

**'SEEING' SONG IN BOLLYWOOD: LANDSCAPE,
THE POSTNATIONAL, AND THE SONG-AND-DANCE SEQUENCE IN HINDI
POPULAR CINEMA**

by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Massive billboard advertisements dominate segments of India's urban landscape, dwarfing buildings and people residing below. Film music in numerous Indian languages echoes through streets from autorickshaws, from cars, or from numerous music shops. Indian popular cinema is one of the most visible and pervasive aspects of mass culture found within Indian public space. It dominates the production of contemporary popular culture all over India. Yet, just as Indian popular cinema has its own impact on the urban landscape, it has also sculpted another landscape – a landscape presented through endless reels of Bollywood movies, projecting a fictional Indian experience with spaces and places based on current social and economic realities.

Music begins, then building to a high crescendo. A young woman dances around her bedroom, then falls onto her bed gasping for breath. After a brief refrain in the music, we see the hero in different outfits in different settings, on a boat, in a private plane, and by his car. The music builds again as the camera pans out capturing the grandeur of the seaside landscape. The heroine wearing a white lacy dress dances across a field, as she sings "Baazigar o baazigar, tu hai baraa jaadugar." ("Gambler, oh gambler, you are a great magician") The hero approaches, riding a horse, dressed in black wearing a mask, hinting at the character Zorro of Mexican influence. He sings "Baazigar main baazigar, dilvaalon kaa main dilbar." ("Gambler, I am a gambler, I am the beloved of those in love") They dance across the lush landscape framed by the ocean behind them and play among the trees nearby, suggesting a Pacific Ocean tropical paradise. They appear on a fast-moving pleasure boat set against an endless sea. Guitar rhythms accompanied by the couple engaged in a Flamenco dance suggests more Iberian influence. The camera pans in and out circling around the couple from a distance, recasting them as the sole inhabitants of their own private world. As the music reaches the

coda, the hero dons his black costume, mounts his horse and gallops off in the opposite direction from which he came and the heroine is once again seen in her bedroom. The setting sun silhouettes his figure in the foreground. The music fades and the film narrative resumes.

Commonly known as song-and-dance sequences, these collages of song, dance, scenery, action, fantasy, humor, and spectacle are commonplace in the Indian cinematic experience. The previous narrative, an actual song-and-dance sequence from the film *Baazigar* (1994), illustrates some common motifs within song-and-dance sequences, especially how global images, motifs, and suggestions are often crazily intertwined within them. Yet like the melodrama of Indian cinema, song-and-dance sequences typically either annoy or perplex Western viewers. Among the many uses of landscape in Hindi film, the song-and-dance sequence stands out as especially seductive and compelling.

Integral to any Hindi film, the song-and-dance sequence either supplies romantic scenes, substitutes for overt expressions of sexuality, or speeds up the culmination of the love relationship, sometimes performing all these functions simultaneously. In an overview on the form and function of songs in Hindi films, Skilman (1988: 151) suggests that “the songs and dances were inserted into this pattern of formulaic coincidences with their stereotyped situations and characters to provide an emotional outlet for one of the stars, comic relief in an awkward situation, or romantic interplay, or to convey a message reflecting traditional Indian values.” These song-and-dance sequences are filmed either indoors or outdoors in a variety of locations whose decor and scenery seek to capture audience imagination. When filmed outdoors, they present a pastiche of physiographic and/or cultural landscapes. They typically use wide angle shots that emphasize vastness,

grandeur, and the aesthetic.

Although these song-and-dance sequences create and indulge fantasy, they provide a glimpse into India's economic and geographic realities. Christopher Pinney's (1995b, 1997) research on oleographs¹ demonstrates that graphic communication in India combines aspects of the religious, the political and the social. The interplay between the figures (especially numerous Hindu gods) and the landscape conform to certain conventions of representation. Landscapes within both the foreground and background of these iconographic representations become coded with the dualities of modernity and tradition. The song-and-dance sequence, as a modern cinematic complement to the "god picture", frames cinema's modern-day deities rather than brightly colored Hindu gods and goddesses. They embody this traditional symbolism, yet simultaneously convey contemporary political and social commentary as portrayed in late-nineteenth and early and mid-twentieth century oleographs circulated to mobilize popular opinion.

Research Questions

This thesis will address several basic questions:

- 1) What is the relationship between landscape within the Bollywood song-and-dance sequence and a larger imagined geography of globalization?
- 2) What are the dominant images in these landscapes?

1. The term "oleograph" encompasses many artistic forms including those known as "calendar art", "bazaar art", or "god pictures." They are chromolithographs which have the style and appearance of oil paintings.

3) How do these landscapes assist in renegotiating modernity on Indian terms?

I argue that landscapes from Bollywood song-and-dance sequences may be reinterpreted through a postnational lens which imagines India and the Indian within the global system. Within these song-and-dance sequences, the hero and heroine exert a presence in public place and space representing 'modern' Westernized Indians among either 'traditional' Europeans, 'traditional' Americans, or tribal inhabitants. The representation of place and space within Bollywood cinematic landscape is appropriated to reflect an alternative system of modernity, where modernity is not inherently defined solely as the realm of the West. Also, these song-and-dance sequences landscapes stake out greater metaphorical terrain for the Indian within the global community.

Commenting on the role of the outsider in Hindi films, Vinay Lal (1998: 231) suggests that within the song-and-dance sequence, among more pervasive sexual connotations, "the Indian adventure with 'globalization' is on display." Introducing the Indian element within metaphorical global places is balanced, however, by a retreat to the local or the traditional sphere representing the Indian. In many cases, song-and-dance sequences balance both simultaneously. Hopkins (1994: 57), writing on the cultural geography of cinematic place, suggests that "by juxtaposing signs signifying other times and spaces, therefore, film promotes expansions and compressions in the viewer's temporal and spatial sensibilities; boundaries of time and space may become permeable and blurred." Song-and-dance sequences, I suggest, provide a wider geographical imagination of the world through creatively juxtaposing different geographic scales and to paraphrase

Hopkins, expanding their spatial sensibilities. They also conform to Bakhtin's chronotope which "reference real-life situation rife with everyday associations for audiences, helping to create a sense of shared place." (Montgomery 1993: 6)

Farrukh Dhondy (1985: 131) writes that "just as the cartographers of the British Empire colored the maps red to claim them, if the exporters of Indian films marked in saffron, or light green, the territories where their product travels and is popular, we would have a map of that part of the world in which development meets underdevelopment, where a peasantry and an urban population live side by side and are often the same people." Indian cinema became one of India's leading cultural exports in the years immediately following independence in 1947, finding new fans in the Soviet Union (Lipkov 1994), Africa (Larkin 1997), and the Middle East. During the 1990s, commensurate with the rising popularity of Indian popular cinema among overseas Indians, particularly those in the United States and the United Kingdom, Bollywood films are increasingly taking diasporic communities seriously as a market (Chopra et. al. 1999). The older generation, born and raised in India but now living abroad, generally looks to film, particularly older films, with a nostalgic eye. The cinematic landscape cements and reifies memories of the past, reconstructing their ideas of the homeland. In an article in *Newsweek* about the diffusion of Bollywood cinema, Power and Mazumdar (2000) write that "globalization isn't merely another word for Americanization – and the recent expansion of the Indian entertainment industry proves it. For hundreds of millions of fans around the world, it is Bollywood – India's film industry – not Hollywood, that spins

their screen fantasies.” Indian cinema has moved far beyond the territory which nurtured it, taking its own place in the global cultural capital. Through the passage of time, it has proved resilient to the assault of Western, especially American, popular culture, preserving and even expanding its own niche in the cultural marketplace. Indian cinema remains one of the most visible public Indian cultural forms in the diaspora.

Justification and contributions to scholarship

Bollywood comprises the physical and cultural landscape of these song-and-dance sequences. Further, Bollywood occupies a metaphoric landscape within the global marketplace of ideas and cultural forms. By bringing local and global together, Indian popular cinema helps us understand how Indians construct their worlds through specific place creating strategies by combining the Indian and the Western, and also how they articulate their own interpretation and meaning of “Indian” in the age of globalization. Visual culture, such as television and films, provides one window into the collective geographic consciousness of both nations and societies.

These films attract viewers through their ability to encourage the fantastic while also offering possible alternative forms of modernity where the traditional aspect of one’s native culture is neither pushed aside nor ignored but rather is embraced. Given the expanding popularity of Indian popular cinema around the world, the role of landscape within Indian cinema deserves greater attention. The popular images of the actors and actresses not only form around spoken dialogue but also within these song-and-dance

sequences.

Other scholars have seen links between different domains of cultural meaning that converge in film. Jain (1995: 63) notes the resemblance between calendar art and cinema, writing that "this idiom [calendar art] also surfaces in cinema posters and painted hoardings (and indeed the visual treatment in certain kinds of television and cinema.)" Rosie Thomas (1995), commenting on melodrama and morality in Hindi film, approaches Hindi films as an evolution of cultural representation, as well as one component in a larger "circulation of meanings" (177). She, like Jain (1995), locates much of cinema's visual aesthetics in calendar art and oleographs. Arjun Appadurai (1990) posits a wider relationship between landscape and fantasy through his concept of mediascapes. He notes that significant disjunctures between the rural observer and the urban observer. They are "more likely ...to construct imagined worlds which are chimerical, aesthetic, even fantastic objects, particularly if assessed by the criteria of some other perspective, some other imagined world." (Appadurai 1990: 9) I bring these various combinations together through the cultural geography perspective, its treatment and interpretation of landscape, and ideas about the social and cultural construction of place. The particular context of the song-and-dance sequence depends on fantasy and spectacle, which foregrounds the landscape, presenting it as a product for consumption, encouraging us to see where we may not have seen before. The landscape, I shall show, also reflects a new reality or recreates a former one.

Limitations

I analyze my research questions within several limitations. I confine my discussion to films of the romantic genre. All genres of Indian popular cinema incorporate song-and-dance sequences, including both action films and “social” films. I prefer, however, to remain with the context of the male-female love relationship as a constant across all sequences throughout this investigation. Introducing different genres of films would preclude an accurate examination of one cross-section of the Indian film industry and its changes over the period of study. I further confine my discussion to a possible “intended reading” and make no assumption about audience perceptions. Through my theoretical conceptualization, I only offer it as one possible reading among many others possible.

I also suggest that these landscapes conform to what Stuart Hall (1980) has termed a “preferred reading” which producers construct for audiences. I also acknowledge that ultimate agency of interpretation rests with the viewer; that the Indian film as a cultural product does not inherently produce the intended effect. Mankekar (1999) argues that multiple subjectivities must be acknowledged in discerning the influence of television on individual notions of national identity, class and gender. Likewise, there are also many possible readings of landscape in the song-and-dance sequences of Indian popular cinema, each one filtered through language, social status, gender, ethnicity, and personality. Yet these sequences as cultural form employ techniques to produce specific cultural and spatial assumptions within the audience.

I only address Hindi language (“Bollywood”) cinema for two reasons: 1) my ability to understand spoken Hindi, and 2) the popularity of Hindi films across regional and linguistic boundaries within India. While Bollywood films share many characteristics with their counterparts in Tamil, Telugu or Malayalam popular cinema, because of national distribution, Bollywood films must cater to sentiments beyond region and language and must therefore accommodate difference. I employ the term “Bollywood” (a popular appellation combining “Bombay” with “Hollywood”) in reference to the Hindi language Indian popular cinema. When referring to all Indian language films in general, I choose to use the phrase “Indian popular cinema” as used by Chakravarty (1993) and Gokulsing and Dissanayake (1998) in preference to other terms such as “*masala*” or “commercial” films.

Outline of Thesis

Throughout the following chapters, I explore the significance of landscape in song-and-dance sequences, supplementing broad interpretations of landscape with examples from various song-and-dance sequences. I gradually unpack the landscape’s complexity, exploring how an imagined geography of globalization is created by engaging local and global simultaneously.

Chapter II explores how landscape within cultural geography became a site for disciplinary identity and struggle. Each new perspective that surfaced, challenging previous interpretations of landscape, offers new avenues to explore and analyze all the

variety and complexity within any given landscape. I briefly discuss two prevailing outlooks on landscape: landscape as ideology and landscape as text. Then, I contextualize these perspectives on landscape within the Bollywood song-and-dance sequence.

Chapter III presents a brief history of Indian popular cinema, outlining the trends of recent academic research in Indian popular cinema. I then consider the role of Indian cinema as a geographic agent, which both brings meaning to place as well as depicting places, even if in a fictional context.

In Chapter IV, I explore landscape representation in Indian cinema while discussing these landscapes in terms of fantasy and aesthetics. I will introduce and discuss two conceptual frameworks. The first integrates landscape, fantasy, and geographic scale, and the second focuses on the interactions between landscape and identity. The concluding chapter (Chapter V) will summarize and analyze the concepts presented in this thesis.

CHAPTER II

LANDSCAPE, PLACE, AND THE SONG-AND-DANCE SEQUENCE

The landscape as an analytic construct is a product of the Renaissance. Changing conceptions of space, the Enlightenment project, and European exploration increased the popularity of landscape painting which captured new emerging social, economic, and political relations between people and the place they inhabit.

Modern study of landscape within geography reemerged with the humanistic geography of the 1970s. Geographers adhering to this branch of cultural geography sought to distance themselves from the current trends toward quantitative methods. Mathematical models or equations could not prove or describe intangible concepts, such as place attachment, or experiential description of space and place. Since the early days of Carl Sauer and his Berkeley School of cultural geography in the 1920s and 1930s, the landscape has endured as one of the discipline's fundamental elements. The landscape gave credence to cultural geography as a discipline because culture could generate visible phenomena for study (Solot, 1986: 509). Furthermore, the landscape legitimated Sauer's belief in culture as a powerful force of change (Duncan, 1980: 188).

Yet within cultural geography, conflict arose from the dispute over culture as superorganic; was culture a force in itself, or does it act through human agents? Duncan described superorganic culture as "an entity above man, not reducible to actions by the individuals who are associated with it", further stating that "it was, moreover, this view of

culture that came to dominate cultural geography" (Duncan, 1980: 182). Culture as structure without need for human agents was introduced into cultural geography by Carl Sauer through his association with the anthropologists Alfred L. Kroeber and Robert Lowie. Kroeber viewed individual exclusion from the dynamics of culture, arguing that humans were merely agents of cultural transference. Thus, culture was not made and remade by participants, but merely transported across space (Duncan, 1980: 184). By removing the human element from culture, landscapes become structures, not capable of human alteration. A reified sense of culture would tend to make landscape more deterministic. Sauer's rejection of environmental determinism centered around his belief in human agency to alter the landscape (Solot, 1986: 510).

In this chapter, I discuss the concept of landscape and its evolution as an object of study within cultural geography. First, I explore what constitutes a landscape through the work of two cultural geographers, emphasizing their different approaches to the study of landscape. Next, I differentiate between place and landscape, two terms I use frequently in the text, specifying where they diverge and where they converge as spatial categories. I conclude with comments exploring the relationship between the Bollywood song-and-dance sequence and landscape, which I will expand upon in Chapter IV.

Landscape in cultural geography

Among the cultural geographers who have devoted their careers to the study of landscape are Denis Cosgrove and James Duncan. Both address landscape through

different perspectives, Cosgrove through the ideological and the material and Duncan through the textual. There is some degree of overlap between each perspective, yet they remain grounded in specific theoretical frameworks, Cosgrove presenting a more materialist conception and Duncan accommodating the postmodern pillar of difference.

Cosgrove (1983: 4) defines landscape as a "product of intentional human activity." He also (1985) argues that landscape is an ideological concept representing the human's perceived relations with the natural world. His perspective on landscape remains economic, presenting strong suggestions of economic determinism. Cosgrove (1985) demonstrates that the appropriation of space changed during the economic transformation from feudalism to capitalism; that shifts in modes of production translate into a new patterns of landscape. In an article co-written with Peter Jackson (1987: 96), they specifically define landscape as "a particular way of composing, structuring and giving meaning to an external world whose history has to be understood in relation to the material appropriation of land." Landscapes, in these contexts, are ways of interpreting certain bounded representations of the land created either through landscape painting or photography. How we interpret what we see, Cosgrove suggests, is conditioned by our ideological position. He does, however, allow a place for human agency. In an earlier work, he writes that "human ideas mold the landscape, human intentions create and maintain places, but our experience of space and place itself molds human ideas" (Cosgrove, 1978: 66)

Landscapes may contain ideologies from several time frames existing side-by-

side, thus "meaning attached to landscapes...incorporate the expressions of the past as well as present modes of life" (Cosgrove 1983: 9). Such references to multiple meanings within landscapes is found in the work of Doreen Massey (1984), who argued that as regions undergo successive rounds of capitalist accumulation, landscapes generated by each previous period of investment constrain the geographic flexibility of more recent periods of investment. Even though landscapes may reflect and change according to economic conditions, it is through representations of landscape that the relationships between periods of history become visible.

Cosgrove (1990) demonstrates that the visual image in landscape painting functions as a window into cultural, social and political shifts. Through his research on landscape paintings in Venice, he explores how these paintings embody the social, economic, and political transitions throughout Venice's dominance of Mediterranean trade. Urban transformations depicted in the paintings reflect the city's new wealth and international role in trade. New economic geographies and new rounds of investment appear prominently in these representations of the city's landscape. Therefore, landscape shows us not just what we should see, but what we actually can see during a particular time period, even though what we should see is filtered through an ideological lens of specific social and economic power relations.

James Duncan views the landscape as "one of the central elements in a cultural system, for as an ordered assemblage of objects, a text, it acts as a signifying system through which a social system is communicated, reproduced, experienced, and explored"

(1990: 17). This perspective is grounded in postmodernism where landscapes can be read and deconstructed to uncover the individual components of the culture they embody (Ley 1985). To think of them as texts, landscapes may also have many interpretations which Duncan (1990: 15) argues they "underdetermine their own context of interpretation."

Furthermore, the interpretations of landscapes are not independent of the ideology under which they are interpreted. As Duncan and Duncan point out, "interpretations are the product of social contexts of historically and culturally specific discourses; they are constructed by interpretative communities and they frequently, but not always, reflect hegemonic value systems." (1988: 120) Duncan (1990) argues that landscape interpretation departs from traditional cultural geography in several ways. Landscape interpretation examines the power of landscape to affect social and cultural processes. Also, the fusion of ideas needed for interpretation promotes an atmosphere of interdisciplinary cooperation. Finally, elements such as "theory-ladenness and the hermeneutic circle" affects the quality of interpretation (13).

Duncan and Duncan (1988) further postulate that landscapes impart ideology and dictate the organization of society, almost unconsciously to their inhabitants (123). Thus, landscapes are not only a product of ideology, but also a reproducer of ideology. Ideology can have unprecedented effect on landscape through the changes or repercussions it elicits. For example, in Duncan's (1990) research on the Kandyan landscape in Sri Lanka, he demonstrates how the king's ideology determined the morphology and spatial relations of temples, buildings, lakes, etc. The city's physical

layout became a living text reflecting Buddhist scripture. Creating this landscape through sacred text endorsed the king's right to rule, yet any transgressions from these scriptural sources jeopardized his position, increasing his chances of being overthrown.

Through my references to landscape, I take into account both manifestations of its geographic nature as 1) the natural and cultural environment and 2) as a way of seeing the natural and cultural environment within a specific manner of representation. Therefore, I consider traditional definitions of landscape in the human-environment context seen through the ideological definition of landscape. Throughout subsequent chapters I refer both to place and landscape. Although both are spatial concepts and ways of understanding environment in relation to self, they differ through the human perspective as observer or actor. Place "is classically conceived as bounded and circumscribed, landscape connotes openness and expanse, constituted by multifarious features and forms that stretch as far as the eye can see." (Barnes and Gregory 1997: 295)

Place blends particular arrangements of natural and cultural features in some bounded area of space with meaning and emotional investment. Place is experienced while landscape is observed. Yet within each landscape, smaller places are visible but they cannot be experienced as such by the observer. The observer may read "placeness" into those features, understanding these as places mediated through their own knowledge of place experience. Consider as an example a city intersection experienced directly as opposed to being observed on a map. The map gives us one representation, but we cannot experience the feeling of standing on this intersection *through the map*. It may

give us some idea of the geographic features we will observe but it cannot help us understand our feelings about the place.

Landscape interpretation and the song-and-dance sequence

With so many perspectives on landscape emerging within the last thirty years, can one perspective alone accurately and totally account for all the meaning embodied within any given landscape? Here, I emphasize that the question of landscape within song-and-dance sequences involves not just one specific definition of landscape, but several used simultaneously, each framing different qualities of the landscape, each bringing its specific perspective when another cannot. Cosgrove's position on the landscape as ideological proves useful because cinema incorporates the ideological, framing particular perspectives to shape self and identity. The ideological nature of landscape provides an opening to the economic and the nationalistic. Song-and-dance sequences capture or highlight the material effects of India's economic history. They capture the spatial realities of the centrally-planned economy under the Congress Party, and also today's methodical movement toward greater liberalization and the restructuring of India's urban and rural environments prompted by the movement and investment of international capital. Cinema also proved an effective media for incorporating nationalistic messages thus attempting to shape post-independence India by instilling a national ideology seeking to create Indians from numerous religious and ethnic groups.

James and Nancy Duncan's (1988) "landscape as text" accommodates the

ephemeral nature of the cinematic landscape. Because this landscape represents no specific geography, it is cinematically constructed in the same way an author creates places within a novel. While the scenes are filmed in various Indian and overseas locations, the landscape *as it is portrayed on film* only exists within this context. Fundamentally, this landscape could have been otherwise, due to script changes or other difficulties in the filming process. The landscape, in a sense, is written on the screen, with specific elements included or excluded. Power over this landscape is vested in writers, directors and producers who can create the landscape in the image they desire in the time frame they choose (Hopkins 1994, Rodaway 1994). Ultimately, landscape as text may be read or written. In the case of cinema, it may be easily erased, rewritten, and remade much more easily than any geographically-specific physical or cultural landscape.

Donald Meinig's (1979) symbolic landscape frames the cinematic landscape not for what is actually shown, but for the deeper meanings evoked. He notes that there are "landscape depictions which may be powerfully evocative because they are understood as being a particular kind of place rather than a precise building or locality." (1979: 165) Bollywood song-and-dance sequences balance both these characteristics. Any single song-and-dance sequence filmed outdoors or in a foreign locale is composed of separate components, each framing a landscape which emphasizes a certain aspect of the greater landscape. We are drawn to the flora and fauna of the natural landscape not because we know where that place is located, but because that landscape comes with a particular feeling or evocation. It stands for some other idea, whether that idea is the feeling, the

nation, or the world.

When clearly discernable overseas landmarks are prominently displayed in the landscape, this refocuses our attention away from a natural setting, itself generally without specific location, to an urban setting with specific location. Visual cues allow the viewer to refer to their mental map and simultaneously refocus their perception of scale within the scene. Therefore, a symbolic landscape stands for something other than is what we see. For example, when we see a picture of a small town Main Street, we may think of a peaceful and tranquil life in small town America. Meinig believes that these symbolic landscapes emerge from the collective representations of print and visual media. Throughout the eighty years of Indian cinema, the visual landscapes in the film through constant and continuous exposure became symbolic of either the cinema itself or of the nation itself.

To interpret landscape as ideology, text, or symbol, there must be some way to make sense of individual features, understand their functions, and unravel their hidden meanings. In his book, *The Experience of Landscape* (1986), geographer Jay Appleton provides one method to interpret landscape symbolically based on what use features within the landscape fulfill within the overall structure. He defines three major components of the landscape: (a) prospect, which he defines as anything allowing or facilitating a view, (b) hazard, a thing or person which threatens "comfort, safety, or survival", and (c) refuge, a feature which allows hiding or escape. He defines several types of landscape which privilege one of these three features: (a) prospect-dominant, (b)

hazard-dominant, or (c) refuge-dominant landscape.

Although Appleton applies this schema to landscape paintings, it presents a useful tool to viewing the landscapes from Bollywood song-and-dance sequences. These landscapes may be considered either prospect-dominant or refuge-dominant. These two classifications fit well with the realm of fantasy these scenes evoke. Most song-and-dance sequences include natural prospects such as high pan shots across long snowy mountain ranges, clear blue lakes or oceans, or vast green forests and also cultural prospects across cities, emphasizing the emerging urban landscape. For example, the song *My First Day in the U.S.A* (Pardes 1997) begins from the perspective of a plane landing with spectacular views of Los Angeles by night.

Among the types of prospects, the one most applicable here is the panorama (Appleton 1986). The panorama, a common tool in song-and-dance sequences, shows "grand uninterrupted prospects which sweep to far horizons across all or nearly all of one's field of vision." (Jakle 1987: 39) Film technology allows the viewer to see more than would be possible in a static scene. The camera may pan across the landscape bringing even more of the scene into view. In the song-and-dance sequences, these shots inaugurate the sequence's mood, clue the audience to the shift in story, and provide expressions for latent emotions experienced in previous moments. In some sense, they bring us to a higher state within the film, implying feelings of greater openness and freedom.

Many Bollywood song-and-dance sequences incorporate elements of both

prospect and refuge. Places of refuge within these scenes are not necessarily meant to hide from someone but to obscure view. Wide shots of tall grasses or fields of flowers through which the hero and heroine sing, dance, and play offer sufficient cover for impromptu retreat. Prasad (1993) offers evidence of such motifs as circumventing censor objections to overt kissing. He states that “the dancing couple retreat behind a bush or tree and after a pause the heroine emerges into the frame wiping her lips.” The landscape becomes an instrument for creating what Prasad calls the “public confirmation of the private act.”(74)

In the song-and-dance sequence *Tujhe Dekha To Yeh Jaana Sanam (Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge, 1995)*, the field of flowers in which Raj (Shah Rukh Khan) and Simran (Kajol) meet appears both at the beginning and at the end of the sequence, framing images of their European adventure in between. This song-and-dance sequence is temporally set before her impending wedding and after her trip to Europe where she met Raj. Now in Punjab, her family had arrived from London to arrange her engagement. The sequence ends with both embracing, hiding within the tall flowers. It thus becomes site of refuge away from the gaze of both family and society, where she can vicariously “escape” with her true love.

Seeking refuge need not always be because of outside influence, but rather inner ones. In the 1998 film *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai*, selected song-and-dance sequences is filmed entirely on the west coast of Scotland at Eilean Donan Castle. Used for the song *Tujhe Yaad Na Meri Aayi*, the physical and cultural landscape complement the context of the

song, in which Anjali (Kajol) is distraught over her best friend Rahul's (Shahrukh Khan) love for Tina (Rani Mukherjee). The camera follows Anjali as she takes refuge within the brick walls around this castle, retreating into a place of privacy, both framed by the landscape and yet reflective of the landscape.

Some features may incorporate both prospect and refuge together. In the song *Na Tum Jaano Na Hum* (*Kaho Na Pyar Hai*, 2000), the hero and heroine are seen briefly flying in a hot-air balloon above the rough New Zealand terrain, with shots of the ground below. As prospect, the balloon offers spectacular views of the terrain below and sky above; as refuge, the balloon is secluded, a world unto itself, beyond the confines and gaze of society.

In the growing multi-disciplinary literature on Indian cinema, certain films are analyzed and reveal specific moments in India's history. These phenomena are usually examined through sociology, anthropology, or political science, but many have their own geographies reflective of people's movement through places as well as people's interaction with places. For example, the rural-urban migration at the dawn of the emerging Indian nation-state is discussed in Raj Kapoor's *Shree 420* (1955), or in Bimal Roy's *Do Bigha Zameen* (1953). While the films emphasize the human side, these stories grow out of an actual geography and peoples' new experiences with place. In Chapter III, I examine some of the geographical themes behind Indian cinema and its literature, seeking to emphasize that cinema can both reflect geography and create its own geography as commentary on the real.

CHAPTER III

INDIAN POPULAR CINEMA AND THE GEOGRAPHICAL

In the past, cultural ethnography in India relied almost exclusively on the traditional or the primitive. Only recently has it journeyed into the world of middle and upper-class modernity. With widespread availability of television and film, particularly through satellite television, mass media has gradually lessened this urban-rural divide, bringing the images of modernity, both national and international, into the smallest, remotest villages. As India grew as an independent nation, the assimilation of mass media into the national fabric has grown with it, acting as conduit between the central government and the people, and the nation and the global community. Within the last five years, more theoretical and empirical studies describe mass media's influence on cultural forms and its concomitant influence on global flows (Appadurai 1996).

Within contemporary research on Indian cinema, there has been no substantial exploration of Indian cinema as a tool for creating geographical awareness. The geographical is often subsumed beneath the anthropological and sociological perspectives. Films depict not only relations between people and society, but also people and places. The global age depends on an individual's geographical awareness, or their knowledge and understanding about places they have never visited, but whose existence may be instrumental or at least influential in daily life. An understanding of this affects the way people relate to the outside world, unseen yet experienced on screen, and how

they define themselves in relation to this world. As noted in the last chapter, *place* is an emotional connection to a *space* in which specific meaning is invested. But as self defines and nurtures place, so too does place define and nurture self (Sack 1997).

I would suggest that cinema has enormous indirect power to create and effect place through its ability to shape and play with meaning, both within ourselves and in our daily lives. It indirectly works to create place as well as directly depicting places. Film disseminates ideas and influences imagination, which in turn affects how one think about a place, interacts in place, and moreover questions a place. For example, regional variations in cinema spectatorship reformulated India's political geography by emerging political parties based on the charismatic personality of film stars such as M.G. Ramachandran (Pandian 1992). In this chapter, I present a brief summary and history of Indian cinema from the era of silent film until today. Then, I explore the geographic nature within Indian cinema, as well as the role of space in Indian cinema scholarship.

Indian cinema: a history

Indian popular cinema has its roots in the late 19th century, when French cinematography was introduced to India. The first Indian film, *Raja Harishchandra* (1913), initiated the silent film era. The first Indian film with sound, *Alam Ara* (Hindi), was released in 1931, which was then followed by talking films in other regional languages. The major film studios in India grew in the cities of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, founded by the British under the East India Company as capitals of the colonial

presidencies of Bombay, Madras and Bengal. As seats of British power in India, they were gateways to Western ways and technologies and thus closely linked the origin and growth of film production in India with colonial-influenced modernity. Thus, cinema in India emerged from a colonial geography.

India's film industry is the largest in the world, producing films in most of the languages listed in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution. As noted earlier, Hindi popular cinema has the advantage of cutting across regional boundaries, finding success in different linguistic regions. Hindi cinema is, in fact, technically Urdu, for Urdu words (borrowed from Persian) pervade the film dialogues and titles of many "Hindi" films. According to Mukul Kesavan (1994: 246), Hindi cinema is "the last stronghold of Urdu in independent India, its last haven in a sea of linguistic bigotry." In Indian cinema's early history, Hindi films dominated the industry. Within twenty to thirty years other cinemas emerged. In recent years, film output in southern Indian languages such as Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam generally exceeds that of the Hindi film industry. Film production across many languages drives both competition and cooperation. Films that are successful in Hindi may either be dubbed or remade in another language, particularly one or more of the southern Indian languages. Likewise, regional language films with success may be remade in Hindi. However, box office success in one language does not necessarily translate as easily as do film scripts. The stories and tropes of Indian cinema may be regionally, linguistically, and ethnically specific.

Modern day Indian films represent mass-produced entertainment and are dismissed in the West as cheap melodramatic musical shows which have little plot. According to Lipkov (1994 : 193), "Indian films presented a world of elementary simplicity and clarity. Good and evil here do not mingle; they exist in pure form. Good, subjected to the blows and guiles of evil, is assured ultimate victory. Even in those rare exceptions to this rule, good is at least guaranteed moral triumph." Indian film narrative is usually simply constructed, based on a discrete and definable divide between good and evil, or what Rosie Thomas (1995) calls "the moral universe."

While Indian popular cinema does to some extent borrow Hollywood stories, it nevertheless adapts the stories to the Indian cultural context. As Nayar (1997 : 75) states, "Bollywood may extract symbols and imagery and even storylines from Hollywood, but not always its counterpart's values." By selectively adapting Hollywood stories in Indian films, Indian popular cinema recasts the story changing characters to reflect more Indian conventions. Such action not only projects Indian cultural forms on screen, but also solidifies the cinema product within a delineated nation space.

Indian popular cinema, as Ashis Nandy (1987-88) writes, remains grounded in the values and representations of Indian middle-class culture, which account for the popularity of such films as *Hum Aapke Hain Kaun*, both within India and in the Indian diaspora abroad. Each song-and-dance sequence presented in the film reflects one event, tradition or component of the traditional north Indian Hindu wedding ritual, from the flirtatious *bhabhi-devar* (older sister-in-law/younger brother-in-law) relationship, to the

playful hiding of shoes in exchange for money. Although in such films, tropes employed by the producers captured the middle-class imagination sufficiently to warrant financial success. Relative to the song-and-dance sequences, these do not differ significantly between genres of film nor between films which succeed and films which flop. Nandy's connections between middle-class culture and Indian popular cinema may suggest that producers, directors and screen writers target that particular market, which has grown significantly in both percentage of India's total population and also in terms of the amount of disposable income people have available.

Scholarship in Indian cinema

Scholarship on Indian cinema focuses primarily within several areas showing how the films are watched, how they address various concepts and how audiences interpret them. Many scholars highlight Indian popular cinema's position as 'other'; that Indian popular cinema must be viewed within the framework of its relationship to Hollywood. Even the use of the term 'Bollywood' (Bombay's Hollywood) is a postcolonial subjective term creating a hegemonic relationship between Bollywood and Hollywood, a system of Western cultural production. Rosie Thomas (1985: 120) suggests several key points. She believes that Hindi cinema (which we could expand to cover regional cinemas) should not be evaluated with respect to Hollywood, and that the pleasure derived from said cinema should not be neglected or negated in academic discourse. She further argues that where Indian cinema is seriously studied, it is usually under the Western gaze. This

“Western” gaze can include even the opinions of Indians themselves, where class consciousness and position mediate the spectator-film relationship. Criticism of Indian popular cinema is grounded on its formulaic approach, its predictability in the eyes of Western and some Indian critics. Tremblay (1996) attributes “the pervasive influence of films on the formation of social identity” to the formula or *masala* nature of Indian films, where all films include songs, dancing, comedy, drama, tragedy in varying proportions.

The geographical awareness of Indian cinema

Most human geographers agree that human experiences are both rooted in and shaped by places. Therefore, to live in place is to create it, reflect on it, and if needed, change it. In an article on the trends in current Indian cinema, Binford (1988: 84) argues that the main difference between popular cinema and the New Cinema in India is that New Cinema films strive “to project a strong sense of place, creating recognizable environments with a high degree of social and cultural authenticity, grounded in what might be called an aesthetic of ‘rootedness’.” While I do not dispute Binford’s argument concerning new cinema, I would suggest that while we do see ‘rootedness’ in new cinema, the sense of place created in Bollywood cinema promotes rootedness within a larger scale, as per its earlier agenda of defining the nation and the national character through cinema. Her use of the word ‘authenticity’ for new cinema implies the opposite for popular, or ‘inauthentic’, cinema. Representations, forms, and conventions may differ between these two brands of cinema in India, but both reflect certain degrees of

experience.

We find issues of geographical awareness in Indian cinema scholarship through the relationship between cinema and nation. Chakravarty (1993) describes how forty years of Indian popular cinema reveals the contestation and negotiation of Indian nationality. Zutshi (1993) goes back further in cinema's history arguing that ideas of Indian nationality stem from D.G. Phalke's founding of Indian cinema, where images were appropriated, constructing an Indian nationality on film along a narrow definition. According to Vasudevan (1995:305), Bombay cinema "constitutes something like a 'nation space' against the dominant norms of Hollywood." Thus, Indian *nation space* becomes a site of cultural production in this case, defined against the power of foreign cultural production. Combining the concept of nation-space and nation, Zutshi (1993) suggests that nationalism involves erecting boundaries both psychological and geographic. According to Zutshi, cinematic nation space is psychologically bound and made impenetrable to outside influences. Thus, portraying Indian nation space as a cohesive element would compel the spectator to either agree with or contest the representation. To understand this representation, Chakravarty (1993: 14) argues that "the [Indian] popular cinema's narration of the nation includes images of the nation-state through a visual shorthand of landscape, maps, particularities of dress, and utterance use to evoke feelings of identification." It is this idea I pursue through song-and-dance sequences, not exclusively to uncover the nation, but to demonstrate how this 'visual shorthand' encapsulates not only the nation, but portrays both nation and world,

emphasizing the global through creating and revealing a geographical awareness.

It was in post-independence India that overt representations and codes of nationalism emerged, particularly those which touted the Congress Party's view of Indian nationality: secularism, selective modernity, and democratic values. Post-independence Hindi film was conscious about not only casting Indian nationhood, but Indian placehood. Regional and cultural diversities, now subsumed under broader national identity, would allow Indians to feel "in place" within its boundaries. However, the place projected through popular Hindi films still remains strongly biased through certain ethnic, linguistic and political lenses. Place constructed through the cinematic lens is differentiated through these perspectives, and non-conformity or non-membership in this perspective may preclude one from feeling "in place". Indian nationality, and by extension membership within place, is primarily expressed in north Indian, Hindu, Brahmanical terms (Bandhu 1992:33). Hindi films, according to Gopalan (1997: 133) "habitually and unconsciously throws up these normalized representations of national space."

Sheila Nayar (1997: 76) writing on Indian cinema and fantasy notes that "the very notion of Indianness thus finds itself in a constant state of transition, dually combating and appropriating outside forces. . . simultaneously working both to retain and resist links to its traditional sense of self." Implicit in popular Indian cinema during the post-independence period was the struggle between modernity and Indian tradition. In the resolution of conflict, Indian tradition typically prevailed, with modernity contested and renegotiated on Indian terms. It is these visual images of renegotiating modernity that

have reached beyond the Indian cultural world. Several years after independence, Indian films spread throughout other third world countries, particularly the Middle East, Africa, and Southeast Asia.

Indian films offered alternative modernities to other postcolonial states, who like India were searching for identity within the international community. Larkin (1997) suggests that Indian films offered the Hausa of northern Nigeria a “parallel modernity” more incorporative and accepting of the traditional without the West’s geopolitical baggage. Lipkov (1994) recalls the mass popularity of Indian cinema in Russia, which offered livelier and more variegated images of life that “compensated the viewer for the squalor of his life, and the poverty of even his world of illusion.” (193), which were not available in Soviet cinema. Thus, not only does Indian popular cinema capture the Indian imagination, but within it, an essential quality exists that transcends national, cultural and ethnic boundaries. Cinema intended to unite the nation, yet unwittingly became one of its greatest ambassadors, and one of its most recognizable cultural forms.

Since the 1950s, during the time of Indian nation building, Indian cinema sparingly incorporated the concept of “*pardes*” and “*pardesi*” (meaning ‘foreign land’ and ‘one living in a foreign land’) into the story. In early films, “*pardes*” was spoken about in film dialogue, even included in the film songs, for example, the song *Ghar Aaya Mera Pardesi* from Raj Kapoor’s *Awara*, 1951. With films of the time conscious of creating and conveying a national identity, overseas locations were a sideline, an explanation for a character’s absence, but not a significant development in the hero or heroine’s character,

except when emphasizing the separation of lovers. These concepts are geographically variable and culturally contextual, the word *pardes* derives from the two Sanskrit words, *para* (other, different, foreign) and *desh* (land). The other, in this case, need not necessarily refer to people living outside India. In many regional contexts, especially smaller, more isolated, rural communities, *pardesi* may refer to someone from outside the village or someone who migrated to a large city.

The meaning of *pardes* depends on how geographic scale is collectively conceived and understood. In the national context, *pardes* refers to overseas lands and *pardesi* as Indians living in these lands. By the 1990s, Indians residing overseas became the main characters within film stories, readily embracing the diasporic hero/heroine. Today, Hindi films are willing to follow the characters overseas, engaging them and their new surroundings as integral to the story. Post-liberalization India has experienced greater influence from the disjunctures in time and space resulting from late 20th century economic transformations. Bollywood responded by increasing the inclusiveness and visibility of Indians integrated into the global economy. Bollywood's newfound celebration of the diasporic *pardesi* explores and comments on India's relationship with its citizens living abroad and their descendents, born of Indian heritage, but growing up separate from it. As featured in Subhash Ghai's film *Pardes* (1997), living abroad does separate people from home, culture, and even identity, yet it looks to this diaspora as both a cause of anxiety and a symbol of hope.

Shamita Das Dasgupta (1996) briefly explores this unfolding relationship between

Hindi films and Indians living in the diaspora, particularly the United States. She suggests that Hindi films embody the traditional and thus represent one way “traditional Indian values” may be conveyed to the American generation. Although traditional messages are coded within film narratives, today’s Hindi films do upset the “traditional” sense of India retained by their parents. Images of globalization and westernization depict an “India” closer to their own experiences in America - a very Westernized and consumer-conscious India. This sentiment is reiterated by Tremblay (1996: 308) noting that “with the economic growth and flourishing materialism in India, *deshi* (Indian) and *videshi* (foreign) have been forged into an indigenous world view” (her emphasis, my definitions).

Her characterization may be read as reflection of the song-and-dance sequence landscape as a hybridized place accommodating both these spheres, the Indian and the foreign. With greater contestation of public places and spaces through both regional, global, and diasporic forces, the idea of being “in place” has radically transformed. This popular cultural form in a “third-world” country mindful of its confrontations with modernity, portrays an India resembling the developed world. Its construction of places and spaces, from the urban landscape, the shopping mall, to the pub or night club, mirror those places as constructed and experiences in many developed (or Western) countries.

Indian cinema today does provide places which mix both the Indian and the Western. Within the song-and-dance sequence, these specific landscape types weave together these texts in different patterns in order to create specific feelings and emotions.

For example, in the song *Akeli Na Baazar Jaya Karo* (*Major Saab* 1999), we find the landscape constructed by blending both the Indian and Western “bazaar” or market. The sequence begins with the hero (Ajay Devgan) pursuing a reluctant heroine (Sonali Bendre) inside an American-style arcade mall complete with sunroof and indoor gardens. After several minutes in this setting, they exit into a “bazaar” in typical Indian style, with small shops, food stalls, and vending carts.

Not only does the mixing of landscape styles influence the message, but also the blending of cultural signs and symbols, both *deshi* and *videshi*. In the same song-and-dance sequence, the modern is juxtaposed with the traditional as three bullock carts, teeming with woman in traditional Rajasthani village costume, move slowly down a shaded tree-lined street as the heroine escapes from the hero by getting into a passing car. The car and bullock cart captured within the single frame not only present the “traditional” Indian and the “modern” Western, but the depiction also brings these concepts together in a way that accommodates both, privileging neither one.

Anil Saari (1985: 25) believes that the popular Indian film “reduces the ‘foreign’ and ‘alien’ and the inaccessible to a motley-shape, an object of parody rather than one which could make the film goer feel inferior.” Saari’s interpretation, however, rests in the film of its day; with India looking inward for economic growth. Recent trends in Indian cinema inject the global in every quarter. Therefore, I suggest that the foreign need not be a parody. Rather, the film goer would become increasingly more aware of Indian presence in the global economic and cultural system, and would reflect on how

these changes have affected their world of everyday experience. I now turn to landscape representation behind the song-and-dance sequences – what meaning do these landscapes evoke, and are these meaning static or constantly changing according to their cinematic framing?

The first scene of the film is a song-and-dance sequence set in a rural landscape. The camera pans across a wide, open field with a few scattered trees in the distance. The sky is a pale, hazy blue. The music is a traditional folk melody, and the dancers are dressed in simple, traditional clothing. The scene is shot from a low angle, making the landscape feel vast and open. The camera then moves to a closer shot of the dancers, who are performing a traditional dance. The background is still the same landscape, but the focus is now on the dancers' movements.

The second scene is a song-and-dance sequence set in a different rural landscape. The camera pans across a field with a line of trees in the background. The sky is a pale, hazy blue. The music is a traditional folk melody, and the dancers are dressed in simple, traditional clothing. The scene is shot from a low angle, making the landscape feel vast and open. The camera then moves to a closer shot of the dancers, who are performing a traditional dance. The background is still the same landscape, but the focus is now on the dancers' movements.

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CHAPTER IV

LANDSCAPE AND THE SONG-AND-DANCE SEQUENCE IN HINDI FILM : RETHINKING CULTURAL SYMBOLS

Indian film production has followed the transnational movements of Indian peoples, and benefitted from the increasing economic influence of Indians in the diaspora and the liberalization of the Indian economy since 1991. These transnational flows affect the cultural content of the Hindi film. Although both Bollywood films and song-and-dance sequences have, in the past, depicted landscapes both domestic (Kashmir) and foreign (for example, Switzerland in *Sangam*, 1964, Paris in *An Evening in Paris*, 1967, and Tokyo in *Love in Tokyo*, 1966), since the early 1990s the insertion of landscape into Hindi film has become a more transnational project.

The inclusion of the Indian within the cinematic global landscape both drives the demand for and the popularity of numerous overseas shooting locations. Bollywood producers actively search for new locations worldwide – from Switzerland, Germany, Fiji, New Zealand, even the United States. Dutta (2000) reports that “romantic Scottish landscapes are top of the list, with other UK sites also providing a less than traditional backdrop for the musicals...” New Zealand, according to one New Zealand-based Fijian Indian production company offers “the whole world in one country”, qualifying however that “New Zealand is shown as New Zealand, not as a substitute for another country.” (Kelly and Kamal, 2000:3).

In his work on place and consumption, Robert Sack (1992) demonstrates how

places may encourage consumption, either through the organization of the physical space in a shopping mall, or through the images of place advertisers use to convey particular meanings. Consumers, therefore, not only purchase a product, but a meaning the product derives through associations with a place. In these advertisements, the landscape's exact location is either implicitly understood or not, which may be revealed through cultural features. The place and landscape constructed through the visual is thinned out of its original meaning and replaced by the meaning intended by the creator, constructed by cultural norms and the intended meaning for its audience.

Within the Bollywood song-and-dance sequence, the cultural landscape contains more visual cues and local architectures which differentiate the background from those recognizably Indian. The geographic locations of the natural landscape, without any reference to the cultural, whether they are located in India or overseas, are not easily discerned given the physiographic and climatic diversity of India. The song-and-dance sequence simultaneously beckons our attention to both the characters in the foreground and the landscape in the background. Although the character's actions and movements generally remain consistent across song-and-dance sequences, the landscape provides differentiation, novelty, and allows flexibility within a cinematic practice otherwise confined to specific rules. As such, the landscape emerges as a commodity both in its cultural significance and its production value. To the Bollywood film producer, landscape has become a cultural commodity which translates into the exotic both in terms of its natural characteristics, its cultural symbols, and its visual appeal. To the marketer,

landscape sells place in order to generate tourist revenues.

The study of cinematic landscape within cultural geography has largely been neglected. In an article which does attempt bringing cultural geography and film together, Hopkins (1994: 47) suggests that cinematic landscape "is not consequently, a neutral place of entertainment or an objective documentation or mirror of the 'real,' but an ideologically charged cultural creation whereby meanings of place and society are made, legitimized, contested, and obscured." Fareed Kazmi (1999: 215), in his work on politics in Indian cinema, describes Indian popular cinema using this specific language. He argues that Indian popular cinema "is a *specific way of seeing the world* (my italics). It constructs a final position of intelligibility about the world for the audience. Through a 'preferred' reading, a dominant discourse is constructed which operates to subordinate and make difficult alternate and oppositional readings of that phenomenon." Kazmi's "preferred reading" derives from Stuart Hall's (1980) argument that media messages are not mindlessly absorbed, but rather negotiated and "oppositional" readings constructed by the audience. Such language embodied in the metaphor of 'seeing' forges the link between landscape and cinema. Akin to film interpretation and semiotics, landscape requires a subject or beholder locating, gazing and then interpreting what is seen. The emphasis on the national within Indian popular cinema scholarship demonstrates that the primary metaphor gleaned from reels of film is how the nation is seen, understood, and experienced.

If Indian popular cinema historically frames the national, it now increasingly reflects the post-national and the global. Song-and-dance sequences are also a specific way of seeing the world, enhanced by fantasy and aesthetics; fantasy to capture imagination and aesthetics to create visual pleasure. Fantasy, in turn, along with the visual construction of romance creates the depiction of geographic awareness; a vicarious sightseeing of other places and spaces. Through these we can make sense of this landscape as both product and symbol, unpacking the landscape to search beneath its surface meaning to a deeper imagined geography of globalization.

Donald Meinig writes that "every mature nation has its symbolic landscapes. They are part of the iconography of nationhood, part of the shared set of ideas and memories and feelings which bind a people together." (1979: 164) In song-and-dance sequences, the landscapes not only interact with characters and the story, they become a symbolic landscape, a visual encapsulation of the aesthetic in India's environment. If nations have symbolic landscapes, then we may extend this idea culturally and presuppose that Indian cinema has its own symbolic landscapes. Aside from the seemingly restricted and repetitive story lines, a highly compelling and widely recognizable characteristic of India's popular cinema is the visual landscape it constructs. As typical Hindi films construct plots and stories around certain motifs which dwell among the Indian ethos and cultural traditions, so too are the natural and cultural landscapes which form the background of their actions. These landscapes embrace the positive and spin the negative, seeking to separate much of India's social reality from its public perception.

In this chapter, I explore landscape and its representation in the song-and-dance sequence. Driven by expanding satellite technology, the song-and-dance sequence, grounded in the traditional representations of the past, continues to shape new forms of Indian media. Then, I examine the idea of fantasy in the song-and-dance sequence. Song-and-dance sequences showcase fantasy, and through fantasy imagination is illuminated. Just as, according to Appadurai (1996), imagination has become more integral in the everyday, the song-and-dance sequence promotes this sense of imagination. Lastly, I discuss two conceptual models which help contextualize an interpretation of the song-and-dance sequence landscape in terms of its many elements.

Landscape, representation, and song-and-dance sequences

Partha Chatterjee (1995: 197) writes that “watching song-and-dance sequences from contemporary films is both painful and amusing.” This statement demonstrates the ambivalence with which many scholars and media critics approach this aspect of Indian cultural construction, adaptation and hybridization. Many critics of Hindi film view the song-and-dance sequences as extraneous material included solely to bridge gaps in the writers’ ideas. But does such a perspective preclude examining these trademarks of Bollywood as cultural forms *sui generis*? Vinay Lal (1998: 230-231) points out that in the song-and-dance sequence the “narrative style and choreographic traditions in which it is embedded point to the emergence of a new cultural politics, the advent of a middle-class consciousness notable for its aggrandizing spirit...and machismo replaces the older

and softer virtue of restraint.” Concentrating on much-shared negative conventions ignores the political and cultural negotiation which underlies the parallel text of these song-and-dance sequences.

Song-and-dance sequences evolved gradually along with India’s application of cinema technology and the modernization of the Indian lifestyle. Early song-and-dance sequences incorporate more songs but fewer dances. Gradually, the sequence evolved from static serenades embracing traditional motifs of romance in Hindi/Urdu literature toward increasing movement, with an emphasis on rapidly-changing landscapes and greater emphasis on lavish choreography. Even within this early period the background or landscape provided the necessary visual support and cultural context for the characters. The advent of recorded sound freed the studios from exclusively employing only actors and actress with singing abilities. Gradually, playback singing, or lip-synching to pre-recorded songs became the Indian cinema convention (Prakash 1983, Barnouw and Krishnaswamy 1980). This allowed greater freedom for the studios, enabling them to release a movie’s songs prior to the movie’s release, using the songs as advertisement and thus generating enthusiasm for the movie.

Song-and-dance sequences endure because of their unique position in India’s popular culture, as both icon of film and boon to television. India’s state-run television network Doordarshan introduced *Chitrahaar*, a program showing the songs from the most current films. This program as Ananda Mitra (1993: 83) suggests, “established the intertextual relation between television and film, placing television in an inter-textual

relation with film within the popular culture of India.” Since liberalization, the proliferation of new channels has only increased the popularity of these types of programs. Today in India’s age of satellite television, cable channels including foreign-owned networks such as Star TV, Zee TV or Sony Entertainment Television broadcast similar programs, some of which captured market share by specializing in nostalgic songs from the 1940s and 1950s (Ninan 1995: 173).

The song-and-dance sequence remains popular because of its cultural history and because audiences accept it as an ideal representation of certain feelings and emotions. They reflect currents within the Indian ethos and have been used in Indian cinema since talking films were first produced. Ananda Mitra (1999: 121), in writing about television and film representation of South Asians, argues that “specific people and places are shown in a way that makes it appear natural and the accepted form of representation.” Adapting Mitra’s context, the song-and-dance sequences of Bollywood films should reflect this ‘accepted form of representation.’ Any specific representation, however, may have alternative interpretations. I now examine two of these; one emotional -- love, and the other natural -- the forest.

In his work on Indian cinema, Kishore Valicha (1988: 46) suggests that “Indian audiences accept such absurdities because of a deep conviction that love is comparable to music, and that true love is as pure as a song.” The concept of love, however, remains a subjective notion, one which should not be generalized across the Indian cultural ethos. Trawick (1990) demonstrates that *anpu*, the Tamil word generally translated into English

as love, is an open-ended signifier incorporating a range of emotions whose exact meaning shifts given the participants, situations, and the structure of their relationships. Bollywood song-and-dance sequences portray a number of love relationships, although the male-female erotic love relationship remains most popular. Other types include parent-child relationships or sibling relationships. The song *Ankh Teri Chhalke* in the film *Raja* (1995) depicts a young boy caring for his elder brother who had been injured and became crippled when his business was destroyed by fire. The notion of *dosti* (literally “friendship” in Hindi/Urdu), which Madhava Prasad (1998: 83-84) calls “the code of fraternity that binds men into a separate society, “ defines the code of conduct between two male friends in a Bollywood film.

One of the most famous examples of *dosti* in a song-and-dance sequence comes from the popular hit *Sholay* (1975). In the song, *Yeh Dosti*, the two male heroes Jai (Amitabh Bacchan) and Veeru (Dharmendra) drive a motorcycle through the countryside singing “*yeh dosti ham nahim todenge*” (We will not break this friendship). This song-and-dance sequence, shown in the first part of the movie, demonstrates their friendship and devotion to each other before they fight against Gabbar Singh (Amjad Khan). Yet throughout their travails, *dosti* mediates their choices and actions throughout the course of the film. Therefore, song represents not only romantic love, but many different types of love.

Forests have likewise become coded as places reserved for realization of love, typically as the setting for playful pursuit between the hero and the heroine. The hero

pursues the heroine around a forested grove, with the heroine resisting the hero's pursuit in a modest fashion. In an article on the forest/city relationship, Philip Lutgendorf (2000) emphasizes this point, writing that the forest has "extraordinary staying power in popular Indian art...suggested by the abrupt but obligatory (and sometimes unexplained) cut to a forest setting for the love songs of modern Hindi film musicals." (288n)

Forests as refuge for lovers finds thematic expression in the Sanskritic 'Radha-Krishna' tradition (Gokulsing and Dissanayake 1998). The Radha-Krishna stories recount the love play (*lila*) of Krishna, the eighth incarnation of the god Vishnu, and Radha, his main consort and lover. This story explicitly incorporates the forest as the locus of romance and desire, away from the city of Vrindavan, as thus temporarily released from worldly pressures. Some song-and-dance sequences incorporate this symbolism, creating meaning for these scenes with intertextual references to Radha and Krishna. Akshay Kumar mimics the actions and appearance of Krishna in the song *Gori Kalai* (*Yeh Dillagi*, 1994) just as Kajol, surrounded by female dancers, first catches a glimpse of him.

Exploring motifs of love in early Sanskrit literature, Nadarajah (1994: 203) suggests that "a certain relationship must have existed between mountains and love-sports." However, the one strong parallel is the association between urban-dwelling women and coquetry. Literary references equate this behavior with the *ganika*, or prostitute (Nadarajah 1994). Song-and-dance sequences frequently show the hero and heroine strolling through cities and towns playfully flirting with the heroine remaining

traditionally modest. This is similar to the forest motif, yet the heroine traditionally evokes more modesty due to the possibility of the public gaze within public space. Because of this history, song-and-dance sequences may, as Mitra suggests for other media representations, “appear natural and the accepted form of representation.”(1999: 121) However, song-and-dance sequences need not rely on past interpretations or readings, and due to their history there may be no impetus to question what they represent both within the film how they reflect the changes in Indian culture and society since the cinema era began.

Given the strong associations between landscape and certain modes of representation, these landscapes embody some function. It would be too simplistic and highly problematic to ascribe the natural landscape to traditional while the cultural landscape mirrors the modern/national/post-national. The important factor in breaking down the landscape “text” is how the elements, including the behavior and the interactions between the characters and their environments circumscribe the nature of this landscape. Although we may draw generalities, we must consider the landscape’s framing and all its components, and its context.

Landscape interpretation depends on reading individual elements within one particular scene. The puzzle here is reading the various features and elements that are included and excluded in the landscape, exploring how they are pieced together through cinematic conventions. Through this process of inclusion and exclusion, producers and directors weave together visual elements to produce a landscape intended to convey their

preferred meaning. In some sense, this creates place without location. We read “placeness” in the landscape but the meaning we ascribe to this place is not necessarily ours to create. Two examples of how landscape and place intersect in song-and-dance sequences are when the sequence location *has* context within the narrative, and when the location *does not have* context within the narrative, where there is significant and obvious disjuncture between story and the song-and-dance sequence. For example, in the film *Dil To Pagal Hai* (1997), the song-and-dance sequence for the title song *Dil To Pagal Hai* featuring Akshay Kumar and Madhuri Dixit, begins with a shot of a small private single-engine propeller plane landing at an airstrip. This motif links into the story in which the hero and heroine have gone to Europe (Switzerland). Such a scene actually incorporates the notion of movement between India and Europe. While the shot of the airplane connotes travel and thus movement, it also allows the observers to refocus gradually their idea of scale, or rather what scale they visualize – that we are moving from one part of the world to another. This idea of movement is not depicted in *Main Koi Aisa Geet Gaaon* (*Yes Boss*, 1995). The film narrative locates Shah Rukh Khan and Juhi Chawla in Bombay, but as the song begins, they suddenly appear in Switzerland. In some sense, this merely emphasizes its fantasy and spectacle. During the final moments of the song *Dil To Pagal Hai*, this private plane we see at the beginning now takes off, going in the opposite direction to which it landed, thus providing a symmetrical opening and closure to the sequence. The final frames depict a shot from above of Akshay’s parents, thus hinting at their return to India, trying on the clothes brought as gifts from their “European

trip.”

Just as there may be disjuncture between narrative and song-and-dance sequence, there may be disjuncture within song-and-dance sequences. There are shifts between one frame of action and another, one set of characters and another, yet there is no indication or evidence as to whether there has been any shift in geographic location. In the song *Dil To Pagal Hai* (*Dil To Pagal Hai*, 1997), we see Akshay Kumar and Madhuri Dixit in a Swiss cultural theme-park. They ride inside all manner of transport: an antique car, a water slide, a bicycle. They run and dance around fountains and through gardens. Then suddenly the action cuts back to Shah Rukh Khan and Karishma Kapoor showing them running hand-in-hand along a lake, yet there is nothing within this part of the sequence which discloses their exact location. We do not know if they are in India, where the film narrative last left them, or in Switzerland, where the current action is. The sequence then cuts back to Madhuri and Akshay who are sharing coffee on some street-side café by twilight, more obviously in Switzerland, while the music begins to fade off.

Ideally, the landscape presented should draw attention and engage the audience. Jakle (1987: 20) suggests that “as interest in a landscape increases the eyes focus on particular objects and the derived images are made more vivid through conscious thought. Once interest is lost, visual awareness continues only as a low-grade, subconscious scanning of environment.” Therefore, through engagement with the viewer, the viewer becomes more attuned to the nuances of the combinations of natural and cultural features, individually or together. However, reading a landscape cannot simply be reduced to its

components, for the components together stir emotions and create their own joint meanings and associations. Yi-Fu Tuan states that “landscape, likewise, is not to be defined by itemizing its parts. The parts are subsidiary clues to an integrated image. Landscape is such an image, a construct of the mind and of feeling.” (1979: 89)

For example, in the popular hit film *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge* (1995), memory and sense experience play an important role in the characteristics of the landscape. Sight and sound, although staged, promote feelings of nostalgia. Titillating the senses, even metaphorically, encourages the audience to remember their own unique experiences with time, place and landscape. In the opening scenes of the movie, Chaudhuri Baldev Singh (played by Amrish Puri) explains the difference between the pigeons he feeds every day on his daily walk to work in London and those he remembers from home in Punjab. Later, when an aerogram arrives from India, he immediately smells the envelope. Once inside, he yells excitedly to his family “*chitthi aai!*”, and placing it before his wife, he says “*zara sunghke dekh, Panjab ki khusbu*” (just smell this, the fragrance of Punjab). The song-and-dance sequences from the movie feature Punjab as a symbolic landscape, working together with memory, nostalgia and the senses. Fields with fragrant flowers, woman running through them wearing native dress, all serve to reinforce and re-create the landscape visualized nostalgically by Chaudhuri Baldev Singh, the same one they are inviting the audience to experience vicariously or remember.

Song-and-dance sequences may also play with recollections of places and events, inserting them into the landscape “text”. In *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge* (1995), two

non-resident Indians from London, Raj (Shah Rukh Khan) and Simran (Kajol) meet during a European trip both take with their friends. They eventually fall in love even though Simran is promised to marry her father's friend's son in Punjab. After returning to London, Raj decides to follow Simran to Punjab. Simran, going through the preliminaries of her engagement, is nonetheless hopeful Raj will arrive, saving her from her impending marriage. In the song-and-dance sequence *Tujhe Dekha To Yeh Jaana Sanam* from the same movie, memory provides most of its detail. They meet again in a field of flowers near her fiance's home in Punjab. Soon afterward in the sequence, we see their recollections of their European vacation; images of places and events which we did not witness in the movie. The sequence moves from Punjab to Switzerland and back to Punjab, with landscape created through memory. This not only adds depth to their European experience, but also highlights the aspect of fantasy in the sequence, imagining what had been and what could be, followed by the return to what actually is.

The song-and-dance sequence, fantasy and the aesthetic

In this section, I address two concepts which must be discussed in the context of song-and-dance sequences: fantasy and the aesthetic. Fantasy figures prominently within the interpretation of landscapes in these song-and-dance sequences, while the aesthetic must be addressed across all landscapes. A landscape transforms natural and cultural features into a more aesthetic idealized depiction of the way we believe the land "ought" to be, and fantasy is so much a part of this "ought". In an article on music, dance, and

fantasy, Prakash (1983: 114) suggests, "song-and-dance is essential because if the plots resemble life or how it could be, the song sequences so often resemble dreams."

Fareed Kazmi (1999: 215) notes that "to label it [Indian cinema] as 'escapist', 'mere entertainment', 'fantasy oriented', is to misunderstand its essential nature and function. It is to miss out and ignore the reasons for its hegemonic position and the ideological role that it performs." Sudhir Kakar, the Indian psychoanalyst, sees cinema as "the primary vehicle for shared fantasies." The connotation of the word 'fantasy' remains emotionally and culturally loaded. Kakar cautions that he does not "use 'fantasy' in the ordinary sense of the word, with its popular connotations of whimsy, eccentricity, or triviality, but as another name for that world of imagination which is fueled by desire and which provides us with an alternative world where we can continue our longstanding quarrel with reality." (1989: 27) Arjun Appadurai (1996:7) explores this idea of the imagination. He writes that "fantasy can dissipate...but the imagination, especially when collective, can become the fuel for action...The imagination is today a staging ground for action, and not only for escape." As such, fantasy need not merely be viewed as means to escape, but one tool to make sense of the ruptures one feels within the world. Fantasy offers us the opportunity to look at the world as it could be, yet is still reflective of the times within which it is created. Both the fantasy and the reality in the landscape determine how the landscape should be perceived and how it influences imaginations. However, I also see fantasy as showing us how to embrace new modes of technology, how to enjoy the simple pleasures of life, and consequently provide insight into

understanding daily life as it actually is. To present fantasy as attractive and beautiful, and therefore worthy of care and consideration, we must simultaneously address the aesthetic.

Binford (1988: 79) describes song-and-dance sequences in terms of aesthetics, calling them “a striking example of indigenously based aesthetic principles shaping the use of imported technology.” Through effective camera work and precise editing of scenes, local, global and transnational images merge into a geographical representation. Tuan (1993) argues that the aesthetic is indivisible from the cultural. Through the semiotics of film, these song-and-dance sequences present the familiar and traditional motifs of Hindi film by highlighting the aesthetic. Both concepts of landscape and the aesthetic grew out of specific sets of social and economic relations. David Harvey (1990: 19) suggests that the aesthetic arose from the need to negotiate commodities from different cultural styles that derived from increased trade. Furthermore, within the aesthetic, we find the erotic. Tuan further describes the erotic nature of the aesthetic landscape, how we ascribe human features and characteristics to celebrate the beauty we see in nature. He states (1993: 13) that “just as the aesthetic appeal of the human person is inevitably touched by the glow of eroticism, so...is the aesthetic appeal of many topographical features...As we look at the “shoulder” of a valley, our eyes following its strong bold curvatures, there can be no denying an erotic tinge in our appreciation.”

We find these three elements: fantasy, aesthetics and technology, juxtaposed within one historical mode of representation – the oleograph. Christopher Pinney

investigates Indian oleographs which incorporate cultural and religious symbology in aesthetic representations. Time and space exist within the same sphere within the popular chromolithograph or oleograph. The relative position of features and characters within the pictorial landscape represent differences in time. Transforming the image from picture onto film relieves the need to temporalize the picture's space, allowing the motion picture to embody the passage of time. Film techniques may either speed or slow its passing while also conveying sequential disjuncture within geographic space. Pinney (1997) examines the popular Nathdvara images dating from the 1920s, whose essence remains today in mass-produced god pictures and calendar art. He believes that "rather than a window on reality, the images become icons whose foundational rationale is an engagement with the viewer. . . there is an increasing stress on the surface rather than depth of the image."(1997: 860) We may extend this idea to the landscapes of song-and-dance sequences. Those sequences filmed in natural settings among mountains, trees and valleys, in Pinney's assessment engage the observer while directing their attention and placing emphasis upon the heroine and hero within any particular frame.

Kajri Jain (1995) elicits the historical relationships between art, oleographs and film arguing that the linguistic quality of cinema particularizes its reception as compared with the visual medium conveyed through calendar art. However, I would set the song-and-dance sequence apart from this idea. The song-and-dance is more important than lyrics, particularly after liberalization when emphasis on language decreased in relation to increases in electronic music. Song lyrics are more simplified, thus staying away from

more literary Urdu found in songs from the 1940s and 1950s. I would define the song-and-dance sequence as a cultural and artistic construction within an alternative modernity to address, in an aesthetically pleasing way, the anxieties of modernization and globalization through the adaptation of cultural elements which both reflect the modern yet whose essence remains Indian.

Landscape and romance

Our emotional experiences are shaped and molded by the environment. In order to tell a story, the author must create places for actions to occur, and also make these places familiar so that the reader may vicariously enter, explore and live the experience created on the pages. Tuan (1976), speaking specifically of place-making in literature, shows how emotions and feelings are ascribed to nature and natural processes. Cinema adds the visual dimension, removing the need to visualize place on one's own. However, cinematic places must still embody emotion, allowing the audience to experience somewhat the same environment depicted on screen. Many song-and-dance sequences which involve the romantic convey feelings of love either playfully through flirtatious behavior, jokingly through teasing behavior, or even openly through direct confrontation

Love and romance awaken the senses, producing well-being and contentment. As Tuan (1976: 265) notes "the experience of well-being" created when "the senses are wakened and stimulated by nature." In *Dil To Pagal Hai* (*Dil To Pagal Hai*, 1997) during those frames which seek to emphasize romantic feelings, the camera confines

backdrop to physical features such as a lake or grassy field. In numerous song-and-dance sequences, such as *Baazigar O Baazigar* (Baazigar, 1993) and *Zara Sa Jhoom Loon Main* (*Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge*, 1995) and *Kaho Na Pyar Hai* (*Kaho Na Pyar Hai*, 2000), when the hero and heroine attempt to resolve a “conflict”, the camera zooms in creating their own private space. With the conflict “resolved”, the landscape become their playground, as the camera gradually moves away incorporating the surrounding environment and background landscapes, thus creating more of a sensual impression on the viewer.

As in these song-and-dance sequences, oleographs of various Hindu deities, especially Krishna or Sarasvati, traditionally position the deities in a verdant, colorful landscape, well-watered and teeming with life. These deities also represent a form of purity, a manifestation of *saguna brahman* (brahman with qualities). By virtue of their divinity they are given a divine place, one that pleases the senses and contains diversity of feature and embodies nature as pristine and unspoiled. Love and romance, in the song-and-dance sequence, composes the subtext to any images of fantasy. These emotions, especially in an intrinsically de-eroticized context of Indian cinema, manifest as pure. As they are pure, so they influence the created landscape which becomes pure through their presence. Jakle (1987: 87) describes the fundamental relationship between romance and landscape. He notes that “romantic places in their detail stimulate as they beckon. Such words as *spontaneity*, *tension*, *contraposition*, *juxtaposition*, and *randomness* define romanticism in landscape.” I now tie these together to emphasize how these specific

representations emphasize awareness of the global and how this depicts negotiation of Indian identity in the global .

Fantasy thrives on the exotic. Landscapes which embrace the exotic are both intended for consumption (Sack 1992) and signification (Meinig 1979). When we see this landscape, we may consume the idea it appears to be selling, whether this idea is embracing the global economy or defending the nation-state. These landscapes, in many cases devoid of landmarks to identify their true geographical location, become symbols for these ideas. For example, consider that the Indian Tourism Board prominently displays the Taj Mahal in magazine advertisements to promote tourism in India. Through a single aesthetically-pleasing landscape, one ascribes qualities from the landscape to a much higher geographic scale, in this case, from one specific point in India, expanded to represent the entire nation. As we perceive the aesthetic in landscape, we search for romantic qualities in the landscape. Fundamentally, the Bollywood song-and-dance sequence embodies romance, either directly or indirectly. I would argue that these same qualities that embody the romantic, also create geographical awareness and thus an awareness of one's possible place in the world.

Consider Jakle's description of the romantic. The words he uses imply energy and dynamism, spontaneity and tension, both qualities that reflect modern life. Juxtaposition and randomness each reveal one particular context within a landscape. Jakle speaks of juxtaposition in terms of features within one landscape complementing each other while conveying a specific message. I would expand juxtaposition for the song-and-dance

sequence to include not just features within a single landscape, but how landscapes from sequential scenes may be viewed as a cohesive unit. Randomness however implies no specific pattern to how images are presented. In order to portray effectively the idea of geographic scale, I would suggest that images must be juxtaposed sequentially in such a way that emphasizes the divergences between each scene, flipping from local to global and back to local in such a manner that emphasizes movement between the two. The feeling of scale, both the local and the global, emerges when we perceive them in a complementary fashion.

For example, in the song *Baazigar O Baazigar* (*Baazigar*, 1993), the heroine Kajol is daydreaming about the character played by Shah Rukh Khan. We see several rapid successive shots of Shah Rukh prominently displayed: first in the right side of a small plane, then in beach wear, then lying on a bench turning his head to face the camera, then in a car, then on moving boat. All these convey messages of status, position, movement, wealth. Suddenly once the couple comes together, there is a sequence of rapid shots of them dancing in many different scenes, including restaurants and other places that represent the trappings of the liberal economy. These shots appear in a swift succession, one after another, painting into the cumulative image signs of consumption and the international, including Flamenco music and dancing in Iberian style. There is then a brief shot in which both dance amidst rows of flags from other countries. It is such cues as rapidly changing images and as the semiotic construction of the international (i.e., the flags) which create and promote an awareness of geographic

scale, recontextualizing hero and heroine from only Indians to global citizens.

When we hear the word “global”, our thoughts usually yield images of multinational capitalism, travel across great distances, the convenient availability of goods and services from other parts of the world, and also the benefits we accrue from and impart to the global economy. Our ability to produce these thoughts, to see images around the world, to understand the contexts of local and global arise from the technologies that modernity has imparted to society. Through these technologies, our collective human awareness of other places and spaces has increased dramatically in the last few centuries. As Sack (1997: 20) notes, “the relationship between geography and awareness is reciprocal. As we are presented with the opportunity to learn more about the world, we change our view, which in turn affects how we influence places in the world.”

I must differentiate between the two terms: *postnational* and *global*. As discussed in the third chapter, the years of early independence themes of nation-building and national integration dominated much of Indian cinema, especially Hindi cinema. We now find India in a postnational period, where India’s national identity is still questioned on many levels. Because of liberalization, the rate of societal change through influences overseas has significantly increased. Part of negotiating India’s identity within this new set of conditions and influences is balancing India’s definition of itself as a nation, and also India’s definition of itself in the global community. Today, nations seldom remain islands unto themselves, devoid of international involvement and commitment. Yet, the postnational and the global should not be equated.

To explore how landscape in Bollywood song-and-dance sequences may be read through a postnational lens, I now present two conceptual models. The first model, Figure 4.1, combines the elements of landscape morphology, fantasy, and geographic scale. This model encapsulates a general relationship between these three factors which seeks to look beneath them to representations of the modern and the global, but explains how they are balanced by the traditional and the local. The second model does not focus specifically on landscape, but rather addresses how to interpret participation in landscape where certain cultural symbols are either included or excluded. These models are meant solely as a heuristic device, acknowledging a general relationship, and should not be considered universally applicable. The multiplicity of relationships between these separate elements are not predictable; there are many exceptions for one possible rule.

Landscape morphology and geographic scale (Figure 4.1)

In Figure 4.1, I attempt to integrate landscape, fantasy, and geographic scale. In the diagram, each category is arranged across a left-right continuum. The landscape axis occupies the uppermost portion of the diagram. Because landscapes generally combine elements from both the natural environment and the cultural world, I use natural/cultural and cultural/natural. Pairing each type together conveys the idea that no landscape can be entirely one or the other, but a mixture of both in varying proportions. Examples of each landscape type are arranged along the scale. Landscapes further to the right in the diagram reflect an increasing human impact, by which I mean greater human intervention

to shape and change the landscape into what humans would like to impose on it. Mountains, forests, hills and valleys emphasize the natural environment, although human presence within this landscape admits the cultural. However, in today's world, few entirely natural environments exist. Natural environments may be bounded and managed as nature preserves and thus subject to human decision-making which can affect the area's natural processes. Gardens and parks are natural environments which have been set aside, shaped and improved through human agency. They incorporate nature into the cultural world, or conversely bring culture to the natural world, depending on perspective. Amusement or theme parks would be positioned closely to the extreme right hand which privileges the cultural. These are created landscapes which contain hyper-exaggerated cultural symbols specifically designed for consumption, particularly by tourists who read these symbols in a specific context. Such landscapes also exaggerate aspects of the "traditional". Cities, office buildings, historical and cultural landmarks symbolize the human impact over the natural landscape. But as noted previously, each of these evokes different meanings. However, these places do not exclude the natural. Rivers flow through cities or office complexes may incorporate parks. The natural environment punctuates selected spaces within the cultural landscape.

Fantasy within the Bollywood song-and-dance sequence depends on no single landscape to reveal itself. What does emerge through the fantasy presented is how the fantasy is intended to relate both within the scene and to the hero/heroine. Therefore, song-and-dance sequences emphasize the couple engaging in either a private or public

fantasy. This description as 'private' or 'public' does not specify place in terms of private or public place, but rather specifies what the fantasy means within the relationship presented. Song-and-dance sequences in predominantly natural settings emphasize private fantasy, a world in which the hero/heroine exist outside the strictures of parental rules and societal norms. On the opposite end of the continuum are those scenes which predominate in primarily cultural settings. These emphasize opening the fantasy up to public view. In song-and-dance sequences filmed in foreign locales, this sometimes involves the locals watching with interest as the Indian hero and heroine dance around their public places, historical buildings and national monuments.

In the song-and-dance sequence *Main Koi Aisa Geet Gaaon* (Yes Boss, 1995), Shah Rukh Khan and Juhi Chawla stroll around a Swiss town framed on all sides by cars, small shops and buildings with a Swiss character. However, it is only in particular contexts that the landscape requires the inclusion of the locals in the background. While the process of shooting these scenes is enough to arouse local curiosity, there are certain scenes where the presence of these spectators changes the landscape interpretation. During those moments is when the hero/heroine are usually constructing or exerting a more public fantasy and thus participating within this landscape. The landscape which had been backgrounded momentarily becomes foregrounded. It becomes something that mediates the hero's and heroine's interactions with the place.

In *Dil To Pagal Hai* (*Dil To Pagal Hai*, 1997), *Otashi Anata* (Aa Ab Laut Chalen), or *Dil Deewana* (*Pardes*, 1997), the fantasies are all made more public due to the

spectators in the background and sidelines who emphasize the performative nature of the hero and heroine's behavior. Along with this, they more effectively redirect the viewer to consider the aspect of scale. If we read this same scene through Figure 4.1, it falls to the right on the cultural/natural end, public/private fantasy and greater engagement with the global. The inclusion and exclusion of certain elements while having an affect on the landscape has a corresponding affect on the fantasy. As in *Main Koi Aisa Geet Gacun* (*Yes Boss*, 1995), the paucity of observers shifts the landscape's meaning more toward the private and away from the public, even though it is public space. But despite this shift there is an engagement with the global. The cultural landscape may represent another's "tradition" (as in the case of the picturesque Swiss village) whereas by virtue of its ability to be accessed through the luxuries of globalization, it becomes a landscape which is to be enjoyed, played in, savored, and consumed for its novelty. The cultural landscape, although it may reflect human habitation, may represent either the modern or the traditional given the specific context. Without people, the landscape may be European, but we could assert that this landscape communicates the traditional, especially when the primary focus is on the hero and heroine in a close-up which reveals either selected features of, or no features of, the broader physical and cultural landscape.

Qualities of the landscape and fantasy when interpreted together as a unit raise the question of geographic scale. The geographic scale does not relate directly only those elements which comprise the sequence. Corresponding to the natural/cultural landscape and the private/public fantasy is an engagement with the local/global or a reduction of

scale in geographic awareness. As the landscape becomes more cultural in composition, there is an increase of scale toward the global/local within the geographical imagination. As with the other paired elements in this diagram, because places and space incorporate elements of both, I use local/global and global/local to indicate engagement with geographic scale. Even an element as small as a logo shifts the balance toward incorporating more of the global. The natural, pastoral landscapes position the characters, and also the audience, within the local, the traditional, and the private. Cityscapes and other representations of the urban landscape engage the viewer with the global through their association with the political and economic. Moving further toward a greater cultural/natural composition of the landscape, there is an increased foregrounding of the traditional, as well as a greater disjuncture between the modern and the traditional.

The cityscape presents a significant challenge to the diasporic Indian or Indian visiting overseas. The city by night as landscape becomes an object of the hero's anxiety, and likewise an object of the heroine's liberation. We see this in two cases. Much of the film *Aa Ab Laut Chalen* (1998) was filmed on location in the United States. The main character Rohan (Akshaye Khanna), is an unemployed Indian who comes to the United States. In order to become a permanent US resident and get a Green Card, Rohan attempts to woo and marry a non-resident Indian girl Loveleen (Suman Ranganathan). In the song *Otashi Anata*, they enjoy the public spaces of New York City. Yet at night, the city become a problematic site in the hero-heroine relationship as Loveleen, drinking and

smoking, finds the attentions of Rohan cooled significantly. Similarly, in the film *Aur Pyar Ho Gaya* (1997), Bobby Deol and Aishwarya Rai are in Switzerland. In the song-and-dance sequence *Uttar Dakshin Purab Paschim*, Aishwarya, obviously under the influence of alcohol, wanders all over the streets of a Swiss city, its darkness punctuated with bright lights, as she sings “*yeh roshni mem nahaya nagar, rukti nahim hai kahin bhi nazar*” (This path is bathed in light, my gaze doesn’t stop anywhere). In both cases, the heroine’s drunkenness prompted different responses in the heroes. Akshaye Khanna sees his girlfriend in a different light, as an Indian woman who has transgressed certain limits which are unacceptable to him. Bobby Deol, on the other hand, tries to restrain Aishwarya’s behavior and pleads with her to return to the hotel, thus removing the temporarily indisposed Indian woman from the influence of the problematic landscape.

Landscape representation and identity (Figure 4.2)

Figure 4.2 charts the relationship between the location of the landscape and the cultural symbols reflected by the hero and heroine. The landscape location refers to those landscapes which are obvious in their situation, with overt signs and symbols clueing the observer to their location. Along the left side of the diagram is the hero/heroine’s manner of appearance, either Westernized or “traditional” Indian. I have assigned specific modes of interpretation to each interaction between these four categories; each in combination with another yield four interactions (identified in the diagram as a,b,c and d). The inclusion or exclusion of certain natural, cultural or human features plays with the

FIGURE 4.2: LANDSCAPE REPRESENTATION AND IDENTITY

		landscape location	
		overseas	India
hero/heroine	Westernized	Indians as global (a)	India in global (b)
	“traditional” Indian	Indians in the global (c)	(d) “displaying” the nation(al)
		individual identity	national identity

meaning by bringing elements together in different combinations. I now define each interaction, providing example from song-and-dance sequences.

(a) Indians as global

I suggest that this interaction represents Indian as full participants and players in the global community and global economy. They negotiate both the traditional Indian and modern society, profiting from India's economic liberalization. As represented in song-and-dance sequences, the world becomes their playground and a site of enjoyment. Such examples may be seen in song-and-dance sequences such as *Dil Deewana* (*Pardes*, 1997), *Dil To Pagal Hai* (*Dil To Pagal Hai*, 1997), and *Otashi Anata* (*Aa Ab Laut Chalen*, 1998)

In *Dil Deewana*, there are numerous juxtaposed images bringing together the glitter of the city skylines of Los Angeles and Las Vegas, with the vast expanses of the Mojave Desert, all linked together semiotically by Arjun's (Shah Rukh Khan) trip to Las Vegas to rescue Ganga (Mahima Chaudhury) from her Indian-American fiancé (Apoorva Agnihotri). We see Arjun dancing at MGM Grand Studios with a performer dressed as "Popeye the Sailor", Ganga in a Las Vegas casino, all punctuated with the glamour and spectacle of the Las Vegas Strip. In *Otashi Anata*, Akshaye Khanna and Suman Ranganathan dance around the South Street Seaport in New York City under the gaze of many American onlookers. Jakle (1987: 36) notes that "sightseers process the visual imagery of landscape in search of memorable views. They scan the physical form of

landscape responsive to cues of visual delight.” In essence, these Indians experience these landscape as sightseers, but then pass from mere sightseers into active participants and agents, asserting their presence within the landscape.

(b) India in global

This interaction reflects a geographic awareness on different levels, between individuals and their relation to the world and between national and its relation to the world. In such song-and-dance sequences as *Baazigar O Baazigar* (*Baazigar*, 1994) and *Tujhe Mirchi Lagi To* (*Coolie No. 1*, 1995), we find Westernized Indians dancing throughout many Indian public spaces. In *Baazigar O Baazigar*, the rapid succession of shots which collapse signs of the global economy redefine India not only as nation, but as nation among other nations, as member of the international community.

(c) Indians in the global

This interaction foregrounds the Indian aspects of one's individual identity, while the foreign landscape places the Indian within the global system. They create a place for themselves within the global, without allowing this place to subsume their Indian character. In the song *Na Tum Jano Na Hum* (*Kaho Na Pyaar Hai*, 2000), Amisha Patel appears in traditional Indian clothing as she strolls on a New Zealand hillside among sheep grazing nearby. As in oleographs (Pinney 1995), the traditional is foregrounded, in this case, as represented on the female body, while the hero, Hrithik Roshan, remains

attired in Western-style clothing.

(d) "Displaying" the nation(al)

Many song-and-dance sequences, especially in decades past, reflect this interaction which combines various regional Indian landscapes, combined with a hero/heroine whose dress, either in part or in whole, may mimic or mirror those of the location. Lalitha Gopalan (1997) addresses and explores use of the landscape in the films *Bobby* (1973) and *Qayamat Se Qayamat Tak* (1987), showing how depictions of landscape suggest an undifferentiated, unproblematic national space, and that they "become open sites for Hindu nationalist hegemony." (136) In these cases, the diversity and complexity of India is opened up, inviting all to look, see, and observe. We find examples of this type of song-and-dance sequence in *Chanchal Havaon Se* (*Kaun Saccha Kaun Jootha*, 1996) and *Jiya Jale* (*Dil Se*, 1998)

In the song-and-dance sequence *Chanchal Havaon Se*, Sridevi sings while leading Rishi Kapoor around the landscape of the Andaman Islands. Dancers in costume, seemingly native, possibly intended to represent the indigenous tribals, dance in the background, under the curious gaze of "modern" Indians. Through successive frames, they move nearer and nearer until when close enough Sridevi finally begins dancing alongside them. Orientalism is not only embedded within knowledge but also within representations. Here, the "modern" Indians act within the role. The scene exoticizes tribals, portraying them through their action simplistic, and by their dancing with the

heroine, an eagerness to please.

Although the movie *Dil Se* is set in northeastern India, the song-and-dance sequence for *Jiya Jale* features the lush, riverine landscape of Kerala in southern India. Shah Rukh Khan and Preity Zinta dance on a boat as Shah Rukh wears the same costumes which appear to be dress for *kalarippayattu*, a Keralan form of martial arts. The landscape and attire are enhanced by the Malayalam lyrics which appear within parts of the song. A remake of the Tamil film, *Uyire*, this film nonetheless reaches across India showcasing its regional diversity.

Reading the figures together

The inclusion or exclusion of certain natural, cultural, or human features as suggested in Figure 4.1 plays with the meaning of the landscape by bringing elements together in different combinations. This, in turn, affects the interactions presented in Figure 4.2. Scenes within single song-and-dance sequences may shift between these interactions, for example from (c) to (a), from (d) to (b). Given the right combination of elements, a song-and-dance sequence could change from (d) to (a). I would suggest that recent developments in Bollywood are moving from (d) out toward the other three interactions (a, b, c), placing less emphasis on the national and more emphasis on the postnational, which likewise encompasses a new awareness of geographic scale. They showcase the diasporic Indian and also the Indian middle class with resources for traveling abroad.

As Appadurai (1996) describes, imagination has become more a part of the everyday life. In the song-and-dance sequence, imagination becomes fantasy and romance. As new landscapes are sought out, this increases the variety of fantasy, recontextualizes the Indian identity as Indian citizen or global participant. Reading these elements together, we perceive distinct changes in geographic scale, and engagement with the global. Yet through this fantasy emerges pieces of reality in other places and spaces. These landscapes, signs, and symbols merge, increasing awareness of difference, and through difference, an imagined geography of "Indian" globalization.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Landscapes in Bollywood song-and-dance sequence are idealized and standardized depictions conveying specific meanings within the film narrative. They bring together the foregrounded characters with the feelings and meaning they are to convey. In chapter four, I defined the song-and-dance sequence as a cultural and artistic construction within an alternative modernity to address, in an aesthetically pleasing way, the anxieties of modernization and globalization through the adaptation of cultural elements which both reflect the modern, yet whose essence remains Indian. In many cases, the landscape embodies tradition, yet it may shift in both form and composition to reflect the modern, the national, and the postnational. As both setting and as crucial actor in the song-and-dance sequence, landscape not only reflects what one sees, but how one sees. According to Sharon Zukin (1991: 268) "space also structures metaphorically. Because they are easily visualized, spatial changes can represent and structure orientations to society. Space stimulates both memory and desire; it indicates categories and relations between them. These considerations suggest that space is a major *structuring medium*." Landscape in Bollywood song-and-dance sequences also acts as structuring medium. It mediates between place and memory, between place and identity, between nation and world, between modernity embraced from within and modernity imposed from outside.

These landscapes are also commodities, both in terms of the film and also independently of the film. The United Kingdom has experienced a boom in Bollywood filming due mainly to its diasporic community. The British Tourist Authority recently introduced the Bollywood Movie Map of Britain. Indian tourists in Britain may now easily locate and visit the locations and landscapes they see in their favorite Bollywood movies. These landscapes, in addition to being commodities, are symbolic landscapes, both of Britain itself and of Bollywood cinema. The landscapes seen on film may thus be experienced as a consumer product, whose appeal is, in part, shaped and constructed by the film. Symbolically, they represent the quintessential British rural landscape, but with the Bollywood twist, where the glamour of the Hindi film industry meets European tradition.

Commenting on song-and-dance sequences, Sanjeev Prakash (1983: 118) writes, "Whether its [the song-and-dance sequence] influences are wholly Indian or otherwise, is a meaningless question in our rapidly shrinking world; in the totality of its social and psychological impact it has *become* India, and that is what matters. If it is a powerful influence on Indian life it is also a functional barometer of that life." The landscape and its representation in Bollywood song-and-dance sequences reconceptualizes the role of India and the Indian in the global. These landscapes, while not places in which the viewer has experience, nevertheless bring together representations of the everyday (as in Bakhtin's chronotope) with places that one could experience vicariously.

Through juxtaposing the different, the exotic, and the fantastic, these landscapes

reach beyond the national out into the wider world, opening up its diversity and complexity to both India and Indians. Through this use of visual culture, we see into India's collective geographic consciousness, mindful of its traditions, yet aspiring a greater role within the global community. These landscapes combine both modernity and tradition in selective ways, juxtaposing them to enhance the image, while also creating geographic awareness. Yet they also become a site where modernity is negotiated and contested through the inclusion of the traditional, whether genuine or packaged for consumption.

Christopher Pinney (1997: 99) suggests that within oleographs, "the landscape is of course fragmented across a plethora of individual images but it is the act of consumption, the local reconstituting of the semantic 'train' which creates this ideal landscape, which pieces together this parallel 'kaleidoscopic panorama' of the nation." If oleographs of the early to mid-twentieth century depict the 'kaleidoscopic panorama' of India, then song-and-dance sequences expand this medium into a 'kaleidoscopic panorama' of postnational India. As Vinay Lal writes, "the Indian adventure with 'globalization' is on display." Yet this adventure is controlled, created and contested through the inherent nature of cinematic construction. Landscapes in Bollywood song-and-dance sequences bring the world to India, and India to the world, and also India to herself, all through the lens of its expanding popular culture.

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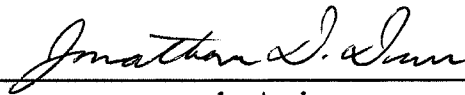
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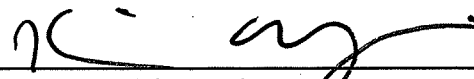
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Sequence in Hindi Popular Cinema**



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