Orientalism in the Narrative, Music and Myth of the Amok in the 1937 film *Zamboanga*

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Since the occupation of the Philippine Islands by the U.S. in 1899, Americans have viewed the Moslems of Mindanao as civilized yet aggressive. This orientalist-colonialist gaze is manifested in the film *Zamboanga*, a Filipino-American project directed by Filipino mestizo actor/ director Eduardo de Castro, with a cast of Filipino "natives" and an Euro-American crew. A spectacle full of local color, *Zamboanga* has a narrative based on the clichéd European trope, i.e., the abduction and recapture of the protagonist from the "seraglio". Contradicting this narrative, the original musical score by noted Hollywood composer Edward Kilényi, Sr. is not Orientalist because it simply employed late-19th century romantic music conventionally used for such films, as well as the diegetic gong music accompanying Moslem war/martial dances. Yet, the intrusion into the film of musical sounds alien to the Zamboanga area, particularly the Hawaiian slack-key guitar and the Javanese pesindhen singing (normally accompanying a refined courtly dance), manifests musical Orientalism. These appropriations (perhaps by the director and producer) indicate the use of indexical sound icons as mere "signs of places" that disregard the specificities of cultural difference and local knowledge of Zamboanga and Sulu. The Hawaiian sound was meant to evoke the trope of a "tropical paradise" while the Javanese music depicted "Malay" civilization. Lastly, the myth of the amok is perpetuated to affirm an orientalist stereotype of the violent Moslem.

Keywords: Music Orientalism, Philippine film history, Moslem kulintang, Representation and Ideology

Long before the Moslem *kulintang* (gongs-in-a-row) became visible in ethnomusicological literature because of José Maceda (his influence popularized the instrument in schools, concert stages and even urban public spheres from the 1950s onward), kulintang was already employed as a sound marker of place and of cultural difference. This happened in the more popular and modern medium of film, which as early as 1937 already utilized this instrument as a symbol of geography in the movie *Zamboanga*. Inscribing American colonial perception of a Philippine exotica, its people and music, *Zamboanga* was made during the Commonwealth Period (1935-1941) or at around the time when interest in and fascination with non-Western music culture had, in another part of the world, also brought the celebrated Canadian composer Colin McPhee to Bali.[1]

Zamboanga is an example of a Filipino-American collaboration involving foreign capital and technology, and native labor or talents. Produced by Americans George Harris and Eddie Tait for their young company Filippine Films, *Zamboanga* pioneered the studio-type film production in Manila.[2] It was directed by a Filipino-American mestizo Eduardo de Castro (1907–1955),

whose real name was Marvin Gardner, the son of an American policeman. The lead roles were given to then emerging stars of Tagalog cinema, namely, Fernando Poe, Sr. and Rosa del Rosario, who was, in fact, also a Caucasian-Filipina mestiza.[3] Perhaps because the film was produced at a time when Tagalog language was not yet widespread as the national language, indigenous *Tausug* language was used and, because of this, it remains an interesting historical document.

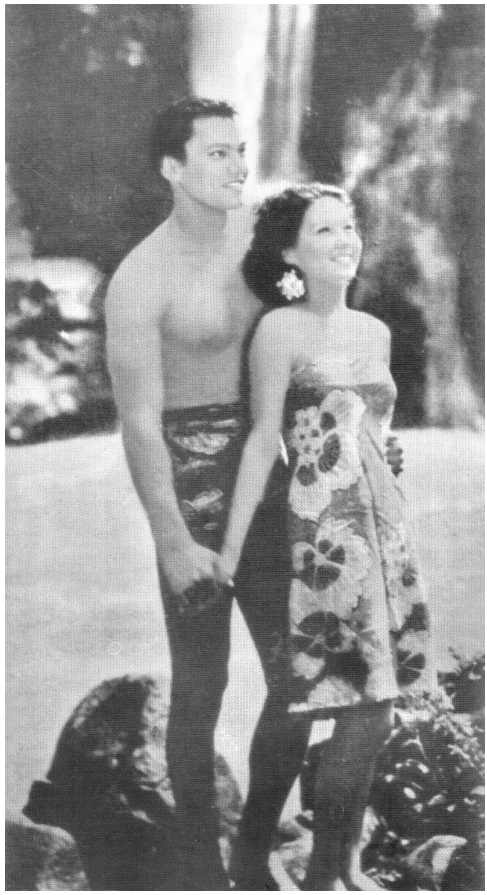

Figure 1. Cast in the exotic South Sea film genre, *Zamboanga*, starring mestizos Fernando Poe (Sr.) and Rosa del Rosario, was the first American-produced film made in the Philippines that was meant for export to the west. Photo courtesy of Nick Deocampo.

By technical standards of that time, *Zamboanga* was considered extraordinary, garnering for itself the admiration of Frank Capra who considered it as "the most exciting and beautiful picture of native life" (Deocampo, 2011, p. 307). It was a pioneer in extended underwater shooting, which was brilliantly executed by English cameraman William Hansen. This underwater cinematography was considered far more advanced than those of the Hollywood films *Bird of Paradise* (1931) and *Tabu* (1932), the latter of which seemed to be *Zamboanga's* obvious model. The post-production of the film was done in Hollywood (Deocampo, 2004) and it was there that Dr. Edward Kilényi, Sr. (1884-1968), a Ph.D. music alumnus of Columbia University and the teacher of Georg Gershwin (Neimoyer, 2011), scored the film[4] following the convention of scoring in classic Hollywood films. There is no record that Kilényi ever visited Mindanao during the shooting of the film.

Zamboanga is the last of a set of films produced during the 1930s meant for the American market and cosmopolitan audiences in urban Philippines. This set of films, which portrayed the allure of exotic Sulu seas to urban audiences,

included the lost films *Princess Tarhata* (Araw Movies, starring Adelina Moreno and produced by José Domingo Badilla), *The Moro Pirate* (Malayan Movies, starring Eduardo de Castro and produced by José Nepomuceno), and *The Brides of Sulu* (directed by John Nelson, whom some believe was José Nepomuceno). These local productions emulated imported Hollywood movies, such as the previously mentioned Murnau's *Tabu* (1931) and Vidor's *Bird of Paradise* (1932), both of which were popular during that period. This confirms Deocampo's observation that the cultural imperialism of Hollywood was already etched in the local imagination by the 1930s.

In addition, *Zamboanga* is one of the first attempts of local cinema to export its production into the global market. The copy of the film examined for this study, which must have come from an informal video retail outlet, is a palimpsest bearing the faded marks of Finnish and English subtitles, the mixture of which is proof of the history of the film's wide circulation in the global market. Unfortunately it did not meet sustained success in that market. For one thing, because it was made in the Philippines, it became the victim of the unequal economic policies between the colonizer and the colony. Taxes were levied on it when it entered the American market shortly after its production, which was unfair because Hollywood products entering Philippine shores at that time were not taxed. Years after its premiere and despite the intensive media campaign to promote it when it was first shown in San Diego, USA on 10 December 1937, *Zamboanga* did not live to its expectation of penetrating the world market.

Although it is not an all-Filipino production, *Zamboanga* remains important to Philippine studies for two reasons: first, it contributed to the development of the film industry in the country; and, second, it is a representation of the Philippines as an American colony. The film therefore warrants further examination because it is through inquiry into such cultural representations that the American colonial ideology can be critiqued. This paper explores the Orientalist ideology of the film, by first discussing how this is expressed in the film's narrative. Then, the paper demonstrates how the same ideology was manifested in the film's soundtrack, though with some qualification, for this is only specifically evident in the tokenist juxtaposition of traditional "ethnic" music outside of Mindanao and Sulu with the originally composed music score created by Edward Kilényi, Sr. The essay concludes with a discussion on the myth of the "furious" or irrational Moro and how this hegemonic image has infected dominant perception of Moslem behavior, even up to the present time. But before doing all this, the paper will briefly characterize "Orientalism" or "Orientalist" representation.

Coined by Edward Said in his highly influential 1978 book of the same title, "Orientalism" refers to the stultifying, racist, imperialist and Eurocentric manner of representing cultures and peoples from the Orient. For example, this was evident in the way Europe "saw" the Arabs and Indians in 19th century. An over determined, one-sided, colonialist "interpretation" of the Orient as "Other," this textual representation created by the white man was part of a larger system of cultural domination that was expressed in writings not only by academic societies, missionaries, and colonial bureaucrats, but by travelers and merchants as well. It was from the Western privileged position of conqueror that colonial subjects were essentialized into stereotypes, thus reducing their uniqueness, complexity, and humanity into caricatures devoid of individual subjectivities and social experiences. The historically "real" specificities of the Orient are thus obliterated. The non-dialogical character of the Western representation became an oppressive textual harangue as it was underwritten by the force of its power over the "Other." To quote Said (1978), in Orientalism:

> only an Occident could speak of Orientals…just as it was the White Man who could designate and name the coloreds, or nonwhites. Every statement made by the Orientalists or White men (who were usually interchangeable) conveyed a sense of the irreducible distance separating white from colored, or Occidental from Oriental; moreover, behind each statement there resonated the tradition of experience, learning, and education that kept the Oriental-colored to his position of object studied by the Occidental-white, instead of vice-versa. Where one was in a position of power…the Oriental belonged to the system of rule whose principle was simply to make sure that no Oriental was ever allowed to be independent and rule himself. (as cited in Easthope & McGowan, 2004, pp. 58-59).

While Said supported his critique of "Orientalism" by using texts that were produced within the history of 19th century British imperialism, the American Orientalist representation appeared a century after, via the electronic medium of cinematic reproduction. This appearance coincided with America's rise as a superpower in world politics. This writer believes that the Orientalist doctrine prevailed in America's colonies, this time caricaturing the humanity of the Filipinos, America's new colonial subjects, into the same Orientalist mold.

The Orientalist Narrative of Abducting Women as Brides

The narrative of *Zamboanga* revolves around a clichéd trope of the Western world, i.e., the abduction of women from the *seraglio*. Popular in European imagination during the second half of the 18th century, seraglio stories are to be understood within Western Europe's ambiguous perception of the Moslem Ottoman Empire, the "Other."[5] Plots of these stories, which were the subject of many operas[6] (then one of the major forms of public entertainment in the 18th to 19th centuries in burgeoning Euro-American cities), center on the rescue of an abducted heroine from the Court of the Other. Though the trope originated from a far away place (i.e., Western Europe), the mimicry of the narrative template in *Zamboanga*, i.e., the reunion of lovers after abduction, is unmistakably evident. What is Orientalist here is how signs indexing "Oriental" places can be freely substituted for each other, thus revealing tokenism, historical inaccuracies, and the insidious stereotyping. No effort to understand local knowledge was ever attempted on the part of the producers.[7]

Zamboanga tells about the raid and capture of the tribal headman's granddaughter named Minda Mora (played by Rosa del Rosario) by a strongman from a neighboring tribe named Hadji Rasul. This story is not new. The mythology of Minda Mora was already articulated in the earlier musical theater *sarswela* that librettist Severino Reyes produced in the 1910s. Jose Nepomuceno's *Brides of Sulu* of 1931 also contained the same story (San Diego Jr., 2011).[8] The abduction in *Zamboanga* was personally motivated, i.e., caused by Minda Mora's rejection of Hadji's lustful advances. In the rescue of Minda Mora, Hadji was killed fighting with Danao (Fernando Poe, Sr.), the fiancé of Minda Mora. Danao, the main protagonist of the film and therefore the antithesis of the evil Hadji, is a handsome pearl fisher who led the headman's (Minda Mora's grandfather's) fleet.[9]

Framed as "Western romance" and meant for the emerging global film market, the movie's narrative contradicts what is known about traditional relations between men and women in Southeast Asian and Philippine culture. It is odd to conflate Minda Mora's representation with that of a sensual bride from a Turkish harem. In indigenous Philippine culture, she is supposed to be a princess, the overprotected granddaughter of the noble Datu Tanbuong, at least as historical ethnographic research would allow our interpretation.[10] It is thus outrageous to see her Western countenance (*mestiza* features, hair style and eyebrows reminiscent of Hollywood actresses) and her behavior in the Moslem prayer scene from which she and her fiancé gleefully sneak out,[11] and later, her kissing scene with her fiancé, Danao, underwater, in the sea diving scenes.[12]

Her transgressive demeanor is also demonstrated in a scene in which she and Danao hold hands in public, specifically in front of an American missionary nun! Except for the traditional garb, the romantic mode of the movie makes a travesty of a "native" Southeast Asian woman. In the film, Minda Mora is a liberal creature from Western Hollywood.

The motivation of Hadji Rasul, who is depicted as the "cruel, lustful ruler of the Island of Toa," (De Castro, 1937) to abduct Minda Mora also goes against what is known about inter-tribal politics, raiding, and warfare. In the history of archipelagic Philippines, this normally occurred between acculturated coastal communities and sea raiders, the Moslems from the South. In *Zamboanga*, the latter were stereotyped as barbaric sea gypsies, a representation that was fortunately rescued, some twenty years later, in the non-Orientalist film by National Artist for Film Lamberto Avellana's *Badjao* (1957).[13] Going back to *Zamboanga*, Hadji Rasul, who belongs to the sea-raiding group, abducts Minda Mora because of a personal motivation, exacting vengeance because his "lustful" advances to her were unrequited and because he lost in the carabao race which had been held in honor of his adversary, Danao.[14]

One of the highlights of the movie is a festival, which is a cross-cultural encounter between settled coastal Moslems and the sea-dwelling ones. The festival is done in honor of Danao and Hadji is present as guest. In the sequence, traditional songs, dances, games (cockfighting and carabao fighting), including non-traditional circus-like fire-eating acts are shown. We know that live musical theater *sarswela* and Hollywood exploit festive scenes like these for the spectacle and noise they provide viewers' eyes and senses. But no betel chew exchange between hosts and guests occurred, which would have been more appropriate.[15] A clownish dwarf who arrives at the festival grounds on a sedan chair and replete with multi-tiered parasol, is part of Hadji Rasul's retinue.

In a scene before this festival, the viewer learns that Hadji is a client of a renegade American who seems engaged with clandestine economic speculation business. Hadji reveals his plan of giving a gong as a gift to Datu Tanbuong during the festival, scheduled for the following day, in exchange for securing Minda Mora as bride for himself. But Hadji's visit turns sour as mentioned above.

Although we do not see Hadji offering the gong to win Minda Mora's hand, the film contrasts Danao and Hadji as competitors in their pursuit of Minda Mora—a trite Hollywood love-triangle formula. Danao gives Minda Mora a gift of pearls (in the beginning of the film), objects that link this film to the more successful 1932 Hollywood movie *Tabu*, which was set in French Polynesia.

As hinted above, *Zamboanga* has so many similarities to *Tabu*, from scenes of playful maidens frolicking in river streams and waterfalls to the graceful bodies of pearl fishers underwater. To my knowledge, pearls do not have traditional symbolic value in the Philippine Islands (in contrast to gongs and porcelain, which do). But these were trade objects exported out of Sulu (which was indeed famous for them) into the *Nusantara* by Chinese merchants since the 15th century (Scott, 1994). In contrast, Hadji gives a gong that, although not shown, links him to the ancient Southeast Asian world of exchange. But because the film is Orientalist, the producers are blind to this symbolic act of exchange of a gong for a bride, an undervaluing that is a parallel to the erasure of the betel nut exchange, which is only shown as a static picture in the film's prologue. This should have been emphasized as central to intergroup relations in Southeast Asia.

Zamboanga's narrative is obviously Orientalist because it is a tokenist and one-sided view of others, determining how its subject, the Moslems of Mindanao, are represented. In the film, the Orientalist cinematic narrator triumphantly speaks a monologue over the Moslems, unethically misattributing American values to the subject, thus silencing the subject's integrity and ability to speak for itself.

To understand more as to why *Zamboanga* is Orientalist, it would be instructive for us to go into the (self-related other) ideology that explains why Hadji, his gong and his otherness have been erased in the film.

The text which opens the film *Zamboanga* makes it clear that the film is about two warring tribes, one of which has tried to forget its barbarism by no longer practicing sea raiding (the protagonists' side) and one which still does. Hadji stands for the latter, i.e., the undomesticated Southeast Asian face and its barbarism, at least from the Americanized point of view. The protagonists—Datu Tanbuong, Minda Mora and Danao—are Moslems who no longer practice raiding because they have all grown up in a multi-ethnic place where Christianity co-exists with the Moslem religion, which we see in the film, e.g. in the presence of a caucasian Catholic nun, a missionary. Consequently, we notice bi-cultural socialization in which Moslem children read the Koran as a part of their lives and, alternately, attend a Catholic school managed by the nun. Historically, *Zamboanga* can be imaged, drawing on the notion popularized by Pratt (1992), as a "contact zone" because it has been an entrepot, a melting pot of various ethnicities due to an economic imperative: trade.[16] After all, the *lingua franca* of the place (though now endangered by Visayan and Tagalog supercultures) is creole Spanish termed *Chavacano*. Once a Spanish colonial outpost, Zamboanga became the seat for the administration of Moslem Mindanao during the American period.

The position of the narrator is thus "historically naturalized" to articulate a point-of-view from Minda Mora's people. The film represents them imbued with a Protestant ethic: always busy, hardworking, and happily living in an island that has an affinity with the multi ethnic pluralism that characterizes the "real" Zamboanga. These people do not form a threat to the American colonial order. They contrast with Hadji's molesting, "lustful" image that threatens the American-painted paradise where Minda Mora and her people reside. It is interesting to note that the film includes a renegade American in the cast. However, this American character is not Protestant, but the opposite because he is in league with the evil Hadji. By adding this renegade character, the film emphasizes all the more the allegorical danger attached to outsider nomadism: which spells a predatory face to what is a self-contained economy in paradise where people drink coconut juice and chew betel nuts; where women bathe and play in river steams under the heat of the tropical sun all year round (as the voice over says "with no snow to shovel and water bills to pay!") and comb each other's hair; where people fish pearls, but always run amok when induced to rage.

All these essentialist, binary oppositions between (1) the co-opted, "American-civilized," smiling natives of Minda Mora's and Danao's people living in a place that is in America's own image of Zamboanga and (2) the frowning, sexually assaulting villain Hadji, always feted with pleasurable food by his harem (the concubines), constitute the ideology that informs the quite obvious Orientalist perspective of *Zamboanga*. The audience of the film identifies with the "us" and is taught to despise "them," the menacing, undomesticated Other who belongs to the "barbaric" sea gypsy group. As represented, they raid or thieve upon other people's property. Ruling American ideology has fabricated this myth.

In the end, the self triumphs over the Other. In the ending sequence when Danao tries to rescue the enslaved Minda Mora, the renegade American is killed while the evil Hadji is devoured by nature, his abode. This is represented by the image of one of Hadji's men being strangled by a boa constrictor in the forest and Hadji being consumed by the crocodiles in the river shortly thereafter. The contrast between the idealized paradisiacal culture and the untamed barbarity of adversarial Moslems who are outside of the American-dominated colonial culture thus enables the slippage of outsiders into its reference as "wild nature," rendering them into voiceless creatures. This ideology misattributes Moslem cultures around the Zamboanga peninsula, dividing them according to the dictate of American rule into "good" and "bad" people. As in any Orientalist representation elsewhere, it makes a static caricature of indigenous peoples

who have been exchanging peacefully amongst themselves since ancient times. But in this particular modern historical colonial moment, one is favored over the other, with "good people" reflecting the desired American self and the "bad," the reverse. As an Orientalist spectacle, *Zamboanga* renders the differences of cultures into abstract and timeless entities. It is interesting to note that in the opening credits, only the protagonists deserved to be named. The anti-hero Hadji and the renegade American are not.

Music of the Imagined Paradise

Given this Orientalist ideology of the narrative, how do the musical score and the soundtrack of the film fare?[17] Did the musical score, originally composed by the Hollywood-based Hungarian-American Dr. Edward Kilényi, Sr., also project the Orientalist message of the narrative? In what specific ways, given the nature of music's potential to signify, can this articulation be made manifest?

Like *Tabu*, which is *Zamboanga's* exemplar (Deocampo, 2011), the musical scoring of the movie, or what is referred to by film scholars as "extradiegetic," is starkly conventional, which means that it uses standard 19th century symphonic music. Therefore it is not Orientalist because it does not contain innovative effects (the use of pentatonic or whole tone scales, unusual intervals, incorporation of non-conventional orchestral instruments, and so on) that would mark the sound as exotic (Scott, 2003). In other words, the film score merely followed the conventions of live musical theater and silent film music and did not offer "musical Orientalism," which prescribes, via the "exotic musical devices," the "othering" of the geographical or cultural difference in the represented scenes and subjects.[18] It must be noted that this "othering" is not necessary. There are some Hollywood music scores that are able to effectively depict dramatic intensity without exoticism. The music of Murnau's

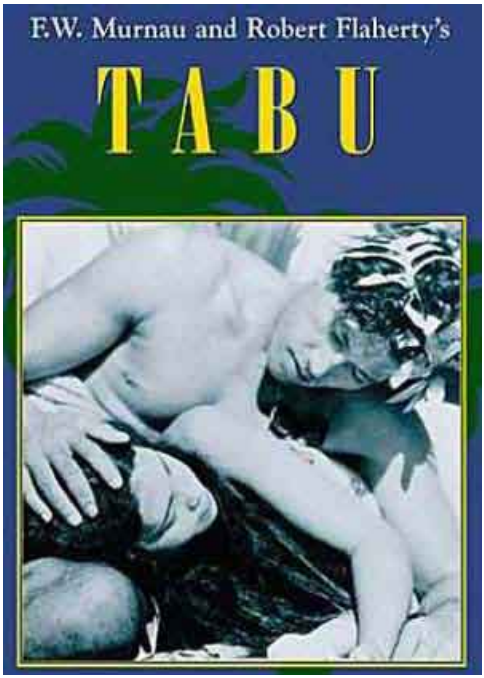

Figure 2. *Zamboanga's* probable template (Murnau, 1931).

Tabu and *Zamboanga* are good examples. These films are simply awash with lush 19th century romantic picturesque sounds. Contrast these scores with Max Steiner's Polynesian dance in the film *Bird of Paradise* (in the scene when American soldiers encounter the local islanders). In the latter, the extradiegetic orchestral sound hybridizes with the traditional driving Polynesian dance rhythm, painting a "primitivist" musical representation that is "neither here nor there" (Vidor, 1932). In short, not all Hollywood music scores depicting non-American subjects can be called Orientalist.

In *Zamboanga*, this Western symphonic music is so pervasive one could argue that its monologism renders a static musical narrativization and that this is akin to the dominating gaze of the cinematic narrator. In fact, the prologue of the movie consists of mere visuals, like a slideshow accompanied by the extradiegetic musical score that had just been mentioned. The musical score sounds like a drone, which accompanies an omniscient voice-over that flattens out the scenes into a homogenous text sign. Images of exotic scenes (more pastoral in effect than "exotic") unfold one after the other: gently swaying coconut palm tree leaves, maidens splashing in waterfalls, barely clad swimmers underwater, folkloric dancing and vinta sailing.

The opening sequence then segues to the more specific description of the peaceful paradise under Datu Tanbuong's rule. The voice-over here runs a commentary that praises the people living in it. They are contented people stuck in time, happily smiling in their idyllic day-to-day lives amidst hard work. At this point, the lush 19th century symphonic music is gone, ushering in another music index: What better way to conjure happiness in paradise than with Hawaii'an *hapa haole* music! This is the iconic lap steel string guitar accompanied by ukelele, with slow laid-back sounds in triple meter, bent pitches, slides and vibratos. Like the film from the fictional Polynesian world embodied in *Bird of Paradise*, it paints a leisurely image of the South Pacific, creating an illusion of homogeneity among Mindanao and Sulu islands that are, in fact, physically separated and culturally divergent due to religious and cultural practices. The sudden entry of this "ethnic music" (from another place, i.e., Hawaii) thus distorts geographical and cultural distance between Hawaii and Zamboanga. The sound montage is sheer Orientalism, because the insertion of the Hawaiian lap string/ukelele is used as a "sign of the place," a rhetorical sound trope that projects an "imagined" topos that is truly not indicative of the actual, existing Zamboanga. The audience is thus hailed to recognize the interchangeability of sonic signs, the meanings of which are "empty": Hawaii and Zamboanga are worlds apart! What binds them is mere American Imperial imagination. Hawaii and Mindanao are both American possessions. This, as deconstructionist Said

had argued, silences the colonized subjects (Said, 1978). A parallel oppressive cultural imperialist's gaze thus happens in "musical Orientalism," a topic that Derek Scott (2003) cogently argued in connection with European art music. This, I should say, materialized in a time when Europe was vociferously extracting slave labor and natural resources from Asian colonies! Derek Scott stated that "musical Orientalism" is inaccurate:

> *because representations rely upon culturally learned recognition*. The peculiar achievement of Orientalism is, of course, that it is **misrecognition**. Imitation aims to duplicate; musical Orientalism has little to do with **objective** conditions of non-Western musical practices (p. 174). (bold emphasis mine.)

As the "Hawaiianesque" *Zamboanga* music continues, more scenes of activities in the paradise island are seen. Then, diegetic traditional local music is heard. The most dominant of these is, of course, kulintangan music accompanying traditional sword dance. As will be shown shortly, this kulintang scene happens twice in two different narrative contexts. The rest of the diegetic music scenes are: (1) a fan dance accompanied by unison chanting (the authenticity of which I cannot decipher), (2) Moslem chanted call to prayer, (3) sound signals (such as horn and gong), and (4) lowland Christian ensemble of tremolo strings (rondalla) playing a *tinikling* melody, which serves as a prelude to the fighting carabaos scene.[19] What a conflation! A cacophony of signs. The sounds of heterogenous spaces in the Philippines are illusorily mixed into a unified homogeneity, an Orientalist excuse to add more spectacular elements—colors and sounds—into the film.

The remainder of this section focuses on the meaning of the gong music ensemble. Table 1 shows the details of kulintang numbers in *Zamboanga*:

Table 1. Kulintang Numbers in the film *Zamboanga*

Image	Sound	Source
Description of Paradise	Martial dance (using swords) accompanied by kulintang and one agung (drum not seen)	Traditional Tausug, diegetic
Festival Scene in Paradise Island	Martial War dance (using spears) accompanied by two agung, two double-headed drums, and kulintang	Traditional Tausug, diegetic

Image	Sound	Source
Entertainment in Hadji's court	Vulgar parody of Javanese female court dance with music in soft-playing style	Fabricated, diegetic

Unlike the varied traditional local music (mentioned above),[20] only kulintang music comes clearly focused to the foreground and it is diegetic, meaning it is a sound coming from the narrative situation depicted on screen. Simply put, in the kulintang scenes, one can see the sound source linked to the sound itself, thus the kulintang's presence appears realistic.

In *Zamboanga*, a Tausug kulintang ensemble accompanies two martial (war) dances. In the first, the kulintang accompanies a dance using swords and its diegetic music interrupts the dominant Kilenyi extradiegetic music that backgrounds the narrator describing the paradise. In the second, the martial music accompanies the spear dance and occurs in the festival scene mentioned in the second section of this essay, i.e., where there was an exchange of gifts.

What is noticeable in the first kulintangan clip is how it disrupts the usual Hollywood music scoring. In that sequence, it may be surmised that the musical scorer of the film, Dr. Edward Kilényi, showed a keen awareness of cultural difference; he seems to have presented kulintang music as a local document so one could focus one's attention to the sound's acousmatics, i.e., Kilényi wanted the audience to listen to the exotic kulintang sounds alone. This is also true in the second kulintang clip. In both, Kilényi did not cover the kulintang music with his music nor with appropriated music by other composers. In other words, Kilényi showed respect to local tradition in those two sequences.

The third kulintang clip, however, is problematic, because of the represented action that went with it. While the Tausug kulintang ensemble is accurately represented in the first two clips, the gong music that accompanies the female group dancing in Hadji's court is Javanese soft-playing style music. In that scene, one sees the non-synchronization of bonang sounds with the visual kulintang strokes, precisely because it is not music that is indigenous to the Sulu seas. In the context of the narrative, one can understand the intention of using Javanese here. It appears that Javanese music is used because Hadji lives in another island, though Java is too far to be part of the Sulu seas. In keeping with Hadji's antagonistic image, Javanese music is bowdlerized. The refined Javanese dance becomes a vulgar spectacle, with the renegade American in close up, watching the main female dancer's hilariously wide buttocks! The visual frame then jumps to the court eunuch mimicking the swaying dancer's buttocks. While carnivalesque laughter is obvious, the fact remains that it is an unmistakable Orientalist gaze at a sensual Asian woman, the gaze's object.

Figure 3. First kulintang clip where kulintang music accompanies a dance using swords (De Castro, 1937).

Figure 4. Second kulintang clip where kulintang music accompanies the spear dance (De Castro, 1937).

Figure 5. Third kulintang clip where the Javanese-style gong music is not synchronized with the kulintang strokes (De Castro, 1937).

The scene is unsettling for it desecrates the authenticity of Javanese music and it stands in stark contrast to the diegetic presentation of the Tausug kulintang. Thus, from the way the two traditional gong music scenes are

taken as sign—representations of non-Western exotic music (Sulu Tausug vs. Central Java), a difference in the kind of portrayal is evident. It appears that the diegetic Sulu Tausug gong music is represented as an authentic ethnographic sound document, in constrast with the second, which is a fabricated dance accompanied by a recorded Javanese music in soft-playing style. In short, a clear articulation of the binary opposition between the Tausug self (represented by Minda Mora's people and Danao) versus Javanese outsiders (represented by the "evil" Hadji) is made. In effect, the juxtaposition of geographically different music, between the authentically proper and the vulgar and lewd, emphasized all the more the film's mythic narrative between Zamboanga and what was outside of it. As this notion does not pertain to Kilenyi's originally composed musical score, we can, at this point, definitely aim our critique at the market-driven collaboration of the Filipino-American agents who conspired to exploit music from other cultures and, in the process, misrecognize them.

The Myth of the Amok

The ironic contrast between gong music as document and as fantastically made-up object is reflected at another level, i.e., in the subtitle of the film itself, "Fury in Paradise." If natives in paradise are happy all the time, then it is an undoing of the Orientalism just discussed. But sometimes the natives can get angry, especially when provoked. In the film, this anger is caused by the abduction of Minda Mora, whose loss metaphorically means a threat to the continuity of her people's culture. This structural parallelism in the narrative can be read in the juxtaposition of scenes: as Danao in the deep sea extracts the pearl from nature for his bride, Hadji is in the process of stealing Danao's beloved on land, in paradise or in human society.[21] The technique of montage makes the allegorical parallelism clear. Then, a solar eclipse ensues, signifying the seriousness of the transgression that leads to the "fury in paradise," the retaliatory attack and eventual capture of the bride in the enemies' land.[22]

While the seriousness of the crime already warrants Danao's punitary expedition, the non-development of the emotional states of the characters, as if they are ruled simplistically by animal instincts or binary opposition, points to the durable stereotype of Moslems running berserk in a time of personal crisis. With this, the film continues to show its Orientalist face. In the film's narrative, the cause-effect is naively mechanical or automatic, with no intervention of the intellect that could have devised a more cunning way of capturing the bride as, say, a more realist Hollywood feature film would.

The stereotype of Moslem Malays running amok is a very old trope for representing Malay social behavior, judging from the fact that it had entered the

British dictionary as early as the 16th century. In relation to *Zamboanga*, running amok applies to both "civilized" coastal people and "barbaric" sea gypsies. It is essentially reductionist, pigeonholing people into fixed decontextualized categories or stereotypes. What is insidious with stereotype is that it does not portray subjects with agencies that can enable them to go beyond or against the type constructed of them. And thus, after some twenty years, it is a relief to watch an alternative to this stereotype, in Lamberto Avellana's *Badjao* (1957), the non-Orientalist film also about the sea gypsies. This undermines the stereotyping between the land-dwelling Moslem Tausug and the sea gypsies or Badjao. In that film, which combines ethnographic realism with human drama, the heroine decides to transform herself, becoming a sea gypsy, thus discarding the stereotype she herself carried as a "brave and arrogant" Tausug vis-à-vis the lowly sea nomad Badjao.

Figure 6. Clip from Badjao (Avellana,1957). Retrieved from http://mubi.com/films/badjao.

Clearly, then, the stereotype of furious Moslem Malays is deeply entrenched in the Euro-American historical imagination, at least since the British first encountered Moslem Malays. Later, the Americans inherited this perspective of the "Moros" who inhabited their South Pacific colony. In the 1904 St. Louis World Exposition, Americans labeled the 80 Moslems brought to the American Midwest as people whose culture lies between the categories of "barbarity" and "civilization," i.e., they were quite different from headhunters and dog-eaters from the Northern Cordilleras who were supposed to be "below" them (for the Moros have supposedly reached a higher stage of development through their contact with Islam), but not yet quite at par with the Christianized Visayans.

The Moslems were "civilized," but retained some savagery because they were considered ferocious. Benito Vergara Jr. (1995) interprets this classificatory labeling of peoples in the Philippines as a means of legitimizing their imperial state's presence in the Philippine colony, justifying its need to continue with its "civilizing mission" or "manifest destiny" in the newfound colonial possession.

By subtitling the film *Zamboanga* with "Fury in Paradise," the older trope representing Moslem society is invoked, creating a slippage in representation or a doubling of its effect. In the initial differentiation, it was between the people in paradise and the villainous guests from the neighboring island. In the second (broader) level of meaning, the trope can also be taken as between "us" (the Filipino majority) and "them" (the Moslems), conflating the two ethnic groups versus the audiences' selves.

Figure 7. Posters of Filipino films with Moslem characters. *Aguila* poster (left) retrieved from http://cinemarionnie.blogspot.com/2012/03/aguila-1980.html?m=1; and *Bagong Buwan* poster (right) retrieved from http://video48.blogspot.com/2008/11/movies-of-marilou-diaz-abaya.html?m=1

It should be noted that the stereotype of semi-civilized, but angry Moros did not evaporate into thin air after the film *Zamboanga* was produced and shown in theaters, both in the Philippines and abroad in 1938. The same trope is still evident in recent Tagalog films that deal with Moslem subjects. The unexpected murderous rampage in a scene in Eddie Romero's epic film *Aguila* (1980) is one example. The running berserk ending in Marilou Diaz Abaya's *Bagong Buwan* (2001) is another. While these Filipino films are not Orientalist

given the narratives they convey, the fact that the ferocious Moslem image remains suggests how deeply entrenched the stereotype has become. I am sure it was films like *Zamboanga* of 1937 that, expressing the Orientalist hegemony, established or reinforced the stereotype. Its trace lingered in the minds of colonized Filipinos and continues to do so today.

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Notes

[1]Canadian composer McPhee occupies an important place in the history of Western encounter with Southeast Asian gong music. He influenced British composer Ben Britten who appropriated *gamelan* music to his compositions. McPhee's sojourn in Bali was pioneering, distinguishing it from Debussy's brief encounter with gamelan in Paris in late 1880s. Because of its authenticity, McPhee's creative composition output has been spared of strong critiques for its Orientalism. His encounter with Southeast Asia has been compared to the works of other American composers such as Henry Cowell, Lou Harrison, and John Cage. For an illuminating article on the use of gamelan music vis-à-vis homosexual subjectivity, see Brett (2006).

[2]G. Harris was once a producer of eminent Hollywood director Franck Capra.

[3]In memory of his father (who played the role of Danao in the 1937 *Zamboanga*, the popular "FPJ" (Fernando Poe, Jr.) made his own version of *Zamboanga* in 1966 (directed by Efren Reyes) (Video 48, 2008). I was not able to view this film and no references to it will be made here.

[4]Father of noted American pianist Edward Kilényi, Jr., E. Kilényi, Sr., was born Ede Kilényi on 25 January 1884 in Békésszentandrás, Austria-Hungary (now Hungary). He received a BA degree from Hungarian State College, went briefly to Rome to study with Mascagni, and to Koln, Germany from 1905-1908 for his violin studies. After Germany, he came to the USA in 1908, became a US citizen in 1915, and did graduate study in music under composer Mason at Columbia University. He joined ASCAP in 1927, was a music director for film theaters in New York, and composed and arranged for and supervised Hollywood studios' music departments from 1920 to 1948. He also worked in Sam Fox Publishing company. Aside from Zamboanga, the score of which is not listed in the Florida State University music archive, IMDB lists his entire 26 score compositions, notable works of which were Marlene Dietrich's *Die Frau*, *nach der Man sich Sehnt* (1929), Harold D. Schuster's *The Tender Years* (1948), and a later scoring for the first feature length comedy film – Charlie Chaplin's *Tillie's Punctured Romance* (1914, rescored 1938), retrieved from http://m.imdb.com/name/nm0452992/. Kilényi Sr. died on August 15, 1968 in Tallahassee, Florida, USA. His personal collection of composition manuscripts and memorabilia are now in Florida State University Library (Edward Kilenyi, n.d.1).

[5]This is ambiguously utopic (hence desirable) and threatening or despicable at the same time. The Ottoman Empire lost the invasion of Vienna in 1683 (Mackenzie, 1995a).

[6]For example, by Joseph Martin Kraus, Gretry, and, of course, W.A. Mozart's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*.

[7]Compare this with the non-Orientalist treatment of the subjects of Robert J. Flaherty's silent films--*Nanook and Moana*—both real people in all senses of the word.

[8]It is ironic to call these "Filipino films" when, following my argument here, the myth is borrowed from Western Europe. But so are many things in dominant Filipino colonial culture.

[9]It seems to me that the absence of Minda Mora's parents and Danao's reveals a social value for elders who are symbols of village polity. There is no indication they are orphans.

[10]In an interview, Carmen Abubakar states that unmarried daughters in Moslem society, referred to as *palangga* ("cared for") were zealously protected by their parents from outsiders. Once married, however, they were free to participate in public life, and some mature women even assumed leadership. Using historical accounts by foreign observers such as Dampier and Wilkes (as cited by Abubakar, 2005). Abubakar said that "women's quarters (wives and daughters) were always separate." Wilkes noted that the apartment of the wife of the datu was screened off "and the same was true with the sultan's wife and her attendants... Young girls were usually kept away from the sight of men" (p. 5). This parental protectionist stance towards females in the household is parallel to the concept of *binokot* (referring to daughters) among other Philippine cultures where they were physically "cloistered" from the outside world (Scott, 1994) .

[11]I thank the reader of this essay for pointing out these obvious visuals.

[12]These underwater scenes are so strikingly similar to that in the 1931 film *Bird of Paradise*.

[13]Avellana's film *Badjao* is not Orientalist because it is relatively accurate ethnographically and its fictional dramatic narrative is processual and redemptive, demonstrating human agency that goes beyond static stereotyping.

[14]The IMDB plot summary mistakenly claims it is a wedding between Danao and Minda Mora.

[15]Betel-chewing is a millennia-old cultural practice done during social intercourse and ritual events. Once prevalent in the Philippines (and still found among indigenous peoples and Moslem cultures in the country today), the aromatic bitter chew is a mixture of sliced areca nut wrapped in betel pepper leaf and flaked lime made of burnt shell. The practice is widespread in South Asia and Southeast Asia, and the areca nut itself (originating from Central Malaysia) reached China from Malaysia, Brunei, Sumatra and Java. For an excellent, incomparable description (regarding details) of betel chew ingredients, preparation and social uses among the Hanunuo of Mindoro Island, see Conklin (2007).

[16]Zamboanga's modern history (i.e., Westernization) began when Spanish colonial personnel (since 18th century CE) and their Christian converts/settlers encountered indigenous local cultures of the place (some animists such as the Subanon, but predominantly Moslem such as the Samalan speaking groups, Tausug and Badjao). As a "contact zone" brought about by this cross-cultural encounter, Zamboanga thus has been a pluralistic society. It was a Spanish military outpost during the Spanish colonial period, the colonial domination of which led to the development of creole language as mentioned above. During the American period, it was the administrative center of Moslem region. Chinese records from ancient times mentio it as an entrepot linking Mindanao to Sulu. During the 18th to 19th centuries, it was frequently visited by English and French travelers. For an "archeological approach to ethnic diversity of the place," see Spoehr (1973).

[17]There is a difference between the notions of "music score" and "soundtrack." The former is "extradiegetic," and it includes (1) originally composed music and (2) "appropriated score" (i.e., music composed by others but incorporated in the film). Soundtrack encompasses both music score plus other diegetic sounds.

[20]For a detailed discussion in Western art instrumental music and staged works, see Scott (2003).

[21]It seems to me that this scene was filmed in Central Luzon where wet rice-growing is concentrated.

[22]These are heard only softy as they are "covered" by Kilényi's extrediegetic music score.

[23]For this, the film again refers to its progenitor film *Tabu* where the pearl is also symbolically equivalent to the value of the main heroine.

[24]The intertextual resemblance of this dark scene with that of Murnau's *Tabu* is unmistakable.

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