

# POST-APARTHEID CINEMA

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## Introduction

Consider two strategies of musical representation for two very different South African-set films. In the first, an unjustly reviled extraterrestrial and his son return to their rusty spacecraft marooned above a dystopian Johannesburg—cueing a fervent high-tenor voice singing a wordless lament, replete with the Islamic-influenced microtonal inflections that characterize West African vocal styles, on a slow-moving bed of minor-key strings. The film is Neil Blomkamp's *District 9* (2009), and its Canadian composer, Clinton Shorter, drafts in Guinean-born singer Alpha Yaya Diallo for an empathetic portrait of the stranded aliens. Diallo's voice, like all voices, is at once universal—an expression of human commonality—as well as bound up with a specific identity, the West African characteristics signifying difference. If Shorter/Blomkamp seek to promote audience sympathy with the actual aliens in *District 9*, the film's real, far more viciously imagined 'others,' Nigerians in Jo'burg, are very differently characterized with music—this time with diegetic kwaito, an urban South African house/rap hybrid that developed in the first decade of the post-apartheid era. Signifying energies around the music (that it is tough, aggressive, provocative, a celebration of heterosexual masculinity and consumption) are used to characterize the Nigerians, who are portrayed—through visual images and dialogue—as criminals, cannibalistic, overly sexualized, and barbarous. At the same time, the music is re-inscribed with the negative characteristics linked to the Nigerian characters.

Taking the film as a whole, it is an incongruous characterization: the signifiers detached in odd ways from their usual signifieds—West African singing for the actual aliens, South African kwaito for the West African illegal aliens—a somewhat confused musical characterization that might serve to draw our attention to issues of musical representation in film more broadly, parodying mainstream cinema's approach to representations of difference.

The second example: Italian-born composer Dario Marianelli's opening cue for *Goodbye Bafana* (dir. Billie August, 2007), a film about the relationship between Nelson Mandela and his white gaoler, exemplifies a far more common representational strategy, setting up a distinction between an indigenous music and a more generic kind of film music. Out of the black screen, the voice of Latozi Mpahleni, a well-known Xhosa musician performing under the name Madosini, distant in a cloud of reverb, is placed on top of a bed of minor-key strings, and an electronic, delay-effected marimba ostinato. The sound of Madosini's *umrhubhe*, a Xhosa bowed instrument that is scraped with a stick and uses the player's mouth

as a resonator, is just audible in the misty texture, though its subtle melody of harmonics cannot be made out above the sound of the accompanying strings. As the film's first image fades up (a shot of a boat in Cape Town harbor being loaded with supplies to be taken to Robben Island, where Mandela is imprisoned), Marianelli's string orchestra, far drier in terms of reverberation, swells on the soundtrack, effacing Madosini's music. While the Xhosa music is used to set the scene, the string orchestra takes over, setting up an implicit conceptual distinction between the two musical worlds: Madosini's music—essentialized, archetypal—is seemingly frozen in a distant African past, while Marianelli's orchestral music—composed at times in imitation—is upfront and dominant.

The post-apartheid period, characterized as both a period of profound social change and of stasis, provides a useful laboratory for an analysis of film music's entanglement with culture. As the continent's last country to gain independence from minority white rule, the 'new South Africa' arrived after a long and brutal history of colonization and apartheid's comprehensive attempt at racial social engineering. A wide variety of music—a near-constant presence in the films produced in this period—is, in part, a reflection of the wide cultural diversity of the represented communities and of the importance of music in the lives of many South Africans. However, it is worth starting with the obvious: cinematic representation cannot be equated with reality, and every instance of music on the soundtrack is the result of a conscious pairing of image to sound; an active, purposeful construction that is the product of established industrial processes and signifying practices. It is these processes and practices in the context of cinematic representations of South Africa, its communities, and musics, that this chapter investigates.

This chapter also considers the often-complex transnational collaborative processes behind the production of a film's score. Film-music theorists, until fairly recently, have tended to overlook the ways in which the intrinsically collaborative processes that produce a film's soundtrack can have a profound influence on the resulting music, its relation to image and narrative, and the ways it may be understood by audiences. Even less well-considered are the ways in which these processes play out across geopolitical borders, as has characterized the production of much of post-apartheid film music. Interviews conducted with the composers—two Canadians and a South African—of the film I use as my primary case study in this chapter, *Proteus* (dir. John Greyson, 2003), reveal how contingencies of the score's production profoundly shaped the music and the representational information it carries.

### Markedness and Film Music

Following James Buhler's suggestion (2014: 220), I borrow the terms "marked"/"unmarked" from Robert Hatten as a way of exploring how indigenous, vaguely, or wholly invented vernacular musical material appears as a foreign text—with a narrower range of meanings—within the context of a film's 'neutral' musical style as a whole. Hatten describes a theory of "markedness" as follows:

Markedness deals with one dimension of musical meaning, that which arises from difference [ . . . ] Difference implies opposition, but the oppositions that are characterized by markedness are typically asymmetrical: one term is marked (with respect to some value or feature), and the opposing terms (or field) is unmarked.

(2004: 11)

From cinema's earliest days, drawing from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European and American musical conventions, films have used accented or marked musical sound to distinguish particular settings or characters from those associated with comparatively unexceptional, unexotic, and unmarked musical idioms. Claudia Gorbman has described how such processes operate ideologically through the role musical stereotypes have played in cinema's representations of non-Western others (Gorbman 2000). "Sound-tags" (Slobin 2008: 9) for the musical representation of "Turks, Chinese, Scots, and generic peasants" have tended to be all-purpose and generic in the use of simple, pentatonic melodies, rhythmic repetitiveness, and open fourths or fifths (Gorbman 2000: 236). Gorbman shows how the musical clichés for representing Native Americans in the pre-Second World War western genre emerged from popular nineteenth-century theatrical entertainments, and from there were reiterated in the silent-movie music anthologies produced by the film studios for accompanying musicians to play from.

The two juxtaposed cues that open D. W. Griffith's silent epic *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) provide an odious early example of this kind of approach. The stereotypically marked cue that Joseph Carl Breil wrote for the film's opening sequence, showing a group of African slaves arriving in America, bears little to no relation to any actual African musics. Instead, Breil makes use of a generalized exotic music to evoke primitivism and a sense of danger and fear represented by the Africans in America, contradicting white and black characters through musical signs. The elaborate, goal-orientated functional harmony of the Protestant hymn-style music that follows immediately afterwards establishes a marked relationship between the musical worlds—the possibility of any actual African music is displaced, and replaced by a generalized stereotype.

While stereotypical representations of Native Americans were gradually phased out of westerns during the second half of the twentieth century—replaced by more complex and sometimes sympathetic representations, as Gorbman has shown—the practice of othering with music, as well as the homogenization of music from very distinctive ethnic groups, has persisted (Slobin 2008: 23).

In an account of her role as an advising ethnomusicologist helping to imagine an indigenous music for the depicted fictional creatures, the Na'vi, in James Cameron's *Avatar* (2009), Wanda Bryant provides an example of the endurance of such scoring strategies in contemporary filmmaking practice. Bryant quotes the film's producer, Jon Landau's description of what composer James Horner's score was aiming for: "to resonate traditional film sensibilities, but also to introduce a new culture [. . .] and to make it part of the score" (Bryant 2012). Bryant goes on to discuss the anxieties experienced by the producers of the big-budget film in relation to the use of indigenous musics. It was deemed important to create a convincing musical representation of the time, place, and culture in which the film is set (even if entirely imagined), but unusual, foreign, indigenous music—"radical departures in musical style"—risked alienating the mass audience the producers of the big-budget film were anxious to reach (Bryant 2012).

Bryant quotes Horner's justification for the way traditional film-music codes and styles, "in the interest of storytelling" and in order to "have heart," had ultimately to take precedence over the imagined vernacular:

I couldn't go off into some weird world and present a whole new scale system or a whole new theme system; I had to try to glue everything together [. . .] No matter

how dense it is on the screen or how alien it might be, there is a thread in the music that keeps it grounded for the audience so they know what is going on and how to feel.

(James Horner, quoted in Bryant 2012)

Horner's implication is that it is primarily only the contemporary orchestral film style that dominates *Avatar's* musical soundtrack, the language of which is rooted in the late- and post-Romantic idiom of the Hollywood films of the 1930s and '40s, that can ensure "what might pass for universal comprehension of the moods, cultural associations, and genres it thus defines" (Gorbman 2007: 68). Certainly a century of cinematic coding of timbre, texture, harmonic progressions, rhythmic patterns, and types of melodic phrases has provided filmmakers with an easy shorthand; but equally, film music has, from the beginning, sought to expand the range of styles and codes from which it draws to rejuvenate tired clichés with new invention. As Mark Slobin notes, the "superculture," his term for hegemonic, mainstream scoring conventions, "needs variety and novelty, as well as uniformity, to survive" (2008: 60). Like spoken language, the language of film music can be seen as a work in progress, an accumulation of shifting meanings over time; it develops its various meanings by making leaps as well as obvious connections to previous films. Horner's comments, however, appear to be mobilizing a common-sense argument with the aim of shutting the doors to any further migrant musical idioms.

Horner's approach is one that persists in contemporary representations of South Africa, most recently in the big-budget biopic, *Mandela: Long Walk to Freedom* (dir. Jason Chadwick, 2013). Alex Heffes, the film's British composer, in an interview around the time of the film's release, discusses the division on the soundtrack between 'local' music and a more generic orchestral film music:

I went to South Africa and recorded tribal instruments, percussion, flute, that could be the musical backdrop to [Mandela's] early years in the villages, and then when he has his second wedding with Winnie, then the music becomes a little more orchestral as he has the romance with Winnie and then it gets a little bit more thriller like as he's on the run. My aim was for the music to guide the audience through this emotional journey [. . .]. The score starts sparsely using African instruments and becomes more orchestral as the story darkens.

(Stone 2013)

Heffes's implication is that the so called "tribal instruments" lack the coded universalizing signifiers that would work for romantic or thriller-like sequences, but are good for local color and establishing the setting in the early rural scenes. Heffes's approach represents common practice in mainstream films set in South Africa but made largely outside the country: his orchestral music, with the addition of chiming U2-style guitar chords, presented as a kind of universalized value, the West confronting and controlling the music it marks as other, effacing and replacing the indigenous music not unlike scoring practices from the silent period.

Questions raised by Heffes's comments above are pertinent, and are not often or easily addressed. How do you create scores that neither set up asymmetrical relationships between marked and unmarked styles nor efface local musical signifiers, but which can still 'narrate' in terms of a generally accepted semiotic film-music system?

David Burnand and Benedict Sarnaker address such questions, and argue composers should err on the side of convention; too much focus on authenticity

limits the opportunities to have [. . .] music interact with the film with any dramatic potency [. . .] Although we may be able to get by in a foreign language, our range of understanding is inevitably limited by unfamiliarity. We miss the nuances and inflections that provide deeper levels of meaning [. . .] [Classical Hollywood's] ability to conjure up the impression of a place one moment, and emphasise dramatic action or make symbolic musical gestures the next, was already a convention in 1942, but is one that works even today.

(1999: 10)

In this chapter, I take issue with such critiques, arguing film music need not be an inherently neocolonial medium. In my analysis of the Canadian–South African coproduction *Proteus*, below, I aim to show how both ‘Western’ and ‘indigenous’ musical elements can be used to narrate for both the local and international audiences the film is addressed to, and both musics can be dramatically potent without setting up asymmetrical hierarchies between musics or cultures.

In relation to post-apartheid South African cinema more generally, the approach Heffes employs tends to exist in, though is certainly not restricted to, ‘outsider’ films about South Africa aimed at international audiences; in contrast, Ramadan Suleman’s *Fools* (1997), with its South African jazz/pop score by Ray Phiri, has no sense of marked/unmarked music. Phiri’s *Fools* score effectively creates a believable ethnomusicology for the film’s late-1980s township setting, while also “narrativizing,” to use Royal S. Brown’s word (1994: 16).

On the other hand, though equally free of an approach that others one kind of music, or sets up an asymmetrical musical relationship, is Jahmil X. T. Qubeka’s *Of Good Report* (2013), which does not even attempt an indigenous ethnomusicology for its rural Eastern Cape setting. Instead, the film’s music, not an original score, but consisting of excerpts taken from composer Philip Miller’s collaborations with the artist William Kentridge, sounds closer to mid-twentieth-century Soviet music—particularly that of Dimitri Shostakovich, whom Miller references explicitly—than anything ‘South African.’

In Table 25.1, I identify five broad categories for various kinds of engagements with marked and unmarked musical styles. These categories are not exclusive, and music in a single film might fit into a number of different categories at various points.

Table 25.1 Strategies for musical ethnographies

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1. *Purely ‘unmarked’ or ‘neutral’ music*

Makes no attempt to introduce South African musical signifiers. Uses a conventional set of film music signifying practices, often orchestral. Examples of this strategy include Hans Zimmer’s score for *Chappie* (dir. Neil Blomkamp, 2015) and music in *Of Good Report*.

2. *Simulated or assumed vernacular music*

Supplies film with a specially-composed score that makes use of South African musical styles, instrumentation, sampled recordings of South African musicians, or compositional techniques drawn from South African musical styles. Local material could appear more ‘organically’ composed in imitation of local styles, or dropped in as a sample. Examples can be heard in *Goodbye Bafana* (Marianelli’s imitation Xhosa music), and *Mandela: Long Walk to Freedom* (Heffes’s use of “tribal” instruments and South African voices).

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(Continued)

Table 25.1 (Continued)

3. *Asymmetrical 'marked' vs. 'unmarked' relationships*

The film's musical soundtrack sets up a marked relationship between musical worlds, whether that is between composed and preexisting music or purely composed styles. This approach sets up hierarchical relationships in which a distinction is made between a more 'neutral' style of music deemed capable of narrating ("having heart") and music for local color. Within this category can be located the relationship between the Western orchestral score and Madosini's Xhosa music in *Goodbye Bafana*, and *District 9*'s marked relationship between kwaito and emotive orchestra-backed music.

4. *Symmetrical use of vernacular and other musical signifiers*

'South African' and 'Western' styles used without setting up unequal relationships. With this approach, there is no sense of one music being able to narrate while the other simply adds color/socio-historical background. The imaginative response to musical representation in *Proteus* provides a good example and is discussed in detail below.

5. *Purely vernacular*

No sense of a marked relationship between musical worlds. As, for example, in *Zulu Love Letter* (dir. Ramadan Suleman, 2004), all music is either preexisting South African, or diegetically produced by the cast.

This brief and selective scan of some recent representational approaches in South African cinema seeks to provide a broad background and frame for my case study in this chapter. *Proteus* provides an example of a representational approach that eschews musical hierarchies between 'Western' instrumentation and film music styles on one hand, and 'indigenous' idioms and instrumentation on the other. At the same time, the indigenous and Western styles of non-diegetic music have an equally strong sense of narrative agency, providing narrative clues, mood, a sense of time and place, and identification positioning.

### ***Proteus*: A Short Case Study**

*Proteus*, directed by Canadian John Greyson (an important figure in the New Queer Cinema movement) and South African Jack Lewis, takes as its starting point a surviving court transcript housed in the Cape Town archives that details the trial for sodomy of the Khoi man, Claas Blank, and the Dutch man, Rijkhart Jacobsz, who met while both serving long-term sentences on Robben Island and who, after being found guilty, were executed by drowning in 1735. The film takes place over the preceding ten years, and imagines the story of the two prisoners' developing emotional and sexual relationship within the context of the enslavement, destruction, and dispossession of the Khoikhoi.

The film had two directors, who also wrote the script, and, in effect, three composers. The film credits for the composers at the end of the film appear as follows:

<p>Music by Don Pyle and Andrew Zealley Khoisan Music by Dizu Plaatjies</p>
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My analysis of the film's production process seeks to investigate the lurking power relationships in the language of these credits and the dispossession it implies.<sup>1</sup> The distinction it makes between two musical worlds—one all-encompassing and one ethnically specific—is

significant, particularly in light of the film's themes, namely, the appropriation of indigenous people's land and knowledge. The asymmetrical 'markedness' in the distinction seems to imply Plaatjies' "Khoisan Music" is something other than *music*, and certainly more narrowly defined than the more general "music" of Pyle and Zealley.

### Production Processes

Pyle and Zealley, based in Toronto, had composed a number of sketches by the time Plaatjies was brought onto the project by co-director Jack Lewis. Zealley and Pyle both stressed in my interviews with them that they were "mindful" (Zeailey's word) of issues of cross-cultural borrowing and approached the project with sensitivity. Pyle told me they were conscious of the kind of cross-cultural appropriations 1990s bands "like Deep Forest" were engaged in,

where a Western beat was sort of slapped on [. . .] whereas we were really wanting it to be more seamless and invisible and in a way kind of 'hands off'. But it was sort of 'hands off' and 'hands on' [in the end] and in a way it was really Dizu that did what were his inspirations in the moment based on these vague instructions—well some of them were vague, some of them were specific.

(D. Pyle, *personal communication*, 2012)

Pyle and Zealley never physically met with Plaatjies or, according to Pyle, "even had a conversation" with him—the Canadian composers remained in Toronto, Plaatjies in Cape Town—and instead used the film's directors (non-musicians) as intermediaries.

This was not disputed by Plaatjies when I interviewed him, though he struggled to remember working on the film and said he had never seen it. He did, however, say it was likely to have proceeded along the lines of other film-music collaborative recording projects he has been involved in, which were, he says, "a mixture of them saying 'we've got these parts, it goes like this, can you create music out of that?' and me coming up with my own ideas" (D. Plaatjies, *personal communication*, 2014).

Once the recordings of the indigenous instruments had been completed, they were sent to Toronto to be worked into the score by Pyle and Zealley, who approached the score in a similar way to the way they had worked together on previous projects, "which was," Pyle said, "basically to use it as raw material and to reconstruct it into something that would fit the film" (D. Pyle, *personal communication*, 2012).

Pyle goes on to describe how the "raw material" from South Africa was used:

So we basically resampled and re-edited everything we received, so none of the performances you hear from Dizu are as they were in their raw form [. . .] we wanted it to be invisible, for it to sound like a performance, not like an edited loop. I edited a lot of small pieces of drum performances and kelp horn to make that conform to a rhythm that [Plaatjies was] not *exactly* playing.

(D. Pyle, *personal communication*, 2012)

Pyle here describes a process that does not sound particularly "hands-off," as he himself acknowledges. The material Plaatjies recorded would be assessed and sifted by Pyle and Zealley and rearranged in their Logic session, at least partly destroying the integrity of

Plaatjies' performance and conforming the audio files according to Pyle and Zealley's taste. For Zealley,

the audio files by Dizu Plaatjies were so rich with sound and character and we used them expansively in the score. They enabled us to really deliver something aesthetically integral to the cultural setting. As well, they complied with our studio ethic of creating original samples vs sourced or stock sound samples.

(D. Pyle, personal communication, 2012)

While Pyle and Zealley's process may have complied with their studio ethic, creative agency in the production of the score was undoubtedly taken away from Plaatjies once his session was over—a questionable process not least in light of the film's themes. Evidence of a neo-colonial approach in the production of the score is, however, undercut by the music itself, which tells a more complex tale.

### Musical Symmetry

*Proteus* begins with the sound of a lightly thumbed, phase-effected electric guitar strumming an insistent G-minor chord over sparse hand percussion. It is joined by the film's most distinctive sound—and one unlike any in cinema—a kelp horn: a dried piece of seaweed played like a natural horn or a bugle, modulating lip tension to produce an array of notes in the harmonic series. At first we hear just two cracked pitches—roughly a G falling to the D below—that herald, like a broken fanfare, the film's first images: shots of the handwritten court record from which the events depicted in the film are imagined. These images are interspersed with time-lapse images of proteas, a South African wildflower from which the film takes its name, opening after fire and rain. By this point, the kelp horn's initial phrase has been imitated by the string quartet—a kind of call-and-response, with the precisely pitched and timed strings entering in imitation of the wonky, straining, loosely timed but richly emotive horn notes. These first ten seconds of the film set up a relationship on the soundtrack that is developed over the course of the film.

While a deliberate use of anachronisms in the film might suggest the filmmakers were not interested in a period score, the kelp horn *is* an instrument that appears in the historical record. There is evidence in early accounts to justify the kelp horn's inclusion in *Proteus*'s score on purely historical terms, even if one cannot know what music an eighteenth-century player might have made on it. A “trumpet” made of seaweed is mentioned by Carl Thunberg in *Travels at the Cape of Good Hope, 1772–1775*, and, writing in the early nineteenth-century, William Burchell describes a

large kind of sea-weed growing in the sea, under water [. . .] and boys, after cutting its stalk to a convenient length when dry, sometimes amuse themselves in blowing it as a horn or trumpet; but the sound, thus produced, is very hollow and dull.

(Burchill 1822: 28)

The kelp horn's use in *Proteus* at first sounds wrong and unintended: a jarring, foreign body on the soundtrack, strongly *heard* in a way that works against the principles of classical film scoring. But the kelp horn is a recurring aural motif in the film, and the strangeness of the sound soon recedes. It does not, however, function quite like a *leitmotif*. The film

makes an association at certain points between the sound of the kelp horn and Claas Blank's Khoikhoi origins. But the function of 'indigenous' instruments and music in the film is not simply to mark out an indigenous identity, or to signal Claas's point of view. Significantly, they also feature prominently in representations of the men's developing relationship.

There are three scenes depicting sexual encounters between Claas and Rijkhart, each scored in a different way. The first features strings, guitar, and kelp horn—not unlike the opening sequence. The second is scored for the quartet alone: polyphonic string textures oscillating between two unrelated key centers, a semi-tone apart, with no sense of a marked indigeneity. Aside from the instrumentation in this sequence, the music carries few conventional signifiers of 'Europe': the two key centers are unrelated in terms of functional harmony, and a world away from the colonial-period, goal-orientated harmony of a period score. The chamber-music string sound of the modified quartet—one violin, two violas, one cello—with the individual voices more exposed, is rawer than the 'warm bath,' saturated sound of the string section of a symphony orchestra more commonly used in mainstream film scores. The usual signifiers of Western rationalism and teleology carried into film by functional harmony, and the symphony orchestra and its implicit hierarchies, have here been extracted, replaced with static, cyclical patterns, challenging the usual ideas of cultural difference. If the *cantabile* viola melody gestures at more traditional 'romantic' scoring norms for love scenes, it is no more than a hint. Rather than narrating from a European point of audition, here the music is positioned more neutrally.

The third scene of intimacy between the two men is accompanied solely by *Plaatjies' uhadi*—a Xhosa, single-stringed bowed instrument. The driving, metallic-sounding music, with the overtones *Plaatjies* produces oscillating roughly between two pitches a tritone apart, sets up a tense, dangerous atmosphere—the homophobic outside world closing in. What is significant here is that the indigenous instrument is not relegated to the role of ethnic marker but signifies danger; it is 'narrativizing' and 'emotionalizing' the scene, a role mainstream scoring conventions tend to reserve for Western instrumentation and styles.

The film ends with the colonial governor sentencing the men—"to be bound together with chains and executed by drowning in Table Bay"—and they are transported on an anachronistic-looking yacht from the island out into the bay. The men stand on deck, hooded, bound together by the state until parted by death. The scene is scored with similar instrumentation to the opening: long, harmonically inert string lines, and the straining kelp horn breaking like overexerted vocal chords. It is elegiac in tone, but defiant, the key now resolutely  $D\flat$  major, and the horn playing fifths: both a rough 'Last Post,' and an epithalamium for this final state-sanctioned joining together. The kelp horn no longer sounds like a foreign body on the soundtrack but rings out a deeply felt lament for the two men. The music is cliché-free, without a trace of syrupy, mawkish signifiers of black/white hybridity or sentimental 'rainbowism,' which in South Africa often serves to mask the enduring legacies of colonialism and apartheid. The final  $D\flat$ -major chord, disappearing under the sound of the surf, signals a kind of peace: the men are finally free of colonialism's oppression, humiliations, and brutal physical punishments.

Questions of authority can rightly be raised around *Proteus's* score's production process, which proceeds in the direction of more super-cultural films in taking "raw material" and creative agency away from the ex-colony and investing it in the West. But a close reading of the film demonstrates that the end product may in certain circumstances if not justify, at least compensate for, the means. The film's re-imagining of South African history on an iconic island from a buried court transcript is achieved in no small part through its score.

The strongly *heard* kelp horn is re-sounded in the film with the capacity to *narrate* affectively, a powerful sonic metaphor for both the rewriting of a more inclusive South African biography, and a clarion appeal for more imaginative and symmetrical strategies in musical representations of the nation.

### Note

1. I interviewed Pyle, Zealley, and Plaatjies separately for this project: Pyle over the phone (London-Toronto) on 17 March 2012, Zealley via email on 21 February 2012, and Plaatjies by telephone on 9 January 2014. All three composers' quotes in this chapter come from those interviews.

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