided the details.

production design, Dreyer also cut much of the dialogue; in the case of *Ordet*, he reckoned he removed about two-thirds. He also added new scenes such as the epilogue to *Gertrud*, which was entirely his own work. Somewhat surprisingly for someone for whom preplanning was so important, Dreyer shot two endings for *Ordet*: the original ending that suggests the coroner may have made a mistake in declaring Inger dead, and the one used in the final cut which leaves no doubt that a miracle has occurred.

Religion and faith, recurring themes for Dreyer despite his atheism, are central concerns of both *Vredens Dag* and *Ordet*, and form an obvious link with *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc*.

Gertrud, by contrast, is starkly secular, an investigation of one woman's philosophy of love and her doomed search for fulfilment. Tonally, it is also very different from the preceding films.

There is no contrast to societal repression in the form of fulfilled romance, such as the young lovers in *Vredens Dag*, nor is there any of *Ordet*'s leavening humour. Gone also is the naturalism of those films, notably the stage business of *Ordet* – Morten fussing with his pipe and clothes, Inger rolling out pastry. In *Gertrud*, shot almost always frontally, dialogue is delivered with little inflection, and the various expressions of love that pepper the film – Gustav's to Gertrud, Gertrud's to Jansson – are similarly muted.

The adjective 'difficult' is often conferred upon Dreyer's final film, affording it the kind of reverence bestowed on Beethoven's last quartets, to which Godard compared it. When it was released it was only the young guns at *Cahiers du Cinéma* who stood up for the film– Godard

¹⁴ Speaking of *Ordet*: 'A condensation and a compression take place. The dialogue included in the film hardly amount to more than a third of the play's original dialogue. This gives an impression of how thorough the simplification process must be'. 'The Cinematatization of *Ordet*', in Skoller, *Dreyer*, 164. There are several examples of production designers creating authentic sets only to have Dreyer and his cameraman come along and remove at least half of the props. See Drum, *My only*, 240, on the stripping of the kitchen, this from an interview with Dreyer of 30 June 1967.

¹⁵ Drum, *My only*, 250.

¹⁶ Cahiers du Cinéma, 207 (1968), 4.

chose it as one of his best films of 1964¹⁷ – and, very surprisingly, *Variety*:

[W]ith echoes of Ibsen, in its social haranguing for female independence, and Strindberg, in its difficulty in male and female understanding, [*Gertrud*] lends itself admirably to Dreyer's dry but penetrating style.¹⁸

Others, including Danish critics, found *Gertrud* dull: a 'two-hour study of sofas and pianos'. ¹⁹ Today the film is revered, though almost all commentators are quick to qualify their praise. '[A] film that unremittingly, almost malevolently, refuses to be cinema of any classifiable kind,' says Bordwell. ²⁰ '[A] series of long takes where the camera rarely moves from its original vantage point as the characters deliver themselves of a series of quiet, introspective threnodies on what might have been,' writes Tom Milne. ²¹ Jean and Dale D. Drum put the blame on the source material: '[Dreyer's] final film [is] an example of what happened when Dreyer chose material that failed to respond to his film magic'. ²² Elizabeth Cowie, like Bordwell, is unafraid to us the word 'theatrical', otherwise an anathema in film-studies: 'Dreyer constructs an extremely theatrical effect as a result of the relentlessly frontal camera he uses'. ²³ James Schamus underlines the film's oft-noted pace: 'the film *is* stilted, it *is* slow-moving; its pleasures, to those few who have yielded to them, are not only hard-earned but perversely painful'. ²⁴

The challenges that the film presents have generated many divergent theoretical meditations, making it perhaps the most discussed of all Dreyer's films after *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc*. For Burch/Dana, the film is Brechtian, foregrounding 'the place of woman in society and

¹⁷ The film premiered in Paris on 18 December 1964.

¹⁸ Variety, 31 December 1964.

¹⁹ Cinema, 65, quoted in Bordwell, The Films, 171.

²⁰ Ibid, 171

²¹ Tom Milne, *The Cinema of Carl Dreyer*, (London: Zwemmer, 1971), 170.

²² Drum, My only, 249.

²³ Elizabeth Cowie, 'Stratagems of Identification'. Oxford Literary Review 8 no. 1/2 (1986), 252.

²⁴ Schamus, Carl Theodor, 8.

the false dilemma in which ideology imprisons the heroine';²⁵ in Bordwell's (Formalist) reading and Cowie's Lacanian-oriented approach, it is anti-illusionistic;²⁶ and for Schamus, whose wideranging elliptical anti-monograph traces various departure and recovery points, is amongst other things 'an extended meditation on the emptiness of Albertian space, and on the constituent disconnect between word and image'.²⁷

All agree that *Gertrud* interrogates and challenges the norms of cinematic representation, but such features are also apparent in the earlier films. In *Vredens Dag*, for example:

almost never does anyone in the film move and talk at the same time. A movement – say, walking across the room to another character – is followed by silence, *then* speech. Walking and pausing become the film's catalyses, stretching out the distance between major events. Moreover, if a character slowly moves to speak the camera will usually follow that movement rather than cut away.²⁸

This separation of action and speech, even of thought and action, where narrative components are arranged consecutively rather than synchronously, leads inevitably to the lengthening of average shot across Dreyer's films, a feature I have already noted. *Gertrud*, in such context, is not an exception to the Dreyerian system but its apogee.

We discover a similar pattern in Dreyer's use of music. As the table below shows, the three films have roughly the same amount of music, *Gertrud* slightly more, unsurprisingly as two of its characters are musicians. What is striking, however, is the skewed proportion of diegetic and nondiegetic music:

²⁵ *Gertrud* is an example of 'films which intermittently escape the ideological determination of the codes'. Noël Burch and Jorge Dana, 'Propositions', *Afterimage* 5 (1974), 46–47.

²⁶ 'Dreyer ... seeks the reality of essence and pursues an abstraction of reality in which representation signifies only significance ... the image is made full of meaningful gestures but without any fixed meaning'. Cowie, 'Stratagems', 253.

²⁷ Schamus, Carl Theodor, 57.

²⁸ Bordwell, *The Films*, 141.

Film	Total music (in minutes and seconds	Diegetic music	Nondiegetic music
Vredens Dag	18:31	3:18	15:13
Ordet	17:33	4:37	12:56
Gertrud	21:31	17:26	4:05

Table 6.2: comparison of diegetic and nondiegetic music in Dreyer's last three films

Gertrud virtually eliminates nondiegetic music, if one accepts the argument that the short interludes of which it mainly comprises originate not from Jersild, the real-life composer, but Jansson, his fictional avatar. Such a contention is premised on a chain of musical associations: orchestral (the interludes are all scored for string quartet, the first supplemented by a flute, and it is chamber music with which Jansson is linked – the *lied*, solo piano, piano trio); melodic (a rising motif of semitone and minor third is prominent in the first three interludes and strikingly present in the piano part to Jansson's 'Sang i natten'); and harmonic (the musical idiom of the interludes is entirely consistent with Jansson's compositional style). Furthermore, the interludes were originally to have accompanied Thomsen's poems in vignettes that express Gertrud's thoughts with music by Jersild/Jansson, the same derivation as that of 'Sang i natten'.²⁹

What we hereby trace is a movement away from the affective use of music in film and towards a reflexive meditation of its representational role, a trajectory that supports Bordwell's observation that 'this film about musicians is no less about film music'.³⁰ In the same manner in which Dreyer foregrounds the processes of filmic construction, so he demonstrates the

²⁹ Grethe Risbjerg Thomsen (1925–2009) was a Danish poet who provided the poetry and song lyrics for *Gertrud*. Thomsen and Jersild collaborated on 'Sang i natten' and the students' song. More conjecturally, they may also be connected by the performance of 'Ich grolle nicht' for which Thomsen acted as editor and translator of the Heine poem and for which Jersild may have played the piano. The latter observation is based on Jersild's credit as composer and performer ('recorded by the composer with the participation of The Danish Quarter' – 'indspillet af komponisten under medvirken af "Den Danske Kvartet"). A letter dated 13 August 1964 from Thomsen to Jersild indicates she is including 5 vignettes and these are presumably the five short poems she sent to Dreyer the previous day with explanations of how they figure dramatically: KB: Jørgen Jersilds arkiv XXV, 05, mu 0703.0600 and DA: DI, A: Gertrud, 13.

³⁰ Bordwell, The Films, 185.

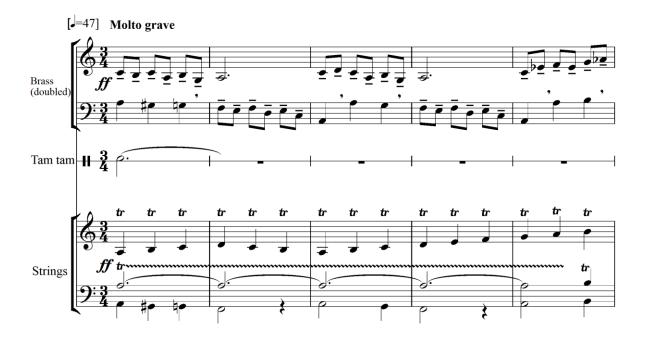
psychological role of film music, moving progressively away from its more common use as underscoring, producing films where words do not 'come out short' but which speak directly.

I will now present six non-mutually exclusive features of Dreyer's use of music in these three sound films that prior analysis suggests, which I will designate Expressive, Punctuational, Transitional, Geographical, Societal and Textual.

Expressive

The foregoing argument that Dreyer would ultimately have been happy to do away with nondiegetic music should not distract us from his earlier use of music as a dramatic resource. As we have seen, he embraced such potential in *Vampyr*, and the opening of the first of the final three films, *Vredens Dag*, announces itself with shameless sonic fury. 'For the Overture the desired effect is as if it were Doomsday', Dreyer instructs in a personal typed note to the projectionist of the premiere, 'and it is essential for the levels to be at full volume, that is as loud as the sound system can take, and right from the start of the film'.³¹ The aural assault is heightened by an initial silence that holds over an opening shot of the title in illuminated gothic script. Suddenly the main theme blasts out, played by trumpets, trombones, tam-tam and portentous low-pitched shuddering strings:

³¹ 'For at <u>Ouverturen</u> kan faa den tilsigtede Dommedagekarakter, er det vigitict, at den gengive med fuld Styrke_d.v.s.<u>med saa stor Styrke som Tonsanlæget overhovedet kan taale, og det straks fra Filmens Start</u>' (original emphasis). DA: DI, A: Vredens Dag, 57.













Example 6.20: Vredens Dag Overture³²

 $^{^{32}}$ All transcriptions for *Vredens Dag* are made from Schierbeck's holograph: KB, C II, 12 Poul Schierbecks samling 117, 8.

The cue is an arrangement of the *Dies irae*, a thirteenth-century sequence familiar to twentieth-century audiences less for its use in the Catholic requiem mass but from its frequent appropriation by classical composers from Mozart to Rachmaninov. It is also perhaps the most quoted plainsong in the entire history of film music, from Huppertz's score for *Metropolis* (1927), through Tiomkin's use of it in *I Confess* (1953), John Williams in *Star Wars* (1977) (and others in that series), through to Wendy Carlos' and Rachel Elkind's unsettling arrangement in *The Shining* (1980).³³

Schierbeck's arrangement is essentially in two parts, the lower brass scored in octaves, the top line with trumpets and horns. The Dorian simplicity of the original tune holds for only one bar, its chromatic intent signalled by the descent in the second bar through F# in the lower part, which clashes with the G natural in the top part. Trilling strings emphasise chromatic tension and bitonality, and the tonal stability of A minor is soon a memory: the opening seven-note theme passes through F minor in the top part against Bb min in the lower part, thereafter Gb min/B min, E min/C min, G# min/C# min, A min/F min, Ab min/E min, G min/Eb min, and B min/E min, before settling back into A min.

The music straddles the diegetic and nondiegetic realms, as do the scrolling images of the *Dies irae* that it accompanies of a transcription in void notation with a C3 clef. Dreyer's aural signalling of 'doomsday' is repeated in the image of a vengeful Christ, arm raised, standing in the

Vredens Dag.

³³ For a consideration of the use of the *Dies irae* in film, see Linda Schubert, 'Plainchant in Motion Pictures: the *Dies irae* in Film Scores', *Florilegium* 15 (1998), and a more general discussion, James Deaville, 'The Topos of "evil medieval" in American Horror Film Music', in *Music, Meaning and Media*, eds. Erkki Pekkilä, David Neumeyer and Richard Littlefield (Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 2006). While both authors acknowledge the use of the chant in another notable Scandinavian film, *The Seventh Seal* (Ingmar Bergman, 1957), neither makes any mention of

heavens with his foot on the world, ready to enact judgement:³⁴



Figure 6.5: opening shot of Vredens Dag

The use of Gothic script in the opening shot implies that the poem to which the tune is sung is an authentic historical document, though in fact it was written by Paul La Cour (1902–1956), who had acted as assistant director on *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc*. Like that film, with no opening credits and scrolling text, music and text here historically contextualise the ensuing drama but also directly engage the senses to invoke fear by describing the horrors of Judgement Day.

A similar emotive strategy is found later in the film in the use of the cue 'Annes angst' (Anna's consternation). We cut from a black screen to an insert of a document, this an instruction to the Notary of the Chapter, Absalon Pedderson, to gain Herlofs Marte's confession to save her soul. A dissolve reveals Anne emerging through a door, glancing behind her, and advancing through the church:

³⁴ The chant is more often notated with a C5 clef beginning on a G, a fifth below, obviating the need for an accidental in verse 3.



Figure 6.6: travelling shot of 'Annes angst'

We are ignorant of Anne's destination and unaware of how Herlofs Marte's histories and her own are intertwined. Nor does the *mise-en-scène* suggest that Anne is afraid: the elegantly smooth track-and-pan suggests the very opposite of her hurried walk, which even at moments seems relaxed. The spectator cannot thus immediately divine the source of Anne's fear. Instead it falls on the music to illustrate her mental state.

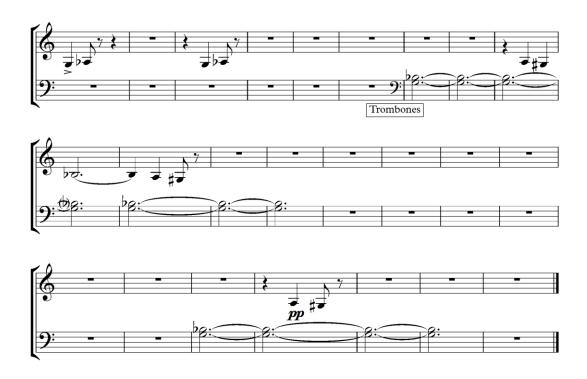
The deployment of cultural musical codes to produce cinematic musical codes is a conventional feature of music in narrative film. ³⁵ It is found in a more exaggerated form in horror films, where the music 'knows' more than the spectator and signals its awareness, telling the spectator about a character's mind (usually fearful) or anticipating an impending danger to arouse in the spectator empathic concern. Marked *Molto allegro* and *Molto allegro inquieto*, the cue begins over the dissolve with an agitated string motif like a sharp repeated intake of breath, punctuated by stabbing muted trumpets playing in thirds. This opening motif, hesitant and

³⁵ On such codes, see Gorbman (1987), 13. Note that she cites the music that plays during opening credits when defining musical cultural codes.

interrogative, repeats in a loose sequence, ending in a scurrying descent into silence and coinciding with Anne's momentary disappearance behind a column. She emerges back into view as a rising, urgent cello phrase invites a repeat of the opening violin phrase that leads to a diminished 7th chord in the brass, which crescendos and ushers in agitated dotted rhythms and semiquaver runs over tremolo strings.







Example 6.21: cue 2 'Annes angst'

Of all the cues in the film, arguably even of Dreyer's *oeuvre*, this is the most conventional, though rivalled for affective association by the longest cue, cue 7, subsequently published as Pastorale.36

Significantly, the latter comes halfway through the film and accompanies the lovers' bucolic idyll. Written in the Ionian mode, the opening melodic sweep suggests folk song, an association furthered by the gentle Scotch snap of the crotchet/minim accompaniment and the absent upbeat in the melody. There is no foreboding brass here, only rich strings, the occasional tink of a triangle and a solo violin, presenting an idealised expression of romantic love. The music becomes the displaced sound of the hum of the grass that Anne hears, but soon we cut back to Absalon at home in sad contemplation of his sins. Sympathetic musical expression now

³⁶ The published copy held in the Dreyer archive was sent to Dreyer by Poul Schierbeck on 12 November 1943 and personally inscribed: 'To Carl Th Dreyer. In grateful reminder of unforgettable cooperation. From your very devoted Poul Schierbeck' ('Til Carl th. Dreyer. I taknemmeligt minde om uforglemmeligt samarbejde. Fra Deres meget hengivne Poul Schierbeck') DA: DI, A: Vredens Dag, 4

extends to him, now less an agent of prohibition than a decent and ultimately cuckolded man.

Again, music plays a traditional role, invoking sympathy for and identification with the characters.

Ordet too manifests aspects of musico-cultural encoding. It begins where Vredens Dag leaves off, almost literally with a black screen that holds over Poul Schierbeck's recognisably tonal, late-Romantic music. Like the opening of Vredens Dag, it is an arresting statement, a luxuriant sweeping phrase for strings doubled in octaves, accompanied by rich harmonies in the brass and lower strings:



Example 6.22: Natten from cue 1 of Ordet³⁷

This brief cue is from *Natten* (op. 41), a rare, calm, tonal moment from a twelve-minute programmatic piece that presents a very nightmarish version of night-time. A shot of the farm fades in from darkness at bar 6, the image overwritten with Kai Munk's signature and the film's title. The music diminuendos as we pan past the various buildings and across the fields, sheep bleating in the background. The rising and falling sequential phrases evoke the ebbing of sea

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³⁷ Transcriptions from *Ordet* are my own, supplemented from published scores where available.

which presumably lies over the dunes upon which Johannes wanders. The first notes of the printed edition of *Andante Doloroso* (op.57, no.2), a punching string downbeat, come exactly on the cut to another panning shot, this of the name of the farm, Borgensgård (literally 'Borgen's farm').

Introductory music establishes mood and tone, any connotative values provisional unless and until confirmed by later events; and as the music is only ever used on this one occasion, all associative values will soon fade. What remains is a general sense of impending drama, music here broadly phatic, a signifier of narrative form ('Once upon a time...').

Later cues in *Ordet* such as *Largo* (cue 6) show Dreyer exploiting music's emotional potency. The low-register hypodorian theme, like the expansive introductory music of the film, invokes the bleakness of the landscape across which the characters will conduct their search and the despair that Inger's death has brought to the community. As we fade in from black, the opening violin note crescendos seemingly at the same rate as the optical punctuation to reveal a shot of the death certificate. Later in the sequence, we dissolve to an exterior daylight shot of Morten on the dunes, calling Johannes' name. The full force of the shift in time and location is reinforced by a musical cut that excises the section from rehearsal figure 2 to figure 3, abrupt on paper but convincing to the ear, and the impassioned reiteration of the original theme, now higher and louder, complements Morten's cries for his son. The orchestration thins and the tessitura sinks, promoting a sense of hopelessness.

Cue 7 is a simple tune played by condolent cellos with string accompaniment. The regular musical phrasing implies a folk-tune or even hymn-tune origin. Again, musical expression is yoked to narrative events, its mournful mood and mode referencing the musical heritage of the community, expressing shared sentiments about the death of a mother and child.



Example 6.23: unidentified Schierbeck composition as heard in cue 7 of Ordet

Strikingly, given the emotive use of music elsewhere, Dreyer does not use music at all in the climax of the film when Inger rises from the dead. Like the vampire slaying in *Vampyr*, it is easy to imagine and anticipate such a scene with music, but such expectation is not fulfilled. Nor, judging by Dreyer's original cue sheet (see Appendix 4), did Dreyer even consider it a possibility. The denouement thus unfolds in almost complete silence, a state that has defined Borgensgård since Inger's death. Though *Ordet* is a melodrama, Dreyer keeps the two elements, *melos* and *drama*, at a distance, at least until Inger has uttered the final word of the film: 'Life'. Now the unidentified Schierbeck cue returns as the film fades to black and the melody plays out for almost exactly a minute, a notably extended sequence in any context, the more so as there is no credit sequence. Rather than the theme ending unresolved as it did in cue 7, there is a brief two-bar coda that brings the music back to F major.

While both *Vredens Dag* and *Ordet* occasionally use it beneath dialogue, music does not function in the classical sense of underscoring, i.e. as a psychological subtext. And by the time

Dreyer comes to make *Gertrud*, a film dominated by dialogue, nondiegetic music is virtually absent. There is a clear and traceable development across Dreyer's sound films from the expressive use of nondiegetic music to incidental diegetic occurrence, music now figured as a separable element, contained and controlled.

Punctuational

I refer here to the way that musical structure mirrors filmic form and how, in turn, musical form organises the viewer's perception of narrative form. A defence might be mounted here that the act of segmentation is imprecise, problematising narrativizing organisation and thereby implicitly questioning any musico-punctuational function. There are certainly grounds for questioning filmic segmentation. The most rigorous attempt to explain it, Christian Metz's *grande syntagmatique*, generally considered to be *the* cinematic code, has been questioned and ultimately developed by textual analysts such as Raymond Bellour, Stephen Heath and Thierry Kuntzel.³⁸ Metz himself admits the inadequacy of his initial model and explains how the analytic act itself is never scientific:

a large number of textual-systemic segmentations is possible, as long as the analyst clearly measures the exact degree of arbitrariness which has influenced the original delineation, and consequently the exact degree of autonomy of the unit which he is studying.³⁹

But that does not undermine the validity of music used as punctuation. Indeed, if anything such

³⁸ See, in particular, Raymond Bellour, 'To Segment, to Analyze', trans. Maureen Turim, *Quarterly Review of Film Studies* 1 no. 3, (1976).

³⁹ Christian Metz, Language and Cinema (The Hague: Mouton, 1974), 123.

indeterminacy underlines music's role. Peter Larsen revisits Bellour's influential analysis of a scene from *The Big Sleep* (Howard Hawks, 1946) and identifies the disparity between the taut limitations of filmic segmentation and musical form.⁴⁰ He convincingly argues that musical codes play a part in the organisation of spectatorial perception, pointing out that Bellour's identification of the segment as twelve shots optically punctuated by dissolves turns out to be a sequence of thirteen when we consider the music track.⁴¹ Only when one makes music secondary can Metz's argument be sustained. In his defence, though, we should acknowledge Metz's acceptance of the phenomenological reality of the viewing experience.⁴² Consequently, the notion of punctuation I use here is rather more analogical than the structuring determinacy of film textual analysis and appeals to spectatorial perception.

To use Metz's terms, we could describe Gray crossing the lobby in *Vampyr* as an autonomous shot, though to do so foregrounds the visual dimension to which music and silence so obviously contribute. The same applies to the example of the Châtelain's visit. This is a subsection of a scene but, again, the bracketing of the segment by silence marks out its independence from filmic segmentation, perhaps even more strongly than any visual articulation.

We can observe this same use of music and silence in the later sound films. In *Vredens*Dag the careful matching of stabbing brass at the beginning of cue 2 ('Annes angst') and the ensuing accompaniment of music as she traverses the church similarly repeat the implicit temporal and dramatic structure of Metz's defined autonomous shot. But, again, Larsen's point

⁴⁰ Bellour's article was published as 'The Obvious and the Code', trans. Diana Matias, *Screen* 15, no. 4, (1974), and Larsen's critique is in Peter Larsen, *Film Music* (London: Reaktion, 2007), chapter 6, 98–122.

⁴¹ Larsen, *Film Music*, 118. David Neumeyer disagrees with Larsen, accusing him essentially of misrepresenting musical form. My point here is that the perception of musical presence plays a major role in determining spectatorial perception of film form, rather than musical form. See David Neumeyer, *Meaning and Interpretation of Music in Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015), 61.

⁴² See Christian Metz, Essais sur la signification au cinéma, tome I (Paris: Klincksieck, 1968), 111–181.

applies: the music carries us over into the next scene between Herlofs Marte and Absalon, blunting filmic segmentation in the interests of a smooth transition into the next space. More complicated sequences, such as Anne and Martin's romantic tryst in *Vredens Dag* (cue 4), and their later encounter which intercuts with Absalon back at the house (cue 7), are likewise initiated by music and concluded by silence. And we find the same approach in *Ordet* in cues 6, 7 and 8, considered in the previous section.

In *Gertrud*, the musical system acts in complete contradistinction to that of the hybrid film, *Vampyr*. In the through-composed regime of that early sound film the default state for punctuation is silence: in *Gertrud* the system is toggled, and it is punctuation takes the form of interact-music. These rare 'nondiegetic' aural intrusions stand out in a film where otherwise music figures only diegetically, exaggerating the division of scenes and harking back to the drama's theatrical origins.

Transitional

The well-established use of music as a device to link disparate filmic elements is the fifth of Claudia Gorbman's seven principles of composition, mixing and editing in narrative film, designed to 'mitigate visual, spatial or temporal discontinuity'. Such transitions operate in three related ways: as links between the cinema space and the fictional space; to provide continuity from one scene to another; and to unify disjunct elements within segments. Dreyer avails himself of all three.

⁴³ Claudia Gorbman, Unheard Melodies: Narrative Film Music (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 89.

The three later sound films all highlight music at their beginnings, *Vredens Dag* strikingly so with its brash overture. And the first and last cues of all the three sound films bridge the space between reality and fiction in its most obvious form, i.e. they help negotiate the spectator's immersion into and retreat from the fictional space. In *Vredens Dag* and *Gertrud* the overtures, whilst being strictly prediegetic, borrow from musical material whose source is discovered to be diegetic – the *Dies irae* theme in *Vredens Dag*, 'Sang i natten' in *Gertrud* – thereby referencing a similar liminal space to that which Robynn Stilwell and James Buhler formulated as the 'fantastical gap'.⁴⁴ The endings of *Ordet* and *Gertrud* foreground music in similar ways, the music effectively the last remaining filmic element, playing over black screen in the case of the former and over a shot of the closed door in the latter.

The second form of transition, that of continuity from one scene to another, often displays the same diegetic/nondiegetic ambiguity. In *Vredens Dag*, for example, a diegetic version of the *Dies irae* sung by boys and adults begins diegetically before losing such specificity as a shot of the church fades to black, thence to a shot of a document announcing Herlofs Marte's execution. In *Ordet*, Petersen's singing (cue 4a) carries us from an exterior shot of his house to the interior. Uncertainty is particularly evident in *Gertrud* where, I have argued, all the music can be traced to one of the characters, Jansson. Cues 2, 6, 12 and 13, which mark the film's five acts (the final scene is described as Dreyer's 'fifth act'), also link the scenes that they straddle, calling upon the theatrical convention of scene-changing to indicate a passage of time and a change of location. ⁴⁵ Cue 4 exposes the precariousness of the system. Having met Jansson in the park, Gertrud and he talk of how they first met, which leads to the flashback of Gertrud arriving

⁴⁴ Robynn J. Stilwell, 'The fantastical gap between diegetic and non-diegetic', in *Beyond the Soundtrack* ed. Daniel Goldmark, Lawrence Kramer, and Richard Leppert (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

⁴⁵ For reference to the 'fifth act', see Drum, My Only, 250.

outside Jansson's flat. She walks down a corridor and we hear the opening bars of 'Sang i natten' playing on the piano, only now the piano is slightly muffled, not the clear, well-tuned instrument that we heard in the opening credits. Gertrud knocks on the door and Jansson's voice tells her to enter. The camera passes 'impossibly' through the wall to track parallel to Gertrud and, as she enters the apartment, the sound of the piano clarifies. A piano is visible screen left, which, based on the shift in ambient sound, we assume to be the music's source:



Figure 6.7: Gertrud enters Jansson's flat

The formal configuration, though, contradicts that reading. When Gertrud walks across the floor, the music slowly winds down and stops. This is exactly the way that nondiegetic music would work in such a context, leading a character into a new space and then fading away. Yet the music is diegetic. Bordwell points to some of this in his analysis, though he overstates the play between onscreen and offscreen music.⁴⁶ He is correct, though, about the bizarre relationship between soundtrack and image track; it produces a strangely comic effect, as if the piano player is deliberately accompanying, even parodying, Gertrud's movements, particularly when she walks across the room to place the flowers in the vase and the player repeats a five-note descending phrase (C, B, B, B, A, F):

Films, 184.

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⁴⁶ Bordwell doesn't admit to the change in ambient sound nor the fact that we can see the piano; and he says that 'it requires scrutiny of the film frame by frame to reveal that [Jansonn's] judgement [of how beautifully Gertrud sang] is ex post facto.' That is obvious from the fact that Jansson's lips don't move as he speaks the line. Bordwell, *The*



Figure 6.8: Gertrud in Jansson's flat

The final transitional mode, that which unites disjunct elements, is found in the various montage sequences of Vredens Dag and Ordet. Cue 7 begins in the vicarage before cutting to the forest, a transitional moment of the second kind, which initiates a more extended alternation between the young lovers and Absalon, alone in the vicarage. Music here integrates the locations, signifying the contemporaneity of the two events and smoothing over the cuts from one space and time to the next. In *Ordet* music is even more vital. Cue 6 conjoins Inger's death certificate, Johannes' escape, the search, the newspaper notice of Inger's death, and, finally, Peter Petersen's preparation for the funeral. Cue 7 begins in the Petersen house, cuts to a shot of the order of the funeral service, a panning shot of the hearse sans coffin, the Petersens' arrival at Borgensgård, and Morten standing over Inger's open coffin. Most striking of all is cue 3. Inger begins humming 'Det er i dag et vejr, et solskinvejr' to herself as she makes coffee. We now cut to a shot of Anders walking across the fields to Petersen's house, then back to Inger, placing the coffee pot on the table in the living room. Chion describes the first cut to Anders as 'unexpected'.⁴⁷ The music floats over the exterior shot, neither strictly diegetic or nondiegetic, an example, in Chion's terms, of the acousmatic voice, exceptional in a film where otherwise 'voices are synchronized precisely, screwed tight onto their bodies'.

⁴⁷ For this and the next quotation, see Michel Chion, *The Voice in Cinema*, trans. Claudia Gorbman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 129–30.

In *Gertrud*, by contrast, music is hardly ever used as a unifying transitional medium within scenes, in part because there is no intercutting. The various elements of movement and speech are now ordered consecutively rather than synchronously so music is not required to fulfil its traditional unifying role. Indeed, music is pushed towards the diegetic realm to become an incidental element.

Geographical

Denmark is a small country, with a population of only 4.7 million when *Gertrud* was released in 1964. While the list of cast and crew of films before *Vredens Dag* is notably multinational — Warm, production designer of *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* and *Vampyr*, was German; Maté, the cinematographer of both films, Polish-Hungarian — later films are almost exclusively populated by Danes. This may be a consequence of Palladium being a Danish production company. Either way, all the composers with whom Dreyer worked after *Vampyr* were Danish. This is true also of the shorts: as noted above, Schierbeck wrote the music for *Mødrehjælpen* and *Vandet på Landet*; Emil Reesen, who was to be the musical director on *Ordet*, wrote music for *De gamle* (1946); Svend Erik Tarp for *Landsbykirken* (1947) and *Thorvaldsen* (1949); and Svend S. Schultz for *Storstrømsbroen* (1950). Only Peter Deutsch (*Kampen mod Kræften*, 1947) was not Danish; he was born in Berlin in 1901 and moved to Copenhagen permanently in 1929.

Generalisations about national musical identities are often questionable and it is perhaps significant that broader terms like 'Northern', 'Nordic' or 'Scandinavian' are applied to

considerations of music from Norway, Denmark and Sweden. There is, though, a directness and accessibility in a great deal of the music of the post-Nielsen generation, a consequence in part of their fondness for lyricism and modality, particularly in the songs and choral works that speak of the strong Danish choral tradition. Such geographical identity is manifest in the hymns and songs in *Ordet* but is also found in the careful adaptation of the Catholic *Dies irae* to the setting of post-Reformation Denmark. Though some of the music in *Gertrud* is German – 'Ich grolle nicht' from Schumann's *Dichterliebe*, the offstage piano trio, Beethoven's *Fidelio* – we should not forget that the character of Jansson is in fact a Danish composer. Music in Dreyer's films, then, manifests a distinct Danish orientation, a form of geographical authenticity.

Societal

Expanding on the geographical function, by societal I indicate the function of music as an illustration of the social order. The various secular and sacred instances of hymns, plainchant and concert music celebrate the ideology and quotidian existence of a local community: in *Vredens Dag*, the various iterations of the *Dies irae*, a chant tied specifically to a time and place – used at the burning of witches in Denmark in the post-Reformation period – and 'Nu natten mod os stunder' sung by the choirboys at Absalon's funeral; in *Ordet*, the hymns 'Synder stop ej mer dit øre' and 'Lyksalig, lyksalig hver Sjæl', and 'Sig nærmer Tiden'; and in *Gertrud* the performances of 'Sang i natten,' 'Ich grolle nicht' and the students' song.

However, music in Dreyer's film also engages with the deeper social structures that the films themselves explore. The ideological trajectory of *Vredens Dag* is that of the patriarchal law

⁴⁸ John H. Yoell, *The Nordic Sound: Explorations into the Music of Denmark, Norway, Sweden* (Boston: Crescendo, 1974) and Horton, John (1963) *Scandinavian Music: A Short History* (London: Faber and Faber, 1963).

challenged and ultimately prevailing, a reworking of the myths of the Old and New Testaments where Absalon dies to save the soul of his son. Anne will be cast as incestuous seductress rather than ingenuous youth, while Martin will be symbolically castrated by the castigating agency of Merete and the Church. Music, no less than other filmic elements, plays its part. In its opening statement, the *Dies irae* theme announces itself brashly as a synecdoche of the Law while moral ambiguity is adumbrated by the cue's chromatic wanderings. The *Dies irae* theme returns diegetically in cue 3, an unadorned *a cappella* rendition by the boys' choir, overdetermined by a shot of the manuscript:



Figure 6.9: the choirmaster conducts the choirboys

Anne is still protected from the Law by Absalon; the focus of its retribution is Herlofs Marte. It is her scream that we now hear overlapping the boys' voices, as if directed by the forbidding shadow of the choirmaster's finger.

The next cue, cue 4, further dramatizes the musical struggle. The *Dies irae* theme is quoted at the beginning and end, and this basis parenthesising design is mirrored by pans from right to left that follow the lovers' movements, and from left to right as Absalon enters the crypt. Between these come five shots of nature – leaves, wheat fields, trees – and five shots of the two lovers – walking up a hill, through wheat fields, downhill, feeding a horse, finally emerging to see a cart and horse carrying wood.



Example 6.24: cue 4 from Vredens Dag

The cue begins with a gentle rendition of the *Dies irae* on low strings, and thereafter is organically connected by various rhythmic and melodic properties. Played mainly on strings, to considerably more gentle and lilting effect than the thumping presentation of the overture, the Aeolian mode prevails as does the triple-time setting. As Martin and Anne climb a hill the music departs from strict quotation. A solo violin begins a more expansive variation of the theme, and romance finds its musical equivalent in the sobbing solo and echoing horn call (bars 9–10). The repeating six-note quaver phrase gives way to a more independent rhythm, and the interacting suspensions between horn and violin place us purposefully within a pastoral idyll. The repressed desire of the lovers breaks free in a soaring octave leap in the solo violin, coinciding with a camera tilt upwards to the top of a tree, while the horn rises to the top of its range. Tutti violins join as Anne picks flowers, before the solo violin reasserts itself and we cut to a second shot of a tree and another upward tilt. From this climax, a gradual descent moves us to a moment when the two lovers pause and look offscreen right. Now the *Dies irae* theme returns; the object of their look, a cart carrying wood for the execution, is no longer nature but the world of religion, the social order that opposes their freedom.

The next time we hear the *Dies irae* will be in cue 5 at Herlofs Marte's execution.

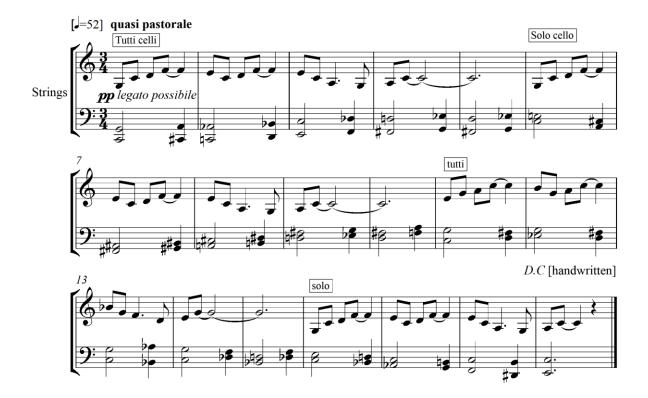
Between these two cues, new musical material is introduced to enact the crisis in the social order.

Cue 6 is a hesitant two-part invention played on solo viola and violin that recasts the ambiguous alternation between the minor third and the major third from the first phrase of the *Dies irae*:



Example 6.25: cue 6 from Vredens Dag

Cue 7, subsequently published as *Pastorale*, is in C major, the related key to that in which the *Dies irae* is often set: A minor. It describes the impossible but desired world beyond the Law, innocent and hopeful. Cue 8 draws on the same material but distorts it. The main theme, played by violins in a low register, evokes the *Dies irae* and is accompanied by violas, cellos and double basses, with the lower parts moving often in parallel minor thirds, a quiet insistence of the Law. Chromaticism, or rather bitonality, is to the fore, the hopeful major key of the theme struggling against the wavering harmony of the accompaniment, an expression of the conflicting feelings of the lovers, caught in a web of grief and guilty enjoyment of a future for which they had hoped:



Example 6.26: cue 8 from Vredens Dag

The next cue, cue 9, is Schierbeck's setting of La Cour's lyrics, 'Nu natten mod os stunder' ('Now the night gathers round us'). It is another convincing pastiche of a Protestant hymn of the period and, though in the Phrygian mode, is reminiscent of the *Dies irae* in its short phrases and melodic shape. The second phrase, for example, is melodically very close to the fourth phrase of Dies irae:

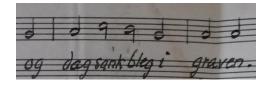




Figure 6.10: detail of Schierbeck's holograph

Figure 6.11: detail of Choirmaster's score

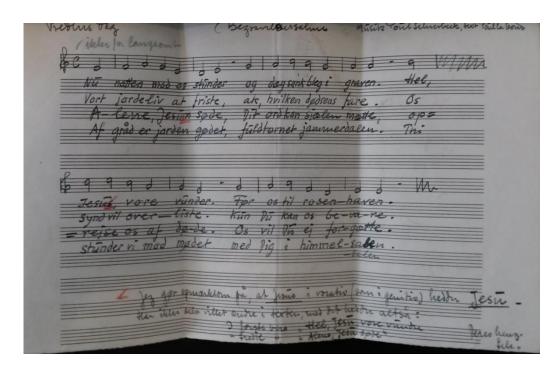


Figure 6.12: Schierbeck's holograph of 'Nu natten mod os stunder' from Vredens Dag 49

The boys depart, and the final scene sees Anne taking responsibility for her transgression: 'Now you know. Now you know,' she says, admitting that she has lured Martin away. Ghostly high strings play the Dies irae (G, F#, G, E, F#, D, E) against held G#'s and A#'s, recalling the bitonality of the opening cue. Here, though, the mood is quietly disturbing rather than aggressive. 'I see through my tears, but no one comes to wipe them away,' says Anne, and the music shifts chromatically, finally settling in A minor.⁵⁰ It is the last musical iteration before the final triumphant restoration of the Dies irae in the final cue, sung once more by boys, those who will grow up to take Absalon's place.

Ordet, perhaps because the nondiegetic music was assembled from extant sources, shows less integration with the film's re-interpretation of the Christian myth. Though Inger, like Lazarus, is raised by a Christ figure, her resurrection nonetheless challenges patriarchy by virtue

⁴⁹ DA: DI, A: Vredens Dag, 55.

⁵⁰ Schierbeck re-used both the harmonic and melodic material in his cantata Queen Dagmar, written between 1945 and 1949.

of supernatural powers. Like Anne in *Vredens Dag* and Jeanne before, the patriarchal interpretation of feminine independence which is figured in the earlier films as witchcraft is manifest in her acousmatic voice.

Where the female voice in *Ordet* possesses potency beyond the petty patriarchal battle between Borgen and Petersen, in *Gertrud* Dreyer explores its censorship by patriarchy. It is perhaps on the grounds of tautology that Dreyer ultimately removed the vignettes – we can, after all, comprehend Gertrud's thoughts through her words and actions. But I think there is a more profound reason, which is that the vignettes otherwise give voice to Gertrud in a way that the society in which she lives does not. Men are free to speak: 'Yes, we are coming – listen to our voices,' sing the student choir – and through speech male identity is expressed: 'I had to hear you speak to know whether it was you I had to love,' Gertrud explains to Jansson. Gertrud's soprano voice is silenced by Gustav when she gives up singing, this to become a 'true' wife. When she does perform, it is either as a past event – in flashback in Jansson's apartment – or when instructed to by male figures of authority (the Vice-Chancellor), a scene in which Heine's lyrics choke her. In removing the vignettes Dreyer also silences Gertrud, leaving behind only the trace of Jansson's/Jersild's music.⁵¹ And Dreyer does so to reveal patriarchal repression; Gertrud does not speak because she is not allowed to speak.

⁵¹ The five musical accompaniments to the vignettes were recorded on 6 August 1964 according to Jersild's notation on the manuscript of the first vignette. Of these, the last three bars of the 11-bar vignette 1, the first 4 bars of the 7-bar vignette 2, the last 3 bars of the 7-bar vignette 3, and the first 7 bars of the 13-bar vignette 4 were used. KB: Jørgen Jersilds arkiv XXV, 05, mu 0703.0600.

<u>Textual</u>

This final section elaborates a theory of textual realism proposed by James Schamus. He defines this as

the assertion of the film's respect for historical evidence, as it works to represent the real spirit of its characters ... an aesthetic practice based on the authority of its documentary sources.⁵²

Schamus is struck by the sheer quantity of material Dreyer generated in researching his films and describes the Dreyer archive in Copenhagen as 'the archive of an archivist'. 53 And he is right: there are boxes and boxes of materials for the unmade Jesus and Mary Queen of Scots films alone. The notion of textual realism grows out of another feature of Dreyer's films noted by Jytte Jensen, an insistence on books and documents:

The men – lawyers. doctors, judges, priests – in these fictive universes have a symbiotic relationship with the written word – the rules that govern society – whether they be secular laws (*The President, Gertrud, The Parson's Widow*) or the guidelines of institutionalized religion (*Day of Wrath, The Passion of Joan of Arc, Ordet*). These Masters of the Word are often represented in the films by the very texts on which they base their authority.⁵⁴

In this context we might cite *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc*. The opening shot of the trial records begins a chain of appearances of books and documents – a book visible in the background of the first tracking shot, the Bible on which Jeanne swears her oath, the letter read to her, her abjuration offered for her signature, the declaration of punishment read from the scroll. Turning to the sound films, we discover the same persistence of texts of various kinds,

⁵² Schamus, Carl Theodor, 60.

⁵³ Ibid, 61

⁵⁴ Jytte Jensen, 'Heretics, Witches, Saints and Sinners' in *Carl Th. Dreyer*, ed. Jytte Jensen (New York: MoMA, 1988), 50.

though here bound by and to music. Compared to other filmic elements, music is generally relatively free, able to cross barriers that other cinematic codes cannot. But in Dreyer's films such relative sonic freedom is often constrained by textual specificity. In *Vredens Dag*, for example, the *Dies irae* is constantly tied to its notation. In the Overture we both hear the *Dies irae* and see its notation as indeed we do during the boys' rehearsal. Most strikingly, in the final scene the manuscript anchors the wordless rendition of the *Dies irae* theme in an obvious rhyme with the first shot of the film:



Figure 6.13: fade to last shot of Vredens Dag

Schierbeck's notes show the considerable care he took in crafting 'Nu natten mod os stunder', his musical sketches set alongside the *Dies irae* theme:

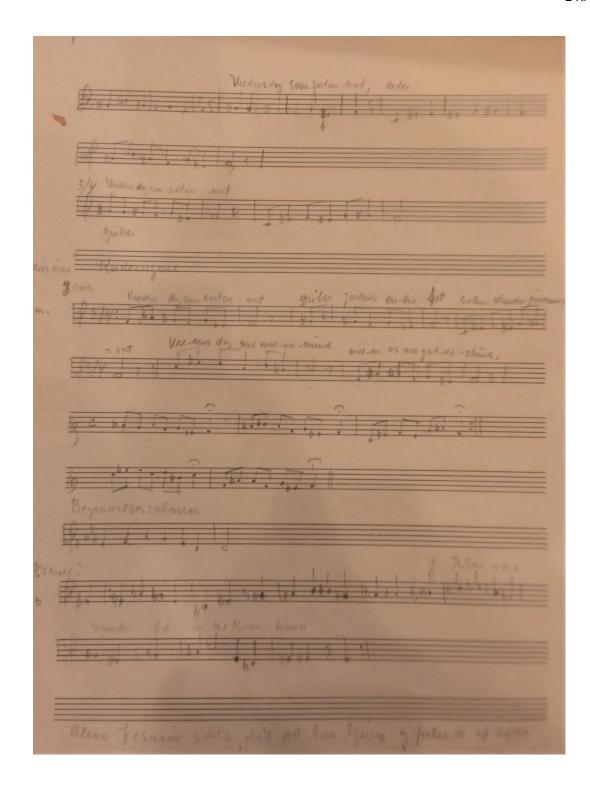


Figure 6.14: Schierbeck's sketches for 'Nu natten mod os stunder'55

And, of course, the text had been written by Poul La Cour, for which further research had been required.

 55 KB: C II, 8 Poul Schierbecks samling 117, 201002930332.

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Similar neurotic correspondence between words and music exists in Ordet, where Sylvia Schierbeck found a hymn written by Munk and then set it to music herself (see above). But it is, almost inevitably, Gertrud that most obviously manifests this approach. While ultimately Dreyer jettisoned the vignettes, their original conception involved a collaboration between Thomsen and Jersild – poet and composer. 56 Dreyer also turned to Thomsen for help with 'Ich grolle nicht'. An early script indicates that Dreyer wants Gertrud to break off singing at the line 'Ewig verlor'nes lieb' ('forever-lost lover') the idealised object of desire for which Gertrud continually searches and which inevitably eludes her.⁵⁷ The 'forever lost lover' is also, though, Gertrud herself, who refuses the entreaties of the three male suitors. In both Heine's poem and Schumann's setting, this key line comes too soon for the dramatic purpose – in the second line and fifth bar respectively. Unable to resolve the problem himself, Dreyer handed it to Thomsen and asked for a translation into Danish. 58 Thomsen consulted a Frau Edith Schlüssel about the translation then composed new lyrics from the second verse and inserted them into the first, shifting the fragment later.⁵⁹ Dreyer also sent his various attempts to rewrite the lyrics of 'Ich grolle nicht' to Jersild, who responded by echoing the opening phrase of the first song of *Dichterliebe*, 'Im wunderschönen monat mai', in the opening line of 'Sang i natten':

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⁵⁶ A letter of 12 August 1964 from Thomsen to Dreyer indicates that she had sent texts to Jersild so he could assess the length and mood of each and get to work on them 'as quickly as possible'. DA: DI A Gertrud, 13.

⁵⁷ For the various screenplays, see http://english.carlthdreyer.dk/Films/Gertrud.aspx (accessed 17 Oct 2017).

⁵⁸ There are three separate sketches in his own hand, none of which Dreyer is happy with. DA: DI A *Gertrud*, 13.

⁵⁹ Ibid.



Example 6.27: bars 4-6 of Robert Schumann's 'Ich grolle nicht' from Dichterliebe



Example 6.28: opening melodic phrase of Jersild's 'Sang i natten' from Gertrud

There is also more than a passing similarity between Schumann's accompaniment with its angular arpeggiation over pedal notes and Jersild's restless triplets-against-quavers, a common feature of Schubert's lieder ('Estarrung' and 'Wasserflut' in *Wintereisse*, op.89, for example).

Non-vocal versions of 'Sang i natten', entitled 'Nocturne' and 'Romance' in Jersild's score, occur elsewhere, as a piano version for the overture, and heard in the background of the party played by piano trio. Further drafts for piano and cello, and one for piano and clarinet, were not ultimately used. Like the students' song, Dreyer's interest in *Gertrud* is in music as a vehicle for textual purpose.

The Dreyerian Aesthetic and Voices Appeared

The following addresses *Voices Appeared* in the light of six basic features of the Dreyerian aesthetic proposed above. I will consider each of the six functions of music in turn.

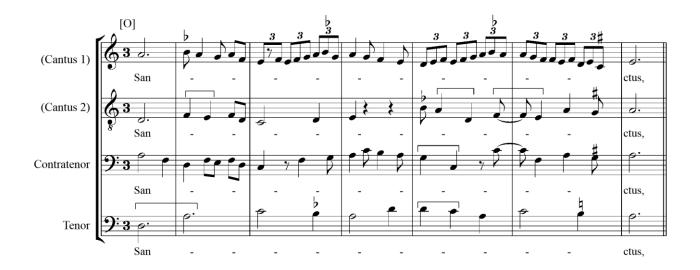
Expressive

The performance of medieval and renaissance music by British groups such as The Orlando Consort has been criticised for a lack of expressivity. To some degree, this is explained by the textual and musical material: devotional music does not invite dramatic gestures but, rather, staid respect; and the courtly-love tradition speaks of introspective self-denial rather than overt passion. While textual significance played a part, the use of sacred repertoire as film music overrode the text's primary meaning and its liturgical function. A vigorously polyrhythmic *Sanctus* by Loqueville, for example, is far from a hymn of praise by Angels; instead it metaphorizes a montage of ever-threatening torture instruments, with Pythagorean-tuned leading notes and 'crude' parallel fifths and octaves used to grating effect:



Figure 6.15: shot 679 of La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc

⁶⁰ See, for example, Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'Tramline music' *EM* 41 no. 1, (2013) and my response, Donald Greig, 'Sightlines and Tramlines: The Orlando Consort at 25', *EM* 43 no. 1 (2015). Note also Christopher Page's implicit embrace of this approach in 'The English *a cappella* Renaissance' *EM* 21 no. 3 (1993), esp 469–70.



Example 6.29: opening of Richard Loqueville, Sanctus⁶¹

The final sequence, where the crowd riots, was accompanied by three large-scale motets. The angry manner in which they were performed is stimulated not by the Marian texts but by images of the English soldiers' brutal repression. Similarly, French chansons provided a murmuring sympathy for Jeanne in her moments of greatest tribulation rather than being informed by the repressed secular desire of the poetry.

Punctuational

Punctuation here refers to the way that silence and musical form organise the spectator's perception of narrative and filmic segmentation. In the sound film, music often straddles segments. In the case of the hybrid film *Vampyr*, however, brief silences acted as punctuation: when the Châtelain visits Gray in his bedroom and one shortly after when Gray crosses the lobby.

⁶¹ Transcription from *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 11/3, 18.

In *Voices Appeared*, silence often figured in the same way. It also served a pragmatic function. For the performers, the mental demands of segueing swiftly from cue to cue for one hundred minutes, both singing and conducting, argued for short pauses. Silence also fulfilled conventional expectations of mind-clearing breaks between musical items, brief moments that afford the spectator relief from the dense flow of filmic and musical information.

The segmentation of film form and musical cues, as discussed earlier, is not scientific, and larger levels of narrative organisation demonstrate further ambiguity. Take, for example, the first twenty minutes of La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc. The film opens with a scrolling intertitle intercut with shots of the original court records. This introduction lasts roughly 1' 45" and is clearly demarcated as 'outside' of the historical world that the film will depict. The singers start singing before the film begins, and the ending of Dufay's Je me complains piteusement coincides with the end of the introductory sequence, a cut to black before a fade-in on the first long tracking shot of the courtroom. Silence thus matches filmic segmentation. But the scene that follows, though played out entirely in the same physical space of the courtroom, is comprised of various narrative events – Jeanne's swearing in, Cauchon's initial questioning, further questioning by Beaupère, Jeanne's confrontational assertion that the English will be driven from France, questioning about the appearance of her Saints, priests passing a message along the line, d'Estivet's aggressive interrogation, De Houppeville's defence, De Houppeville's banishment from the court, the old priest's defence of De Houppeville, Ladvenu's timorous objection, and finally Cauchon's dismissal of the court. Setting aside the fact that there is no single polyphonic piece from the period that could have lasted nearly twenty minutes, such episodes demanded sensitivity to the shifting emotional tone. In all, twelve separate musical sequences are used and each is shaped to the episodes outlined above, further marked by parenthesising silence. In so

doing, an initial analytic act extrapolated from a plurality of possible readings a segmental design which is fortified by music and silence, effectively imposing a reading of the film on the spectator through punctuational alignments at both a macro- and a micro-level. In other words, the dialectical interaction of music and image delimits otherwise ambiguous choices and imposes structure. Reportedly, Dreyer was dissatisfied with all the scores he had heard and it's possible that at least part of his objection was not so much against the music *per se* as the original interpretative act of segmentation. The only way of sidestepping the issue is by refusing all music, something that museums and film clubs tend to do, screening 'classic' silent movies by deified *auteurs* in respectful silence.

My original segmentation produced 189 significant narrative events and ultimately determined 56 different musical cues, the length of each ranging from ten seconds to three minutes. Set against its five acts, 56 cues might seem at first sight seem slightly frenetic, but against David Bordwell's more detailed schema of 7 locations within which there are 5 repeating sub-themes, producing a total of 35, the rapid turnover is less striking.

Transitional

As discussed earlier, there are three main types of transition in the Dreyerian system, all of which, in one way or another, deploy music to bind together narrative and filmic disjunctions: opening and closing sequences; across scenes; and within scenes that contain physically and/or temporally disjunct locations.

Dufay's Je me complains piteusement with contrafact lyrics from Christine de Pizan's Ditié

de Jeanne d'Arc served as the music for the first type, starting before the film began and continued after the film had ended, thereby matching the film's rhymes of (absent) credits and scrolling intertitles.

Turning now to the transitions between location and recapitulating Bordwell's schema (previously discussed in Chapter Four), we discover seven locations:

(1) the court; (2) the cell; (3) the torture chamber; (4) the cell; (5) the cemetery; (6) the cell; (7) the castle courtyard.⁶²

The nature of the transitions between these spaces varies. The shift to the torture chamber is unambiguous, signalled by the only intertitle in the entire film that describes a location: 'In the torture chamber'. In *Voices Appeared*, its onscreen arrival is marked by the bass blasting out the plainchant introit *Ad te levavi* at full volume.

The other transitions are filmically more fluid, intercutting between actants and places, and each received a slightly different approach. The first transition begins when Cauchon dismisses the court and Jeanne returns to her cell. We see her leave (shot 291) but this is then followed by shots of Loyseleur hatching a plot with Warwick. Shot 294 sees her in her cell, but subsequent shots reveal Loyseleur drafting a letter. This is intercut with Jeanne, who is inspired by the shadow of a cross on the floor and weaves a straw crown. Only when Charles's signature has been forged do we return to Jeanne's cell and remain there. In other words, filmically this transition is a series of intercuts between actions and locations. The musical solution is structurally similar, though on a larger scale: a plainsong and polyphony *alternatim* setting of Dufay's *Vexilla Regis*.

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⁶² Bordwell, The Films, 86.

A similar strategy of alternation between plainsong and polyphony serves the fourth transition, when Jeanne is carried back to her cell. The final chord of the Loqueville Sanctus is held until Jeanne faints. A solo countertenor voice sings an extended plainchant Sanctus, linking the two spaces of Jeanne's cell and the staircase where the clergy gather to consult, before a fauxbourdon setting of the plainchant takes over.

The stately *Francorum nobilitati* by Ferragut, the first beat of which falls on a shot from ground level that frames the clergy as they process out into the cemetery, begins the next transition, and accompanies the procession to the cemetery and the waiting crowd. The sixth transition is more problematic. The two locations here are the cell, where we witness the intimately cruel shaving of Jeanne's hair, and the incongruous carnival scene where cavorting jesters, contortionists, sword swallowers and performing dogs gather for the execution. No music from the fifteenth century features anything like the transition's rapid schizophrenic alternation. The solution was to perform a single piece, Salinis' *Jesu Salvator seculi*, in two very different ways: singers would sing loudly and 'hit' the front of each note when the grotesques appeared: shots of Jeanne received a quieter, more legato approach. The implication is of music being performed outside and dimly heard in Jeanne's cell.⁶³ (We are close here to the ambiguous status of music in Dreyer's films – Peter Petersen's singing in *Ordet* and Gertrud's entrance into Jansson's flat – where changes in ambient sound mark initially nondiegetic music as diegetic.)

The final transition is from Jeanne's cell to the old market (Bordwell misidentifies the space as 'the castle'). My preferred segmentation began on a shot of the tower. The camera now pans and tilts down to the reveal the mob running across the drawbridge and concludes on a shot

⁶³ During rehearsals, when one of the singers asked if the effect was convincing, another commented that the effect was that of a window being opened and closed.

of Jeanne emerging into the clear air. Structurally, this echoes an opposition between exterior/interior (the crowd enters the market/Jeanne exits her cell) which closes when Jeanne enters the same space as the crowd. It would have been equally possible to begin the musical cue on any other shot, perhaps an earlier one when Massieu instructs Jeanne to ready herself. Similarly, one could argue that the shot of Warwick sitting down to enjoy the spectacle is a viable culmination of an ongoing narrative. The opening bars of Tapissier's *Eya dulcis/Vale placens* were fitted to the segment on the basis that its rhythmic confusion – crotchet/quaver movement in duplum, quaver/crotchet in triplum, crotchets in contratenor (in transcription) – metaphorized the threatening shots of the soldiers and the anger of the crowd. Following this, an alignment of the gently hocketed quaver beats of bar 22 with Jeanne's footsteps was entirely accidental and fortuitous.

Geographical

As we have seen, Dreyer's use of music in the sound films establishes place, mood and tone, not only by the use of locationally appropriate hymns, songs and other incidental music, but also in the national identity of the composers with whom he worked. This last feature was one of the central premises of *Voices Appeared*. Drawn from music of French, Burgundian and English origin, the key political forces that determined Jeanne's fate, the distinct idioms of these various musical traditions played out a musical drama that mirrored onscreen action. This was most obviously the case with English music, as discussed in Chapter Two in terms of the second of the nine self-imposed guidelines. Musically, these cues all had a martial quality appropriate to the

presence of the English in France as an occupying military force, furthered in performance by emphasising downbeats rather than cross rhythms.

Jeanne is effectively the only truly French presence in the film – her judges are, by and large, Burgundian sympathisers – and though no deep distinction was made between music with Burgundian rather than French associations, chansons with French text were linked with Jeanne. Libert's *De tristesse*, for example, is used four times: three iterations of the first ten bars prefigure a statement of the full lyrics later in the film. Cesaris' *Pour la douleur* is used to similar effect and, of course, Pizan's French lyrics are set to Dufay's *Je me complains piteusement*.

Further separation of English music from that with French/Burgundian connection underlined by pronunciation, one of the continuing identifying practices of The Orlando Consort.⁶⁴ One unifying pronunciation system was used for music of French/Burgundian origin and one for English music. In both cases, this meant different systems for music in the vernacular and that in Latin. In these various ways, music functioned as a geographical marker and dramatized the nationalist conflict.

Societal

We have seen how Dreyer uses diegetic music as a communal expression, and how religious celebrations (hymns, plainchant) and public entertainment (concert music) contribute to verisimilitude. This is rediscovered in *Voices Appeared* in the depictions of ritual celebration and recitations of the liturgy: two Eucharists, Jeanne's recitation of the *Pater noster*, and associative

⁶⁴ From the very first press release, The Orlando Consort has vaunted its commitment to 'authentic pronunciation'.

ceremonial events (the priests processing into Eucharist and to the cemetery of St Ouen). Such quotidian events were furnished by quasi-diegetic illustration.

Voices Appeared, with its preference for sacred over secular cues (fifty against six), does not merely submit to the religious order, against which Jeanne's more instinctive and personal religious beliefs stand, but interrogates it. The tension between bullying musical assertion and quiet individualism is most obviously manifest in a drama of voices. Bellicose renditions of religious dogma by the lower voices — the aforementioned Loqueville Sanctus, a forthright Epistle where a solo baritone voice is overlapped by other voices when priests lurch into the frame to hurl their questions at the frightened Jeanne — are pitted against the fragile falsetto of the English countertenor, who sings several plainchant incipits, and, in the final scene, performs an extended plainchant hymn, Veni creator spiritus. Unlike Gertrud, whose voice is censored, Jeanne is not forbidden from uttering religious texts. Rather, her religious ipseity challenges other conflicting voices.

A recurring motif is Jeanne's struggle to be heard, a conflict that is further played out in a restaging of a musicological debate. The *a cappella* heresy, as it has been described, argues that untexted or partially texted parts in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century chansons were sung. What this means in modern practice is that 'accompanying' singers vocalise on an [y] vowel.⁶⁵ The option of texting the lower parts isn't always taken (a forthcoming recording of chansons by Dufay by The Orlando Consort, for example, shows a varied approach, with occasionally one or two voices adding texts, on other occasions leaving the discantus alone to sing the lyrics), but in

⁶⁵ See Christopher Page, 'Going Beyond the Limits: Experiments with Vocalization in the French Chanson, 1340–1440', *EM* 20 no. 3 (1992).

Voices Appeared such ambiguity was exploited for dramatic purposes. ⁶⁶ In the 'Qui tollis' section from the Le Grant *Gloria*, for example, the two lowest voices alternate between singing words and vocalising on an [y] vowel. When singing words, the lower voices represent the clergy; when they vocalise, Jeanne's words (in the form of the countertenor's text) can more clearly be heard, with the lower voices fulfilling a literal and figurative supporting role, like that of her main sympathisers, Massieu and Ladvenu. Reson's *Salve Regina*, the Libert *Kyrie* and *Benedicta es Virgo* foreground the top part in similar fashion.

Textual

The preceding argument returns us to the Performance of Musicology (see Chapter Five, above). Its relevance here is that this very much chimes with Dreyer's academic approach to his subject and to music in particular. I have identified an anchoring of musical sound to written notation as a feature of the Dreyerian system. From another perspective, such overdetermined articulation figures music as a potentially traumatic element that erupts in textual form on the 'body' of the film in notational form, an hysterical symptom that the Dreyerian text fails to contain.⁶⁷ We find the same historical documentarism in *Voices Appeared* in further guises: temporal appropriateness, textual correspondence and thematic accord.

By temporal appropriateness, I indicate the careful calendrical alignment of the historical

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⁶⁶ Dennis Slavin, 'In Support of "heresy": Manuscript Evidence for the *a cappella* Performance of Early 15th-Century Songs', *EM* 19, no. 2 (1991), argues that it is easy for singers to add lyrics extempore to untexted parts, and that is indeed the case. The varied approach is shown in the forthcoming *Guillaume Dufay: Chansons*, with The Orlando Consort, recorded 3–5 October, 2017, Hyperion CDA68236, compact disc.

⁶⁷ I am drawing here on notion of a psychopathology of hysteria where repressed elements are converted into bodily symptoms. This mechanism has been applied to film texts, particularly Hollywood melodrama, where music becomes the expression of excess within otherwise realist conventions. For an outline of the thesis, see Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, 'Dossier on Melodrama: Minnelli and Melodrama', *Screen*, 18, no. 2 (1977), 117.

events of the film and the music used in *Voices Appeared*. Dreyer compressed the three-month-long trial into one day on which the execution also takes place. Taking the final event as the guide, the events fall within the Feast of Pentecost.⁶⁸ This determines that *Loquebantur variis linguis* was the antiphon proper to the Feast, and indeed it is this that is heard during the procession after Jeanne has signed the abjuration.

By textual correspondence, I mean instances where the sung text specifically resonates with onscreen events. These include: the word 'sanguinis' in Reson's *Ave verum corpus* which coincides exactly with the moment when blood spurts from Jeanne's arm; the word 'crux' in the first polyphonic verse of Dufay's *Vexilla Regis*, which is heard exactly when Jeanne spies the shadow of the cross; and the word 'Regis', which aligns exactly with a shot of Charles's signature.

Thematic accord is discovered in the overlaps of the devotional premise of sung texts and the film's broad representation of the Passion. Reson's *Ave verum corpus*, for example, describes the body of Christ to whose body Jeanne is implicitly compared in the scene where her blood, like Christ's, spills from her body. The thematic gesture of the film is thus repeated by the religious text, finding there not just symbolic equivalence but also the same mode of address. The various iterations of the *Salve Regina* text likewise amplify the film's devotion to Jeanne as Saint, as do other Marian texts.

A more complex overlay of discursive modality applies to the use of Christine de Pizan's lyrics at the beginning and end of the film. Like *Vredens Dag*, where the spectator witnesses the lyrics and notation upon which the composed music is based, a musical view from the present embodies and interprets a musical past. Pizan's lyrics multiply the palimpsest of tenses in the

⁶⁸ Easter Sunday fell on 1 April in 1431 and the date of execution was 30 May 1431.

modern day.⁶⁹ The intertitles inform the spectator of the history, situating it in a mythic past from an historicising present; and the Pizan poem prophesies a future outcome that the spectator has just witnessed, this because the poem was written in 1429, i.e. two years before Jeanne's trial and execution. It is a celebration of Jeanne's deeds but is framed retrospectively in the context of *Voices Appeared.* The vaunting future tense in the second verse – 'Be constant ... for one who fights for righteousness / Will conquer paradise' – thus memorialises Jeanne in the moment of her death, granting the happy ending that Dreyer offers in the summarising intertitles: 'Joan whose heart has become the heart of France ... Joan, whose memory will always be cherished by the people of France'.

Hester, Judith et Delbora
Qui furent dames de grant pris,
Par lesqueles Dieu restaura
Son pueple qui fort estoit pris,
Et d'autres plusieurs qu'ay appris
Qui furent preuses, n'y ot celle;
Mais miracles en a por pris
Plus a fait par ceste Pucelle

Verse used at the end of the film:

Qui vos corps et vie exposez, Pour le droit, en peine si dure, Et contre tous périls osez Vous aler mettre à l'avanture. Soiés constans. car je vous jure Qu'en aurés gloire ou ciel et los; Car qui se combat pour droitture, Paradis gaingne, dire l'os. Esther, Judith and Deborah,
Were women of outstanding merit,
Through them God rescued the folk
Their foes had tried to disinherit.
There were many others as well,
Who were courageous, and yet still
No one surpassed this Virgin's deeds,
Or did so many marvels fulfil.

You who bare your flesh and life, In justice's name, to such harsh pain, And you who dare to put yourself At risk against so many a bane, Be constant, for I swear that you Will win renown or heaven some day! For one who fights for righteousness, Will conquer paradise, I say.

Source: http://www.indiana.edu/~dmdhist/joan.htm (accessed 21 October 2014).

⁶⁹ Verse used at the opening of the film:

CONCLUSION

Throughout this thesis, I have sought to describe, in critical mode, the creative and research practices that informed the design, elaboration and performance of the *Voices Appeared* project. These are: the research of a specific history and its attendant historical repertoire of music; the performance and presentation of that repertoire in the modern day; the various intersections of that repertoire with the film; the exceptional use of *a cappella* music; and a more general historical and contextual consideration of the cultures of silent- and sound-film music. I have noted broad similarities between the study and practice of fifteenth-century music and silent-film music, as encountered specifically in historical accounts of musical repertoire, and in the historicizing performance practices of both.

Such an approach inevitably invited further consideration of ontological differences and convergences within the varied mediatised manifestations of music and cinema in the modern day – compact discs, films, videos, DVDs – and live film/music events in real time, such as *Voices Appeared*. As noted, such live staged events engage the spectator in a double historicization of the events that the films depict, offering a richly layered representation and shaping the audience's response through a double articulation of the 'given' authenticity of underlying events. This occurs chiefly because of the overlapping of Dreyer's own research-based practice with early music's familiar claim to a special relationship with historical enquiry and what that entails. Music, as it does whenever it accompanies any staged event, plays not only an articulatory but a transformative role, moulding the perception of the events depicted and, in the case of the historically appropriate music of *Voices Appeared*, paradoxically amplifying cinema's ontological foregrounding of liveness by marking and illustrating the past sonically within the present. While

such historical appropriateness advances the idea of an authorial imprimatur in appearing to answer Dreyer's putative preference for an historically appropriate score, *Voices Appeared* is not itself a conclusion or a fulfilment of that wish, but only one response in the ongoing process of musical re-presentation of silent cinema.

In designing the project, I was aware at the outset of the need to champion the project's USP's, this being marketing-speak for its Unique Selling Properties, i.e. features that would attract the attention of concert promoters and audience alike. My working assumption at the outset was that Voices Appeared would be the first example of an entirely early-music film score, but research soon showed that this accolade should probably go to Hugo Riesenfeld's Baroque compilation score for Anne Boleyn (Ernst Lubitsch, 1920) in the silent era, and to Lo Duca's sonorised version of La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc in the sound era. 70 Even the idea that the Orlando Consort project might be marketed as the first 'authentic' early-music score was dashed by Jordi Savall's score for Jacques Rivette's two-part 1982 portrait of Jeanne d'Arc, Jeanne la Pucelle. One further claim I entertained was that this was the first a cappella soundtrack, though even here the example of Lady in the Lake (Robert Montgomery, 1947) made that problematic. Ultimately, the nuggety description of the whole creative enterprise as 'a soundtrack of music from the time of Jeanne d'Arc' together with the film's stellar reputation sufficed. But such snappy, reductive descriptions were in truth a long way away from the real complexity and novelty of the project as it in fact proved to be. Voices Appeared combined many new and old elements, familiar and unfamiliar tropes, demanded of the performers new skills and approaches, and presented challenges to audiences and performers alike.

The process has greatly helped me appreciate the importance of editing, orchestration

⁷⁰ See page 100 for further details on *Anne Boleyn*.

and other manipulations of musical cues that are so commonly prescribed in the various instruction manuals written in the 1920s, and to understand and imagine how music might work with silent film then and now. This exercise is not dissimilar to my encounters with the historical performance practice of medieval vocal and choral music. Performers of this repertoire may deliberately attempt to recreate, oppose, ignore or otherwise creatively engage with the original performing conditions, as far as they can be known. In so doing, performers contribute in two ways to scholarship: by providing good or bad examples in performance; and by sharing their experience of recreating the repertoire in the present. Much the same kind of contribution is potentially offered by performers to the study of film music in silent cinema, either by reconstructing original scores or cue-sheets, or by inventing new ones. The practices of medieval music and silent-film music thus have much in common: medieval treatises can be broadly equated with silent-film music instruction manuals; the modern film-music scholar and the medieval music historian both research the historical context in which the music was performed; while little is known about the mindset of singers in the 1420s and the instrumentalists in movie theatres in the 1920s, knowledge of their lives and attitudes focuses on social and economic conditions; and the sound of much of this music in the fifteenth century and in movie theatres in the early part of the twentieth century is irrecoverable.

The experience of designing and realising the project has also provided me with a considerably more nuanced appreciation of the working practices of musical directors and musicians in the silent era. Though The Orlando Consort relied on a very precise cueing system, we, as singers, have on occasion had to perform without it.⁷¹ I have been struck how easy it has

⁷¹ On a few occasions, the projection has broken down, this despite several back-ups being in place to prevent such things happening. With no communication between the performers on stage and the projectionist, we have had to locate the place at which the movie has begun and fit our cues to it without the aid of the flick track.

been for us to align our performance with the film and to adjust our tempi collectively. We should also not forget that syncing of music to film was by no means limited to the silent era; similar problems confronted composer/conductors of scores for sound film, and though they were able to avail themselves of physical inscriptions such as punches and streamers, my sense is that these acted as a safety net and were not always necessary.⁷² If such synchronising skills have in the main been lost, they are by no means irrecoverable; and we should not judge the past by a modern reliance on digital cueing. Indeed, current practitioners of silent-film music are proud of their syncing skills.⁷³

In the introduction, I outlined K.J. Donnelly's taxonomy of modern approaches to silent-film scoring, noting that *Voices Appeared* found no place in it: it is not a 'scholarly history', i.e. a modern reconstruction of a known score; an '[e]mpathetic history', i.e. an improvised score; an '[i]ssue-based history', where music is used to politically distancing effect; or a '[p]opulist' history' which uses modern music to make old movies accessible to a younger audience. So what is *Voices Appeared*? The best way to answer that is perhaps to confront a question the group is often asked by concert promoters and audiences alike: what is the next film that we are going to score? In the first instance, *Voices Appeared* is the alignment of *medieval* music and depicted *medieval* history, in this case a silent film set in the medieval period. Pursuing this initial definition, two candidates present themselves for the same treatment: *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (Wallace Worsley, 1923), which stars Lon Chaney as Quasimodo, and the

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⁷² See Ben Winters, 'The Composer and the Studio: Korngold and Warner Brothers' in *The Cambridge Companion to Film Music*, eds. Mervyn Cooke and Fiona Ford (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 51-66. Winters outlines Korngold's careful preparations for conducting his scores with the live film.

⁷³ The programme notes for a showing of the silent version of Hitchcock's 1929 *Blackmail* with a score by Neil Brand at Walthamstow Assembly Halls on 24 July 2014, for example, emphasise the conductor's skill in indicating the precise moment at which the percussionist must hit a bell to coincide with a shot of the shop doorbell.

Swedish/Danish docu-drama, Häxan (Benjamin Christensen, 1922). Both films, though, bring with them practical problems. Each runs to over two hours, which makes serious demands on vocal stamina. In the case of *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*, the best source is a 16mm version and its poor quality becomes particularly evident when shown on the large screen. Moreover, though it is set in the late fifteenth century, specifically in 1482, a popular perception is that it is set in the nineteenth century because Victor Hugo's novel on which it was based was published in 1831. Häxan, while dramatic in the broad sense of the word, is essentially a contrived documentary about witchcraft in the medieval era. Much of it is set in an indeterminate middle ages – only the second chapter is given a specific date of 1488 – and final chapter is set in the modern day. Furthermore, the film is noted more for its subject matter – witchcraft – than for its artistic qualities or its (occasional) medieval setting. The first of the seven chapters, for example, is a montage of intertitles and (mainly) still images, which comes over as a rather earnest lecture. Such value judgement is pertinent in the economic context of selling the programme to concert promoters and audiences alike and highlights the reputation of Dreyer's film, which has regularly appeared in lists of the top ten films of all time since 1958. Indeed, the film is a cultural totem, referenced by many who have never seen it.

Furthermore, neither film offers the same particularly fortuitous coincidences that *Voices*Appeared does: La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc is a film about a woman who hears voices, and it is voices that provide the score; Jeanne is a cross-dressing heroine, and that ambiguity is rediscovered in the countertenor voice – a female voice emanating from a male body; the ecclesiastical setting of the drama of the film is reflected in the sacred music that forms the major part of the score; and the film draws on historical research in much the same way that the performance of medieval music in the modern day generally does. Such features are more than

mere coincidences; they amplify the themes of the film and suggest a satisfying, even predetermined design, one that, moreover, answers Dreyer's criticism about anachronistic music.

All this suggests that, if we are to propose a new category for Donnelly's schema, it would be premised on the coevality of music and drama. A similar approach might be, say, *Pandora's Box* (G.W. Pabst, 1929), which is set in 1920s Weimar Germany, and a score of songs and music by composers such as Friedrich Hollander, Kurt Weill and Mischa Spoliansky, all of whom wrote cabaret songs at the time.⁷⁴ That, though, does not tell the whole story. Clearly one of the features of *Voices Appeared* and part of its appeal to concert promoters was the recognisability of The Orlando Consort as a performing group dedicated to medieval music, with an extensive discography and a more general place on the world's concert stage. One might, then, need further to qualify the category with an acknowledgement of musical specialisation and audience recognisability of the performing group.

This argues for a broad category of 'specialist history', which would stress the particular profile of the performing group, something inherent in Donnelly's 'populist history' but which would extend it beyond modern pop groups or performers to practitioners of earlier repertoire. Arguably, if we are to accept that the performance of medieval music in the modern day is an invention, *Voices Appeared* is itself as contemporary a phenomenon as scores provided by pop performers. Either way, it is instructive that only in the early twenty-first century has anyone undertaken the approach that *Voices Appeared* does. As I have tried to show, it is a project that could only flourish in very recent history.

⁷⁴ The Criterion Collection 2-disk edition comes close to this approach in one of the scores it offers, though all the music is composed specially for the film by Dimitar Pentchev rather than drawing on extant music.

Appendix 1: Summary of correspondence related to the Lo Duca version of La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc

Table A1.1: Correspondence between Lo Duca and Carl Theodor Dreyer

The correspondence between Lo Duca and Dreyer is conducted in both English and French, whilst that between Jean Jay and Dreyer is conducted entirely in French. I have indicated in which language each letter is written. All translations are my own.

	Date	Source	From	То	Language	H/	C/ O ²	Pages	Summary of contents
1	Date 30 March 1944	DA: D II, A: 1646	From LD	To CTD	French		C/ O ²	Pages 1	Lo Duca's personal headed notepaper. Lo Duca informs the Danish director that he is working on a 1,000-page book on the history of cinema and that he only has details about Dreyer's work up to <i>Vampyr</i> . He would be grateful if Dreyer could furnish him with appropriate details. He also asks Dreyer to send him any pictures he has of any of his films other than <i>La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc</i> , of which he already has around 30 images. His secondary request, made on behalf of himself and Maurice Bessy, the former director of the journal <i>Cinémonde</i> , is permission to make a sound version of <i>La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc</i> . ³ It is for academic purposes only, part of a class on aesthetics that Lo Duca is teaching at La Sorbonne. The authorisation that Lo Duca seeks is moot, he explains, because as yet he has been unable to find a print, despite searching for six months. Sent to Dreyer at the Biografteatret in Copenhagen, the
									letter must have been forwarded (Dreyer and his wife, Ebba, moved to Sweden in 1943 and remained there till after the war) because a letter of 22 May 1944 from Lo Duca to Tage Nielsen of Palladium
									Films, the producer of <i>Vredens Dag</i> , references a letter Lo Duca had received from Dreyer in Sweden, advising him that Nielsen would be the person to provide materials about <i>Vredens Dag</i> . ⁴

¹ Handwritten or Typed

² Original or Copy

³ Maurice Bessy (1910–1963) was a journalist, novelist and scriptwriter, who worked on several French films, as well as writing on film generally.

⁴ The letters in question, in Danish, are dated as follows: Wamberg to Dreyer: 8.2.52 DA: DII, A: 2619. Dreyer to Wamberg, 12.2.52 DA: D II, A: 2620. Wamberg to Dreyer 20.2.52 DA: D II, A: 2621. Wamberg to Dreyer 29.2.52 DA: D II, A: 2623.

n/a	Between 30 March 1944 and 20 May 1944	3	CTD	LD	3	;	n/ a	?	Dreyer's first reply is missing, but we can deduce that Dreyer gives some kind of permission. See next letter.
2	3 August 1944	Website 5	LD	CTD	French	Т	0	1	Lo Duca thanks Dreyer for the information that allowed him to make contact with Tage Nielsen. He is hopeful that he will be able to screen <i>Dies Irae</i> (<i>Vredens Dag</i>) at the Palais de Chaillot, which he describes as the largest modern cinema in Paris. He attaches a copy of <i>Comoedia</i> in which an article he has written on <i>Dies Irae</i> appears, apologising for 'very thin' publication, paper being short at the time. He thanks Dreyer for giving him permission to post-sync <i>La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc</i> , and says he is looking for a decent copy of the film 'because, as you know, the negative was destroyed'. He is nonetheless hopeful and will send Dreyer a copy. (This is the first of many promises to send Dreyer a copy of the film, promises that are never honoured.) Lo Duca says that this is a case of saving the film for posterity, delivering a film that might otherwise be lost, into the lap of the public. From this, we can conclude that Dreyer's lost letter to Lo Duca was sent sometime between 30 March and 20 May 1944, and included some kind of permission to create a synced version of <i>La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc</i> .
3	1 October 1944	Uncata- logued letter, Dreyer Archive	Ebba Dreyer, Carl's wife	LD	French	Т	O	1	The letter is sent from the Hotel Castello in Sweden, no more than half a kilometre from the Swedish Film Industry offices, and penned by Ebba Dreyer, Carl Theodor's wife. She refers to Lo Duca's letter of 3 August 1944, leaving no doubt that there is no missing communication. Dreyer has already sent a copy of Ebbe Neergaard's pamphlet on Dreyer and, in turn, Dreyer has received Lo Duca's 1,000-page history of cinema. On her husband's behalf, she thanks him for his promotion of <i>Dies Irae</i> , but tells him not to refer to it as such; the context of film is post-Reformation, and the Latin title suggests Catholicism. She tells him that the English title is <i>Day of Wrath</i> and suggests that might best be rendered in French as <i>Le jour du colère</i> (unless he can come up with a better word for 'colère'). Rather like Lo Duca's wilful blindness when it comes to honouring his promise of delivering a copy of <i>La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc</i> , this request is ignored in all future communication, the Italian continuing to refer to the film as <i>Dies Irae</i> . The rest of the letter is friendly in tone, asking for any press cuttings of the Parisian screenings of <i>Vredens Dag</i> and filling in Lo Duca on <i>Två Människor</i> .

⁵ https://www.royalbooks.com/pages/books/139112/carl-theodore-dreyer-joseph-marie-lo-duca/archive-of-four-letters-discussing-a-sound-version-of-the-passion-of-joan-of-arc (accessed 2 October 2017).

4	15 May	Website ⁶	LD	CTD	French	Т	0	1	Since the last communication, Paris has been liberated, the war has ended, and Dreyer has moved back
1	1946	W CDSIC			1 ICHCH	1		1	to his house in Copenhagen. It is perhaps to these events that Lo Duca is referring when he begins his
									letter saying that he is glad to be making contact again after so much has happened ('après tant
									évènements'), though it could be that there is a gap in the correspondence. He addresses the recent history
									of <i>Vredens Dag</i> and asks Dreyer what terms the writer of the critical collection about his work (Ebbe
									Neergaard) would expect should it be translated into French. Lo Duca and then launches into a subject
									on which they have already spoken, which has earned both Dreyer's interest and his approbation ('un
									sujet qui a déjà rencontré votre intérêt et votre approbation'): the sonorisation of La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc.
									As indicated, it could be that there are missing letters from the period between October 1944 and in the
									following reply Dreyer will provide in the clearest possible terms his objections to sonorisation. It would
									seem strange that he would do so here had he so recently spelled out his reservations, which suggests that
									the approbation of which Lo Duca speaks was part of the missing letter from the period of March–May
									1944. Whatever the facts, Lo Duca informs Dreyer in thinks that he might have discovered a copy of the
									film, and that he would like to make a copy at 24 frames per second (the standard rate for sound film),
									but in order to commit himself to the venture he requires financial backing and needs Dreyer to sign the
									attached release form.
5	20 May	DA:	CTD		French	T	С	1	As noted, the letter of 21 May 1944 comes from a different source than the Dreyer Archive, but the
	1946	D II, A:							Archive holds this unsigned authorisation to create a sonorised print. It seems fair to assume that this is a
		1947							copy of the permission retained by Dreyer for his records. For one, it seems unlikely that Dreyer would
									not send authorisation to Lo Duca, whatever his qualms about the sonorisation, given that he provides
									similar permission on at least two other occasions. Furthermore, Dreyer has reason to keep Lo Duca on
									his side; the final paragraph of the letter below includes a request to provide cuttings or copies of articles
									in the French press about his films so Dreyer can sent them to his agent in New York. Dreyer wants to
									make films in America and Day of Wrath, as he refers to it, is being shown there to 'a private circle'. The
									permission allocates half of the proceeds to Dreyer in perpetuity ('Mais il reste entendu que la moitié des
									bénéfices éventuels du film – admis qu'on le retrouve et qu'on le présente au public – me demeureront acquis.')

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ebbe Neergard was a film critic and friend of Dreyer. He wrote the first full-length monograph on Dreyer's work in 1940: *En Filminstruktørs Arbejde*. It was translated into English as *Carl Th. Dreyer – The Work of a Film Director* (London: BFI, 1950).

6	21 May 1946	Website ⁸	CTD	LD	English	Т	О	1	Written from his home address to Lo Duca at <i>Le Monde Illustré</i> , a French illustrated news magazine for whom the critic was writing at the time, Dreyer's reply begins by providing the critic with an address for Tage Nielsen (presumably forgetting that he had provided the same information to Lo Duca in 1944), and also an address for Ebbe Neergaard. He also spells out his reservations about the sonorisation of <i>La</i>
7	1 February 1949	DA: D II, A: 1648	LD	CTD	French	Т	0	1	Passion de Jeanne d'Arc. Marking the letter urgent, Lo Duca explains that he is publishing a list of Dreyer's work in Sight and Sound, and that he needs Dreyer's help in completing it. Once more he asks Dreyer if he will permit a sonorised version of a 16mm print from a positive. He suggests adding Bach and asks Dreyer if it would offend him ('Est-ce qu'un accompagnement de J. S. Bach vous gênerait?'), and, not for the first time, promises to send Dreyer a copy as soon as it is made. Lo Duca provides a wording for the agreement at the bottom of the letter: 'I authorise M. JM LO DUCA to reproduce in 16mm LA PASSION DE JEANNE D'ARC, from an existing positive. It is fully understood that the print is only for friends of cinema (schools, cinema clubs, etc.) and without any remuneration. A copy of the new print will remain with me in Copenhagen. I authorise an accompaniment of music by J. S. Bach.'
8	4 February 1949	DA: D II, A: 1649	CTD	LD	English	Т	С	2	The Dane provides a list of his documentaries and gives permission as follows: 'Herewith enclosed the autorization [sic] you are asking for. I shall indeed appreciate very much if you would be kind enough to present me with a print of "Joan of Arc". I think it an excellent idea to choose J. S. Bach for a musical accompaniment provided that you do not introduce any other sounds'. There are no hints in this brief exchange about any correspondence between the two in the intervening three years. Indeed, quite the opposite is true: the last letter in the chain provided Lo Duca with authorisation, yet here he is again asking for the same thing once more.
9	13 April 1950	DA: D II, A: 1650	LD	CTD	French	Т	Ο	1	The first of several letters from Lo Duca written on the headed notepaper of Cinéma d'Essai. Lo Duca says that they will screen <i>Dies Irae</i> and asks Dreyer to hand write a letter providing his impressions about the film and how it relates to his current work.
10	17 September 1950	DA: D II, A: 1651	CTD	LD	English	Т	С	1	The response is terse: 'I am not in the mood to write you anything about "Dies Irae". This film is behind me, and I have the head full of a Film about Jesus. I have been here in the United States since September, invited by the producer Mr Blevins Davis, and I have here written a script for a film based on the Gospels.' He ends slightly more cordially, if formally: 'Thanking you for the interest you take in my work and with my kind regards, Very truly yours'.

⁸ https://www.royalbooks.com/pages/books/139112/carl-theodore-dreyer-joseph-marie-lo-duca/archive-of-four-letters-discussing-a-sound-version-of-the-passion-of-joan-of-arc (accessed 3 June 2016).

11	20 September 1951	DA: D II, A: 1652	LD	CTD	French	Н	0	4	If there has been any correspondence between the two men since Dreyer's tetchy letter of September 1950 it is unclear. Lo Duca begins by apologising for a long silence and later refers to a television programme on <i>Vampyr</i> and <i>La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc</i> (using pictures from his own collection) to which he has contributed 'in the spring'. There has thus certainly been nothing between the two men, then, since, let's say, May of 1951. He references 'votre lettre d'Indépendance', a slightly perplexing term. The full context of this strange term is that, after this 'letter of independence', Lo Duca had shown <i>Dies Irae</i> once more in Paris (and also in Lyon) to great acclaim. The most likely explanation is that Lo Duca is glossing over the spat of the previous year, casting Dreyer's dismissal as granting Lo Duca a free hand to show <i>Dies Irae</i> in whatever way he saw fit. After this confusing introduction, Lo Duca turns to <i>La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc</i> . He is 'nearly there', but before he creates a 16mm version from a silent 35mm version he intends to add new intertitles and credits. Music by Bach will be recorded on tape ('sur magnetophone' sic). Scribbled in the margin is a note that Edgar Bishof will adapt the music. Lo Duca's 'foolish idea' is to pay for the costs of recording and reprinting by 'exploiting' the film with screenings not just in Paris, but also in Lyon and Brussels, where the Cinéma D'Essai has subsidiaries. And perhaps even in Copenhagen? He needs Dreyer's further permission – the permission granted in 1949 won't suffice for a commercial venture like this – and Lo Duca proposes that Dreyer receive 25% of any revenues. He also hopes that Dreyer may want to be present at any public screenings. He then goes on to enquire about the progress of Dreyer's film on the life of Jesus Christ and offers his help should it be needed, explaining that he has plenty of contacts in Italy.
12	1 October 1951	DA: D II, A: 1653	CTD	LD	English	Т	С	1	Dreyer replies that he can't grant any commercial rights because he doesn't hold any. He thanks him for his interest in his films and informs Lo Duca that he has an arrangement with an American producer for the Christ film.
13	3 December 1951	DA: D II, A: 1654	LD	CTD	French	Т	0	1	Lo Duca references Dreyer's letter of 1 October 1951; there is no break in the correspondence. He is once more almost ready to go, he says, and again promises Dreyer a copy of the eventual print, which he can keep. Lo Duca has stumbled over the issue of rights and needs Dreyer's help. Can he remember any details of the production and what role Gaumont and the Société-Roman ('or something similar' – one assumes Lo Duca means the Société Générale de Films) played? Is what Ebbe Neergard says on pages 35–6 of his book on your films correct? He apologises for bothering him, but he really does want to save the film for posterity ('sauver à jamais').
14	?	DA: D II, A: 1654	CTD	LD	English	Т	С	1	Dreyer's actual reply is missing from the archive, but his draft reply is visible on Lo Duca's letter of 3 December 1951: he thanks him for his letter and says that what Neergaard says is correct.

15	8 February	DA:	LD	CTD	French	Н	О	3	The letter is very different in tone to Dreyer's brief missive. It shows Lo Duca very excited, writing by
	1952	D II, A:							hand. He has found, quite by chance, something that justifies the use of the word 'miracle': a negative of
		1655							the film! The second negative, he adds (which shows that Lo Duca is familiar with the print history of
									the film). Gaumont had it all along, he explains, and simply didn't know. According to their former
									agreement, Lo Duca has made a copy 'with subtitles' and with music on tape for the moment ('pour
									<i>l'instant'</i>). This is the first mention of subtitles; before Lo Duca had simply talked about intertitles. 'It's
									extraordinary!' he declares. 'You must, you must come.' Everyone, it seems, will be there – Italian,
									French and English producers. 'Perhaps the shock of this presentation of La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc
									might bring forth another film to take its place in your oeuvre.' A second footnote says that the film was
									shown on French television a year ago. Was this done with Dreyer's permission? Lo Duca doubts it,
									because Dreyer would have told him, he adds.
16	10 February	DA:	CTD	LD	English	Т	С	1	Dreyer is pleased to hear that 'the original, complete version of my film' will be shown, and asks Lo
	1952	D II, A:							Duca to send him a copy. He won't be able to attend the presentation on 19 February. He's sure he
		1656							never gave permission for the film to be shown on television and invites Lo Duca to take this up with the
									company in question.
17	21 February	DA:	LD	CTD	French	T	О	1	The gala presentation of the new version was held on 19 February and this is Lo Duca's telegram, telling
	1952	D II, A: 1657							Dreyer that it was a great triumph and that the director was hailed as a master of cinema.
18	3 March	DA:	CTD	LD	English	Т	С	1	A friend of his, Mr Dessau [Aage Dessau, a Danish businessman, well known to Helge Wamberg as
10	1952	DA. D II, A:	CID	LD	Liigiisii	1		1	Danish representative of the International Chamber of Commerce], was present, and he has learned of
	1992	1658							the success. 'I thank you and congratulate you sincerely.' He had not replied, he explained, because he
		1076							was waiting for a response to his letter of 10 February. Though he doesn't spell it out, the question that
									remains unanswered is when Dreyer will receive a copy of the film. Clearly this is beginning to irk
									Dreyer, the more so because, independently, he has heard from Helge Wamberg [originally a journalist
									and scriptwriter, at the time working in Paris as the Danish Press and Cultural Attaché], who attended
									the premiere, that Lo Duca is going to send him a copy. Wamberg reports that the print is excellent.
									Dreyer goes on to say that a Danish newspaper has reported that Dreyer is working with an Italian
									producer on the Jesus film. This is not the case, he says; he is working with an American producer, Mr
				1					Blevins Davis, and there is no plan either to work in Italy or with an Italian producer.

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⁹ Information from Kraks Blå Bog online, the Danish equivalent of Who's Who: https://www.blaabog.dk/ (accessed 5 Oct 2017).

19	2 April	DA:	LD	CTD	French	Т	О	2	Lo Duca is sorry for the delay; the release of <i>La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc</i> presented enormous difficulties,
	1952	DII, A:				1		~	though he's pleased to report that it's now in its eighth week of continuous screenings, and that people
	17,72	1659							are flocking to see and re-see it. He promises to send the most interesting articles about the re-release.
		1000							The Cinema d'Essai is in Dreyer's debt; without Dreyer's encouragement, authorisation and generosity,
									the film would not have been seen by the 28,000 people that have passed through its doors. The film
									will now be presented at the Lord Byron cinema in the Champs-Elysées [a 400-seater cinema, opened in
									1932 and closed in 1982]. Lo Duca's new plan is to present a Dreyer cycle, (<i>'your presence would be</i>
									essential, this time'), of La passion de Jeanne d'Arc, Vampyr and Vredens Dag [Lo Duca uses the original
									Danish title]. The films would be show regularly, and conferences and university courses would be
									organised around the series. But who owns the rights to <i>Vampyr</i> ? Who has the negative (Lo Duca
									imagines that he will have to clean up the original poor sound)? He urges Dreyer to let him know so that he can set to work straightaway. He reports that he has chased up the question of the television broadcast
									and says that Gaumont had leased the film for showing. He has also informed the press of the name of
									Mr Blevins Davis and that this has already been noted in press and on the radio. As to his promise, yes,
									he gladly offers a copy (<i>'une copie intégrale 16mm'</i>). He hopes to deliver it in person in Copenhagen
									where he would like to interview Dreyer for a programme for Radio Française.
20	7 April	DA:	CTD	LD	English	Т	С	1	'You have a right to be proud of the skill with which you have released my old film and I think it is for a
20	1952	DA. D II, A:	CID	LD	Lingiisii	1		1	great part due to your tenacity of purpose that the film has been so well received by the French public. I
	1992	1660							congratulate you.' Dreyer thanks Lo Duca for the offer of the copy of the film and also for clearing up
		1000							the issue of Mr Blevins Davis in the press. He also asks him to send the cuttings that mention Davis,
									whether to send on to Davis or because he simply doesn't take Lo Duca's word being unclear. He grants
									Lo Duca permission to show the cycle of films as 'a matter of course', and adds that he won't be able to
									Lo Duca permission to show the cycle of films as 'a matter of course', and adds that he won't be able to attend, expecting as he does a visit from Mr Davis in October or November. There follows an extended
									Lo Duca permission to show the cycle of films as 'a matter of course', and adds that he won't be able to attend, expecting as he does a visit from Mr Davis in October or November. There follows an extended paragraph in which he provides Lo Duca with several leads for getting the necessary permissions to make
									Lo Duca permission to show the cycle of films as 'a matter of course', and adds that he won't be able to attend, expecting as he does a visit from Mr Davis in October or November. There follows an extended paragraph in which he provides Lo Duca with several leads for getting the necessary permissions to make any new print of <i>Vampyr</i> (which, in his final line, he suggests is called by its original title: <i>L'étrange</i>
21	15 May	DA:	ID	CTD	Eranch	Т		2	Lo Duca permission to show the cycle of films as 'a matter of course', and adds that he won't be able to attend, expecting as he does a visit from Mr Davis in October or November. There follows an extended paragraph in which he provides Lo Duca with several leads for getting the necessary permissions to make any new print of <i>Vampyr</i> (which, in his final line, he suggests is called by its original title: <i>L'étrange aventure d'Allan Gray</i>).
21	15 May	DA:	LD	CTD	French	Т	0	2	Lo Duca permission to show the cycle of films as 'a matter of course', and adds that he won't be able to attend, expecting as he does a visit from Mr Davis in October or November. There follows an extended paragraph in which he provides Lo Duca with several leads for getting the necessary permissions to make any new print of <i>Vampyr</i> (which, in his final line, he suggests is called by its original title: <i>L'étrange aventure d'Allan Gray</i>). Lo Duca has written to all the parties of whom Dreyer had given details. He promises once more to have
21	15 May 1952	D II, A:	LD	CTD	French	T	0	2	Lo Duca permission to show the cycle of films as 'a matter of course', and adds that he won't be able to attend, expecting as he does a visit from Mr Davis in October or November. There follows an extended paragraph in which he provides Lo Duca with several leads for getting the necessary permissions to make any new print of <i>Vampyr</i> (which, in his final line, he suggests is called by its original title: <i>L'étrange aventure d'Allan Gray</i>). Lo Duca has written to all the parties of whom Dreyer had given details. He promises once more to have a 'standard' 16mm copy made of <i>La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc</i> and to bring it to Copenhagen, unless
21	,		LD	CTD	French	Т	0	2	Lo Duca permission to show the cycle of films as 'a matter of course', and adds that he won't be able to attend, expecting as he does a visit from Mr Davis in October or November. There follows an extended paragraph in which he provides Lo Duca with several leads for getting the necessary permissions to make any new print of <i>Vampyr</i> (which, in his final line, he suggests is called by its original title: <i>L'étrange aventure d'Allan Gray</i>). Lo Duca has written to all the parties of whom Dreyer had given details. He promises once more to have a 'standard' 16mm copy made of <i>La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc</i> and to bring it to Copenhagen, unless Dreyer is coming to Paris. The copy seems to be something of a bargaining tool now. Lo Duca has heard
21	,	D II, A:	LD	CTD	French	T	0	2	Lo Duca permission to show the cycle of films as 'a matter of course', and adds that he won't be able to attend, expecting as he does a visit from Mr Davis in October or November. There follows an extended paragraph in which he provides Lo Duca with several leads for getting the necessary permissions to make any new print of <i>Vampyr</i> (which, in his final line, he suggests is called by its original title: <i>L'étrange aventure d'Allan Gray</i>). Lo Duca has written to all the parties of whom Dreyer had given details. He promises once more to have a 'standard' 16mm copy made of <i>La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc</i> and to bring it to Copenhagen, unless Dreyer is coming to Paris. The copy seems to be something of a bargaining tool now. Lo Duca has heard it said that <i>La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc</i> was fraudulently printed by the occupying forces in Holland and
21	,	D II, A:	LD	CTD	French	Т	0	2	Lo Duca permission to show the cycle of films as 'a matter of course', and adds that he won't be able to attend, expecting as he does a visit from Mr Davis in October or November. There follows an extended paragraph in which he provides Lo Duca with several leads for getting the necessary permissions to make any new print of <i>Vampyr</i> (which, in his final line, he suggests is called by its original title: <i>L'étrange aventure d'Allan Gray</i>). Lo Duca has written to all the parties of whom Dreyer had given details. He promises once more to have a 'standard' 16mm copy made of <i>La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc</i> and to bring it to Copenhagen, unless Dreyer is coming to Paris. The copy seems to be something of a bargaining tool now. Lo Duca has heard

22	17 May 1952	DA: D II, A: 1662	CTD	LD	English	Т	С	1	(Dreyer mistakenly marks his reply as to Lo Duca's letter of 15 May 15, though it was actually 15 April). He begins by saying that he has never heard of a person whom Lo Duca had identified as one of the possible Dutch fraudsters, and then launches into the issue of the copy. He will not be visiting Paris, so please send it by mail, perhaps air mail? But if that is too expensive then please give the copy to Mr Helge Wamberg at the Danish Embassy, who will forward it.
23	2 July 1952	DA: D II, A: 1663	LD	CTD	French	Т	0	1	A breathless letter that entirely ignores the repeated request for the promised copy and launches into the news that <i>La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc</i> has been accepted by the Venice Biennale, it being 'a masterpieceof 1952'. If Dreyer hadn't already intuited that the glory that Lo Duca described as his was actually Lo Duca's then this must have alarmed him. It is, Lo Duca says, 'the most beautiful event in his career as a film critic'. Once more Lo Duca invites Dreyer to travel, though this time to Venice; he will be a guest of the film festival, of Lo Duca and of Gaumont. In an intriguing postscript he makes reference to a recording being made: 'P.S. Last Thursday evening we recorded the pieces for organ and choir for your film in Saint-Eustache in Paris.' 2 July 1952 was a Wednesday, which would make the prior Thursday, 26 June 1952.
24	4 July 1952	DA: D II, A: 1664	CTD	LD	English	Т	С	1	Dreyer has already been invited by M. Petrucci to the Venice Festival and will not be coming: 'you must realise that it is more important to me to go on with the work on the Jesus film than bathing in the glory of a 25 years old film — all the more as I am expecting the American financier of the film to come to Copenhagen in the near future.'
25	28 August 1952	DA: D II, A: 1665	LD	CTD	French	Т	О	1	Lo Duca tells Dreyer that the film will be shown at midday on 12 September '(with <i>Leonardo da Vinci</i> by Luciano Emmer)'. He asks him to reconsider his decision not to come to Venice. Perhaps, he adds, he could work in Torcello, 'one of the best-preserved Christian sites'.
26	31 August 1952	DA: D II, A: 1666	LD	CTD	French	Т	O	1	Lo Duca has learned that Gaumont intend to take out a lawsuit against the Cinemathèque Française and the Danish Stätsfilmcentral for illegally printing a copy of the film and selling or ceding the rights. Furthermore, the Danish organisation insists that Dreyer had seen the print. Lo Duca believes – hopes? – that it's a case of mistaken identity, that the film in question might be <i>The President</i> and not <i>La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc</i> . He asks Dreyer to get in touch immediately. Meantime he has asked Gaumont to do nothing further until he can clear up the matter.
27	1 September 1952	DA: D II, A: 1667	CTD	LD	English	Т	С	1	Dreyer's unequivocally brusque dismissal is a response to Lo Duca's letter of 28 August 1952, not to that of 1 September with which it crosses. 'I do not understand why you insist on my coming to Venice, since I repeatedly have told youthat I cannot leave CopenhagenI do not know either what you mean by saying that I could even work in Torello [sic]. I do not wish at all to work in Italy. I have no other projects in my [sic] mind than my Jesus filmwhich we wish to make in Palestine. This too I have told you repeatedly, so I do not understand why you again and again suggest that I should come to Italy and work there.'

28	3	DA:	CTD	LD	English	Т	С	1	This is a reply to Lo Duca's letter of 1 September. Once more he says that he will not come 'to Venice or
	September	D II, A:							anywhere else, because with regard to "Joan of Arc" I have never transferred any juridical rights (except
	1952	1668							of course "le droit moral") and that I didn't know to whom the juridical rights belong.
									Please kindly, don't bother me anymore with these matters. Sincerely.'

Table A1.2: Correspondence between Jean Jay (Directeur Générale of Gaumont), André Dercourt, an assistant, and Carl Theodor Dreyer

	Date	Source	From	То	Language	H/T	C/	Pages	Summary of contents
29	30 March 1955	DA: D II, A: 1234	CTD	JJ	French	Т	C	1	Dreyer writes to Jean Jay to request that Gaumont allows the Cinemathèque Française to create a print from the negative of <i>La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc</i> that the company holds. He is at pains to point out that this is purely for reasons of historical preservation and that it will not interfere with the release of the sonorised version, 'which you so kindly re-edited' ('que vous avez bien voulu ré-éditer'). The original silent film, he explains, was not envisaged to be shown with spoken intertitles 'qui n'avait pas été prévu pour être projeté avec des cadrages parlants.'
30	13 April 1955	?	JJ	CT D	(French)	?	;	3	Jean Jay's reply is missing from the records, though it is quoted by Dreyer in a letter to Henri Langlois of the Cinémathèque Française (DA: DII, A: 1599). Jay has given permission to the Cinémathèque Française for a copy to be made. Jay has also offered to send a 16mm version of the Lo Duca print to Dreyer.
31	15 April 1955	DA: D II, A: 1235	CTD	JJ	French	Т	С	1	Dreyer thanks Jay for granting the Cinémathèque Française permission to make a copy and also thanks him for his offer of sending him a 16mm version of the Lo Duca print
32	15 February 1956	DA: D II, A: 1236	JJ	CT D	French	Т	Ο	1	Jay apologises for not having replied to Dreyer's previous letter. He has only just now received a copy of the Lo Duca print but regretfully cannot offer Dreyer a copy of the original negative.
33	20 February 1956	DA: D II, A: 1237	CTD	JJ	French	Т	С	1	Dreyer thanks him for the offer of the Lo Duca print.
34	5 March 1956	DA: D II, A: 1238/9	AD	CT D	French	Т	О	2	A shipping note and covering letter to say that the copy has been sent by express rail.
35	12 March	DA:	CTD	AD	French	Т	С	1	Dreyer thanks Dercourt for his letter and informs him that the film has arrived. He asks Dercourt to

	1956	D II, A:							convey his thanks to Jean Jay.
36	13 March 1956	DA: D II, A: 1242	JJ	CT D	French	Т	0	1	Jean Jay thanks Dreyer for his thanks. If he has a moment, could he perhaps offer a few words of praise, or criticism, about the Lo Duca version?
37	16 March 1956	DA: D II, A: 1243	CTD	JJ	French	Т	С	1	Dreyer reports that today he watched the Lo Duca version. Jay had asked for his frank assessment and Dreyer understands that the request was made in good faith. For Dreyer, the editor's artistic sensibilities do not measure up. Dreyer hates the backgrounds for the intertitles and says that many of the subtitles are simply illegible. He also hates the music. He urges Jay to make a straightforward copy of the original negative, with the intertitles printed on a plain black background, just as they were in the original. This is a classic, old film that should be preserved in its original form. For all this, he is grateful to Jay for providing him with a copy.

Appendix 2: Extended scene breakdown of Lo Duca version, with details of music and dramatic structure

As outlined in Chapter Four (see p.132), David Bordwell's analysis of *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* proposes a scheme based on seven locations: the court, the prison cell, the torture chamber, the prison cell, the cemetery, the cell, the castle courtyard. Each location features five thematic subdivisions: participants assemble, authorities engage in dialogue with Jeanne, Jeanne or ally challenges authorities, authorities attack Jeanne or ally, participants disperse. He also proposes transitional segments where dramatic elements are contrasted. Exactly how it applies at the level of shot is a matter of conjecture. I have indicated the first shot or intertitle at which I determine that each sequence begins.

Table A2.1: Scene breakdown of Lo Duca version with musical details

Timings	Music	Time:	First shot of sequence (Shot (S)/Intertitle (I) number	Bordwell schema	Dramatic action
(hr:min:sec)		hr:min:sec			
0:00:00-0:00:10	SILENCE				Danske Filmmuseum ident
0:00:10-0:00:31	SILENCE				Gaumont ident
0:00:33-0:02:27	Albinoni, Adagio in G minor				Credit sequence and voice-
					over.
0:02:29-0:05:01	Organ improvisation	0:02:51		Participants assemble	Court begins session and
					Jeanne is sworn in.
0:05:04-0:07:29	Scarlatti, Passion According to St John, opening 32 bars,	0:07:01	'the English will be driven out of France'. (I-20)	Jeanne or ally	Jeanne predicts that
	Largo: 'Passio, Domini nostri Jesu Christi secundum			challenges authorities.	English will lose.
	Ioannem'.				
0:07:29-0:07:32	SILENCE	0:07:26	Quick dolly-in to soldier. (S-93)	Authorities attack	Soldier threatens Jeanne.
				Jeanne or ally.	
		0:07:51	Cauchon shushes court. (S-105)	Authorities engage in	Cauchon and assistants
				dialogue with Jeanne	question Jeanne.
0:07:32-0:01:02	Albinoni, Sinfonia in G minor Op.2 no.6 Adagio	0:10:53	Jeanne. (I-36)	Jeanne or ally	Jeanne claims that God has
				challenges authorities.	promised salvation.

¹⁰ David Bordwell, The Films of Carl Theodor Dreyer, 86-9.

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Timings: hr:min:sec	Music	Time: hr:min:sec	First shot of sequence (Shot (S)/Intertitle (I) number	Bordwell schema	Dramatic action
0:11:07-0:11:10	SILENCE	0:11:34	D'Estivet and Jeanne. (S-175)	Authorities attack Jeanne or ally.	D'Estivet spits on her.
0:11:10-0:11:54	Albinoni, Concerto à 5 in D major Op.5. No.3, Adagio	0:11:41	'This is a disgrace.' (I-33)	Jeanne or ally challenges authorities.	De Houppeville declares her a saint.
0:11:54-0:12:45	Albinoni, Concerto à 5 in D major Op.5. No.3, Presto				
0:12:45-0:12:48	SILENCE				
0:12:48-0:14:19	UNIDENTIFIED ORGAN. Organ Baroque pastiche	0:12:51	De Houppeville with soldiers and spears in background. (S-225)	Authorities attack Jeanne or ally.	Soldiers and Church remove de Houppeville.
		0:14:17	'Did God make you any promises?' (I-40)	Authorities engage in dialogue with Jeanne	Cauchon questions Jeanne.
0:14:20-0:17:16	Geminiani Concerto Grosso Op.3 No.2 in G minor, Spiritoso	0:15:47	Jeanne mouthing 'Oui'. (S-282)	Jeanne or ally challenges authorities.	Jeanne claims she will be rescued.
		0:16:21	Tracking shot: R-L. (S-290)	Participants disperse	Court adjourns
0:17:16-0:17:23	SILENCE	0:16:41	Loyseleur and Warwick (S-292)	Transition which contrasts elements	Jeanne in cell/judges forging letter
0:17:23- 0:22:28	Geminiani Concerto Grosso Op.3 No.2 in G minor, Adagio	0:18:45	Soldiers enter cell. (S-316)	CELL: Authorities attack Jeanne or ally.	Soldier takes Jeanne's ring
		0:18:46	Loyseleur in background. (S-329)	Participants assemble	Loyseleur arrives.
		0:19:27	Loyseleur hands back ring, (S-332)	Authorities engage in dialogue with Jeanne	Loyseleur returns ring.
		0:20:24	Loyseleur after Cauchon peers through slit in wall. (S-357)	Authorities attack Jeanne or ally.	Loyseleur reads forged letter.
		0:21:39	Priest enters. (S-375)	Participants assemble	Other priests arrive.
		0:22:08	Cauchon and Lemaître consult. (S-386)	Authorities engage in dialogue with Jeanne	Priests interrogate Jeanne.
0:22:28-0:22:32	SILENCE	0:22:23	Jeanne recites the Pater noster. (S-391)	Jeanne or ally	Jeanne avoids traps.
0:22:32-0:23:12	UNIDENTIFIED: Organ prelude?			challenges authorities.	_
0:23:14-0:24:34	Torelli, Concerto à 4 in G major Op.6. No.1, Adagio				
0:24:36-0:24:52	UNIDENTIFIED: Organ improvisation in style of next cue.				
0:24:52-0:25:35	Albinoni, Concerto à 5 in D major Op.5. No.3, <i>Adagio</i>				
0:25:35-0:25:39	SILENCE				
0:25:39–29:55:27	Albinoni, Concerto for Oboe in Bb Major, Op. 7, No. 3, Adagio	0:27:34	Cauchon, after Jeanne has asked to go to Mass, (S-473)	Authorities attack Jeanne or ally.	Judges refuse to let Jeanne hear Mass.
0:29:55-0:30:00	SILENCE	0:29:40	Book closing at end of session. (S-511)	Participants disperse	Judges leave

Timings: hr:min:sec	Music	Time: hr:min:sec	First shot of sequence (Shot (S)/Intertitle (I) number	Bordwell schema	Dramatic action
0:30:00-0:33:37	Albinoni, Adagio in G minor	0:30:01	Guard in shot. (S-517)	Participants assemble	Guards arrive
	, and the second	0:30:21	Single guard in shot (S-521)	Authorities engage in dialogue with Jeanne	Guards taunt Jeanne
		0:31:25	Next shot. (S-522)	Jeanne or ally challenges authorities.	Jeanne refuses to speak.
		0:30:34	Guard tickles Jeanne's ear. (S-526)	Authorities attack Jeanne or ally.	Guards abuse Jeanne
0:33:37-0:33:38	SILENCE	0:32:02	Massieu pushes open door. (S-556)	Participants disperse	Massieu dismisses guards
0:33:38-0:35:14	UNIDENTIFIED ORGAN as at 0:12:48	0:32:28	Assembly in torture chamber. (S-566)	TORTURE CHAMBER: Participants assemble	Jeanne enters chamber
0:35:14-0:38:48	Vivaldi, Concerto in G major for two violins and two cellos (RV 575), <i>Allegro</i>	0:32.47	'Look at your judges.' (I-83)	Authorities engage in dialogue with Jeanne	Judges demand her to sign recantation
		0:35:44	Jeanne lays down pen. (S-628)	Jeanne or ally challenges authorities.	Jeanne refuses to sign
		0:36:22	Chains. (S-643)	Authorities attack Jeanne or ally.	Judges threaten Jeanne with torture
		0:37:59	Jeanne swoons. (S-707)	Participants disperse	Jeanne swoons and judges leave
0:38:48-0:38:48	SILENCE	0:38:21	Priests in stairwell. (S716)	Transition which contrasts elements	Jeanne bled / judges on stair
0:38:48-0:43:37	Vivaldi, Concerto in G major (RV 575), Largo	0:40:33	Cauchon enters. (S-744)	CELL: Participants assemble	Cauchon and other judges arrive.
		0:42:44	Priest with Bible enters. (S-783)	Authorities engage in dialogue with Jeanne	Judges offer Jeanne communion.
0:43:37-0:43:42	SILENCE	0:44:35	Script is taken away. (S-830)	Jeanne or ally challenges authorities.	Jeanne refuses to sign.
0:43:42-0:46:43	Bach, Ich ruf zu Dir, Herr Jesu Christ (BWV 639) from the Orgelbüchlein	0:44:43	Priest with host turns away. (S-836)	Authorities attack Jeanne or ally.	Communion withdrawn and Jeanne berated.
0:46:43-0:46:47	SILENCE	0:46:29	Cauchon storms out, saying that they need to call the executioner. (S-874)	Participants disperse	Judges leave.
0:46:47-0:50:15	Sammartini, Sinfonia in G major (Jc 39) Allegro	0:46:40	Jeanne sobs. (S-875)	Transition which contrasts elements	Jeanne weeping / judges on stairs
		0:47:21	Courtyard. (S-882)	CEMETERY: Participants assemble	Crowd, judges, soldiers, and Jeanne assemble.
		0:48:13	Erard steps up to podium. (S-900)	Authorities engage in dialogue with Jeanne	Priest gives Jeanne sermon; allies urge her to submit. She signs recantation.

Timings: hr:min:sec	Music	Time: hr:min:sec	First shot of sequence (Shot (S)/Intertitle (I) number	Bordwell schema	Dramatic action
0:50:15-0:50:17	SILENCE				
0:50:17-0:54:32	Bach, Choral prelude, O Mensch, bewein' dein' Sünde gross (BWV 622) from the Orgelbüchlein	0:53:11	Cauchon rises to speak. (S-993)	Authorities attack Jeanne or ally.	Cauchon reads sentence; soldiers attack man.
0:54:32-0:54:37	SILENCE				
0:54:37-0:55:23	Scarlatti, Passion 'Si hunc dimittis, non es amicus	0:54:49	Warwick exits through door. (S-1016)	Participants disperse	Crowd disperses.
	Cesaris. Omnis enim, qui se regem facit, contradicit Cesari.'	0:55:07	Hair cutting. (S-1020)	Transition which contrasts elements	Jeanne's hair cut / people at fair
0:55:23-0:55:24	SILENCE	1			
0:55:24-0:58:36	Albinoni, Concerto à 5 in D major Op.5. No.3, Allegro	0:57:42	Cauchon approaches door. (S-1056)	CELL: Participants assemble	Cauchon and judges arrive.
		0:58:19	I have forsaken God to save my life (I-147)	Authorities engage in dialogue with Jeanne	Judges and Massieu ask Jeanne why she has changed.
0:58:36–0:58:39	SILENCE	1:00:06	Jeanne shakes her head. (S-1092)	Jeanne or ally challenges authorities.	Jeanne announces her acceptance.
0:58:39-1:04:30	Bach, Nun komm' des Heiden Heiland	1:00:40	Cauchon leaves cell. (S-1095)	Participants disperse	Judges leave.
1:04:30–1:04:37	SILENCE	1:03:19	Procession. (S-1138)	Transition which contrasts elements	Jeanne's communion / crowd and soldiers
1:04:37-1:05:36	Plainchant Agnus Dei				
1:05:36-1:05:44	SILENCE	1			
1:05:44-1:07:26	Vivaldi, Concerto in G major (RV 575), <i>Allegro</i> bar 231-end	1:06:56	Jeanne emerges through doorway. (S-1195)	COURTYARD: Participants assemble	Crowd gathers and Jeanne comes out.
1:07:26-1:10.00	Albinoni, Sonata in G minor Op.2 No.6, Grave	1:08:29	Jeanne and executioner (following baby breast-feeding).	Authorities engage in	Jeanne is bound to stake;
1:10.00-1:10:04	SILENCE	1	(S-1212)	dialogue with Jeanne	Massieu extends cross.
1:10:04-1:10:34	Scarlatti, Passion, 'Iesu Nazarenum.'	1			
1:10:34-1:10:50	Scarlatti, Passion: 'Ave Rex iudeorum.'	1			
1:10:50–1:11:17	Scarlatti, <i>Passion</i> : 'Nos legem habemus, et secundum legem debet mori, quia Filium Dei se fecit.'				
1:11:17-1:11:20	SILENCE	1			
1:11:20–1:11:41	Scarlatti, <i>Passion</i> : 'Numquid et tu ex discipulis es hominis istius?'				
1:11:41-1:11:51	Scarlatti, Passion: 'Non sum.'	7			
1:11:51-1:11:56	Scarlatti, Passion: 'Sic respondes pontifici?'	7			
1:11:56–1:12:05	Scarlatti, <i>Passion</i> : 'Nonne ego te vidi in horto cum illo?'				
1:12:05-1:12:07	SILENCE	7			
1:12:07-1:12:19	Scarlatti, Passion: 'Numquid et tu ex discipulis ejus es?'	7			

Timings: hr:min:sec	Music	Time:	First shot of sequence (Shot (S)/Intertitle (I) number	Bordwell schema	Dramatic action
		hr:min:sec			
1:12:19-1:12:35	CHORUS: 'Si non esset hic malefactor, non tibi			Authorities engage in	Joan is burned at the stake.
	tradidissemus eum.'			dialogue with Jeanne	
1:12:35-1:12:45	CHORUS: 'Non hunc, sed Barabbam.'			(cont.)	
1:12:45-1:12:55	Baritone: 'Non sum'				
1:12:55-1:13:05	CHORUS: 'Crucifige, crucifige eum.'				
1:13:05-1:13:14	Tenor: 'Non sum.'				
1:13:14-1:13:35	CHORUS: 'Nobis non licet interficere quemquam.'				
1:13:35-1:13:46	CHORUS: 'Tolle, tolle, crufige eum.'				
1:13:46-1:14:10	CHORUS: 'Noli scribere, Rex Judeorum, sed quia				
	ipse dixit: Rex sum Judeorum.'				
1:14:10-1:14:20	Tenor: 'Non sum.'	1:14:13	'You have burned a Saint.' (I-173)	Jeanne or ally challenges	A man in the crowd shouts
				authorities.	
1:14:20-1:14:38	UNIDENTIFIED ORGAN, as at 0:24:35	1:14:20	Warwick's gesture to attack. (S-1279)	Authorities attack	Soldiers assault crowd as
1:14:38-1:15:41	Sammartini, Sinfonia in G major (Jc 39) Grave			Jeanne or ally.	Jeanne burns
1:15:41-1:17:21	UNIDENTIFIED ORGAN as at 0:12:48				
		1:17:07	Drawbridge with retreating soldiers. (S-1338)	Participants disperse	The army drives the crowd
					out of Rouen
1:17:22-1:17:44	CHORUS: 'Non scindamus eam, sed sortiamur de illa	1:17:22	The stake, cross visible screen left. (S-1343)	Transition which	Cross / stake.
	cujus sit.'			contrasts elements	

Appendix 3: Lo Duca diagrams



Figure A3.1: Credit sequence showing alignment of cuts and music: part 1



Figure A3.2: Credit sequence showing alignment of cuts and music: part 2



Figure A3.3: alignment of shots with music in the opening sequence: part one

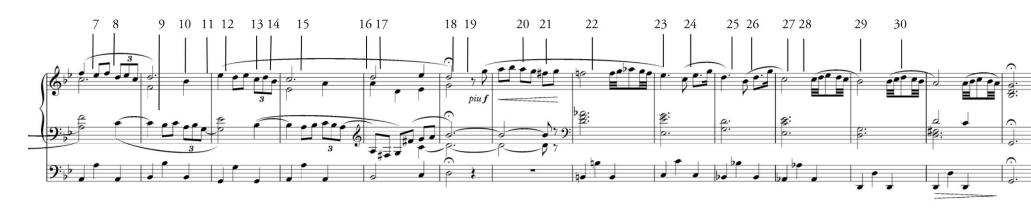


Figure A3.4: alignment of shots with music in the opening sequence: part two

Shots



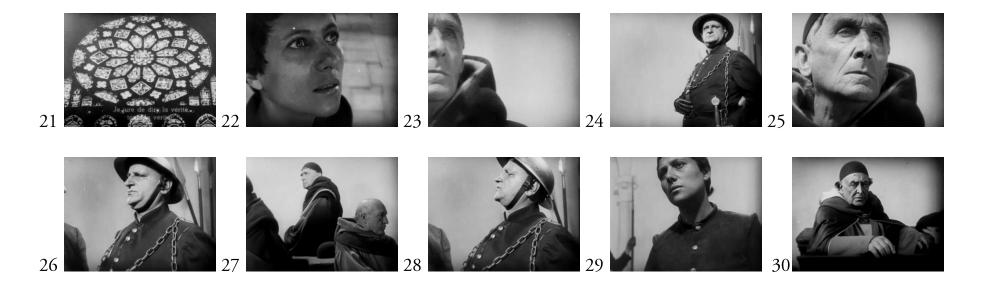


Figure A3.5: opening shots of La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc (Lo Duca version, 1952)

Appendix 4: Details of music used in sound films

Vredens Dag

Dreyer's original note		Translation				
	1	Overture	1:55	Dies irae orchestrated		
MUSIK	2	The church, Anne opens the door onto Herlofs Marte together with Absalon	1:25	Anne's angst		
1. Ouverture 55m / 5'5. 2. Kirken, Anne lukker Deren op Herlof Marte hen til Absakon } 1.25	3	The church from 'Let us go' to the scream in the torture chamber	:10	Dies irae rehearsal		
5. Kirken fra "Kom lad os gaa" til Skriget i Torturkammeret lo Sekunder	4	Torture chamber The Forest The Dungeon	2:20	Dies irae theme and variations for strings and horn		
4. Torturkammer Skoven 2.20	5	From 'Come, let's go to the birches' Nature	3:22	Pastorale		
Fangekælder 5. Fra "Kom med ud til Birkene" } 3,22	6	Dark night and watchful night	:55	'Nu natten mod os stunder"		
Naturen 6. Taagenatten og Vaagenatten 55 Sekunder	7	The End	1:30	Strings and final boys chorus of Vredens Dag		
7. Slutningen 1.30						

Table A4.1: document in the Dreyer archive with various instances of music used in Vredens Dag1

	Action	Screen time	Duration	Description
1	Overture	00:00:08 - 00:02:02	1:55	Dies irae, orchestrated
2	The church, Anne opens the door onto Herlofs Marte and Absalon	00:15:20 – 00:16:47	1:27	Anne's consternation and anxiety
3	The church from 'Let us go' to the scream in the torture chamber	00:19:25 – 00:20:18	0:10	Dies irae rehearsal
4	Torture chamber The forest The Dungeon	00:26:03 – 00:28:20	2:17	Dies irae theme and variations for strings and horn
5	The boys sing while Herlofs Marte burns, and adults join the singing	00:34:20 – 00:35:12	:52	Dies irae
6	Anne invokes Martin	00:44:35 - 00:45:47	1:12	Solo cello and solo violin
7 (5)	From 'Come, let's go to the birches' Nature	00:46:45 – 00:50:20	3:35	Pastorale
8	Merete sits over Absalon's corpse while Anne seeks Martin in the forest. They talk then return to the house.	01:19:12 – 01:22:27	3:15	Pastorale minor version
9 (6)	Dark night and watchful night	01:27:09 - 01:28:42	1:33	'Nu natten mod os stunder'
10	The End	01:35:17 – 01:36:49	1:32	Strings and final boys chorus of <i>Dies irae</i>

Table A4.2: music cues in the final print of Vredens Dag

¹ DA: DI, A: Vredens Dag, 57

Ordet

As with *Vredens Dag*, Dreyer kept a record of the music that he presumably intended to use in the film, annotated in his hand. That Dreyer kept such records in his personal archive is perhaps testament to the importance he placed on music as a structural element in his films. ²

Dreyer's original note)	Translation			
1. Ouverture Tekst Borgensgard Johannes i klitten 2. Anne og Anders i marchalm 5. Ingers nynnen 4. Mikkel hentes i stelden (harmonium) 5. Kekken hos Peterskrædder (Anne motiv) Mikkel telefonerer til doktor Kekken, Anne og Anders Peter Skrædder og Morten Slutter, Peter siger, har du embestent dig 6. Dedsattest Johs. i vindnet Skrift (jeg går bort) Ertersapningen Annoncen Peter Skrædder læser " færdig 7. Anne ind fra køkken med krænsen Begravelsessang Ligvognen Ligstuen Slutter 2 meter efter 8. Peter Skrædder kommer med Anne i gården Anne kommer ind i billedet	1,00 4,48 1,22 36 47 1,06 2,29 3,38 4,11 9 51 1,05 2,42 3,14 3,22 18 26 46 51	1. Overture Text Borgensgård Johannes in the dunes 2. Anne and Anders in the lyme grass 3. Inger's humming 4. Mikkel leaves the stables (harmonium) 5. Peter Skraedder's kitchen (Anne motif) Mikkel telephones the Doctor The kitchen, Anne and Anders Peter Skraedder and Morten Ending, Peter says, 'have you changed your mind?' 6. Death certificate Johannes through the window Handwriting (I'm going away) The search The announcement Peter Skraedder reads Peter Skraedder ready 7. Anne comes from the kitchen with the wreath Order of Service The hearse The viewing of the corpse Ending two metres after 8. Peter Skraedder and Anne arrive at the farm Anne is introduced Anne and Anders sit down together 9. Closing music	1:00 4:48 1:22 :36 :47 1:06 2:29 3:38 4:11 :09 :51 1:05 2:42 3:14 3:22 :18 :26 :46 :51		

Table A4.3 document in the Dreyer archive with various instances of music used in Ordet

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² DA: DI, A: *Ordet*, 78

Action	Music	Reference points	Actual timings	Original timings
Overture Text Borgensgård Johannes in the dunes	Natten and Andante Doloroso	0:00:00–0:04:12	4:12	1:00 4:48
2 Anne and Anders in the lyme grass	Cut		n/a	1:22
3 Inger's humming	'Det er i dag et vejr et solskinvejr'	0:17:05-0:17:31	:26	:36
4 Mikkel leaves the stables (harmonium)	Music cue cut		n/a	:47
4a Peter Petersen's house	Peter singing 'Sig nærmer Tiden,' tune by Poul Schierbeck. ³ Children singing outside + laughter Children singing outside	0:29:56–0:30:21 0:30:37–0:31:16 0:38:16–0:39:11	:25 :39 :55	
5 Peter Skraedder's kitchen (Anne motif) Mikkel telephones the Doctor The kitchen, Anne and Anders Peter Skraedder and Morten Ending, Peter says, 'have you changed your mind?'	Music cue cut			1:06 2:29 3:38 4:11
5a Prayer meeting	'Synder, stop ej mer dit øre'	0:50:10–0:50:46 0:52:24–0:52:31	:36 :07	
6 Death certificate Johannes through the window Handwriting ('I'm going away') The search The announcement Peter Skraedder reads Peter Skraedder ready	Largo	1:38:02–1:41:25	:09 :51 1:05 2:39 3:03 3:23	:09 :51 1:05 2:42 3:14 3:22
7 Anne comes from the kitchen with the wreath Order of service The hearse The viewing of the corpse Ending two metres after	Unidentified – Poul Schierbeck	1:42:53–1:43:42	:16 :26 :46 :50	:18 :26 :46 :51
7a	'Lyksalig, lyksalig hver Sjæl, som har Fred!'	1:44:20–1:45:49	1:29	
8 Peter Skraedder and Anne arrive at the farm Anne is introduced Anne and Anders sit down together	Radio Rhapsody (op.49) + Unidentified – Schierbeck	1:51:11–1:53:38	1:28 2:27	1:28 2:20
9 Closing music	Unidentified – Schierbeck	2:04:39		

Table A4.4: music cues in the final print of Ordet

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³ The note in Dreyer's hand, 'Nu nærmer Tiden,' is a misremembering on Dreyer's part of the Poul Schierbeck song, 'Sig nærmer tiden', which Peter Peterson sings. The music fades in after the first word, perhaps meaning that the song had been sung incorrectly as well.

<u>Gertrud</u>

1	Overture	Piano	00:00–1:15	1:15	'Song of the Night' by Erland Jansson
2	Transition: Act One to Act Two	flute and string quartet	20:23–20:39	:16	
3	Flashback	Piano	23:36–24:10	:34	
4	Gertrud and Erland's first meeting	Piano and voice	24:22–26:39	2:17	'Song of the Night' by Erland Jansson
5	Erland Nocturne	Piano	35:53–37:11	1:18	'Nocturne' by Erland Jansson"
6	Transition: Act Two to Act Three	String quartet	42:15–42:29	:14	
7	Lidman's dinner	Student choir	43:07-44:41	1:36	
8	Lidman's dinner	Student choir	48:57-49:50	:53	
9	Ante-room	Piano trio	59:15-1:02:15	3:00	Unidentified
10	Ante-room	Piano trio	1:05:07–1:12:07	7:00	'Song of the Night' by Erland Jansson
11	Ante-room	Piano and voice	1:13:52–1:14:40	:48	'Ich grolle nicht' by Robert Schumann
12	Transition: Act Three to Act Four	String quartet	1:15:00–1:15:11	:11	
13	Transition: Act Four to Act Five	String quartet	1:23:07–1:23:22	:15	
14	End of Act Six	String quartet	1:54:02-1:55:56	1:54	

Table A4.5: music cues in the final print of Gertrud

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