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“There Have Been Developments:” Frankenstein’s Monster Finds a (Mahlerian) Voice

In 1931 Universal Pictures released James Whale’s *Frankenstein*, a horror film whose music score is confined to its credits, featuring a monster denied the power of speech. By 1935—with Hollywood having embraced the almost wall-to-wall scoring procedures of Max Steiner and Erich Wolfgang Korngold—Whale’s follow-up *Bride of Frankenstein* calls upon the resources of Franz Waxman’s music to lend the Monster a voice: a voice that, in turn, seems to awaken the character’s ability to communicate. Consequently, Dr Pretorius announces in response to Henry Frankenstein’s evident confusion at the Monster’s dialogue that “there have been developments.” Beyond precipitating the character change evident in these two films, though, what else might this musical ‘envoicing’ have contributed to the artistic ambitions of the movie? It is a question that many might consider redundant, especially as Theodor Adorno’s all-too-familiar attack on the culturally bankrupt art of film scoring virtually dismisses the idea that a ‘mainstream’ Hollywood score from this period could be capable of fulfilling a critical role; that it could call into question its status as the tool of a nefarious ‘Culture Industry,’ or act as a beacon for issues of social justice.¹ Yet, did Adorno’s prejudicial blindness in the case of popular culture prevent him from identifying modernist qualities of resistance in a film score? Can the score to *Bride of Frankenstein*, which is commonly described as a melodramatic comedy classic,² possibly have suggested anything of profound value to a 1930s audience? In this article, I want to suggest that, firstly, the film offers us a critique of Nazi Germany—and its fear of the cultural outsider—partly as a result of its score invoking the modernist musical language and techniques of Gustav Mahler (1860-1911);

and, secondly, that such a critique is in direct violation of the prevailing censorship practices in Hollywood, suggesting that film scores are not always the culturally bankrupt items they may first appear to be.

Although the musical language Waxman employs in this film could be said to allude to a number of different composers—including Richard Strauss, Paul Dukas, Claude Debussy, and Franz Liszt—the references to a Mahlerian dialect are arguably the most striking. The score is full of typically Mahlerian surface features—including funeral marches; waltzes; *danses macabres*; long pedals; and major triads turning to minor—and we might even find specific allusions to Mahler’s works. The rising string trills of the film’s opening, for example, shares much with the opening of the finale of the 6th Symphony; the Monster’s theme seems a slower version of the 5th Symphony’s opening fanfare;³ whereas the wide leaps of the Bride’s music seem to parallel moments in the 10th Symphony’s Adagio (bar 263-5), the 3rd symphony (1st movement, 4th bar of Fig. 2), or perhaps most strikingly the *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* song “Das irdische Leben” (“the earthly life”).⁴ These simple, anachronistic musical allusions may not seem particularly significant in themselves; however, given Adorno’s later lionising of Mahler as a pioneering force for critical resistance to oppression,⁵ they reveal the score’s resonances with many of the qualities that both Adorno and (from an alternative perspective) Nazi-era critics such as Otto Schumann and Karl Blessinger identified in Mahler’s fragmented language. As Leon Botstein has pointed out, these commentators recognised that “Mahler threatened the very basis of the Nazi aesthetic project of an antimodern renewal.”⁶ And while Pamela Potter suggests that no such anti-modern project existed with anything like the sense of unity that we might imagine,⁷ Schumann and Blessinger were certainly all

too aware of the composer's ability (even as late as the 1930s) to threaten established practices, to resist oppression, and to convey "the truth of a disturbed individual within a corrupt, conflict-ridden, fragmented world."⁸ Mahler achieved this by foregrounding formal discontinuities, countering expectations, and presenting what some would later interpret as a postmodern fragmentation of a variety of popular styles. Without the off-putting dissonances of Arnold Schoenberg, his music represented to these Nazi critics an alluring camouflaged danger, what Botstein terms "the aesthetic analogue of the assimilated Jew."⁹ It is my contention that Waxman's score offers a similar threat to Nazi ideology, successfully camouflaged in the relatively youthful language of the Hollywood film score. After exploring the musical characterisation of the film's characters—characterisations that, like Mahler's music, suggest an affinity with society's outsiders—I will highlight the score's deeper resonances with aspects of Mahlerian structure, and particularly with Adorno's concept of 'breakthrough.'

Identifying with the Victims

In his centenary address of 1960, Adorno writes of Mahler that "he follows [the notes] where they lead, from a sense of identification with those who are cruelly knocked about and forced into line by aesthetic norms and indeed by civilization itself. In short, he identifies with the victims."¹⁰ *Bride of Frankenstein* is also a film that is primarily concerned with society's outsiders, and it is these victim figures who are consequently underscored with the film's most evocative music: the Bride (Elsa Lanchester) and Dr Pretorius (Ernest Thesiger) are linked with alluring Viennese waltzes that are subject to Mahlerian variation procedure; while the Monster (Boris Karloff) is given a distinctive

dissonant variant of a Mahlerian fanfare. In contrast to the exoticism evident in these musical others, the everyday village folk are aligned with bombastic Germanic marches, or slow funereal processions.¹¹ Furthermore, they are clearly identified in dress and nomenclature as Germanic and are often depicted in torch-lit processions, displaying the behaviour of an unthinking mob.¹² Thus, in combination with their musical associations, they might be seen to represent something of the ritualised nature of contemporary German society, documented so forcefully in the propaganda films of Leni Reifenstahl.¹³ The fear that the Monster evokes in them, therefore, may have as much to do with his ‘outsider’ cultural identity as his misunderstood actions: in short, he is the Jew to their ‘endangered’ German culture. Indeed, the Monster has been linked by some commentators with the Jewish legend of the Golem¹⁴ and, in a scene in which the hermit plays the violin, appears to dance a jig much in the manner of the anti-Semitic Grimm fairy tale “Der Jude im Dorn” (“The Jew in the Brambles”).¹⁵ Moreover, his musical characterisation could also be seen as an inversion of the opening falling third motif of Beethoven’s 5th Symphony, hinting at an assimilated cultural identity. In a scene following the Monster’s escape, we might even recognise an ironic vision of the transcendent Germanic natural world—complete with sparkling flutes, harps, cow bells and Straussian harmonies—rudely interrupted by our ‘antihero’ and his perverted Beethoven motif. In many ways, then, he represents the assimilated Jew of Germany rejected by a society irrationally obsessed with racial and cultural purity.

The Bride is also an outsider figure. Whereas the Monster represents merely an assimilated physical and cultural identity, the Bride also glories in the dangers of an othered female eroticism to patriarchal society. Her otherness is likewise made evident in

her musical characterisation—an alluring Viennese *fin-de-siècle* waltz (seemingly part Richard Strauss,¹⁶ part Mahler) that is gradually revealed throughout the film and is a kind of precursor to that other phantom woman scored by Waxman, Rebecca.¹⁷ It might even be considered a parody of the kinds of love theme employed elsewhere in Hollywood.¹⁸ The Bride’s theme is followed by a complex chromatic coda, first heard as Elizabeth (Valerie Hobson) relates to her new husband Henry Frankenstein (Colin Clive) her vision of a “death-like apparition” that is coming to take him away. In fact, the Monster and his mate are presented as the shadowy reflection of Henry and Elizabeth. In dialogue and *mise-en-scène*, for example, Henry is linked overtly with his Monster at the film’s beginning: upon seeing Henry’s supposedly dead hand move, Minnie (Una O’Connor) shouts “He’s alive!” in clear reference to Henry’s own exclamation “It’s alive!” at the moment of the Monster’s creation in *Frankenstein*. Likewise, the characters of Elizabeth and the Bride are linked musically. Elizabeth’s music inverts the intervals of the Bride’s theme, thus reinforcing the ambiguous nature of the film’s title: the ‘Bride’ of Frankenstein refers to Henry Frankenstein’s bride, Elizabeth as much as the Monster’s created mate. While Elizabeth Young refers to the film’s title as evidence of the interchangeability of female roles within a complex system of gender exchange, it is in their musical voices that the clearest parallels are heard.¹⁹

Although largely only hinted at before the creation sequence, once her reanimation becomes the focus of the film’s narrative the Bride’s musical voice soon begins to dominate the score. As life is detected in the bandaged body, and the Nefertiti-like vision raises her arms, we hear the most obviously Viennese musical moment of the film: a waltz full of Mahlerian portamenti, sprinkled with glittering harp runs. This

sugary-sweet waltz is deliciously decadent, and far more seductive than the Monster's simplistic fanfare. The Bride's creation scene is also the point at which she replaces the Monster as the ultimate 'other' figure of the film (he has gained the power of speech; she remains able only to hiss and scream, reminding us that the power to vocalise unmediated by language is a strong indicator of cultural otherness). This very moment when the Monster can be reclaimed by society and enter into its institution of marriage is unfortunately the point of his greatest rejection: as he eloquently puts it, "She hate[s] me. Like others." He is unwanted by the only creature with which he shares his assimilated identity (both culturally and physically), and nothing can save this depiction of an assimilated Jewish German culture—a mixture of Beethoven and Mahler. Suffering the agonies of rejection, the Monster pulls the lever that destroys the laboratory along with Dr Pretorius and the Bride. Indeed, the destruction of German culture, represented by the last *crie de Coeur* of the Monster's musical voice as the laboratory crumbles away, seems the only solution possible to the madness that Pretorius and the Faustian figure of Frankenstein have unleashed.

The film's concern with society's outsiders undoubtedly chimed with Waxman, himself an outsider in Germany (as a Jew assaulted on a Berlin street early in 1934) and in America, as a German. As a consequence, it does not require a significant interpretive leap to read the film through its score as a contemporary comment on the fate of German society and culture. Emphasising the allegorical character of the film still further, *Bride of Frankenstein* even depicts a family of gypsies who, in parallel to events in Europe, fear for their safety. While the younger gypsy woman remarks that "we'd better get away from these parts: it isn't safe," her scornful husband, confident in the powers of law and

order, retorts that the Monster is safely locked up in jail. What the gypsies perhaps fail to see is that the film's real monsters are the lynch mob and the character of Henry Frankenstein who, in his Faustian pact with the overtly Mephistophelian Dr Pretorius to breed a master race, shares certain features with the Nazi regime's policies of racial manipulation. The so-called 'Monster' merely craves friendship, not world domination or the secret of life itself (two things that Henry and the Nazis share).

This ability of the film to act as both horror fantasy and contemporary allegory is undoubtedly aided by its confused historical setting. The opening scene with Mary Shelley (Elsa Lanchester), her husband (Douglas Walton), and Lord Byron (Gavin Gordon)—wherein Mary 'narrates' the story we witness—is unambiguously centred in the distant past, as revealed by its costumes and the stylized music. Yet the version of Mary's story we see seems to be set around the year 1900, precisely the *fin-de-siècle* environment of Mahler.²⁰ While Mahler's Vienna was troubled by the idea of cultural outsiders,²¹ so too was Waxman's Germany and Whale's fictional village. Waxman's score thus fulfils its historical role in invoking the *fin-de-siècle* and, like Shelley's narrated story, seems to project itself forward in time to comment on contemporary society. Similarly, while Elsa Lanchester played both Mary and the Bride (a symbolic equivalent that is reinforced by visual tropes – see fig. 1), Waxman seems to be playing a number of parts too: that of Mahler in fin-de-siècle Vienna; and himself in the 1930s. Adorno argues that Mahler 'scented' fascism decades ahead of its rise,²² and Waxman's allusions to Mahler's musical language perhaps suggest that he also recognised this quality.

Fig. 1 Elsa Lanchester in her double role

a) As Mary Shelley (with Gavin Gordon as Lord Byron and Douglas Walton as Percy Shelley)



b) As the Bride (with Colin Clive as Henry von Frankenstein, and Ernest Thesiger as Dr Pretorius)



Breakthrough as Resistance

Beyond the film's identification with outsider figures, and the score's role in highlighting them musically, *Bride of Frankenstein* also suggests more specific Mahlerian structural processes at work that chime with the qualities of resistance that Adorno pinpointed. These formal discontinuities, in challenging the expected structure of a work of art, appear to confront the values of society itself and are potentially significant for assessing the film's modernist cultural value—even if they are more covert than the musical characterisations discussed above. While the resistance displayed in Waxman's film

score cannot be compared easily with Mahler's challenge to symphonic form,²³ there are formal aspects of the score that nevertheless suggest a similar questioning of the structural conventions of film music—such as they existed in short period of time since the appearance of Max Steiner's iconic score to *King Kong* (Merian C Cooper/Ernest B Shoedsack, 1933). The *Bride* score, for example, is marked by many caesuras and interruptions. In the scene where Henry and the kidnapped Elizabeth are finally able to communicate through the marvels of an 'electric machine' (59:26),²⁴ the outpouring of conventional love music that accompanies her entreaties for rescue is abruptly curtailed when Karl silences her with a well-placed hand: this is in clear defiance of the music's logic, which is forced into submission by the demands of the narrative. Similarly, when the Monster attempts to woo his Bride, her theme is left dangling and incomplete, its last note replaced with her scream (1:09:10). More significant still, the original ending of the film avoided the kind of musical resolution common in the contemporary scores of Steiner and Korngold. The film was supposed to conclude with the shot of the destroyed ruins of Frankenstein's laboratory, but the censors demanded a final shot of Henry and Elizabeth, showing their survival. As a result, Waxman's score had to track in a concluding portion of the Bride's theme heard at the end of the creation scene (the passage at 1:05:39). For Adorno, as John Scheinbaum has recognised, any musical work written after middle-period Beethoven that concludes victoriously is suspect: the contradictions should have the final word.²⁵ It is interesting that this appears to have also been Waxman's original intention: the score would have ended with the Monster's anguished and dissonant fanfare.

It is the musical response (at 1:07:29) to Dr Pretorius's melodramatic announcement of "The Bride of Frankenstein," though, that is arguably the site of the most significant of these structural processes; one that buttresses the score's claims as a site for resistance. We hear a shortened version of the Bride's theme with full ceremonial wedding bells, a musical passage that shares many of the timbral and structural characteristics of Mahlerian 'breakthrough.' Originally developed as a concept by Paul Bekker, breakthrough or *Durchbruch* was one of three formal categories—along with 'suspension' and 'fulfilment' (*Erfüllung*)—defined by Adorno in his study of Mahler's music.²⁶ Adorno used these terms as part of his larger concern with the plight of the outsider and Mahler's formal critique of the symphony: they referred to moments in which a fractured symphonic form could call into question its own structural cohesiveness and thus, by extension, reveal the illusory wholeness of society. Whereas all three categories imply some kind of rupture, breakthrough suggested a musical process wherein a closed form is invaded from outside, rather than a primarily immanent procedure.

The breakthrough at the conclusion of the Bride's creation scene is characterised by the sudden entrance of bombastic brass in thirds, supported by bells. This is a not insignificant factor in pointing towards the use of the term, given John Scheinbaum's argument that passages of breakthrough in Mahler are often defined timbrally: that is, they are often dependent on orchestral colour—most often massed forces of brass, whose entrance is characteristic enough to be interpreted as a 'new' event.²⁷ The result in *Bride of Frankenstein* is something akin to the transcendent breakthrough moment in the 5th Symphony (2nd movement, b. 464)—though the degree to which breakthrough should be

thought of in Mahler's music as transcendent *of form* or immanent *to it* is a matter of some conjecture: James Buhler, for instance, interprets the breakthrough in Mahler's 1st Symphony in terms of immanent sonata-form procedures precisely because he feels it is better able to critique from within rather than rupturing the structure from the outside.²⁸ As Buhler also reminds us, however, Mahlerian breakthrough is a moment of structural reorientation, a deflection from the expected formal course of a piece that *has large-scale formal consequences*.²⁹ Given that a film score's formal structure is governed primarily by the film's narrative, rather than musical procedures, this might seem to argue against the application of this terminology to *Bride of Frankenstein*. Leaving aside the fact that the strict division between autonomy and narrative in symphonic music is, itself, traditionally overdrawn,³⁰ this moment in the film does however appear to effect how we hear other parts of the score. As such, it could be said to have large-scale formal consequences, and the use of the term might thus be valid if we consider the music surrounding the breakthrough moment.

Significantly, the steady timpani heartbeat and anticipatory snatches of the Bride's theme that prepare the breakthrough—and which have been an intrinsic part of the musical texture of Frankenstein's creation experiments for almost eight minutes—actually appear to have reached their long-awaited climax with the descent of the creation machinery bearing the Bride's bandaged form (at 1:05:39). The Bride's theme, with its repeated questioning octave leaps, is allowed to achieve tonal resolution and the regular timpani beat triples its rate in celebration. Rarely commenting on music, Alberto Manguel notes at this point (using musical terminology somewhat inaccurately): “Waxman's music strikes a symphonic crescendo.”³¹ The breakthrough moment itself,

therefore, seems to occur long after the ostensible musical highpoint of the sequence, and to come from outside the realm of its musical logic. How, then, do we respond to the unexpected appearance of this, the film's most memorable musical moment, with its distinctive brass in 3rds and bells texture?³² It is certainly suitably revelatory and (mock) transcendent in a way that, in combination with the sudden shift in timbral colour, characterises Mahlerian breakthrough; but how might it have *large-scale formal consequences*? Structurally—and this is the key point—it reveals what we may have assumed to have been the musical climax of the film (at 1:05:39) to be nothing more than a completion of the preceding music's immanent formal logic: that this earlier climax was later tracked over the ending of the film, thus seeming to confirm its status as a passage of musical importance, emphasises the sleight-of-hand. In that sense, the breakthrough forces us to reconceptualise both this earlier musical climax, and its later use at the film's conclusion, and to see them as merely anticipatory of the most important structural moment in the score (the breakthrough). In other words, the breakthrough moment 'reorients' the effectiveness of these other two climaxes and disturbs the score's immanent musical logic. Although this is arguably a feature of many film scores that string together a series of short forms rather than rely on a single musical conception, it has particular potency here given the extended creation sequence and the 'symphonic' build up of tension that precedes it. While it cannot be said to critique formal procedures in quite the same way as Mahlerian breakthrough (a film score is, after all, not subject to such stringent formal demands as sonata form placed on the late nineteenth-century symphony), Waxman's moment of ironic transcendence does disrupt the illusory

wholeness to which the musical logic of the creation sequence initially appears to subscribe.

The point of breakthrough itself quickly subsides into slow timpani alternating tonic and dominant and a Mahlerian change from major to minor (which, according to Peter Franklin, Adorno characterises as a move from symbolic generality to expressive particularity and otherness).³³ In glimpsing this ‘other’ world, then, the score seems to elevate the figure of the Bride somewhat ironically to a transcendental status, mocking the Nazi fear of the cultural outsider, and satirising its obsession with death rituals.³⁴ That this breakthrough theme also alludes to the mundane concerns of Mahler’s song “Das irdische Leben” adds a further ironic dimension.³⁵ For a twenty-first-century audience, the unexpectedness of the breakthrough is made even more striking in a DVD extra that crudely stitches together portions of Waxman’s score into a quasi-symphonic thirteen-minute movement to accompany still shots from the film.³⁶ At the point of breakthrough, the tonality drops suddenly (from the E minor/major of the creation scene to the D-flat major of the breakthrough), in the way which moments of Mahlerian *Durchbruch* are characterised by sudden tonal shifts.³⁷ While this ‘version’ of the score is a much later creation, it arguably encourages a re-hearing of the film that emphasises the Mahlerian characteristics of Waxman’s music.

Outscoring the Censors

Not only does the film and its score appear to comment on the nature of German society and culture, but in so doing it also specifically violates the prevailing censorship practices of the mid-1930s, thus pointing to a cultural potency that few might recognise. While the

1931 *Frankenstein* film was subject to individual state censorship in America, *Bride* was made under the auspices of Joseph Breen's Production Code Administration. As a result, it had to be cleared by the Hayes Office before it could be shown, and the very first image of the film is its PCA certificate. Among the taboo subjects for the censors, beyond obvious excesses of sex and violence, were the subversion of religion,³⁸ and, more surprising perhaps, overt criticism of Nazi Germany. Germany was the largest export market for Hollywood and, as Thomas Doherty argues, the studios were fearful of jeopardizing this lucrative source of income.³⁹ A combination of the anti-Semitic Breen, the studios' fear for their profit margins, and pressure from the US State Department, meant that very few films prior to 1941 were able to engage in overt criticism of the regime. Rather, as Michael Birdwell has revealed in the case of Warner Bros., more subtle measures were required.⁴⁰ While the censors may have been able to resist many of these in the case of the script, the scenario, and the plot, they seem to have been powerless when faced with a film's music. Whether the musical resistance highlighted above was perceived in the approved cut of the film, though, is difficult to assess. *Bride of Frankenstein* was certainly subjected to censorship in many US states and several countries banned it outright (Trinidad, Hungary, Palestine); Gerald Gardner's study of the censorship papers surrounding the film, however, unfortunately makes no mention of its reception in Nazi Germany.⁴¹ In any case, music's undoubted power to subvert censorship is nowhere displayed more clearly or amusingly than at the film's conclusion. The changes demanded by the censors—which, as noted above, necessitated an existing part of Waxman's score featuring the Bride's theme to be tracked in—ensured that the Bride's alluring exoticism accidentally lived on in her human doppelgänger, Elizabeth.

As supposedly the representative of the stable social order of marriage, this is something the censors surely did not intend.

Given the centrality of music to Germanic life (as Thomas Mann would later suggest in his novel *Dr Faustus*), if *Bride of Frankenstein* really is about Nazi society and its irrational fear of the cultural outsider, it stands to reason that it required a score more extensive than that found in its predecessor with which to critique it; in that sense, the film stands at an important point in the early use of underscoring and demonstrates the power of a score to subvert contemporary censorship practices. While it may be the case that no surface allusion to a Mahlerian language or deeper structural affinity to *Durchbruch* was intended by Waxman, it seems clear that, through its score, *Bride of Frankenstein* has something significant to say about Germanic culture in the 1930s. The fact that Waxman was an émigré Jew who was elected an honorary member of the International Gustav Mahler Society and certainly conducted Mahler's music might give this reading added credence.⁴² At the same time, though, I am wary of tracing too distinctly any kind of composer's voice in this score, ironic or otherwise, or of claiming *Bride of Frankenstein* as a modernist score. We can, at the very least, place the film's music within these historical contexts and suggest that it can be potentially read as constituting more than simply a "masterpiece of campy exaggeration," to use Raymond Knapp's phrase;⁴³ we cannot merely dismiss it as belonging to a genre that is incapable of critiquing society—if, indeed, we choose to value such modernist qualities in music.⁴⁴ Rather, we might acknowledge that, as Elizabeth Young has put it "this very funny horror film is about some very serious issues,"⁴⁵ and thus recognise the power of early

Hollywood film music to lend its voice to issues of social justice in a manner that cultural commentators like Adorno were somewhat reluctant to acknowledge.

End Notes

1. See Hanns Eisler and Theodor Adorno, *Composing for the Films*, (London: Athlone Press, 1994) and “The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception,” in Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments* ed. Gunzelin Schmid Noerr, transl. Edmund Jephcott (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002).
2. See Raymond Knapp, “Music, electricity, and the 'sweet mystery of life' in *Young Frankenstein*,” in *Changing Tunes: The Use of Pre-Existing Music in Film*, ed. Phil Powrie and Robynn Stilwell (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006).
3. This fanfare is also heard in the 1st movement of the 4th Symphony after Fig. 17.
4. See bars 45-48 at the words “Gib mir Brot, sonst sterbe ich.”
5. See Theodor W Adorno, *Mahler: A Musical Physiognomy* trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996) and “Mahler Centenary Address, Vienna 1960,” in *Quasi una Fantasia: Essays on Modern Music*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (London: Verso, 1998).
6. Leon Botstein, "Whose Gustav Mahler? Reception, Interpretation, and History," in *Mahler and His World*, ed. Karen Painter (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 24.
7. Pamela Potter, “What is ‘Nazi Music’?,” *The Musical Quarterly* 88/3 (Fall 2005): 428-455.

8. Botstein, "Whose Gustav Mahler?," 21.
9. *Ibid.*, 25.
10. See "Mahler Centenary Address," 96.
11. Elizabeth Young has read the mob in the context of US race relations in the early 1930s. See "Here Comes the Bride: Wedding Gender and Race in *Bride of Frankenstein*," *Feminist Studies* 17/3 (Autumn 1991): 424.
12. Although E. E. Clive's upper-class English gentleman turn as 'the Burgomaster' and Una O'Connor's cockney interpretation of Minnie seem to be the exception, the characters of Hans (Reginald Barlow) and the Bavarian/Tyrolean hats worn by the villagers suggest a Germanic milieu.
13. See, for example, *Olympia* (1938) or *Triumph des Willens* (1935)
14. See Christopher P. Toumey, "The Moral Character of Mad Scientists: A Cultural Critique of Science," *Science, Technology, & Human Values* 17/4 (Autumn, 1992): 423. The Golem was a creature from Medieval Jewish folklore, created from clay. The most famous Golem story concerned the seventeenth-century Rabbi Loew of Prague, who is said to have created a Golem to protect the Jewish ghetto from anti-Semitic violence. Christopher Frayling has also identified Goya's *The Chincillas* as an inspiration for the Monster's look, and noted the visual inspiration of *Metropolis* (Fritz Lang, 1927). See Christopher Frayling, *Mad, Bad and Dangerous? The Scientist and the Cinema* (Reaktion Books, London 2005), 115.
15. See Hans Rudolf Vaaget, "Sixtus Beckmesser - The 'Jew in the Brambles'?" *Opera Quarterly* 12 (1995): 35-45. Adorno also makes reference to the fairy tale in his *In Search of Wagner*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (London: Verso, 1991), 21.

16. The repeated leaping octaves and waltz metre of “Ohne mich” from Strauss’s opera *Der Rosenkavalier* are a possible reference point.

17. *Rebecca* (Alfred Hitchcock, 1940).

18. See, for example, the musical language of Korngold’s contemporary score for *Captain Blood* (Michael Curtiz, 1935).

19. See Young, “Here Comes the Bride,” 406. The intervallic transpositions are not exact, but the shapes are characteristic enough to suggest correspondence: Elizabeth’s theme drops a sixth and rises a semitone (sometimes a tone); the Bride’s theme rises an octave and falls a semitone.

20. When Karl (Dwight Frye) reads the inscription on her tomb, the Bride’s body is revealed to have been that of “Maddalena Ernestine,” who died in 1899.

21. John Scheinbaum notes of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna that an important characteristic of the times was the notion that “a formerly pure and whole society was threatened by the intrusions of sinister, suspect cultural outsiders.” See John Scheinbaum, “Adorno’s Mahler and the Timbral Outsider,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 131/1 (2006): 42.

22. Adorno, *Mahler*, 34.

23. Partly because, as with the majority of film music, there is no published version of the score.

24. All timings are taken from a Region 2 DVD. On region 2 DVDs, the film runs 4% faster to comply with the PAL colour system used in UK televisions, resulting in a rise in pitch of approximately a semitone.

25. Scheinbaum, “Adorno’s Mahler”, 48.

26. Adorno, *Mahler*, 40-59.

27. See Scheinbaum, "Adorno's Mahler."

28. James Buhler, "'Breakthrough' as Critique of Form: The Finale of Mahler's First Symphony," *19th-Century Music* 20/2, Special Mahler Issue (Autumn 1996): 125-143.

29. Buhler, "'Breakthrough' as Critique of Form," 129.

30. Waxman, himself, drew a sharp distinction between his concert music and the music he composed for films (unlike Korngold), remarking: "film music operates in a set of circumstances quite different from the circumstances in which other music is heard. Film music is heard only once—not many times, as concert music is." See "'Music from the Films': A CBC Broadcast," *Hollywood Quarterly* 5/2 (Winter 1950): 135. Yet, there are many studies of musical narrative in symphonies that have no obvious programmatic content. See, for example, Anthony Newcomb, "Narrative Archetypes and Mahler's Ninth Symphony," in *Music and Text: Critical Inquiries* ed. Steven Paul Scher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

31. Alberto Manguel, *Bride of Frankenstein* (London: British Film Institute, 1997), 45.

32. Manguel calls the scene "one of the all-time glories of horror films." Ibid.

33. Peter Franklin, "'...His fractures are the script of truth': Adorno's Mahler," in *Mahler Studies* ed. Stephen E. Hefling (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 291.

34. Reinhold Brinkmann sees the *Heldenrequiems* (hero requiems) composed by Gottfried Müller and, later, Hermann Erdlen as an expression of the Nazi regime's aesthetic of the sublime. With their pedalled bass ostinati they share much with Waxman's creation scene. See "The Distorted Sublime: Music and National Socialist

Ideology - A Sketch,” in *Music and Nazism: Art under Tyranny, 1933-1945*, ed. Michael H. Kater and Albrecht Riethmüller (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2003).

35. The Bride’s call for bread in her wordless musical voice (“Gib mir Brot, sonst sterbe ich”/ “Give me bread, else I shall die”) also echoes the Monster’s own first word (“bread”) as taught him by the blind hermit.

36. See the “Bride of Frankenstein archive” on Universal DVD 903 220 9 (region 2).

37. The finale of the 1st symphony is the most obvious example of this (see fig. 34), a passage Mahler described to Natalie Bauer-Lechner as sounding “as though it had fallen from heaven”. Natalie Bauer-Lechner, *Recollections of Gustav Mahler* trans. Dika Newlin (London: Faber & Faber, 1980), 31.

38. This is something that *Bride* also manages to achieve despite the censor’s best efforts. The Monster is presented as a persecuted Christ-like figure, for example, and he also overturns symbolically a Bishop’s statue in the churchyard. See Manguel, *Bride of Frankenstein*, particularly 34, 36-37.

39. Thomas Doherty, *Pre-Code Hollywood: Sex, Immorality, and Insurrection in American Cinema, 1930-1934* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 97.

40. Michael E. Birdwell, *Celluloid Soldiers: The Warner Bros. Campaign against Nazism* (New York: New York University Press, 1999).

41. Gerald C. Gardner, *The Censorship Papers: Movie Censorship Letters from the Hays Office, 1934-1968* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1987), 65-71.

42. Waxman conducted the 9th Symphony in 1950 at the Los Angeles Music Festival. See “‘Music from the Films’: A CBC Broadcast”: 134. One might also note the rather

Mahlerian choral ending to Waxman's score for *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (Victor Fleming, 1941).

43. See "Music, electricity, and the 'sweet mystery of life' in *Young Frankenstein*", 106.

44. Adorno states that music only fulfilled its social function "when it presents social problems through its own material and according to its own formal laws." Theodor Adorno, "On the Social Situation of Music," *Telos* 35 (Spring 1978): 130. This, evidently, film music did not do.

45. Young, "Here Comes the Bride," 403.