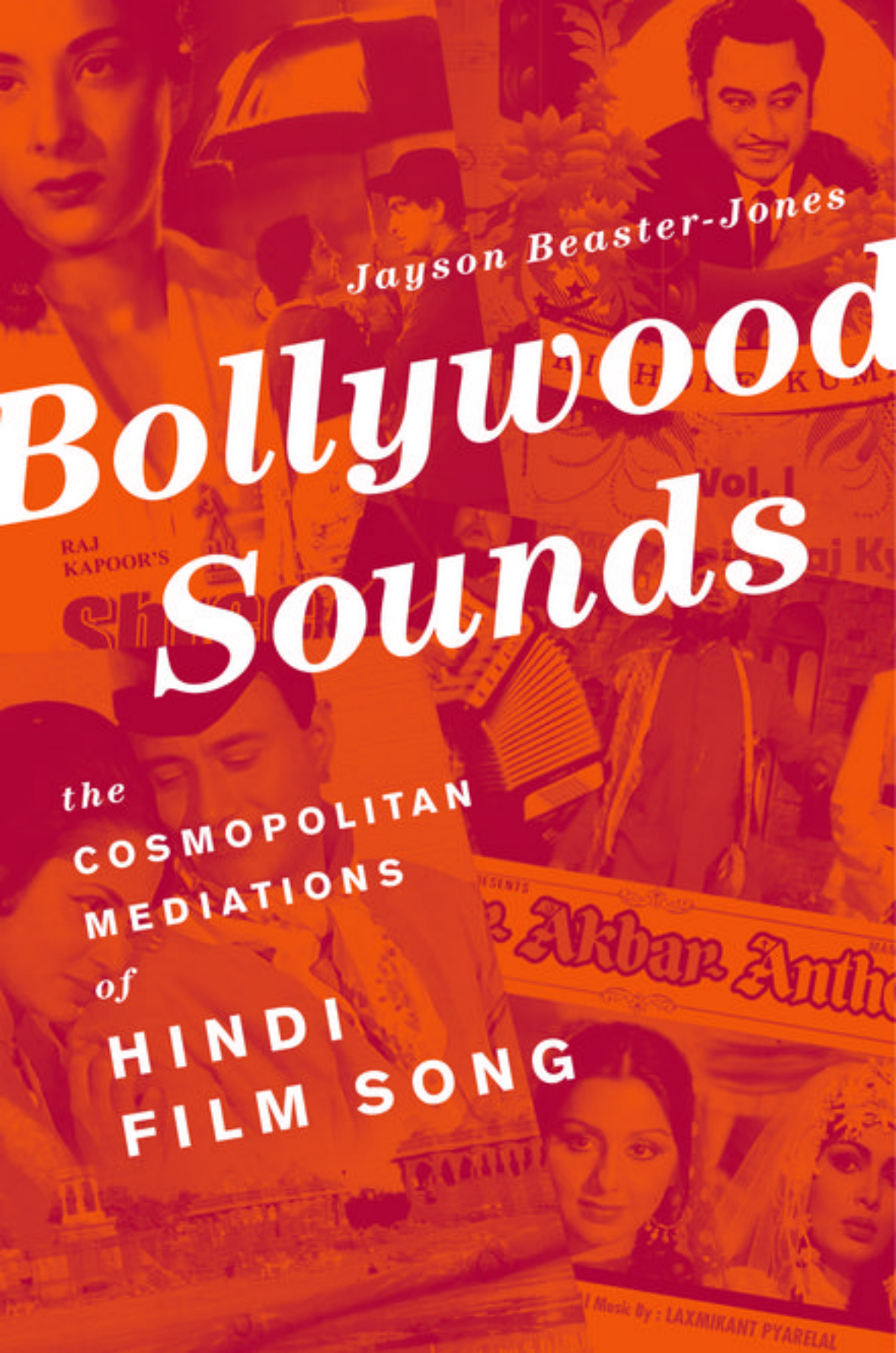
Jayson Beaster-Jones
Bollywood Sounds
the COSMOPOLITAN MEDIATIONS of HINDI FILM SONG
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The Cosmopolitan Mediations of Hindi Film Song

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PREFACE

Indian films have generated a lot of attention in the last 10 years. Yet few authors engage in any depth with what is perhaps the most distinctive feature of any Indian film: its songs.[1] More often than not, songs are discussed almost entirely in terms of filmic "text" (i.e., in their visual or narrative contexts), with minimal, if any, discussion of musical sounds or the people who create these sounds. There has been a similar efflorescence of fan biographies of particular music directors and singers, but these too frequently elide discussions of musical sound and the cosmopolitan orientations of this sound.[2] These hagiographic texts tend to be based on the assumption that their readers are already fans of particular artists and their repertoires, which makes these accounts largely inaccessible to neophytes who are interested in the history and conventions of film song.

There are some notable exceptions, however. In addition to several essays and book chapters that introduce and frame the conventions of particular eras of film song,[3] a number of important book-length analyses have helped fill this lacuna. Among these works are Alison Arnold's (1991) Ph.D. dissertation, which examines production practices of the 1950s through the '70s; Ashok Ranade's (2006) discussion of the biographical and musical features of historic music directors and singers; Anna Morcom's (2007) broad exploration of the production, business, and narrative strategies of songs up to late 1990s Hindi films; and Gregory Booth's (2008) groundbreaking collection of oral histories of the musicians and arrangers working "behind the curtain" (i.e., the people whose role in song production is usually overlooked). While each of these studies is an important contribution to understanding the forms, conventions, and practices of film song production, they tend to focus on particular periods of film song production, rather than situating them within the long-term historical and film narratives that songs help to produce. Moreover, these accounts do not discuss the songs themselves in much detail beyond an occasional transcription of the melody. Accordingly, one of my primary goals in writing this book is to

create a balanced discussion of musical sound in its social, historical, economic, and filmic contexts that will be accessible to lay readers, yet retain a scholarly perspective.

Like the composers of Hindi film songs, I have oriented *Bollywood Sounds* with several kinds of audiences in mind. The first are the readers who have a general interest in film song and need an entrée into its music-makers, conventions, and aesthetics. I make no assumption that these readers will have a background in either Indian history or Indian film. For this reason, I have included historical and biographical vignettes to provide an introduction to Indian history as it relates to the conventions of Indian music and film. For readers who are already familiar with India and/or the conventions of Indian film, this book provides a way to help expand their knowledge of musical practices in film song production. In addition, song analyses offer new ways to listen to songs, as well as insights into their formal and musical dimensions and the people involved in their production. For music scholars, this book adapts a theoretical paradigm of musical cosmopolitanism and mediation that can be usefully applied to expressive culture more generally. I show how cosmopolitan music-makers mediate manifold musical styles, instruments, and practices to create and maintain a popular music genre that is oriented to heterogeneous audiences. Furthermore, I illustrate how musical meaning emerges from social, historical, economic, multimedia, and musical contexts. For each kind of reader, I have provided a timeline of influential music directors, singers, and lyricists in appendix A, as well as recommendations of approximately 25 songs and 10 films for each decade in appendix B. All of these songs and films are landmarks of their eras and will help readers develop a musical-cultural literacy of Hindi film songs.

In order to make my argument about musical cosmopolitanism and mediation, I survey a large span of time (roughly 1943 to 2013), during which thousands of songs have been composed, recorded, and distributed. In order to make this book manageable for its different audiences, however, I discuss only a handful of musicians, music directors, and songs. Thus, there are many influential musicians and music directors who deserve entire books of their own and who might be mentioned only in passing here. Although there is certainly a historical dimension to my discussion, in no sense should this book be construed as a comprehensive history of *Hindi* film song, much less *Indian* film song. Rather, the chapters are designed to introduce particular songs and their producers, even as they develop an argument around musical cosmopolitanism and mediation. The chapters in this book are roughly chronological and separated into six periods of approximately 10 to 15 years each, on the basis of a landmark

film or historical event. While this rendition into musical-historical eras provides a certain utility, it is important to stress that in any given historical moment, there are multiple musical practices and conventions operating at the same time. Most important, this book is song-focused. Nearly every chapter begins and ends with a discussion of a film song. These analyses thus situate the songs within their narrative, historical, and musical contexts. As such, discussion of music—and its interactions with various social forces—receives a lot of attention in this book. However, describing musical sound can be quite complicated, especially since many people are unfamiliar with the technical language used by musicians and musicologists. For this reason, I have included a glossary for readers who are less acquainted with Indian musical nomenclature and/or instruments.

Each chapter has a consistent internal structure, beginning with a song vignette and an analysis that introduces the key issues that will be addressed in that chapter. This is followed by a section that provides a short framework for understanding the social and historical dimensions of film songs, the ways that Hindi films are inflected by these dimensions, and the general characteristics of many of the film songs of that era. Most chapters include a discussion of the technologies that facilitate the distribution of songs, as well as the political forces that constrain these technologies. Each chapter also examines one or more of the music production roles, the people involved in production at various stages (e.g., music directors, singers, lyricists), as well as some of the conventions that these people use in crafting film songs (e.g., song or lyrical forms). Finally, each chapter discusses one or two music directors, their biographies and noteworthy soundtracks, general characteristics of their styles, and one or more songs that exemplify their contributions. The discussion of the final song in each chapter then connects the themes addressed in that chapter to the themes of the following chapter.

Finally, for the sake of clarity, a distinction needs to be made between local conceptions of "film music" (*filmi saṅgīt*) and "film song" (*filmi gīt* or *gānā*). Although film scholars tend to conflate film song and film music, the people involved in music production put them in discrete categories. From a music production perspective, "film music" is the incidental background music—also called the "film score" in India—that helps to generate the underlying context and mood of particular scenes of a film and generally does not have a lyric component. "Film song," on the other hand, is a moment in the film in which the music is foregrounded, follows a clear song form, and has lyrics that are performed by vocalists. Although there are a few notable exceptions, film *songs* appear on the soundtracks that circulate in local markets, are used to promote the film, and are retained

in popular memory, unlike film *music*. Accordingly, the latter is frequently composed by music assistants who receive comparatively little credit and remuneration for their compositions, whereas music directors who compose film songs—but might or might not compose film music—receive maximal status and remuneration for their role in music production.

THE PROBLEM OF "BOLLYWOOD"

Although the term "Bollywood" has existed for decades, its use as a generic term to describe the Hindi language film industry has expanded since the late-1990s, the period in which Indian films were being promoted to international audiences. There are frequently 200 or more Hindi language films released in any given year, yet Bollywood is not India's only film industry: Films are written and produced for many of India's 22 national languages, including films in Bengali, Bhojpuri, Kannada, Malayalam, Marathi, Tamil, and Telugu.[4] Film producers working in the South Indian languages of Tamil and Telugu sometimes release as many or more films each year than the Hindi film industry. Most of these regional language industries regularly incorporate songs into the narrative, and, like Hindi language songs, their songs also dominate the airwaves of their respective regions. In other words, many thousands of film songs are released every year in a wide variety of Indian languages. Thus, Hindi film songs make up only one portion of the complicated sonic tapestry of Indian popular musics.

Despite this incredible diversity of popular songs in Indian languages, Bollywood film songs are the most readily available for audiences residing outside of India and sometimes even within India. For people living outside of India, the term "Bollywood" has become a metonym for all of the Indian film industries. That is to say, in ways that are not entirely accurate, Bollywood is a term that has come to nominally represent the entirety of Indian filmmaking. If one were to ask about Kollywood, Tollywood, or Mollywood, for example, most people outside of India would not recognize these labels as (respectively) the Tamil, Telugu, and Malayalam film industries. Unfortunately, it is much easier to acquire subtitled films and translated song lyrics of the Hindi language than of other Indian languages. The reasons for this are not entirely clear, but one suspects that the Hindi language film industry has more effectively branded itself inside and outside of India than these other regional language industries in the same way that the iPod came to represent the entire market for portable digital music players.

Although the term "Bollywood" typically denotes the Hindi language film industry, it is a somewhat controversial term in India. A portmanteau of "Bombay" and "Hollywood," it is frequently used in a pejorative sense to imply that the films produced in Bombay are simply low-quality derivatives of American commercial cinema. Academics have noted that the term entered common usage in the last two decades as Indian film producers began to market films to audiences outside of India (Rajadhyaksha and Willemen 2003, Ganti 2012). As such, Bollywood became a convenient brand label for films that are produced in India, contain songs, and follow melodramatic conventions that many Westerners find confusing because they differ from Western genres and narrative conventions. Yet, despite these pejorative connotations, the term has a denotative utility: When someone says Bollywood, people generally know what this means. For this reason, Bollywood is used in the title of this book because it is oriented toward newcomers to Indian films and songs. Nevertheless, I generally restrict my usage of the term "Bollywood" to refer specifically to the post-1990s Hindi language film industry.

The most important thing to emphasize here is that Hindi film songs are a consummately commercial form of musical expression; among other things, songs operate as a medium for selling theater tickets, recordings of soundtracks, etc. Like other commercially oriented expressive culture, film song producers must be cognizant of their potential audiences for their songs; otherwise, they will not achieve commercial success, which in turn means that they are unlikely to be hired for another film project. As in the film industry more generally, one is only as good as one's last film, and the half-life of commercial success is shorter than it might seem. Success may be measured in a number of different ways, of course, but for film producers and investors, the bottom line is the bottom line.

A NOTE ON SONG TITLES, TRANSLITERATION, AND TRANSLATION

The naming conventions of film songs can be confusing for non-Hindi speakers. At times, people will refer to songs on the basis of the entire first line of the *mukhṛā*, or the opening refrain (e.g., "Tujhe dekha to yeh jaana sanam" ["I saw you and realized that this is love"] or "Kabhi kabhi mere dil mein khayal aata hai" ["Sometimes a thought enters my heart"]). Frequently, this title is abbreviated on cassette and CD jackets to just the first few words (i.e., "Tujhe dekha" ["I saw you"] or "Kabhi kabhi" ["Sometimes"]). One consequence of this abbreviated reference is that the literal English translation

is sometimes different from the intent of the lyrics. In this book, the song title translations will usually reflect the sense of the entire opening line of the *mukhṛā* in the first usage, and then the shorthand title in subsequent usages.

Second, the Romanization of film songs—and different spellings of the same song—can make them difficult to track down through an Internet search. Very rarely do film producers list songs with diacritics. Most frequently, this spelling issue is with long vowels in Hindi (e.g., ā, ī, ū), such that a word like *āwārā* (vagabond or street urchin) or *āwāz* (voice) might be Romanized "aawaara," "awaara," "awara," or "aawaaz," "awaaz," "awaz." Similarly, because there are letters that occur in the Devanagari script that do not exist in the Roman script, other words might be difficult to find. For example, *laḍkā* (boy)—which is pronounced somewhere between "luh-arka" and "luh-adka"—is sometimes represented as "larka" in older songs, but most frequently as "ladka" in song titles. The term *mukhṛā*—often Romanized as *mukhda*—is similarly pronounced somewhere between "mookh-da" and "mookh-ra." Certain patterns have emerged over time that are used on packaging, but these may not be reflected in phonetic spellings of certain songs. In general, I have retained the spelling of the song from the jacket of the film's soundtrack recording, which tends to be the easiest way to find particular songs.

As in poetry, most song lyrics have many layers of meaning; any translation of a song is only one of many possible interpretations of that text. Moreover, the poetic images that are used in song traditions vary from one cultural context to another. In a Western context, for example, church bells have a number of different connotations: They can indicate the time, be a call to prayer, announce celebratory events like weddings, and reference funerals. The poetic image of church bells can point to any or all of these meanings, even in the same song, depending upon the perspective of the interpreter at any given moment of time. More subtly, the *sound* of church bells in a song can reinforce or transform the meaning of the lyrics in ways that defy simple explanations. There are a number of poetic and musical images in Indian songs that can be equally difficult to translate. Many love songs, for example, include textual and/or aural references to the *shehnai* (a double reed instrument that sounds similar to an oboe) as an allusion to marriage, since the instrument is often played during wedding processions. In addition, the poetic and visual imageries associated with love, including the season of *sāvan* (the monsoon season), *barsāt* (rain), *dīwanī* (love sickness), and *mastī* (intoxication) have significances that their literal English translations do not quite capture, especially since each of these images has a long history in Indian poetic and cultural practice. Thus, each term has

several simultaneously operating cultural resonances that add dimensions of meaning that are typically lost in translation. Accordingly, the translations of song or film titles in this book are not always literal; rather, I have tried to capture some of the variegated nuances and connotations within the translation.

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Like every film song, this book was composed through interactions and collaborations with many people. My research for this book began as a graduate student at the University of Chicago in 1999, as I was introduced to many significant Hindi films by Ronald Inden in a class entitled "Film in India." This preliminary exposure to Hindi films continued at the American Institute for Indian Studies' (AIIS) year-long language program in 2000–01 and its pedagogical use of Hindi language cinema. I am particularly indebted to Vidhu Chatravedi for his help in understanding the depth of Hindi film song lyrics, as well as Joel Lee, Carla Bellamy, and James Hare who explored the production of mainstream commercial cinema with me as we created the (thankfully) limited release of *Jaanwar Maalik* (Lee 2001).

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ABOUT THE COMPANION WEBSITE

www.oup.com/us/bollywoodsounds

Oxford has created a website to accompany *Bollywood Sounds: The Cosmopolitan Mediations of Hindi Film Song*. The reader is encouraged to consult this resource in which the author provides short video examples of each of the 25 Hindi film songs discussed in the book. These subtitled videos illustrate the musical, lyrical, and cinematographic features of these songs in ways that will supplement the reader's understanding of the song analyses. They also exemplify many of the sites of musical continuity and change over the course of 70 years of film song production. Examples available online are signaled by Oxford's symbol: ⏵

CHAPTER 1

Bollywood Sounds

One summer afternoon in June 2005, a friend and I decided to take in the movie *Bunty Aur Babli* at the famous Regal Cinema in South Mumbai. We had been seeing ads for this story about con artists Bunty (Abhishek Bachchan) and Babli (Rani Mukherji) on television, and suspected that it would be one of the year's blockbusters. Since the film was still in its first week of release, we expected the theatre to be sold out and arrived early to wait with the eager crowd.

In India, the movie-going experience begins with the process of getting a ticket. The Regal, a single-screen theatre, is subdivided into several differently priced classes of seating, which in 2005 was ₹50 (US$0.91) for the lower stall, ₹80 (US$1.60) for the upper stall, and ₹100 (US$1.80) for the balcony. The ticket line was relatively long, but I was soon able to thrust my cash-filled hand into the ticket window and request two upper-level tickets. The manager took my money, crossed off two seats on the chart, ripped the tickets from his booklet, and handed them to me. The film would not start for another 30 minutes, so we took a moment to grab some refreshments and preview the posters of the upcoming films. Meanwhile, the audience began to line up at the entrances to the cinema hall, waiting impatiently for the theatre staff to open the door. About 15 minutes before the film was to begin, the doors opened and the crowd rushed into the theatre to find their seats. Unfamiliar with the layout of the hall, my friend and I approached an usher to help us. His flashlight briefly illuminated our tickets and then indicated the backs of our seats.

Before the film began, the audience was asked to rise for the Indian national anthem. The strains of "Jana Gana Mana," written by the Nobel

Laureate Rabindranath Tagore, flowed through the hall, accompanied by an image of India's national flag. Once the anthem was complete, the music swelled into the opening credits, and the audience began to cheer in anticipation of yet another blockbuster from the Yash Raj Films banner. We had already recognized a couple of the songs that punctuated the narrative in key places because these songs had been played on the radio for weeks before the film's release. Indeed, the entire soundtrack had been available in music stores for well over a month. Our appetite for the film had been whetted by the media blitz preceding the film, including the "teasers" that MTV and other music television channels had been broadcasting on regular rotation. We had seen glimpses of the film narrative interspersed with song picturizations, and my friend and I had made some guesses about the meanings of the songs and their role in the narrative based on the style of each song on the soundtrack and our experiences with other Hindi films. It was only when we watched the film, however, that we came to know the context in which each of the songs appeared. The impact of the songs was enhanced by the surround sound of the cinema hall, especially when compared to the small boom box and television speakers I had been listening to before coming to the theatre. The full frequency range, the crisp highs, the deeply powerful bass, and the overall *presence* of the songs drew us into the film reality in ways that we might have been able to resist had we been watching on television at home. Thus, even though I had been hearing the songs on the soundtrack for weeks before going to the theatre, their melodies were reinforced in this particular cinematic viewing experience and stayed with me long after I left the theatre. In fact, it would be another seven years before I saw the film again, and, during that intervening time, I listened to that soundtrack over and over again and came to know each song well. Nevertheless, the key moments from the film's songs and the memories of hearing and seeing them at that particular cinema, on that particular afternoon, remain with me to this day.

The soundtrack for *Bunty Aur Babli* was composed by the music director trio Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy (i.e., Shankar Mahadevan, Ehsaan Noorani, Loy Mendonsa, also known as SEL), which has produced some of the most influential Indian film songs of the 2000s. Like the other legendary music directors that preceded them, SEL has a distinct and instantly recognizable sound that draws from a wide range of Indian and international sources. This cosmopolitanism is nowhere more apparent than in the song "Kajra re" ("Your mascaraed eyes") (figure 1.1 and video 1.1), a song that has become one of the landmarks of the decade as a famous "item number"—Bollywood parlance for a film song that typically features an actress in an erotically charged dance sequence. Item numbers, earlier performed

Figure 1.1:
Aishwarya Rai beckons to Amitabh Bachchan in "Kajra re" (*Bunty Aur Babli* [2005]).

▶ Video 1.1: "Kajra re"

by sultry lesser-known actresses or "vamps," and now the domain of leading actresses, have little relevance to the film narrative, though they often take film directors and choreographers weeks to plan and film. The throbbing, dance-oriented music and spectacular visuals promote the film on television as a way to lure viewers to the cinema hall. The "picturization" or visual narrative accompanying the music of "Kajra re" certainly fits most of these characteristics, although the "item" in this case was the superstar actress Aishwarya Rai (colloquially known as Ash) rather than some unknown starlet. In the song sequence, Ash rejects the character that her future fiancé (Abhishek Bachchan) plays in order to flirt with the character played by the superstar Amitabh Bachchan, Abhishek's real-life father. All of these intertextual significances are in play as the song unfolds on the big screen, and such real/reel-life ironies (not lost on the typical audience) are one of the great sources of pleasure in Indian films.

"Kajra re" is an atypical item number from a musical perspective as well. Rather than featuring the disco-infused electronica that is the familiar staple of item numbers, the music alludes to the *kajalī* (also called a *kajrī*), a style of folk song and dance that is associated with the state of Uttar

Pradesh. Sung in the rainy season by women, *kajalī* lyrics frequently discuss the *viraha* (separation) of lovers, as well as the desire that accompanies an empty bed (Henry 1988). The lyrics of "Kajra re" certainly get this idea across, as the "song situation" (the narrative context of the song) sets it in a modern adaptation of a *koṭha*, an urban salon managed by a courtesan. In a sense, the song is intended to express the desires of a courtesan who is trying to attract—yet is ultimately rejected by—her client. The folk song origins of "Kajra re" are present just as much in the musical accompaniment as in the lyrics. The stage is set by a solo female voice (Alisha Chinai) accompanied by the harmonium in the unmetered opening moments of the song. Alisha was a rather unusual choice of singer since her voice is primarily associated with the Indipop genre of the 1990s that eschewed the vocal inflections and musical orientation of Indian film songs. The splash of sound created by the santur leads into a simple tabla beat that is underscored by a bass groove, over which a male singer recites tabla *bols* (the syllables assigned to drum strokes). After a break, Alisha's voice returns to this groove, accompanied in a four-beat meter by tabla, electric bass, and the sound of *ghūnghrūs* (ankle bells worn by Indian classical dancers). In terms of song form, this lyrical introduction leads then to the men singing "kajra re" accompanied by sharp, rhythmic whistles from the crowd that might accompany a live folk performance. This part of the song is the primary melodic/lyric combination that returns throughout the performance. Like the "hook" in a Western pop song, the refrain is the most memorable moment in the song by design; not only is it usually the song title, but the melody is used in the marketing of the film and its soundtrack. Like any advertisement, it is meant to create an instant recall of the product being sold once the audience hears it. Because it was the tune picked by Yash Raj Films to promote *Bunty Aur Babli*, I had been hearing the refrain of this song for weeks in music stores, on the radio, and on television without knowing its cinematic context. Even if I had not seen the film, the ubiquity of the song—in broadcast media, in dance programs, at weddings, etc.—would have reinforced its presence as an important film song of the mid-2000s. This is precisely the case for most of the landmark songs of every era of Indian cinema.

THE MEANING, VALUE, AND ROLES OF SONGS IN INDIAN FILMS

As my description of *Bunty Aur Babli* suggests, the narrative conventions, production aesthetics, and modes of presentation of Hindi films produced

in Mumbai studios, known as Bollywood in the contemporary era, are substantially different from the genres of American or European films. Many Indian films are not quite comedies, not quite dramas, not quite romances, not quite musicals, but rather mixtures of all these genres in a single three-hour package. Although, a "lack" of a single dominant narrative is often used in unflattering scholarly comparisons of Indian films to American or European films (Prasad 1998), other film scholars such as Thomas (1985), Dwyer (2000), and Ganti (2013) have rightly argued that Hindi films are better understood as embodying a different set of generic (and genre) conventions than their Hollywood counterparts. In spite of recent scholarship that has celebrated Hindi cinema as an Indian alternative to Hollywood hegemony, it has inspired much cultural criticism, both inside and outside of India. The films have been accused of being formulaic and grossly violent, objectifying women, offering a homogenized commercial paradigm, glorifying consumerism, and appealing to the lowest common denominator of Indian society. Other critics have accused commercial Hindi films of being the embodiment of everything wrong with the Western influence upon Indian society. This is, of course, a deeply problematic argument insofar as films have been created by Indian producers for Indian consumers, and the metrics of their success or failure emerge from Indian box offices, even if some of the sources for inspiration have come from outside of India.

One of the primary distinctive features of the Hindi film noted by those unfamiliar with its conventions is the inclusion of six or more songs that seemingly interrupt the flow of the film narrative in ways that are superficially similar to the "musical" genre of Hollywood. Drawing from a variety of visual and aural sources, these song picturizations have been an element of Hindi films since the advent of sound in cinema and fulfill a variety of narrative functions within an individual film. Following stylistic conventions that have largely been in place since the 1940s, film songs are written to fit the locational and narrative requirements of the film. Song sequences are often shot in exotic locations like Kashmir, Switzerland, and Mumbai cabarets; can depict the celebration of familiar local religious festivals; signal the transition of the hero from childhood to adulthood (Creekmur 2005); portray the development or reinforcement of social bonds and the act of falling in love; and/or represent a Utopia or Arcadia on earth (Inden 1998). Most often, these songs are an amalgam of local and global musical styles that are recognizable aurally and generically as Hindi film songs, but sometimes stylize local categories of music recognizable to an Indian audience. Moments of Hindu worship (*pujā*), for example, are frequently depicted in Hindi films, and stylized hymns (*bhajan*)

are sung by the participants. Or, when the characters have recognized that they have fallen in (or out) of love, an adaptation of an Urdu *ghazal* is sometimes sung by the hero or heroine. At other times, when the narrative requires certain locations to be represented in the film, songs and music are composed that are indexically iconic of (i.e., create and represent) these spaces. For example, some film songs use a set of semi-classical musical conventions for the performance of a *mujrā*, a style of classical dance that is performed by courtesans in a *koṭhā* (urban salon). Another common convention of Hindi films until the 1980s was the depiction of a (Hindu) hero being tempted by an Anglicized vamp in a nightclub or discothèque. Often representing the negative influence of Western materialism on the urban Indian, the music composed for these venues consisted of songs that were mediations of the contemporary international popular musics of the time. Hence, many of the most popular love songs of the 1970s and 1980s, for example, were composed in a recognizable rock or disco style. Films in the 2000s often feature Mumbai's nightclubs in more ambivalent ways—as the site of modern youth in "family" films, as well as a naturalized gangster underworld (Ganti 2013). The music of these scenes evokes these spaces by using a stylized electronic dance music in one or more songs of the soundtrack. More recently, as I described with "Kajra re," snippets of these fast-paced song sequences, sometimes featuring the erotic gyrations of young starlets in item numbers, have come to represent the entire film in its television promotions.

When sound films ("talkies") emerged in the early 1930s, Hindi film actors performed the songs on screen themselves. But the technological advances of the 1940s enabled the separation of the performances of music and acting, out of which developed the practice locally known as "playback singing" and a professional class of "playback singers." In this practice, the music is recorded by professional musicians and played back for the actors to dance and lip-sync to during the shooting of the film. In the past, certain playback singers were strongly associated with certain actors. The "singing voice" of the actor Raj Kapoor from the late 1940s to the end of the 1960s, for example, would nearly always be the singer Mukesh. There was no parallel practice for women, however, as the high-pitched voices of Lata Mangeshkar and Asha Bhosle have represented generic female voices (and sometimes young boys) in several periods of film song. If one considers the sheer number of Hindi film songs produced historically, there have been surprisingly few successful playback singers. However, as I show in the following chapters, as the dominant singers who held sway until the 1970s aged, new singers arrived, some of them from the genre of Indipop like Alisha Chinai.

The visual mediation of film songs and incorporation of these songs into filmic narratives has been one driving force for the continued dominance of Hindi film songs in the field of Indian popular music. Songs are very often associated with, and openly promoted as, performances of the actors as much as the singers or music directors. At times, the transference of the voice from the singer to the actor has been more or less complete: a condition that music labels exploit for the sake of selling their products. In most music stores, for example, one can find compilation albums of the "songs of Shah Rukh Khan" or "Madhuri Dixit," popular Hindi film actors who do not sing, alongside CDs containing the "songs of R. D. Burman" (a music director) or "songs of Kishore Kumar" (a singer). Although listeners are aware that the actor is lip-syncing and can usually identify the singer, the cinematic context of the song's appearance in a film is a residue that adheres to the music. The names of the actors do not appear on the compilation album (unless they are in the title), but important cinematic moments in which some of the songs appear will be incorporated into the cassette or CD cover photo, and, thus, the actor retains his or her phantasmagoric attachment to the song. This connectedness of film and music in the Indian context may help to explain, in part, why there has been comparatively little written on film song, partially because of its unapologetically commercial aesthetic, but also because it is difficult to separate the music of film song from the intertextual discourses that circulate along with it. Also, because of its cosmopolitan orientations, film song has rarely been conceived of as an "authentically Indian" genre of music by cultural critics.

Beyond their narrative roles within films, film songs have social lives that are in some ways independent from—and in other ways deeply tied to—the fortunes and meanings of the film from which they come. Songs are a critical element in the marketing and promotion of films by the Indian media industries, particularly on radio broadcasts. Not surprisingly, the relative importance of songs in Indian films is largely a matter of one's subjective stance. Film producers and distributors view songs as an important vehicle for promoting commercial films in various media. Historically, very few Indian films have achieved box office success without the aid of six or more songs, although this has begun to change in the contemporary period. Film directors use songs as a way to depict the emotional state of characters and reveal other important information within the filmic narrative that characters might not be able to express through dialogue. For television channels, film song broadcasts were a popular but inexpensive way to fill airtime once satellite television emerged in the early 1990s. For studio musicians, the hegemony of film songs has been both an important source of income, as well as an oppositional "Other" for non-film genres

like Indipop that emerged after economic liberalization (roughly 1991 to the present day). DJs use film songs as a source for remixing and creative reuse in the dance club and in the studio, making older film songs relevant to new generations of listeners.

Some cultural critics see film songs as an index of crass commercialization and the declining tastes of the masses, while other critics celebrate the memories and affect that particular songs can evoke. Some scholars have argued that film songs, their stylistic conventions, and their industrial mode of production have had a negative influence on other Indian folk and popular musics. Many of these critics have taken this critique further by suggesting that film songs are inauthentic, if not destructive, representations of Indian national ideals. Yet, they are the pool of melodies that people draw from when playing the party game *antakshari*[1] and deeply tied to cultural memories of different epochs of Indian history. For others, the ostensibly heightened use of international music styles in film songs has become metonymic of the Indian nation in an era of globalization. As each of these perspectives suggests, film songs exemplify the manifold—and sometimes conflicting—sets of values of music in social life. These values are always relative and always generated within and by social, individual, and historical contexts.

FILM SONG COSMOPOLITANISM

This book focuses on the history, contexts, and people that make Indian film song a cosmopolitan genre of popular music. One aspect that even lay listeners notice in film songs is the incredible diversity of musical styles that are present in them. The approach of Indian music directors (i.e., composers) is unabashedly syncretic in terms of the aural elements (e.g., melodies, styles, forms, instruments, timbres, rhythms, textures) that are incorporated into songs. Music directors write songs that simultaneously suit the narrative contexts of particular films, even as they have enduring popularity beyond their filmic context. In other words, they synthesize the styles, instruments, and performance practices from a diverse array of Indian and non-Indian classical, folk, and devotional musics to create a cosmopolitan genre of popular music that is nevertheless rooted within a *filmi* aesthetic. Even though film songs incorporate the approaches of diverse musical systems, the sounds and practices of Bollywood songs have some centripetal tendencies that have remained consistent over its history.

Before discussing how these film songs operate in cosmopolitan and mediated ways, it is useful to take a moment to clarify what I mean by the

terms *popular, classical, folk*, and *devotional musics* as they relate to an Indian context. I want to emphasize at the outset, however, that many songs that I describe in this book overlap with two or more of these subdivisions (e.g., there are many folk and classical songs that are also devotional songs). Nevertheless, the terms have some utility and are frequently mobilized by music and cultural critics to describe certain kinds of musical practices. Although there are a number of good definitions of popular music (e.g., Middleton 1990), in this context, I am defining popular music as genres of music that have been produced for mass distribution to heterogeneous audiences on some sort of recording medium (e.g., film, cassette, CD, DVD, Internet streaming). Popular musics are created with the intent to appeal to broad audiences, but their memorability is sometimes more important than the unit sales that they generate. Like popular music traditions everywhere, Indian songs reflect the values of the era in which they are produced and recorded. Not only do they recreate memories for those who lived in that era, but they also represent the values of that era for later generations. Indeed, I have little doubt that "Kajra re" will be an index of the musical and social values of the mid-2000s for future viewers.

In the context of drawing from Indian sources, film songs primarily incorporate classical, folk, and devotional musics. By *classical music*, I mean the codified, pan-Indian systems of art music that follow rigorous rules of melodic and rhythmic production. Classical systems of North and South India share a number of features—most important, the *rāga* (melodic) and *tāla* (metrical) systems. However, there are a number of significant differences between the North and South Indian systems, not the least of which are distinct song forms, repertoires, and instruments. *Folk musics*, in contrast, are musical practices that are associated with particular and identifiable communities, places, festivals, seasons, and/or peoples of India. While also conforming to certain musical conventions, the rules governing folk musics are more flexible than those governing classical musics and, taken as a whole, have a much greater degree of heterogeneity than classical musics. Although they are associated with particular peoples of India, some folk musics are quite popular all over India and abroad. These include the *bhangra*, which is associated with the Punjab region of India and Pakistan, and the *garbā rās* and *dāndiyā rās* of Gujarat. Hindi film music directors have often incorporated folk song forms from the Indian states of Assam, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and Kashmir, and these folk styles are an important staple for regional language films (e.g., Punjabi, Bhojpuri, etc.). By *devotional musics*, I mean the musical practices associated with the praise, worship, or invocation of some aspect or characteristic of a divine or metaphysical nature within a religious tradition. Many of these songs

are participatory, meaning that they are designed to be sung by everyone who has even a basic grasp of their lyrics and melody, at any level of musical training. Indeed, the participatory performance of communal singing is effective in generating social solidarity (Turino 2008). Some folk and devotional songs are also responsorial, meaning that they alternate between a solo voice and a participatory chorus. Some examples of Indian devotional song styles used in film contexts include the *bhajan*, the *kirtan*, and the Sufi *qawwālī*. Like folk musics, some devotional musics are strongly associated with a particular region and language, such as the Marathi language *abhang* and the *keerthanai* sung by Tamil Christians. Ethnomusicologists frequently include nationalist songs (i.e., songs that celebrate the values and principles of the Indian nation) in this category. Fittingly, the ethos of these songs is referred to as *desh bhakti*, or "nation worship," in several Indian languages.

Music directors also unselfconsciously incorporate any number of international musics into film songs. The sonic elements of Spanish flamenco, for example, have long been mediated or adapted for particular film songs, as have Afro-Cuban rumba and mambo, the Brazilian samba and bossa nova, and Argentinian tango. Likewise, various kinds of jazz, rock, and disco have made their way into film songs. In the same way that music directors and arrangers have transformed Indian genres into their *filmi* incarnations, so too have these diverse international influences been transformed into *filmi* versions. The various combinations of instruments, styles, and timbres has led to a recognizably Indian genre of film music, one that has had its share of controversy in the politics of Indian society.

In discussions of film songs and the ideological construction of Indian and non-Indian elements, two sets of issues arise. First, how does one address the ostensibly Indian elements versus the ostensibly Western elements of a song? This issue of cultural influence has been tricky to negotiate for most music scholars as they work through the peregrinations of music and musical change in an era of globalization (e.g., Marshall and Beaster-Jones 2012). This is, incidentally, just as much of a problem in Indian films themselves, insofar as some of the film narratives and/or scenes within particular films are euphemistically described as "inspired by" another film or films. There are any number of ways to describe (and critique) the movement of ideas and representations, including, but not limited to, influences, inspirations, borrowings, quotations, plagiarism, Westernization (Kartomi and Blum 1994), hybridity (Dutta 2013), flows (Slobin 1993, Appadurai 1996), and cultural imperialism (Tomlinson 1991).

My inclination is to refer to film songs as *cosmopolitan*, that is, as the mediated musical material within and beyond the local, in whatever way

the local is constituted by producers and audiences. Rather than referring to social classes with the means, tastes, and mobility of privilege, or the moral-ethical perspective of world citizenship (e.g., Nussbaum 1996, Harvey 2000, Beck 2002), the sense of cosmopolitanism I utilize here denotes the translocal orientations of the producers, distributors, and consumers of cultural products who navigate overlapping—and sometimes conflicting—social identities (Robbins 1992, Turino 2000). In short, cosmopolitanism is a set of ideologically driven orientations that transcends borders (of any kind) in the performance of particularly rooted kinds of locality. This notion of locality is scalable such that it can mean the region of South Asia, the Indian nation-state, the Indian region of Maharashtra, the city of Mumbai, the suburb of Bandra, the neighborhood of Pali Hill, and so forth. As such, the cosmopolitanism of Colaba in Mumbai is inflected differently than the cosmopolitanism of a village in Maharashtra, or the cosmopolitanism of Hyde Park in Chicago.[2] This scalability in the definition of cosmopolitan is an important reminder that music does not create itself; it is created by people who sometimes perform contradictory sets of social identities. Viewing cosmopolitanism from a different angle, Martin Stokes (1994) has suggested that musicians are like magpies, in that they pick up anything and everything, play with it, and see what succeeds and what fails. One entailment of this cosmopolitanism is that one might need to use more than one analytic language to describe the music that people produce, since the conventions of more than one musical system are frequently co-operating. Finally, while this issue of multiple analytic languages might be usefully applied to cultural production in general (e.g., film, dance, etc.),[3] it certainly applies to the creators of film song who synthesize manifold musical sources and aesthetics into their compositions.

The point that I want to emphasize here is that producers of Indian cinema and its songs have always been translocally oriented, and they write music and films that draw from different regions of South Asia *as much or more* than they draw from international sources. As such, I would argue that it makes little sense to discuss film songs as being on a trajectory of Westernization, insofar as the songs and their producers have always already been cosmopolitan in the broadest sense. Indeed, music directors have just as consciously incorporated the Bengali *batiyali* or Punjabi *bhangra* styles into film songs as they have incorporated disco or heavy metal. Playback singers like Lata Mangeshkar and Mohammed Rafi integrated classical and folk styles into their song renditions in an equally mindful way. Composing or performing in diverse styles most often fits the particular narrative, spatial, and representational needs of the film (e.g., music underlying a regional folk festival, devotional music in a temple, music at

a cabaret or nightclub) and where the characters situate themselves with regard to these places or representations. The point to keep in mind here is that many songs do not simply fill the narrative needs of a film, but beyond their narrative context, they are the landmarks of popular music in the Indian nation, regardless of their style. Accordingly, it is important to *hear* the songs as much as to see them in films, as most audiences will hear songs (especially songs that they like) many more times than they will ever *see* their picturizations. Consequently, one might say that the aural dimension of the music becomes as much a component of individual memories as it is of social memories of particular periods.

THE HERMENEUTIC PROBLEM OF MULTIMEDIA

Beyond their cosmopolitanism, Indian film songs present another interesting hermeneutic problem: How does one interpret the meanings of the music of film songs when they are at once a part of a film narrative, contain lyrics that might reference dialogue or character development, have strong visual dimensions like dance and cinematography, have melodies that reference cultural and religious practices, and/or shift the lyrics and vocal timbre in ways that index (or point to) a character's origins or social class? In the context of music genres like Indian film songs, it makes little sense to discuss the music—and the meanings it generates—in isolation from its affiliated media, much less the social and historical contexts of its emergence. Yet, social-historical multimedia analysis presents several kinds of analytic problems, particularly when disciplinary constraints are in play. For example, when it comes to the kinds of significances that music evokes, musicologists tend to focus on musical form, harmony, rhythm, and melody to a much greater extent than they do on the "extra-musical" components of a song, such as the movement of the actors or the cinematography of the scene. Cinema scholars, in contrast, tend to address the narrative and visual content to a much greater extent than they do the aural or musical content. There are certainly exceptions, of course, but nevertheless there is a somewhat surprising dearth of holistic analysis of multimedia. This lacuna is one key issue that I intend to address in this book.

From a cinema studies perspective, the hermeneutic possibilities of a single image are potentially infinite. What are the analytic implications of adding moving images, narrative, and a soundtrack to the mix? In other words, how might we theorize the roles of music in multimedia and the sorts of meanings that music elicits? The theoretical canon for this type of

analysis resides in theatre and cinema studies, but unfortunately, film scholars have a strong tendency to privilege analysis of the visual component of media, often barely mentioning the sound or the music, thus reinforcing Gorbman's (1987) argument that the soundtrack is largely "unheard" by scholars, if not audiences. Yet, there is a small-but-growing body of literature on music in media, drawing from film music and sound studies (e.g., Gorbman 1987, Goodwin 1992, Flinn 1992, Chion 1994), that provides many great insights into the ways in which soundtracks covertly aid the production of meaning in multimedia contexts. Nicholas Cook (1994) has pointed out some of the manifold meanings that might emerge in the nexus of music and image in advertising films, for example. Moreover, the role of music in multimedia is frequently naturalized by both producers and audiences to the extent that the visual dimension is privileged over the otherwise unheard aural dimension.

Further complicating this hermeneutic problem of multimedia are the patterns of meaning that audiences both bring to and take from the audio-visual integration (Tagg and Clarida 2003); thus, we should also acknowledge the potential contingency of meaning that stems from individual experience. Individuals who are physically present when a film or song is being broadcast may be more or less engaged with different sensory modalities each time they see it (e.g., they might be eating popcorn, distracted by the person sitting next to them, or changing the channel). Similarly, listeners who encounter a song decades after it was released might laminate additional meanings onto it, such that it might evoke memories of their childhood, or remind them of the first time they fell in love, or act as an index of a particular music director's era (i.e., the sound of R. D. Burman and/or the 1970s writ large).[4] Or one person might point out a particular feature of a song (i.e., a particular rhythmic figure or vocal inflection) that another person had never noticed despite having heard the song many times. From a phenomenological perspective, the interconnections between the person and music, including the affective quality with which the person actively brings that music into experience—what Harris Berger (2010) calls "stance"—are another ground out of which musical meanings arise. From the perspective of music production, any song is both a product of and a response to the experience of music as a whole, with meanings constantly shifting in the mediascape in ways that producers and audiences may not be completely aware (Huron 1989). Hence, as with any form of expressive culture, the interpretations of a song can be as diverse as the histories and experiences of the persons who encounter it. This plenitude of interpretive possibilities must in some way be accounted for by any multimedia analysis.

One productive way to address this hermeneutic problem of music, meaning, and media is with recourse to the theory of sign relations developed by Charles Sanders Peirce (1916). Peircean sign theory is undeniably difficult to gloss without distorting or oversimplifying, especially for those who are unfamiliar with his analytic language. Thus, in order to facilitate an understanding of my argument for non-specialists, most of the discussion of Peircean sign theory and its theoretical implications can be found in the endnotes of this chapter. In brief, semiotic analysis is a framework for understanding the ways that individuals perceive and generate meaning from various (non-)denotational sources (i.e., the pragmatic dimension of language rather than the semantic or syntactic) without precluding the possibility of linguistic mediation.[5] In other words, a semiotic framework enables an analyst to begin to address the ways in which music, color, noise, style, or genre can have manifold significances for audiences without reifying these meanings or resorting to linguistic analogies.[6] The relative contingency of sign interactions across media and sensory modalities, as a cognitive process, provides us with another potential solution to the hermeneutic problem of multimedia: Insofar as signs such as music, color schemes, or hairstyles have little denotational content, it would be inaccurate to suggest that sounds, colors, or styles "reference" anything, such as a particular historical period or emotion. On the other hand, suggesting that a musical period is indexed by a sound or style not only acknowledges the contingency of meaning, it also acknowledges that this association may not occur for all listeners at all times, or may occur with more or less specificity. In order to retain maximal clarity with theoretical rigor, my analysis utilizes only a portion of Peirce's specialized language of sign theory, particularly the nested hierarchies of signs he calls icons, indexes, and symbols, and his conception of *semiosis* discussed below.[7]

FILMI MEDIATION OF STYLE

As I have already noted, the music of Indian films is remarkably heterogeneous. Despite the diversity of source materials, however, many songs are readily identifiable as film songs, even to casual listeners, on the basis of particular sounds, styles, and forms that appear with some regularity. Film songs have been one of the dominant recorded musics in India since the inception of the sound film in the 1930s, but they became the hegemonic genre in India after the 1940s. Over the intervening decades, Indian music directors developed ways of incorporating diverse musical materials into a uniquely Indian musical style that musicians, audiences, and cultural critics

have labeled *filmi* (i.e., indexes their role or presence in a film). It is important to emphasize at the outset, however, that the sounds and styles of film songs have changed over time as various musical fashions from India and abroad have been incorporated into film songs. Thus, while the musical content and style of film songs have been dramatically transformed a number of times, the compositional practice of music directors—mediating musical content into songs that they believe their audiences will want to hear—has remained more or less contiguous.

The term "film song" is a category label that is applied to any song that appears in an Indian film, irrespective of any of its musical features or even the language of the lyrics (e.g., some Hindi film songs are sung in English, inflected by an Urdu or Punjabi lexicon, etc.). Due to a number of constraints, not the least of which is the necessity to appeal to large, diverse audiences, music directors tend to make certain kinds of musical decisions when incorporating various genres into film song, such that connoisseurs would not deem film renditions of these styles or genres to be "authentic." Thus, when these genres are incorporated into a film song, listeners are likely to describe them as *filmi* (i.e., the song has musical characteristics that would enable someone to identify what style or genre it is drawing from, yet it has been adapted for use in a film). For example, it is common for music directors to borrow Indian folk melodies, but adapt them to the aesthetic conventions of film songs by adding orchestra or nonstandard instruments, changing the timbres of the vocalists, applying new rhythmic structures, or otherwise transforming the melody. This practice of adaptation of a non-film song into a film very often, but not always, makes the song identifiable as a *filmi* rendition.

While the label *filmi* is often used in a strictly descriptive sense, especially for Hindi speakers, other meanings of the term have the valence of being a kind of inauthentic mode of performance, both in musical and nonmusical contexts. For example, one might call a romantic relationship *filmi* if it tends toward overblown expressions of emotion and melodrama. In addition to its use in describing the adaptation of a musical style into a film song, the term *filmi* can also describe stylistic approaches of other genres of music that do not appear in an Indian film. That is, compositions that utilize some of the more stereotypical elements of film songs might be referred to as *filmi* because of their vocal style, orchestration, or accompaniment. These *filmi* influences on non-film genres at times provoke expressions of derision or anxiety. For example, cultural critics find the incorporation of film song elements into local folk musics a troubling source of commercial influence on folk expression, if not also an inauthentic folk performance. Indeed, music directors often borrow ideas from Indian folk musicians, and

folk musicians borrow ideas from film songs, which are, in turn, borrowed once again by other musical traditions.[8] While cultural critics in India and elsewhere have decried these borrowings as an ostensible feedback loop of musical inauthenticity, this process accentuates the ways in which musical traditions resist stasis and utilize new resources that become available, even as they retain core sets of values that provide a site for ongoing continuity (Spiller 2008, Bakan 2011).

One way to address this issue of a *filmi* sound and style in Indian film and non-film songs is in terms of a practice I will call *stylistic mediation*. By stylistic mediation, I mean the production of a musical representation in which material from one set of conventions is framed according to the values of a different set of conventions, even as this material retains some aspects of its original content that point back to (index) its previous usages. In the context of film adaptations of the Sufi *qawwali*, for example, music directors retain certain aspects of this musical style that point to this devotional song genre through musical features like poetic form, a particular instrumentation, clapping by the ensemble, and vocal style. Audiences also recognize that these *qawwalis* have been mediated for a filmic context by music directors who might incorporate other elements such as non-Indian instruments and styles, chord progressions, and pre-composed instrumental interludes (see Morcom 2007, Manuel 2008).

Although I use the term "mediation" in this book primarily in a semiotic sense, it is worth noting that there are other important theoretical conceptions of mediation that are also pertinent to a discussion of film songs. In particular, mediation can refer to the encounters of cultural practices like music, dance, or theatre with systems of mass communication, and the ways in which these cultural practices are shaped by these encounters (e.g., Adorno and Horkheimer 1973, Manuel 1993, Auslander 1999). Often, this critical theory/mass communications perspective on mediation leads to theoretical assessments inflected by the anxieties surrounding the production of culture as commodity in capitalist economic systems. These perspectives also address the social consequences that stem from this capitalist production. This sense of mediation is certainly relevant to a discussion of film song, and I address this outlook from time to time in this book, as the commercial nature of film song production yields certain kinds of constraints on music directors and the music itself.

I wish to take the concept of mediation in a slightly different direction, however, in order to address how music is meaningful to audiences and producers, and as a way of working through the hermeneutic problem discussed above. The sense of mediation that I use here is derived from C. S. Peirce's notion of semiosis[9] (i.e., the process by which signs interact with

other signs in any sensory modality [e.g., visual, aural, tactile, olfactory] and across sensory modalities to produce other signs [meanings/significances]). Every sign has the potential to be a catalyst for other signs, even across sensory modalities; the smell of baking bread might trigger a line of prose, which might lend itself to a melody, which might remind me to pay a bill, which might provoke frustration about the function of compound interest (see also Beaster-Jones 2011). Something that is a sign for one person may not operate in the same ways for another person: One person might identify a musical feature (e.g., a rhythm, a timbre, an inflection) in a song and make musical or cultural associations with it, while another person might not recognize that element and/or make different sets of associations. Everything in human experience is necessarily mediated by, among other things, sensory perceptions, social conventions and practices, individual human experiences, and memories. By extension, any adaptation of the characteristics of one set of styles, genres, or practices in terms of the values of another set of styles, genres, or practices can therefore be described as a kind of mediation. Hence mediation operates at the creative nexus between iconicity and indexicality, insofar as mediations necessarily bear the traces of their earlier incarnations.

There are countless examples of musical mediations of one musical style by another in music genres around the world. For example, the sounds and musical practices of flamenco have been frequently mediated in Hindi film songs. As a Spanish folk genre locally associated with Gypsies (among other ethnic groups), flamenco is itself a cosmopolitan genre of music and dance that mediates a variety of disparate musical traditions, including Western and Arab folk traditions. Practitioners of this music genre interpreted various music systems in such a way that, over time, they became a distinct set of recognizable practices in themselves. Iconic indexes of flamenco have long been present in film songs, dating back at least to the 1940s, and it was incorporated into the pool of resources used by Indian music directors. I would speculate that there are a couple of reasons for this. For instance, the Phrygian mode that indexes flamenco happens to also be the scalar pattern of one of the most prominent *rāgas* in both Indian classical music and film song, Rāg Bhairavi. It is worth speculating that the popularity of this *rāga* in an Indian context would make the transference of flamenco palatable to Indian ears. This suitability of flamenco also extends to the use of harmony in film songs. Indian composers as a general rule did not base their compositions on a conception of functional or chordal harmony. Melodies were far more likely to be based on the compositional norms of the classical *rāga* system or borrow from any one of the myriad folk conventions. Until the 1970s, harmonies provided by a keyboard, guitar, or bass line were

muted in the recording mix since music directors and arrangers believed that their audiences had no interest in them. As Alison Arnold (1991) has suggested, this approach to mixing seems to be borne out by audience desires for uncomplicated "music" accompanying the "song" (i.e., the vocal melody). Until very recently, harmonies that would be utilized in a film song were likely laminated onto the song only after the melody was composed, as opposed to composing the song with harmony in mind. As a result, the system of cadences (i.e., musical tension and release) that emerged was significantly different from the functional harmony that operates within many Western contexts. To a Western ear, one might say that the harmonies used in film songs have a kind of "unexpected" quality about them. Chord progressions based on the Phrygian mode, especially chords that utilize the built-in dissonance of the minor second scale degree, are fairly common in film songs. Insofar as Phrygian/Bhairavi is one of the most important modes used for composing song melodies, building chords in Bhairavi fits the harmonic conventions of flamenco, and Indian audiences would only rarely have any expectations of harmonic tension and release.

Flamenco sounds in film songs might be present in fairly subtle ways beyond melody and harmony. These might include styles of guitar strumming, vocal timbre, melodic ornamentation, hand-clapping, the use of particular rhythms, and the use of castanets. Many of these elements are fairly common in film songs. Yet, when the signs of flamenco are present within a given song, it is not always with the intention of indexing flamenco writ large; the flamenco sounds might nonetheless be subtly present in the song and recognizable to some listeners. This flamenco inflection would include songs like "Jab tak hai jaan" ("While there's still life in me") in *Sholay* (1975) and "Satarangi re"("Seven-colored one") in *Dil Se* (1998); whereas other contemporary songs draw more explicitly from flamenco, such as "Senorita" from *Zindagi Na Milegi Dobara* (2011), a song that mediates a Gypsy Kings' mediation of flamenco.

As I noted above, it is important to keep in mind that there is always a certain degree of indeterminacy built into these potential meanings, primarily because music generally lacks denotational content. Something like hand-clapping might just as easily index particular kinds of folk or devotional styles for certain listeners. Indeterminacy is also a critical dimension in an assessment of whether the melody or rhythm of one song might be "inspired by" another song or style, particularly when its musical treatment and adaptation take it in an entirely new direction. This ability to provide an explanation of musical meaning beyond the realm of language (i.e., a system of denotational content, among other things) is precisely the strength of a conception of mediation built upon a foundation

of Peircean semiosis. The scalability of the sign relations can account for virtually any kind of meaning that might emerge in human encounters with music or any other phenomenon in their social, historical, and material environments.

RESEARCH METHODS

My first exposure to film songs came in 1996 in Varanasi as I began my study of the tabla, an Indian percussion instrument used in Hindustani classical music. Like other students of art musics, I made the mistake of ignoring, if not disparaging, the omnipresence of film songs in public spaces, which was my unfortunate loss since this was an important period of musical transition in Hindi language music and cinema. I was more formally introduced to Hindi films as a graduate student in one of the first university courses in the United States that focused on Indian cinema. As I began more careful research into film songs at the end of the 1990s, it became apparent that with the exception of Alison Arnold's (1991) Ph.D. dissertation, there was little writing on the music of film songs and the people and practices involved in its production. While it was not explicitly the topic of my later dissertation research, I nevertheless had to grapple with the hegemony of film songs in order to understand the operation of musical value in the marketplace. A great deal of my education in film song, its history, and its meanings came through conversations with music store owners and customers in Bhopal and Mumbai. From these connoisseurs, I learned many anecdotes about particular films, singers, and music directors, and perhaps most important, their arguments about what makes a song, its music, and its lyrics "great." I have discussed film songs and their meanings with many other fans who may not have had a specialized language to talk about particular musical features, but who certainly had distinct interpretations and evaluations of particular songs, features of songs (e.g., the lyrics, the beat, the picturization), and the memories and experiences they had attached to songs. These fans also had an aesthetic sense of the importance of particular films and songs, primarily when it came to songs of the "evergreen era" (i.e., songs of the 1950s and '60s) and the kinds of values this era was purported to represent in contrast to contemporary songs—whatever and whenever that "contemporary" might be in their minds. Most of these fans can recall hundreds, if not thousands, of film songs and can easily reproduce many of their melodies and lyrics. I supplemented these fan perspectives by reading newspaper and magazine reviews of songs, by reading historical retrospectives on particular artists, by watching music channels

like MTV and Channel V, and by watching many Hindi films both at home and in the theatre.

By the end of the first decade of the 2000s, film song had become the focus of more scholarship (e.g., Ranade 2006, Morcom 2007, Booth 2008), but there was still no comprehensive discussion of film songs from a broadly historical perspective. As I noted in the preface, there has been a recent upsurge in the number of biographies about early music directors and songs, but these are largely unstructured anecdotal accounts that are oriented to the fans of particular singers and music directors, with little, if any, social-historical context or musical analysis. Nevertheless, these biographies were useful in unpacking the manifold meanings of film songs from the perspectives of their fans and the lives of their producers. In order to augment my understanding of contemporary production practices, I interviewed a number of musicians, arrangers, singers, music directors, studio engineers, and journalists. In contrast to fan accounts of film songs, many of the people directly involved in the production of film songs are openly dismissive of the genre and see it as little more than a way to make a living in the studio, and as a springboard to making "better" music. Many of their perspectives were inflected by cynical discourses about what they imagined audiences wanted to hear in Hindi films. Not surprisingly, these producer perspectives were frequently at odds with fans' points of view, but they nevertheless provided many useful insights into the production process that have been incorporated into this book.

Of course, no single investigation of film songs can cope with all their possible meanings and interpretations, but I have attempted to represent some of these in the selection of the films and songs that I discuss in each chapter. Though I still would not consider myself a connoisseur of Hindi film song, I have nevertheless developed a holistic understanding of the meanings and values of film songs in their production, historical, social, and musical contexts from multiple perspectives.

CHAPTER OUTLINES

In order to make my argument about mediation and musical cosmopolitanism, I survey a large span of time (roughly 1943–2013), over which thousands of songs have been composed, recorded, and distributed. The chapters in this book are roughly chronological and separated into six sections of approximately 10 to 15 years each on the basis of a cultural landmark (e.g., Indian independence, economic liberalization) or a landmark recording (e.g., *Aradhana* in 1969, *Dil Chahta Hai* in 2001). Each chapter

begins with an analysis of a song that exemplifies that period and then provides a brief historical context coupled with a discussion of films and broadcast media of that era. After addressing some aspect of film song in more detail, such as the role of the music director, the recording process, technology, playback singers, or language, each chapter provides a biographical sketch and musical details on one or two music directors and then concludes with a discussion of one or more landmark songs of that music director that connect in some way with the historical and/or cultural issues addressed in that chapter.

Chapter 2 examines the origins of Indian film song in the late colonial era and the musical characteristics of early film songs (roughly 1931–1947). I begin the chapter with an analysis of the Anil Biswas song "Dheere dheere aa re badal" ("Come gently oh clouds") from the film *Kismet* (1943); then I contextualize this song through a brief description of the historical and social movements that led to Indian independence in 1947 and the films and musical practices of the silent era. After discussing the influential actor-singers Noorjehan and K. L. Saigal, the chapter presents the formal dimension of film songs, more specifically, the conventions of the *mukhṛā-antarā* song form that has been a relatively stable melodic structure for Indian film songs. In order to highlight the mediated nature of film songs (in multiple senses), I describe the production processes of songs and how their discourses fit into Indian filmmaking as a whole. I then call attention to the roles of the music directors and arrangers who are responsible for composing these songs. The chapter ends with a discussion of the biography and characteristics of the music director Naushad Ali, his innovations in form, orchestration, and recording, and an analysis of two of his songs, "Awaz de kahan hai" ("Call out to me, where are you?") from the film *Anmol Ghadi* (1946) and "Jab dil hi toot gaya" ("When my heart is broken") from the film *Shahjehan* (1946).

Chapter 3 begins with an analysis of the C. Ramchandra song "Aana meri jaan … Sunday ke Sunday" ("Come to me every Sunday, my love") from the film *Shehnai* (1947), and then addresses the issues that India's founders faced in the first decade of Indian independence (roughly 1947–1957). I focus in particular on the Indian leaders' deep ambivalence about the cosmopolitanism implicated in mass media (e.g., film and film songs) in the nation-building project that continued after independence. After addressing the general musical characteristics of this period, I discuss early music technology and the emergence of playback singing as exemplified by the superstar singers Mohammed Rafi and Lata Mangeshkar. I suggest that in their mediations of various vocal styles of South Asia, Lata and Rafi largely established the vocal conventions for the next 50 years of film song. After

analyzing Lata's classic song "Duniya mein hum aaye hain" ("We have come into this world") from the film *Mother India* (1957), the chapter continues with a discussion of the music director duo Shankar-Jaikishan and a narrative and musical analysis of their songs "Awara hoon" ("I am a vagabond") from the film *Awara* (1951) and "Mera joota hai Japani" ("My shoes are Japanese") from the film *Shree 420* (1955). I suggest that these songs are emblematic of a particular conception of the Indian nation-building project in the first decade following independence.

Chapter 4 is centered on the issue of language in Hindi films. I begin with a musical analysis of the S. D. Burman song "Hum aap ki aankhon mein" ("What if I were to give my heart to your eyes") from the film *Pyaasa* (1957), and then discuss the historical context of India from roughly 1957 to 1969. I describe the Indian "liberation" of Goa from Portugal and the critical importance of Goan musicians in developing the sound of Hindi film song through their familiarity with Western instruments and harmony, as well as their knowledge of international music styles like jazz and rock. I go on to illustrate the issues surrounding language in Hindi films and songs in light of the cosmopolitan orientations of lyricists and their audiences. This leads to a discussion of the *ghazal*, an important lyrical form of Hindi film songs until the 1970s, followed by an analysis of a classic *ghazal* of the 1960s, Shakeel Badayuni's "Koi sagar dil ko behlata nahin" ("No amount of liquor can distract my heart") from the film *Dil Diya Dard Liya* (1966). The chapter ends with a discussion of the music director S. D. Burman, his orientation toward melody (over lyrics), and two of his songs, "Piya tose naina lage re" ("Beloved, my eyes have met yours") from the film *Guide* (1965) and "Roop tera mastana" ("Your intoxicating beauty") from the film *Aradhana* (1969). This latter song, I argue, sets the stage for the sound of 1970s and '80s film songs, most specifically, the dominance of the singer Kishore Kumar.

Chapter 5 begins with a discussion of the singer Asha Bhosle's cabaret song "Piya tu ab to aaja" ("Darling, please at least come now") as an entrée into the dramatic shift in the film and song aesthetics of the 1970s and '80s. These sounds are predicated, in part, on the tumultuous events in India during this period, which included a war with Pakistan that led to the birth of Bangladesh in 1971, and an 18-month imposition of President's Rule by India's then-Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1975 in a historical moment referred to as "The Emergency." In this era of film song, the singers Kishore Kumar and Asha Bhosle rose to dominance and lent their voices to the innovative music director R. D. Burman, who experimented with any number of sounds in mediating rock and jazz into film songs. Following a discussion of the song "Yeh dosti hum nahin todenge" ("We

will never end this friendship") from the film *Sholay* (1975), the chapter goes on to discuss the music director duo Laxmikant-Pyarelal who also dominated this period. I then describe the *qawwali* film genre by way of the song "Pardah hai pardah" ("The veil between us") rendered by Mohammed Rafi. The Sufism embodied in the devotional genre of *qawwali*, I suggest, becomes one of the important streams of film songs in the contemporary era. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the song "Ek do teen" ("One two three") that illustrates many of the musical and visual conventions of this transitional moment of film songs.

Chapter 6 begins with an analysis of the song "Kehna hi kya" ("What is there to say?") from the film *Bombay* (1995) as a way to introduce some of the new sound aesthetic practices that began to emerge through the work of the music director A. R. Rahman. I suggest that in this period (roughly 1988 to 2000), new technological and recording practices altered the compositional approach to cosmopolitanism in Indian film song, especially as audiences became more familiar with international styles by way of the satellite television broadcasts that became available in the early 1990s. In addition, the new technological affordances of this era led to the birth of "Bollywood" as a marketing category for international audiences, as well as the musical characteristics of what Gregory Booth (2008) calls "New Bollywood." Hindi films underwent a significant change as well, as the new genre of "family" films emerged in time to be marketed to global audiences. These films brought new kinds of globally oriented cosmopolitanism, which I address through analyses of the songs "Didi tera devar deewana" ("Sister, your brother-in-law is crazy in love") from *Hum Aapke Hain Koun . . . !* (1994) and "Tujhe dekha to yeh jaana sanam" ("I saw you and I knew it was love") from *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge* (1995). But this cosmopolitan shift did not simply come from abroad: Different musical resources began to permeate Hindi film songs from South India by way of the music director A. R. Rahman, whose musical style led to new production practices and sounds. The chapter ends with a discussion of the song "Chal chaiyya chaiyya" ("Walk in the shadows") from the film *Dil Se* (1998) and the dimensions of contemporary film songs that it foreshadows.

Chapter 7 covers the latest period of film song, roughly 2001 to 2013. It begins with an analysis of the Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy song "Woh ladki hai kahan" ("Where is that girl?") from the film *Dil Chahta Hai* (2001), which was a precursor to the "multiplex film" that debuted in the mid-2000s. After briefly describing music distribution in the 2000s–2010s (i.e., through YouTube and mobile phones), I go on to point to the new practices of film song production in the post-orchestra era that include the rise of new production roles, recording practices, and singers. The chapter then

discusses the cosmopolitanism of local music genres that are an important presence in contemporary film song, including the Punjabi *bhangra* and its mediation for the 2006 film *Rang De Basanti*, the Hindi film song remix, and Indipop. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the biography and musical characteristics of the music director trio Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy, who have changed the trajectory of the sound of Bollywood songs, and their soundtrack for the film *Bhaag Milkha Bhaag* (2013).

Finally, in chapter 8, I return to a discussion of cosmopolitanism and mediation, and make some predictions on how future Bollywood films might sound.

CHAPTER 2

Film Songs at the End of the Colonial Era and the Emergence of *Filmi* Style

The film *Kismet* (Gyan Mukherjee 1943) features the actor Ashok Kumar in a double role as the petty thief Shekhar and his long-lost brother Mohan. In the film, Shekhar encounters a former theatre owner who worked his talented daughter Rani (Mumtaz Shanti) so hard that she is crippled. She requires surgery—which she cannot afford—in order to regain the ability to walk. Indrajeet, the villainous new owner of the theater, has forced Rani and her father into a state of penury from which they cannot escape. As Shekhar and Rani fall in love, Shekhar desires to help her escape both debt and her disability, but he further complicates her life by giving her a necklace that he has stolen from Indrajeet's wife. Rani wears this necklace to a function without knowing its origin and is accused of stealing it. Shekhar admits to the police that he took the necklace, is arrested, escapes custody, raids Indrajeet's house again to steal the money to pay for Rani's surgery, and is arrested yet again. Shekhar is acquitted when it comes to light that he is Indrajeet's long-lost son, which resolves many of the outstanding conflicts in the film. *Kismet* is, at once, one of the biggest hits in Hindi cinema of the 1940s, the moment of the actor-singer Ashok Kumar's superstardom, one of the earliest films to incorporate the "lost-and-found" theme, and one of the first films to present a thief as a central character, the source of a moral panic about the cinematic glorification of crime (Rajadhyaksha and Willemen 1999, 298).

The song "Dheere dheere aa re badal . . . mera bulbul so raha hai" ("Oh, clouds come quietly, my nightingale is sleeping") (figure 2.1 and video 2.1)

Figure 2.1:
Shekhar (Ashok Kumar) sings in the window after placing the stolen necklace on the sleeping Rani (Mumtaz) in the song "Dheere dheere" (*Kismet* [1943]).

Video 2.1: "Dheere dheere aa re badal"

plays a central role in the film. The music director Anil Biswas wrote two versions of the song. The first appears when Rani sings a lullaby to her sister Leela (Chandraprabha), which is overheard by Shekhar through his window in an upstairs room. Later in the film, Shekhar sings the same song to Rani who has fallen asleep on her balcony as she awaits his return. As Shekhar sings, he gently places the stolen necklace around her throat, addressing his song to the dark clouds in the sky and entreating them to move gently past without waking his sleeping love. Shortly after he departs, Rani awakens to find the necklace and, in song, entreats the same clouds to reveal who has left this necklace for her. Her song is again overheard by Shekhar, confirming her romantic interest in him. As the lovers sing, the picturization briefly flashes to images of quickly moving clouds, which are indexed musically in the fast tempo (~164 bpm) of the song.

Characteristic of songs from this period, Anil Biswas's composition has fairly sparse orchestration of strings, flutes, and tabla that at no point

conflicts with the centrality of the voice. The vocal melody is not based on any particular *rāga*, but it is suggestive of *rāga*-like modes. Interestingly, the mode on which the first part of the song melody is based gradually modulates to another mode in the second half of the song. The shift from minor sixth scale degree to an alternation between major and minor sixth, coupled with a shift from minor seventh to major seventh in the latter half of the song, accentuates this change. "Dheere dheere" uses the characteristic *mukhṛā-antarā* form of film songs (see below), but this shift in mode in the middle of the same song is unusual. The vocal line has few melodic ornaments and stays almost entirely within an octave of the singers' middle register. As was common practice in film songs until the 1950s, the entire orchestra plays the melody in octaves with the singer to give the melody extra emphasis in the recording. The melodic simplicity and lullaby-like approach suit both the song situation and the singing conventions of the time. Yet, the singers' voices are noticeably weaker and less supple than those of the professional playback singers who would come to dominate film songs just a few years later in the 1940s; in this instance, the upper registers of both singers sound a little strained. Indeed, this is reinforced by the fact that Ashok Kumar sings the film version of this song, whereas Arun Kumar sings the gramophone version. In the accompaniment, one can hear the orchestra playing a double-time arpeggio figure that adds energy to the background and propels the song forward. Despite the restricted frequency range of the recording, one can also sense, but not hear, the upper harmonics of a string bass that help to provide additional momentum to the song. A gorgeous violin countermelody adds melodic tension to the refrain of the song, but it is relatively low in the recording mix. Percussion is also very low in the mix, and only the tabla pitch tuned to the fundamental note is consistently audible. The song clocks in at a little over three minutes, just long enough to fit on a 10-inch, 78 rpm record.

In addition to this popular lullaby, *Kismet* also famously features the nationalist song "Door hato ai duniya walo, Hindustan hamara hai" ("Go away foreigners, India is ours!") (video 2.2). Depicted as a song at a stage show, "Door hato" transparently calls for the end of colonial rule in India. The lyrics were written by Kavi Pradeep, a poet who became famous as a nationalist lyricist in Hindi films in the wake of the Quit India movement of 1942. While the song was clearly aimed at the British presence in India, the narrative context in *Kismet* resorts to the rather obvious subterfuge of referring to these "foreigners" as the Japanese rather than the British, thus enabling the film to get by the British-controlled film censor board.

Both the film and music of *Kismet* exemplify a point just before a critical moment of transition for Indian filmmaking, not only because India

▶ Video 2.2: "Door hatao duniyawalo ko"

was to gain its independence from England just a few years later, but also because it was produced in the period just before the emergence of the freelance system that largely replaced the studio system of film production at the end of the 1940s. The consequences of this transition in filmmaking would come to inflect the content, practices, and music of Indian films throughout the period of "Old Bollywood" (roughly 1940–1994, according to Booth 2008). In this chapter, I examine the music of early Hindi films, paying particular attention to the emergence of the *mukhṛā-antarā* song form. I also examine the collaboration between film directors, music directors, arrangers, and lyricists in the composition of film songs. An understanding of these roles in song production sheds light on the ways in which these relationships inflect the narrative contexts of songs in films and some of the meanings that these songs bear. I suggest that these compositional practices are a part of the enduring legacy of Hindi films that continue into the contemporary moment. Not all of the practices of this period lingered beyond India's independence, however, specifically the dominance of actor-singers like Ashok Kumar, Noorjehan, and K. L. Saigal. Nevertheless, although there is a distinct moment of separation between acting and singing in Hindi films, I argue that the vocal influences of Noorjehan and Saigal carried forward into the post-independence period when playback singing began to dominate. The second half of the chapter focuses on the innovations of the music director Naushad Ali, who was the single most popular music director of the 1940s. The chapter concludes with a discussion of songs in two important Naushad soundtracks of the late colonial period: the films *Anmol Ghadi* (Mehboob Khan 1946) and *Shahjehan* (A. R. Kardar 1946), each of which illustrates both the height of the actor-singer era, as well as formal and stylistic characteristics that would manifest in later Hindi film songs.

INDIAN FILMS AND SONGS IN THE LATE COLONIAL ERA (1931–1947)

As I noted above, the film *Kismet* bears many of the traces of being a film of the late colonial period of India. The British had been present in India since the 17th century, largely through the commercial concern of the British East India Company. This joint stock company had military, moral, and financial support from the British government, yet it was not officially a part of the

government. However, this colonial approach changed after the Mutiny of 1857, a failed rebellion against the increasing British power on the subcontinent. The British government took control and ruled all of India, an area that spans what is now Afghanistan to Myanmar. An indigenous independence movement had been present in India for many decades, but gained steam under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi in the early 20th century. Born in the Indian state of Gujarat, Gandhi received a law degree in London and practiced law for two decades in South Africa as a civil rights advocate. He returned to India in 1915 to join the independence movement and began to adopt the principles of nonviolent protest and noncooperation, a social mobilization strategy that has since been widely deployed all over the world. The goal was to convince Britain of its moral imperative to allow India to rule itself. This freedom movement, coupled with decolonization after World War II, led to Britain ceding its Indian colonies to local governments on August 15, 1947. The British left a lasting legacy, however, that appeared in the form of communication, road, and rail networks, as well as in music and culture. However, this British-influenced cosmopolitanism was frequently the source of contention for the new Indian nation-state, as I suggest in chapter 3.

Cinema is one of the legacies that developed at the end of the colonial era. The first film was produced in India in 1899, not long after the medium debuted internationally. Indian filmmakers initially relied upon the novelty of moving pictures to attract paying customers away from their primary competition: Religious epics and local theatrical productions staging multi-hour dramas. Cinematic adaptations of theatre productions featured music as a central component, which helps to explain the initial, and perhaps enduring, popularity of music in Indian films. Similarly, the earliest films used stories from the Hindu epics (e.g., the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*) and other mythological stories to attract these mass audiences, who came from a variety of classes and ideologies. In the early years of Indian cinema, there were several centers for film production: Calcutta (now Kolkata), Lahore, Kolhapur/Pune, and Bombay (now Mumbai). The first sound film came to India in 1931; it transformed the nascent film industry, led to the obsolescence of the silent film, the emergence of the actor-singer, and a further fragmentation into film industries based upon regional language (see chapter 4). Several authors have described the historical transition from the silent era (1896 to 1931) to the sound film ("talkie") at length,[1] but there are a few points worth emphasizing in this discussion of early film songs.

First, films of the nominally "silent film" era were never actually silent. The cosmopolitan mix of Indian/Western instruments and styles that would

characterize later eras of film song was already in use in the live orchestras accompanying films of the silent era in theaters. Several of the early music directors began working in these orchestras and later transitioned into music direction for films when the sound film came into vogue (e.g., R. C. Boral, Pankaj Mullick, and Naushad Ali). Musical accompaniment was an important component of silent films, in part to mask the noise of the film projector and in part to add another dimension to the film-going experience. As the music scholar Bhaskar Chandravarkar has noted:

> The harmonium and the tabla players were expected to use not only their instruments, but their feet to stamp, their voices to shout and generally boost excitement during the fight sequences. "Maro!" "Chup Saale!" "Khamosh!" were the words the musicians bellowed as the villain was being beaten black and blue. The musicians were not only the music directors, but even the dialogue writers and dubbers; in any case they were the first commentary readers-speakers that the industry knew (quoted in Garga 1996, 51).

Second, the sound aesthetics of early films emerged from the 19-century Parsi, Marathi, and other regional theater traditions that were themselves cosmopolitan in origination and regularly featured songs as a component of the narrative of a play.[2] Early sound films were contiguous with these theatrical traditions. The first sound films had many short songs that used small ensembles and had a melodic basis in India's classical, semi-classical, and folk music traditions.[3] Early film songs of the 1930s and '40s featured heavily ornamented melodic lines, sparse textures, and minimal harmony. Instrumentation of this period usually consisted of tabla, harmonium, sarangi, and classically trained actor-singers.[4] Songs of this period also had an open form and varied in length between two and three minutes. These songs borrowed heavily from the Indian classical melodic (*rāga*) and metric (*tāla*) systems and followed classical conventions of melodic and rhythmic ornamentation. In this early period of film song, lyrics were written to fit preexisting melodies. But music directors increasingly began to compose melodies to fit lyrics written for the film, and both of which began to take on novel characteristics that suggested the outlines of a new Indian genre of popular music. This period was formative for the conventions of Hindi film song that developed in the late 1940s and '50s, especially in the creation of an identifiably *filmi* mode of vocal performance and the stylistic mediation of folk and classical musics for heterogeneous audiences.

While the form, content, and vocal approach of these songs emerged from Indian classical and theatrical conventions, Ashok Ranade (2006) has argued that most of these early "songs" were simply musical passages of a

brief couplet or line of verse rather than full-fledged songs. It took a few years for film songs to develop as a genre in their own right, especially once the *mukhṛā-antarā* form began to crystalize, and developments in recording technology enabled larger orchestras and the introduction of playback singing. Unfortunately, most of the recordings from 1930s and early 1940s films have been lost, and only fragments of a few films remain that might help scholars compare early conventions with later ones. Nevertheless, careful listeners will note that, in extant recordings from the 1940s, the voice is supported by one or more melodic instruments (usually violin, sarangi, or harmonium), and only rarely is more than one percussion instrument playing in the background (usually tabla or dholak). More instruments were used in the musical interludes separating the stanzas, but these interludes tended to last only a few seconds and were quite compressed in length compared to film songs in the 1950s and beyond.

SEPARATING SOUND AND VISION: THE ACTOR-SINGERS K. L. SAIGAL AND NOORJEHAN

As film orchestral and performance practices began to take shape in the late colonial period, actor-singers (i.e., actors singing their own songs in films) reigned in the period from 1935 to 1947. Though talented actors, Ranade (2006) has noted that many actor-singers had mediocre singing abilities at best. Yet, their performances were sufficient to provide a charismatic screen presence that suited the film narrative. While there were numerous actor-singers in this period, K. L. Saigal and Noorjehan are frequently mentioned as exceptions to the rule of vocal mediocrity in the late colonial era. Many of their recordings, especially those of the mid-1940s, are still fondly recollected by film song connoisseurs, and each of them had a formative influence on the emergence of playback singing.

Kundan Lal Saigal (1904–1947) grew up in Jammu when this region was one of the great classical music centers of India. While reputed to have lacked formal music training, Saigal was exposed to classical and semi-classical music, especially *taway'if* (courtesan) performances at a very early age. Despite his lack of formal instruction, he was remarkably well-versed in the Indian *rāga* system and had great facility with *rāga*-based light classical genres. After a period of wandering in North India, Saigal landed in Kolkata and was discovered by the music director Pankaj Mullick in 1931. His discovery at the moment that sound films came into vogue was fortuitous, as many of the earlier silent film actors were deemed unsuitable for the era of sound; many of them were Anglo-Indians who

could not comfortably speak an Indian language. Saigal went on to become a renowned actor-singer, and performed the lead role in the first Hindi adaptation of Saratchandra Chatterjee's novel *Devdas* (Pramathesh Barua 1935), as well as two songs in the Bengali version of the film. His portrayal of Devdas was one of his best-known roles, and while this film is not available today, Saigal's voice is widely available on the film soundtrack. Saigal remained in Kolkata until 1941 and then moved to Mumbai to pursue his career in Hindi films. He acted and sang in 29 films until his untimely death at the age of 42 from diabetes and excessive drinking (Neville 2011).

Saigal ushered in a new style of singing for films that was distinct and highly influential. He is particularly famous for introducing the vocal technique of crooning into the microphone rather than singing in full voice, a practice that was adopted by later playback singers. Saigal's recorded voice inspired many of the first generation of professional playback singers, including Mohammed Rafi, Lata Mangeshkar, Mukesh, and Kishore Kumar. He is also known for popularizing the Urdu *ghazal* in film, a song genre that had largely been limited to courtesan performers but became a popular song style (see chapter 4). In addition to his work in films, he recorded a number of non-film *ghazal* albums. Many of his performances are still well known, and his voice is an icon of early film songs.

Along with Saigal, Noorjehan (1926–2000) helped to transform the vocal aesthetics of late colonial film song. Known as "The Nightingale," Noorjehan was born Allarakhi in Kasur, Punjab (now in Pakistan). Her father brought her to Kolkata in 1932 to audition for film studios at the beginning of the talkies era. She earned a salaried position in a studio and received classical vocal instruction from Ustad Ghulam Mohammad Khan. She also acted in several films of the 1930s as a child artist. Noorjehan sang in her first film in 1938, and her debut as a starring actor-singer was in *Khandan* (Shaukat Hussain 1942). She moved to Mumbai in 1942 and dominated a five-year period of Hindi film song (1942–1947) before moving to Lahore after Partition to join the Pakistani film industry. Although Noorjehan was a contemporary of K. L. Saigal, she never sang with him. The rich timbre of her voice and its comparatively lower tessitura was especially notable in classic Hindi film at the end of the actor-singer era, and she had much greater vocal control than most of her contemporaries. She was the primary vocal influence for Lata Mangeshkar in her early years, and critics have wondered whether Lata would have come to dominate had Noorjahan not left India (Bharatan 1995). Had Noorjehan remained, the sound of Lata's voice as that of Indian womanhood (which I describe in chapter 3) would have undoubtedly been inflected in very different ways.

Nevertheless, Noorjehan was a powerful influence for singers of this era, and much of her legacy is still celebrated today.

THE *MUKHṚĀ-ANTARĀ* FORM

While the actor-singer period of Hindi films lasted for a little over a decade, one of the dimensions of film song that became conventional in the early 1940s is the song form, which has had a more lasting impact. Considering that thousands of songs have been recorded for Indian cinema, it goes without saying that there are a number of different song forms in use, many of which are borrowed from other folk or popular traditions. Nevertheless, there is a certain consistency to Hindi film song form that audiences anticipate when they listen to what Arnold (1991) has called the "mainstream Hindi film song." For the purposes of this book, I will call this the *mukhṛā-antarā* form, which is the term used by contemporary music directors to describe the formal dimensions of mainstream Hindi film songs that have been in place for decades. It is this crystallization of song form that Ranade (2006) described, but did not elaborate upon, that helps give the genre of Hindi film song a certain stylistic cohesiveness.

The *mukhṛā-antarā* form is a versatile, scalable song form that can utilize various poetic styles and meters (e.g., *ghazals*) through a particular kind of melodic repetition. If one were to chart the form of most film songs, translated into conventional terms used in Western music, one would likely see a structure that has an introduction and two or three stanzas:

Introduction – refrain (x2) – interlude
Verse – refrain – interlude
Verse – refrain – interlude
Verse – refrain – conclusion

In the terminology used within the Indian film industry, the stanza structure looks like this:

Music – *mukhṛā* – music
antarā – (refrain/*mukhṛā*) – music
antarā – (refrain/*mukhṛā*) – music
antarā – (refrain/*mukhṛā*) – music

Most film songs begin with some sort of non-lyrical musical introduction, which music directors simply call "music." The instrumental melody of this

introduction is frequently just as recognizable as the melody of the refrain, and it is just as frequently the music used to end a song. Interludes separate the sung melodic-lyrical sections known as the *mukhṛā* and *antarā*. These terms are derived from Indian classical music and denote particular components of song form, but they have slightly different meanings in film songs.[5] The *mukhṛā* (literally "face") begins the sung portion of most film songs. It is a long refrain that contains the memorable melodic information that is repeated throughout the song in whole or in part as a refrain at the ends of verses. Portions of the *mukhṛā* are generally used in ways that are analogous to "the hook" in Western pop music parlance, and as such, the *mukhṛā* is the part of the song most likely to be used in radio or television advertising. The first line of the *mukhṛā* has historically been the title of the song, although some contemporary music directors have begun using the final line of the *mukhṛā* as the song title. Most film songs follow the first instance of a *mukhṛā* with an instrumental interlude, which musicians usually call "music" or "M1." Different eras of film song have interludes of different lengths, but generally speaking, songs of the 1940s had very short interludes so that they could fit on 78 rpm recordings. By the 1970s, interludes might be as long as a minute in length. This interlude is followed by a structure that begins with an *antarā*, which is a section containing lyrics with a melody that is distinct from the *mukhṛā*. In terms of lyrical form (as opposed to melodic form), the *antarā* is roughly analogous to a verse or stanza. The melody at the end of the *antarā* contains material found in some part of the *mukhṛā*. Most songs have two or three stanzas and vary in length from three to six minutes, depending upon the length of the interludes.[6]

For example, in the song "Awaz de kahan hai" from the film *Anmol Ghadi* (discussed in more detail below), one would see the song structure in figure 2.2. There is a fair degree of variability that is possible in the structure, depending on whether the song is a solo or a duet. In this particular case, the second singer of the duet sings an *antarā*, but it is common for the second singer of a duet to begin with the *mukhṛā* rather than the *antarā*. Most important, the internal organization of melody within a film song follows relatively predictable patterns to aid listeners in digesting new songs, even as songs can be extended or contracted by adding or removing particular melodic sections.

THE PRODUCTION OF FILM SONGS

In addition to the codification of song form in the 1940s, the cinematographic and narrative conventions of songs in films also became

Time	Melodic Form	Lyrical Form [Lyric]
0:00	Introduction	
0:13	*Mukhṛā*	Mukhṛā ["Awaaz de"]
0:24	A	Mukhṛā ["awaaz mein"]
0:31	B	Mukhṛā ["duniya meri"]
0:41	Music [M1]	
0:45	Antarā	Antarā ["aaj raat"]
1:19	[A]	Antarā ["chalne ko"]
1:37	[B]	Mukhṛā ["kaise tu"]
1:50	Music [M2]	
2:06	Antarā	Antarā ["kismat chha"]
2:47	[A]	Antarā ["barbad mein"]
3:16	[B]	Mukhṛā ["bedard"]

Figure 2.2: The *mukhṛā-antarā* song form of "Awaz de kahan hai."

conventional. The ideologies and processes of creating and incorporating songs into films have been covered in some detail by Morcom (2007) and Booth (2008), but I include a short summary here for readers who are unfamiliar with the role of songs in the production of films. For the sake of the argument in this book, it is important to emphasize that one cannot examine the significance of songs in Hindi films solely in musical terms. Rather, even at the earliest stages of song production, musical meaning is produced by various agents in and through the confluence of visual, aural, narrative, and economic resources brought together to produce a film. That is to say, songs are written for moments in the narrative that communicate a complex of musical and extra-musical information.

One of the most intriguing aspects of the production of Indian films is that songs are among the first parts of any film to be conceptualized and crafted. In large part, this is due to the fact that the music of the song needs to be composed, rehearsed, and recorded before it can be "played back" for the actors to lip-sync to as the song sequence is "picturized" (i.e., set to a visual narrative). At the very first stages of film production, screenwriters and film directors collaborate in a "story sitting" in order to determine how many songs will be in the film, where they will be in the film, and what the "song situations" will be (i.e., in which narrative contexts the songs will appear). This information is then relayed to the music director and lyricist who will be crafting the songs to fit these situations. Depending on the relative skill and experience of the film director, he or she might only vaguely suggest the need for a "sad song" or a "romantic song" at a particular place

in the film. It is more likely that they will convey additional visual and narrative information such as the actors/characters that will appear in the song, the emotional states of the characters, the social context of an event (e.g., a cabaret show or religious worship), the timeframe that will be represented, the locations that will be filmed, or even the angles and movement used by the cameras (Morcom 2007). Film directors can facilitate or inhibit the creation of good music for their films, depending on how much musical knowledge they have and their vision for the role of music in their film. Some film directors, such as Raj Kapoor, Guru Dutt, Mani Ratnam, and Yash Chopra, had very clear ideas about what they wanted and how to guide music directors in order to execute their vision. Yet, not every song is aptly connected to the film narrative. Many films include an extraneous song or two in order to alleviate the risk of a film flopping at the box office. Film producers and distributors sometimes felt that particular films required additional song sequences for the sake of marketing the film (Ganti 2012). But many songs seem unnecessary for the development of the film narrative and have a "tacked-on" feeling to them, which critics frequently note in film reviews. Film producers operate on the business side of the film and ultimately want music that will have sufficient commercial appeal to entice mass audiences to the theatre. As such, film producers have an impression of what audiences will want to hear that may or may not align with the real success of a film or soundtrack.

Once the narrative moments and styles of songs are determined, the music director and lyricist collaborate on crafting the basic song melodies and lyrics. Typically, they focus on the *mukhṛā* of the song first, then the melodies and lyrics of the *antarās*. Once these melodies are composed, music directors and their assistants write the "music" (i.e., the background accompaniment to fit the melody). Until the mid-1990s, compositions developed through collaboration with a small group of "sitting musicians" (typically including melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic instruments) who worked through various musical ideas to determine what sounded best for the song situation (see Booth 2008, 167–175). This small ensemble might also be present to play the nascent musical ideas in order to pitch the song (i.e., present the song for approval) to the film director and/or producer. The music directorial team then focuses on the musical interludes that separate the stanzas of the song. These interludes are equally oriented to the song situation, as they might underscore some aspect of the visual narrative created by the picturization in ways that are comparable to the cinematic uses of a background score. Thus, the music in the interludes might indicate the location where the film was shot or was purported to represent (e.g., a particular country or Indian state), some element of the social context of

the song (e.g., a nightclub or religious observance), or some other onscreen action (e.g., the aging of a character, a love or fight scene).

Once the melody, lyrics, and music have been developed, music directors typically begin the rehearsal and recording process of the song. Of course, the song recording process has changed substantially over the last 70 years due to the affordances of new technologies. In the 1930s, for example, songs were recorded as a live take on a single microphone onto optical film with all of the musicians present at the recording. By the 1950s, some music directors extensively rehearsed the orchestras separately from the singers and then brought them all together at the very end to record the song. By the 1980s, it became possible to record the orchestra for each of the songs in advance and then bring singers in to rehearse and record several songs in one afternoon. By the 2000s, it became common for music directors and programmers to compose a rough version of a song with music software and sample libraries (i.e., digitized instruments and rhythm loops) and then bring in singers and other musicians to humanize the result. Once the song is recorded, it might still undergo minor changes to fit the requirements of the film, such as adding, subtracting, or adjusting portions of an interlude to fit the movement of the camera. Nevertheless, a (relatively) final version of the song is needed before the director can picturize the song sequence with the actors.

Although this outline gives some indication of how a typical song is composed and recorded, every song is unique. Undoubtedly, many songs have emerged from an approach or process different from the one described above. Moreover, while the music director is responsible for the music in the film, it is important to note that the film director and producer ultimately approve which songs will appear in a film and they might be involved to a greater or lesser extent at various stages of composition. There are many stories of music directors pitching song melodies to film directors and having them rejected, or recording songs that were not included in films. This is not to suggest, however, that songs that are rejected for a particular film are wasted efforts. For the sake of efficiency, many music directors keep a "bank" of melodies to pitch for any film project, and these songs sometimes find a home in other films. One well-known example is the S. D. Burman melody for what was to be the title song of Guru Dutt's final film, *Baharein Phir Bhi Aayengi* (1966), but was rejected by the director. Burman subsequently recycled this melody into the peppy and very popular song "Ye dil na hota behara" ("My heart wouldn't have been unfortunate") for the film *Jewel Thief* (Vijay Anand 1967). While it is common for music directors to repurpose compositions that have been rejected for a film project, there have been times when film directors or producers have heard songs that

they like from other sources (such as Indian folk songs or international recordings) and requested that music directors create a version of these songs to be adapted for their film.

PRODUCTION ROLES: MUSIC DIRECTORS, ARRANGERS, AND ASSISTANTS

In its historical and contemporary usage, the term "music director" refers to the person who is primarily accountable for composing the melodies for—and overseeing the production of—Indian film songs. While the origin of the term "music director" to denote the composer of film melodies is rather fuzzy, it is likely contiguous with the adaptation of late 19th-century theatre practices into early 20th-century cinematic practices. Since many of the early music directors in cinema had also worked in theatre and silent film orchestras, this seems to be the most reasonable explanation. Music directors are nominally responsible for all of the music in any given film, but in practice, the musical scores (i.e., background music) are frequently created by music arrangers or assistants who work alongside the music director. As much as they compose the songs, music directors also manage and negotiate with a constellation of people (e.g., lyricists, assistants, technicians, musicians, and singers) who help them craft the songs from beginning to end (Booth 2008). It is noteworthy that like other aspects of film direction and production, the overwhelming majority of people involved in music production are men: With the exception of playback singing, very few women have worked as music directors, lyricists, arrangers, and musicians.[7]

Music directors and singers are the focal points in discussions of Indian film songs and, as I noted in the preface, there are numerous book-length biographies and retrospectives of particular music directors. Yet, few of these biographies account for the fact that the people working alongside them sometimes had extraordinary influence on the final results. Indeed, some of the elements that make many songs memorable (e.g., a rhythm, an instrumental solo, a countermelody, a moment of orchestration, etc.) were likely developed through the collaboration of a team rather than by any individual decision of a music director. In a larger historical context, one of the most important production roles in film music is the music arranger (also sometimes called the music assistant). While the term "arranger" in a Western context connotes a person who adapts a musical composition for instruments or styles for which it was not originally written, it has a significantly different meaning in the context of Indian film songs. The role of the

arranger can vary from one music director to another, but generally speaking, the arranger fleshes out the musical details in the song and makes the necessary preparations for recording. As Alison Arnold (1991) points out, arrangers became invaluable assets to music directors at the end of the film studio era since they enabled music directors to take on more projects (i.e., music directors outsourced some of the musical labor, including orchestration, copying, rehearsing, and conducting). Some arrangers worked very closely with music directors in composing the melody and accompaniment in the director's studio. Among other things, an arranger might compose the countermelodies, write the musical interludes, beginnings, and endings, and develop the orchestration (i.e., combining the sounds and textures of various musical instruments). The task of incorporating Western harmony into film songs also generally fell to arrangers since, until very recently, few music directors had an extensive understanding of harmony. In terms of preparing a song for recording, arrangers might also transcribe the melody into Western or Indian musical notation, write out the music parts for the musicians, recruit the necessary musicians for the orchestra, rehearse the orchestra, and conduct the orchestra in the recording studio. Many arrangers also played prominent instruments in the orchestra.

Historically, there has been a great deal of variability in the compositional approach of individual music directors. Some music directors felt compelled to have complete control over the entire compositional process, while others were more open to collaborating with music assistants and musicians. For example, the music director Madan Mohan once suggested that to him, a music assistant was little more than a stenographer who noted his musical ideas; he did not contribute to the music composition processes (Bharatan 1995). Other music directors like R. D. Burman or A. R. Rahman have been more open about describing the creative process as a collaborative effort. In so doing, they point to the interactions between music directors, arrangers, and musicians in crafting the melodies and music of songs, as well as the malleability of the creative process. Some music directors had less musical knowledge than others and, when it came to issues such as harmony or orchestration, they may have more or less relied on the skills of their respective assistants. Of course, musicians usually knew which music directors were filling a managerial role more than a compositional one (Booth 2008).

As far as their social status is concerned in this production hierarchy, only the names of the music director, singers, and lyricists appear in the opening credits of a film or on the jacket of its soundtrack. A music arranger might sometimes receive a line in the film credits, but his central role in song production is otherwise unacknowledged. For this reason, Gregory Booth

(2008) has aptly described arranging as one of the musical roles that lie "behind the curtain" in Indian cinema. Yet until recently, most music directors learned the craft by apprenticing as musicians and/or music assistants to an established music director, which has prompted the lyricist Gulzar (2003) to suggest that arrangers are, in essence, potential music directors. Moreover, many of the most prominent music directors worked first as arrangers and musicians; notable examples include Ghulam Mohammed who worked with Naushad, Shankar-Jaikishan with Husnlal-Bhagatram, R. D. Burman with his father S. D. Burman, Laxmikant-Pyarelal with Kalyanji-Anandji, A. R. Rahman with Ilayaraja, and so forth. It is also noteworthy that many musicians from the state of Goa, who performed at night in jazz and rock bands, worked as arrangers during the day (see chapter 4). Some of these prominent Goan arrangers include A. B. Albuquerque and Peter Dorado who worked with C. Ramchandra and other music directors of the 1940s and 1950s, Sebastian D'Souza who worked extensively with Shankar-Jaikishan, and Anthony Gonsalves who worked with Laxmikant-Pyarelal. There are very few Goan music directors, however. Gregory Booth's interlocutors who worked in the 1960s–1980s film orchestras noted in interviews that they viewed film music as merely a hobby rather than a central career opportunity, at least until the work in Mumbai's jazz clubs began to dry up in the 1970s.

THE INNOVATIONS OF NAUSHAD ALI (1919–2006)

Naushad Ali is one of the foremost music directors in Indian film history. His musical innovations cemented the form, recording techniques, and orchestration that would be adopted by later music directors. Naushad's films dominated the 1940s, and he became one of the first superstar music directors in Hindi cinema.

Born in Lucknow, Naushad studied the sitar and harmonium and repaired instruments in a music shop in his youth. He also played the harmonium in theatres for silent films that were shown in Lucknow. He rebelled against his family's prejudice against musicians, running away from home in order to compose and perform songs for *nautanki* (folk theater), which exposed him to the North Indian folk traditions that he included in many of his film songs. Naushad eventually settled in Mumbai in 1937 to join the film industry. He struggled in his first years, including briefly living on a footpath (sidewalk) opposite the cinema hall that, 16 years later, would debut one of his most important films, *Baiju Bawra* (Vijay Bhatt 1952). He first worked as a pianist in film orchestras and apprenticed as an assistant with

the music director Khemchand Prakash. His music directorial debut was *Premnagar* (M. Bhavani 1940). In this project, he experienced firsthand the technological constraints of recording songs in live takes outside, which were performed at night to minimize background noise, and with musicians stationed behind the scenery to be outside the camera frame. His first hit film, *Rattan* (M. Sadiq 1944), was followed by a long string of successful films in the 1940s and '50s that led him to transition from being a salaried music director to being the highest-paid music director of his time. Indeed, Naushad was the first music director to achieve the benchmark of charging one *lakh* rupees (i.e., one hundred thousand rupees) for composing the songs and music for a film (Bharatan 2013).

A series of successful films gave Naushad a singular power among music directors that has not since been seen. Because he had produced so many hits in the 1940s, he could determine the musical characteristics of a song with minimal meddling from film producers and directors. In interviews, Naushad frequently recounted an anecdote from his early years that indexes this power:

> When I recorded my first song for Mehboob's "Anmol Ghadi," he asked [Noorjehan] to change a note, add a stress there. He was the boss. The next day I purposely went on to the sets while the song was being filmed. Mehboob welcomed me, saying "Look at your song being shot!" "May I see through the camera?" I asked. He allowed me. I peered through it and asked the people around to move the table to the left, a chair to the right. Mehboob caught me by the ear and said, "Your job is music, direction is my job." I said that was the very admission I wanted from him, that his job was direction and not music. Mehboob's answer was clear from thereon—never to enter the music room again, and I did all the films unfettered (quoted in Chopra 2012; also in Bharatan 2013).

Perhaps not surprisingly, considering the way he recounts this incident, several of Naushad's most important soundtracks were composed for the film director Mehboob Khan, including *Anmol Ghadi* (1943), *Mother India* (1957), and *Mughal-e-Azam* (1960). He had more or less free rein over his compositional approach, and each of these films is considered to be a musical and cinematic masterpiece.

Naushad was given the luxury of taking as much time as he needed to compose and perfect a song. Accordingly, while his output was relatively small compared to other marquee music directors, he likely had the highest percent of blockbuster hits among his 66 film soundtracks. He endlessly polished song melodies and required rehearsal after rehearsal from his singers, regardless of how established they might be. This painstaking

approach to composition is the subject of another anecdote in which a filmmaker asked Naushad to compose 10 songs in 20 days. Naushad is famously reported to have told this filmmaker: "I can't even give you one song in [20] days . . . my music room is not a department store!" (quoted in Premchand 2003, 386). He had a reputation for being a choosy composer who would only rarely work on more than one film project at a time. His refusal to incorporate more trendy international sounds to accommodate the changing needs of song situations meant that he essentially stopped working after the 1960s, although he did compose for the occasional film until his death in 2006. In his later years, Naushad was the leader of the Indian Performing Rights Society, which administers the publishing rights of compositions, and he spearheaded attempts to challenge the copyright laws that enabled the film song remix fashion of the 2000s (see chapter 7).

Naushad is credited with a number of important innovations in film songs of the 1940s and '50s. He pioneered the use of large orchestras, some including more than 100 musicians. He used the highest available standards in the studio and is attributed with introducing the practice of recording voice and orchestra on separate tracks, as well as innovations in song mixing and acoustic design. This attention to detail in the studio, coupled with the large orchestra, gave his songs a huge, distinctive sound that was enhanced in the 2004 remastering of his magnum opus *Mughal-e-Azam* (Mehboob Khan 1960). Ashok Ranade notes that Naushad was instrumental in solidifying the form of film songs (i.e., the *mukhṛā-antarā* form), "tightening the musical concept of a 'film song' as distinct from 'singing in a film'" (2006, 195). While he was openly dismissive of the incorporation of international (Western) musical styles in film songs, Naushad demonstrated in several cases that he could compose in both international classical and popular styles. He also introduced several Western instruments (e.g., the accordion) that would become staples of film song, as well as distinctive orchestration (e.g., pairing mandolin/sitar, flute/clarinet) that created a signature sound. He was also important for the development—and later dominance—of several significant playback singers. He discovered the singer Suraiya as a youth, and Lata Mangeshkar and Mohammed Rafi came of age when Naushad was at the height of his prominence. The journalist Raju Bharatan (1995) credits Naushad with emphasizing Lata and Rafi's versatility in his songs, especially in drawing from their mastery of both classical and folk idioms. This versatility and resultant popularity led to their dominance as playback singers for several decades as their virtuosity drew the attention of other music directors (see chapter 3). More than anything else, Naushad is celebrated as the music director who successfully mediated Indian classical music in ways that were

accessible to mass audiences. The soundtrack for the film *Baiju Bawra* is the most frequently cited example, although a large number of his song melodies in other films have a direct basis in Indian *rāgas*. Finally, Naushad also had a rare gift for Hindi/Urdu poetry and crafted songs along with his lyricists to a much greater extent than other music directors of the time, many of whom grew up in other parts of India and spoke different regional languages (e.g., S. D. Burman, Salil Chowdhury, and Anil Biswas who grew up in Bengal and spoke Bengali-accented Hindi).

Anecdotes about Naushad and his contemporaries are frequently mobilized by Indian music critics and fans to compare the early film song era to later eras. These comparisons can be reduced to a set of binaries that disparage both the music directors and the music of later eras (i.e., film song after the 1950s when Naushad dominated). These discursive tropes include slow versus fast compositional styles, "timeless" versus "forgettable" melodies, Indian versus Western orientations, greater versus lesser value of music direction to film production, quality versus quantity, noncommercial versus commercial, etc. These comparative tropes are modular and sometimes contradictory, but they have been applied to other music directors and songs, as well as changes in prevailing social attitudes about Indian musics (see Beaster-Jones 2009).

"AWAZ DE KAHAN HAI" ("CALL OUT TO ME, WHERE ARE YOU?") *ANMOL GHADI* (MEHBOOB KHAN 1946)

Anmol Ghadi was one of the actor-singer Noorjehan's last films in Bombay cinema before she emigrated to the newly formed Pakistan, and her only collaboration with Naushad. This is one of the most popular films of the 1940s, and several of the songs are still considered evergreen (i.e., classic) hits. The film exemplifies the seamless incorporation of songs into the narrative and their revelation of each character's emotional state, especially through indirect address. The tensions that emerge from a love triangle that requires a sacrifice, as well as the disparity of wealth between the characters, are relatively conventional themes within Hindi films.

The film begins with the boy Chander (Surendra) chasing the carriage of the girl Lata (Noorjehan). Before her family moves from the village to Mumbai, Lata gives Chander her father's watch, rationalizing that her wealthy father can simply buy another one. This *anmol ghadi* (priceless watch) becomes the object that connects Lata with Chander for the rest of the film even as it accentuates the wealth disparity between Chander and his friends. Chander grows up in the village while his widowed mother

works herself to the bone to support her son's studies so that he can join the civil service. Chander proves to be a lazy and indifferent student and ultimately becomes an equally lazy and indifferent sitar-maker. He discovers the writing of Renu, a poet who seems to speak to the intimate details of his and Lata's childhood love. When his now-wealthy childhood friend Prakash (Zahur Raja) returns to the village, he convinces Chander and Chander's mother to join him in Mumbai so that Chander can run his music shop. Chander proves to be a mediocre shopkeeper, but in the meantime encounters Basanti (Suraiya) who dallies at his shop and makes excuses to return to flirt. The film soon reveals that Basanti is Lata's friend, and that Renu is Lata's nom de plume. Chander and Lata later encounter each other by accident; now adults, though strangely familiar to one another, they do not fully recognize each other. It is at this moment that the duet "Awaz de kahan hai, duniya meri jawan hai" ("Call out to me, where are you? My world is so youthful") shows both of them realizing that they have found their childhood love. Not knowing of Lata's and Chander's relationship, Prakash falls in love with Lata and is arranged to be married to her. Lata briefly considers running away from home, debating the conflicts of love versus familial obligation, but ultimately consents to marry Prakash. In order to remove himself from this heartbreak, Chander leaves Prakash's house, sacrificing his love for Lata for his friend. He returns home with his mother, who dies at the end of their journey. Still unaware of the love between Chander and Lata, Prakash is upset that Chander is not present for his wedding to Lata. At the moment he vows never to marry, however, Chander returns, and as a wedding gift, Chander gives the watch back to Lata. She gifts him in return "ādha mera ġam" ("half of my sorrows"). The film ends with Chander walking alone in the twilight, and with Basanti running to catch up with him.

Anmol Ghadi has some of the most important and memorable music in Indian film history. The soundtrack contains fine vocal performances by the actor-singers Noorjehan and Suraiya, as well as early examples of playback singing by Mohammed Rafi, Shamshad Begum, and Zohrabai Ambalewali. Each of the last three singers became an important voice in the post-colonial playback period. The film is especially well known for the Noorjehan songs "Awaz de kahan hai" ("Call out to me") (figure 2.3), "Jawan hai mohhabat" ("My love is youthful"), and "Mere bachpan ke saathi" ("My childhood companion").

"Awaz de kahan hai" (video 2.3) is a duet between Noorjehan and Surendra, and a classic example of the use of a *rāga* as the basis of a film song melody (Rāg Pahādi). The song is in a six-beat meter at a tempo of approximately 165 bpm in the accompaniment, although the languorous melody

Figure 2.3:
Noorjehan singing "Awaz de kahan" (*Anmol Ghadi* [1946]) as she looks at the night sky.

▶ Video 2.3:"Awaz de kahan hai"

makes the song sound slower and more contemplative. Like other songs of this era, the vocal melody dominates the recording mix and the vocalists are supported by strings and woodwinds in octaves, with tabla as rhythm accompaniment. The diatonic and largely unornamented vocal melody stays within an octave range for each singer. The song uses a *mukhṛā-antarā* form, with two stanzas and short (1–2 cycles) musical interludes separating the stanzas that keep the song at approximately three and a half minutes. At the end of lines in the lyrics, the orchestra provides short concluding motifs that are slightly longer than the interludes. Interestingly, one of the interludes briefly quotes the American big band song "Song of India" with a muted trumpet. This is a well-traveled melody as it was Tommy Dorsey's mediation of Rimsky-Korsakov's "Song of the Indian Guest," which was in turn a Western classical representation of "Indian" music.

The black and white picturization of "Awaz de kahan hai" uses very few shots, with frequent extreme close-ups of the actors' faces and minimal movement within the frame. The images focus on Lata and Chander lounging on chairs on their separate balconies, each looking up at the night sky. Each sings to the other in the distance, as though their voice

can be felt, if not heard, by the other. Like the picturization, the poetic imagery of Tanvir Naqvi's lyrics addresses the procession of the moon and stars at the end of a long night of separation. The song suggests that despite their years of distance, Lata and Chander retain a youthful (optimistic) outlook. This perspective is in marked contrast to the sacrifices that end the film, the very kinds of sacrifices that are central to the film *Shahjehan* described below. Taken as a whole, the songs of *Anmol Ghadi* incorporate Naushad's expansive use of the orchestra and attention to detail in the recorded sound, as well as many of the cosmopolitan bases of early film song by exploring the affective possibilities afforded by Indian *rāgas*.

MONUMENTAL SACRIFICE: "JAB DIL HI TOOT GAYA" ("WHEN MY HEART IS BROKEN") *SHAHJEHAN* (A. R. KARDAR 1946)

Another classic film of the late colonial period is *Shahjehan* (A. R. Kardar 1946), which, like *Anmol Ghadi*, explores honor, duty, and the sacrifices made for love, consistent themes in Hindi films. A historical film, *Shahjehan* is one of many filmic representations of the Mughal era that have been the narrative staple of Hindi film directors. Some of these include *Tansen* (Jayant Desai 1943), *Mughal-e-Azam* (K. Asif 1960), *Umrao Jaan* (Muzaffar Ali 1981), and, more recently, *Jodha Akbar* (Ashutosh Gowariker 2008). *Shahjehan* was a popular film near the end of the studio system, which would be largely replaced by the freelance system in the following decade. It was also actor-singer K. L. Saigal's last film before he passed away in 1947.

The film purports to represent the commissioning of the Taj Mahal by the historical figure Shah Jehan (1592–1666). The Taj Mahal is India's most recognizable cultural landmark, and its image adorns the beginning and end of the film. As a fictionalized representation of how this edifice came into being, *Shahjehan* betrays a kind of subtle nationalism from the perspective of an India that was on the verge of independence, insofar as the film focuses on the single most poignant symbol of pre-colonial India. The film begins with the poet Sohail (K. L. Saigal) composing a song celebrating the beauty of the Rajput princess Ruhi (Nasreen). As the song becomes popular, Ruhi's family becomes increasingly embarrassed by her celebrity and unsuccessfully tries to marry her off. Her father begs for help from Emperor Shahjehan (Kanwar) to overcome these difficulties, and Shahjehan agrees to give Ruhi the protection of his palace while he tries to find a suitable match for her. However, Shahjehan unwittingly promises

Video 2.4: "Jab dil hi toot gaya"

Ruhi's hand to both Sohail and the Persian sculptor Shirazi (who would later design the Taj Mahal). This places the emperor in the dilemma of choosing which of the two promises he will keep, and he cloisters himself away from his beloved Mumtaz until this conundrum can be solved. Ruhi's father begs Sohail to renounce his claim on Ruhi, but he initially refuses. Only when he learns that the empire is in danger of collapsing does he accept that he will not be able to marry Ruhi, and releases Shahjehan from his promise. As a way of illustrating his suffering, Sohail sings "Jab dil hi toot gaya" ("When my heart is broken") (video 2.4), a song that was very popular in the mid-1940s.

"Jab dil hi toot gaya" begins with a brief descending motif that sets the mode in Rāg Bhairavi, and this motif is consistently repeated at the end of vocal passages in the *antarās* of the song. A song with a *mukhṛā* and two stanzas, "Jab dil" is in an eight-beat meter at a moderate 108 bpm. An instrumentation of strings, sitar, and tabla accompanies the vocal melody, while in the interludes, strings and sitar are paired in the melodic line. String bass playing an I-V pattern also appears in the music sections (i.e., sections without a vocal melody) and this, along with the resonant sound of the left-hand drum of the tabla, has a much greater presence in the recording mix than in other recordings described earlier in this chapter. The vocal melody is diatonic and moves in stepwise motion along the scale of the *rāga*. Saigal's crooning voice has a slightly nasal cast to it, and the melody stays within one octave in his middle range with little melodic ornamentation. The timbre of his voice indicates that this song was recorded in a studio and played back for the film shooting (rather than being recorded on the set). As with other songs of this era, strings support Saigal's voice throughout the song. Typical for this era of filmmaking, there are relatively few visual cuts; there are only three shots in the entire three-minute song that circle around the inconsolable Sohail. As the camera pans across his poetry to his room and to Sohail himself leaning against a partition, the character is only revealed at the end of the first *mukhṛā* in a room that is otherwise devoid of human presence, a visual index of his loneliness. Sohail remains largely stationary as he sings, only moving to another position during the brief musical interludes, seemingly paralyzed by the pain of his loss. The lyrics augment his heartbreak as he describes his condition (e.g., "What use is this life when my heart is broken?"), and the introductory and concluding lyrics of the song allude to the sacrifice he will make a short while later in the film.

When the emperor is informed of the arrangement with Sohail, he immediately returns to the side of Mumtaz, who shortly dies, but only after asking Shahjehan to make a monument as "magnificent as her life." Shirazi attempts to fulfill this promise, only to have his designs rejected by Shahjehan. Rationalizing that only someone who has lost a love as deep as that of Shahjehan's could build the perfect monument, and in order to provoke that sentiment in Shirazi, Ruhi's father shoots his daughter out of loyalty to the emperor. This is the sacrifice, he reasons, that will enable an acceptable design of the Taj Mahal and keep the empire from crumbling. The perfect Taj Mahal does emerge from this sacrifice, and as Ruhi's mother petitions the emperor to spare the life of her husband, it is revealed that it was Sohail, not Ruhi, who was sacrificed for love. Ruhi and Shirazi are reunited, and the film ends by documenting several other architectural wonders created by the Persian sculptor.

While *Shahjehan* might seem outdated by contemporary film production standards, it is clear that many of the conventions of Hindi films had already been established in this era. Indeed, themes of love, desire, duty, sacrifice, and memory remain staples of contemporary Hindi films. As films produced near the end of the studio era, the songs in *Kismet, Anmol Ghadi*, and *Shahjehan* clearly illustrate the dimensions of cosmopolitanism and stylistic mediation, which are apparent in the instruments, styles, and production practices. In a similar vein, these songs communicate manifold meanings to film audiences in a cinematic style that would be familiar to fans of contemporary films. These films are also the products of a film system that had already codified many of the elements of film songs that would characterize later eras of cinema and remain relatively consistent until the 1990s, even if some of the styles might draw from other sources and new instruments might be added. These elements include the use of an orchestra with a mixture of stringed instruments and percussion, a clear focus in the orchestration and recording mix that highlighted the vocal melody above all else, the *mukhṛā-antarā* song form, and the conventions of film song situations as a way of furthering the film narrative even as they provided an outlet for emotional expression by the characters. Even though the use of actor-singers would wane by the end of the 1940s, the influence of the singers Noorjehan and Saigal is palpable in the next generation of singers that I discuss in the following chapters, just as the traces of Naushad's innovations in orchestration and song form are still present in contemporary film songs.

CHAPTER 3

"But My Heart Is Still Indian"

Film Songs of the Early Post-Colonial Era

From the perspective of India's founders, the wildly popular song "Aana meri jaan . . . Sunday ke Sunday" ("Come to me every Sunday, my love") (video 3.1) might be seen as the epitome of Western imperialism in Indian music, even as it foreshadowed the musical styles of the 1970s and beyond. Composed by C. Ramchandra for the film *Shehnai* (P. L. Santoshi 1947), "Aana meri jaan" was one of the popular songs on the airwaves at the moment that India and Pakistan achieved their independence. The song is set at a stage show that satirizes the unsuccessful attempts of a tuxedo- and top hat-wearing dandy (Mumtaz Ali) to seduce a high caste village girl (Dulari). In the lyrics, the man offers to take the village girl to London and Paris, and feed her meat and alcohol (which would be forbidden to her for religious reasons). The girl counters this by telling him that not only is she a devout Hindu girl from a good family, but that she has a boyfriend who can beat him up. In the third stanza, an Anglicized girl wearing trousers and carrying a rifle sings in a mix of Hindi and English, suggesting that she will be Juliet to his Romeo and that her worldliness makes her a better choice for him. In an approach that was unusual for the time—but became more common later—the lyrics mix English words with Hindi syntax as a way of demonstrating the Anglicization of the characters.

Sung by Ramchandra (under the pseudonym Chitalkar, which was his first name), Meena Kapoor, and Shamshad Begum as playback singers, the tune is based on a simple diatonic melody in a syncopated rhythm that has a strong nursery-rhyme quality to it. Stylistically, "Aana meri jaan"

Video 3.1: "Aana meri jaan . . . Sunday ke Sunday"

draws heavily from the jazz of that era by way of the swing band of one of Ramchandra's regular arrangers, John Gomes.[1] In addition to the use of a jazz drum set played with brushes, as well as banjo, saxophone, guitar, clarinet, and harmonica in the instrumentation, the jazz style of the song is indexed in a number of other musical elements, including an emphasis on beats two and four, an improvised saxophone countermelody during the *mukhṛā* that sometimes harmonizes with the singer, a short Benny Goodman-like clarinet solo at the lyrics "I'll show you Paris," Chitalkar's use of jazz scat vocables "da ta da" in the third stanza, snare drum fills at moments of pause in the lyrics, and a short jazz riff to conclude the song. "Aana meri jaan" also has a simple I-V-I chord progression that is reflected in the melody and the bass and guitar lines.[2]

Despite being a satirical representation of British cultural presence in India, "Aana meri jaan" was nonetheless a hit song on its own terms and undoubtedly underscored the fact that colonial influence would continue even after India achieved independence. As I show in this chapter, these cosmopolitan orientations were the subject of significant national-cultural debate in the early post-colonial era. As India became a nation-state, its cultural elites strived for a kind of musical-cultural purity that was, in some ways, subverted by the international radio station Radio Ceylon. The economic values of the film songs that Radio Ceylon broadcast on its show *Binaca Geet Mala* directly benefited music directors like Shankar-Jaikishan and provided a mechanism through which the musical tastes of film audiences could be measured and represented. Music directors responded to this metric by making adjustments to their compositional approaches, which in turn led to the further conventionalization of film song style. This period is also characterized by the rise and subsequent dominance of the practice of playback singing by way of its first two superstars: Mohammed Rafi and Lata Mangeshkar. In this chapter, I suggest that the voices of Rafi and Lata were the heart of this early post-colonial period, a time when the cosmopolitan mediations of film song were deeply inflected by India's nation-building project.

BUILDING THE INDIAN NATION-STATE (1947–1957)

On August 15, 1947, India achieved its independence from the British Empire. The jubilant event was marred by the violence and sorrow accompanying the Partition of the country, which created a new state, Pakistan,

by dividing Punjab on its western border and Bengal on its eastern border. While no one has exact figures, it is estimated that as many as 15 million people migrated from one nation to the other: Hindus and Sikhs from Pakistan into India and Muslims from India into Pakistan. The bloodshed that accompanied this event was tremendous, and it is estimated that as many as one million people were killed, as law and order were virtually nonexistent in the horrific riots that erupted. Adding to this strife was the assassination of M. K. Gandhi, India's most revered leader, on January 30, 1948, by a Hindu zealot whose rightist political outlook laid the full blame for Partition at his door.

In addition to the substantial refugee population created by Partition, India's founding fathers had to manage the tremendous religious, cultural, and linguistic diversity of the nation. In order to do so, they continued the nation-building project that had begun during India's independence movement in order to establish a shared set of Indian values, with the hope of building a sense of national cohesion while avoiding infighting and fragmentation of the young nation. For example, the newly independent India was home to more than 500 individual princely states that had to be convinced to cede their administrative power to the central government. Additionally, various regions of the country clamored for state boundaries to be redrawn on the basis of language, which was cemented in the 1950s (Guha 2007). Similarly, establishing a national administrative language became the source of much political contention. In order to jumpstart the economy that had been left deliberately undeveloped by Britain, India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, and his cabinet developed a model for a "planned economy" that placed many industries under the centralized control of the Indian government. This model emulated the perceived successes of the Soviet Union, which had undergone a similar nation-building project that, at the time, seemed effective to India's founding fathers.[3] The ultimate goal was to create a nation that was self-sufficient and could supply all of the needs of the local population.

Mahatma Gandhi was famously suspicious of cinema, believing that the medium itself was a subversive agent for materialism. This suspicion was shared by some of his colleagues, and it influenced national policy, as the new government carried forward the model of film censorship created by the British, taxed film producers heavily, and restricted the places that cinema halls could be built (Ganti 2013). Despite their suspicion of cinema, India's founders were well aware of the potential of the medium and, thus, provided tax reductions to film producers that incorporated messages of national integration into their films. Despite being capitalist enterprises, many of the films of this period were unabashedly socialist in message and

stressed unification in the face of all the social problems of the new nation. In other words, films of this period were provided explicit financial incentives to focus on issues of nation-building. Many of the conflicts in these films emerged less from the evils of individuals than from the evils built into the social system itself, which were manifested in particular villainous individuals who manipulated the system to their own advantage (Dwyer 2005). People living in poverty were also represented, most often as generous and kind folk whose cultural afflictions of poverty, illiteracy, and crime were a consequence of structural inequality, yet readily ameliorated through state intervention. Cities were consistently represented in these early films as ambivalent sites of social inequality, places where people became wealthy only through exploitation.

Like other new nation-states, India's founders desired to establish a central "Indian" value system and spent a lot of time attempting to disentangle national cultural values from those of its former colonizers. One way of doing this was to build educational institutions that promoted classical and folk arts. This meant that the early post-independence governments favored these genres in radio broadcasting as well. As far as this new post-colonial administration was concerned, the cosmopolitan musical orientation of film songs presented a problem. The mixture of international musical styles and instruments with Indian classical, folk, and devotional genres was not considered a mode of pure cultural expression by Indian policymakers. Moreover, the use of songs as a way of promoting the films from which they came (i.e., their blatant commercialism) was also deemed problematic by India's cultural elites. In the early 1950s, India's Minister of Broadcasting and Information responded to the problem of film commercialism by first reducing the amount of time allotted to film song recordings on All India Radio (AIR), and then ending the practice of announcing the name of the film that a song came from. Because these songs were no longer tied to the promotion of films, film producers refused to let AIR broadcast their songs, which effectively banned film songs from the terrestrial airwaves (Lelyveld 1995).

The popular demand for film songs could not easily be ignored, however, and this ban on film song broadcasts in India led to the brief dominance of the Radio Ceylon commercial radio service. The island nation of Ceylon (now known as Sri Lanka) off the southern coast of India was also a former British colony and had achieved its independence in 1948. The British had left behind a powerful radio transmitter that was capable of beaming shortwave broadcasts to almost the entirety of the Indian subcontinent. When film songs were essentially banned by the Indian government in the 1950s, Radio Ceylon became an important source for both international musics

and Indian film songs. Most important was the radio show the *Binaca Geet Mala* (Binaca's Garland of Songs) that provided the first hit parade of film songs to be broadcast to India. Based on audience requests and music store sales, the *Geet Mala* tabulated the most popular songs of the day and broadcast them on shortwave channels that circumvented Indian censorship of film songs. These nominally impartial ratings were used by music directors to negotiate their salaries with film producers, and some allegedly stuffed the ballot boxes to bolster their popularity (Arnold 1991). While AIR changed its stance in 1957 and created the light music channel Vividh Bharati, these ratings from the *Geet Mala* are still published in various musical retrospectives and are considered an index of some of the most important songs of Indian film history. The *Geet Mala* had the additional consequence of elevating the fame of music directors, whose music could be an important promotional force for films in the early post-colonial era. This trend of emphasizing the music director's role was accelerated by the star system of the 1970s and '80s, which increased song production costs dramatically. Music directors could draw large salaries because of their previous successes, and once attached to a film project, could attract potential investors.

The formal, stylistic, and aesthetic dimensions of film song continued to solidify in the soundtracks of the early post-colonial era. Even as films began to tackle socialist themes, new musical elements and modes of representation began to appear in Hindi film songs, including new melodic foundations, rhythms, instruments, and textures. Large orchestras contained a mixture of Indian and non-Indian instruments; they also provided a distinct style of orchestration that experimented with the sounds of different instrument combinations, large string sections that played melodies and countermelodies in unison, and the adaptation of music and performance styles from diverse sources inside and outside of India. Musical interludes became longer and indexed many of the diverse musics that music directors and arrangers were listening to at the time. But despite the musical tools afforded by large orchestras, most interludes were still in unison or had a single unison countermelody. Harmony and well-articulated chord progressions were deemed too complicated for the tastes of the average Indian listener, at least as measured by the metrics of the *Geet Mala* (Arnold 1991). Although music directors of this period noted that many of their songs deployed *rāga* and *tāla* conventions (e.g., Naushad), most composers of this period also began to incorporate Western scales and reduce melodic complexity, even as they melded Indian folk rhythms with a plethora of international sources. Yet, this incorporation was not a wholesale adoption of Western scales and rhythms, as the resulting synthesis of

cosmopolitan styles created a particular set of *filmi* performance conventions, many of which are still in use today. As a result, one might argue that as the most important aesthetic features of film songs, melody and vocal style retained their Indian "heart," even as music directors experimented with manifold song styles. Accordingly, Hindi film song melodies and music are often referred to as "hybrid" or "syncretic" (e.g., Dutta 2013). However, as I already have suggested, "cosmopolitan" is a more appropriate term insofar as it includes the people who created the music and their aesthetic impulses. Moreover, many of the musicians who played in these early film orchestras also performed in local jazz clubs (Fernandes 2003); thus, these stylistic mediations of international styles are quite prominent in songs like "Aana meri jaan" discussed above. Finally, while some music directors like Salil Chowdhury attempted to introduce more complicated harmony, most came to realize that the popularity of the film song primarily rested on melody unencumbered by a heavy orchestral or harmonic texture (Arnold 1991).

The continued dominance of the human voice is the key dimension of this period of film songs. Featuring diatonic vocal lines with limited ornamentation and clear diction, the melodies of this period are still remembered and sung by fans, regardless of their level of musical training. Easily reproducible vocal melodies are a large part of the general success of Hindi film songs as a style of music, and the melodic-lyric dominance of the songs of this period is attached to the narrative of a golden age of Indian cinema. Consequently, critics and fans refer to the early post-colonial era of Hindi film song—and the coincident dominance of the *Geet Mala*—as the "evergreen era" (i.e., classic era), largely because they feel it achieved an ideal balance between melody, lyrics, accompaniment, and studio recording practices that emphasized the singer's voice above all else in the recording mix. Another important reason this is considered the evergreen period is because the playback singers Lata Mangeshkar and Mohammed Rafi were in their prime and dominated the airwaves.

MUSIC TECHNOLOGY AND THE RISE OF PLAYBACK SINGING

Although it might be the single most distinctive element of Indian film songs, the practice of playback singing only gradually developed into an institution, in part because it required certain affordances in recording technology. As I noted in the previous chapter, the first film song recordings were made with simultaneous video and audio on optical film recorded with a single microphone. Accordingly, all the musicians had to be present

on the stage for song sequences in order to be picked up by the microphone. These musicians would often be concealed behind trees or other props on the stage, which led to the pejorative description of Indian films as "singing and dancing in the trees" (Ganti 2013). Because recording technology of the time could only record a limited portion of the sound spectrum perceptible to the human ear, early recordings focused on the human voice, and there were severe limitations on the kind and number of musical instruments that could be used in tandem with the voice without overwhelming the recording equipment. An additional complication in the early years of the sound film was that the image track could not be easily separated from the audio track. This made editing difficult because the film emulsion would have to be exposed in order to both see and hear what was recorded by the camera, and developing film always carried certain risks (Arnold 1991). Simultaneous recording of video/audio on celluloid had the additional problem of not being easily transferable to gramophone; thus, it was necessary for the musicians to travel to the smaller HMV studios in South Mumbai to record the song for vinyl while it was still fresh in their minds (Booth 2008). This meant that there were sometimes significant differences between the film and gramophone versions of songs, especially in the size of the orchestra, instrumentation, and song form (e.g., "Aana meri jaan" above).

The later facility of isolating sound from image enabled separate editing of audio and visual material. While the film dialogue continued to use simultaneous recording, acting and singing were gradually separated. As production technology continued to improve, it became feasible to prerecord songs and have the actor/singer lip-sync to his or her studio recording for the camera. As Gregory Booth (2008) notes, recording practices afforded by this new technology had significant advantages when it came to the performance of songs. Most important was the ability of actor-singers and musicians to record under better acoustic circumstances than the film set allowed, and thus they could focus on their vocal performance. Then, once the song was played back for lip-syncing, they could concentrate on their acting. This separation of sound and image also made audio editing much easier, as recording studios could better manage the frequent voltage fluctuations and keep the pitch of the recording from changing as the speed of the recording media increased or decreased. In addition, studio recording enabled the production of non-diegetic background music.

It was therefore only a matter of time before music directors realized that the recording process also enabled trained vocalists to sing for the actors rather than relying upon the relatively modest vocal abilities of actor-singers. The music directors R. C. Boral and Pankaj Mullick are

frequently credited with the innovation of playback in 1935, but it was only by the end of the 1940s that specialized "ghost singers," later known as "playback singers," enabled actors to focus on acting and singers to focus on singing (Majumdar 2001). By the time of Indian independence, the playback system in India had gained its supremacy through the death of Saigal and the migration of Noorjehan to Pakistan. The rise of the virtuosos Lata Mangeshkar and Mohammad Rafi in 1946–47 signaled the death knell of the singer-actor approach to film songs, although there were some notable exceptions (e.g., Suraiya, Kishore Kumar, and the occasional Amitabh Bachchan song). By the end of the 1940s, the vast majority of songs were recorded in studios by professional playback singers and lip-synced by actors on screen. Even as the speaking voices of many silent film actors were deemed unsuitable for films by audiences and directors, so too the style of singing changed with the microphone. Following K. L. Saigal's vocal innovations, there was also a subsequent shift from the full-throated singing of the folk and courtesan traditions to the crooning style that became an index of the *filmi* vocal style in other genres of Indian music.[4]

Neepa Majumdar (2001) notes that early audiences did not look favorably on this practice of professionals ghost singing for actors at first, but they gradually came to accept playback singing because it married the best of two worlds: attractive actors with beautiful singing voices. Audiences were well aware that the image and the voice were different, but fans continued to categorize songs as much by the image of the actor as they did by the sound of the singer's voice. "Voice casting," or matching the singing voice of the vocalist with the speaking voice of the actor, was important in these early years of playback singing. But later, voice casting became less essential as audiences became enamored with the vocal quality and approach of the early playback singers. This led to the parallel celebrity of particular playback singers with the actors who embodied them; indeed, their importance as the singing voices of the heroes and heroines enabled certain playback singers to demand hefty sums of money (and sometimes royalties) for their services. As Dwyer (2011) notes, Lata was not originally listed as the playback singer on the record cover of *Mahal* ("Aayega aane wala" was credited to Kamini, the name of the character played by the actress Madhubala onscreen). But after All India Radio was swamped with calls from fans who wanted to know the name of the singer who had rendered the haunting and beautiful song, and after Lata herself pushed to be given credit, the second batch of record covers was duly changed. Shortly thereafter, with the soundtrack to the film *Barsaat* (Raj Kapoor 1949), record jackets began to regularly feature the names of the singers as well (Kabir 2009). One might suggest that the moment playback singers' names

began to appear along with recordings was the pivotal point when playback singing was fully accepted by Indian audiences.

This approach to recording had a secondary consequence of creating the conditions under which the Indian film industry came to dominate the music industry. Indeed, the HMV music company came to rely on the relatively low-risk distribution of prerecorded film songs as a cash cow. This practice of composing recorded songs for picturization meant that songs were also available to be broadcast on radio and released on record weeks before the film release, which meant that HMV could also mobilize the promotional forces of film to sell music. By the 1940s, film songs were commonly released in advance in order to promote their films, which increased the stranglehold of the film industry over the music industry.

VOICES OF THE INDIAN NATION: MOHAMMED RAFI AND LATA MANGESHKAR

Two singers dominated the early period of the Indian nation-state: Mohammed Rafi and Lata Mangeshkar. Lata and Rafi (as they are called by fans) sang more than 10,000 Hindi film songs over 30 years and, in many ways, they were an almost insurmountable presence for the generation of singers that would follow them. As such, their voices are indelibly linked to the new Indian nation-state and its nation-building project, even if they received little support from the state itself.

Mohammed Rafi (1924–1980)

Mohammed Rafi was born in Kotla Sultan Singh, a village near Amritsar, and grew up in Lahore (now in Pakistan). He showed talent in music as a youth, but his father was opposed to him becoming a musician. Nevertheless, his elder brother surreptitiously helped him get Indian classical training from local musicians. In one apocryphal story, Rafi and his brother attended a K. L. Saigal concert in Lahore in 1937, when the power went out and Saigal was unable to sing. Rafi was pushed onto the stage and sang a Punjabi folk song to the crowd. After the song was over, Saigal predicted that Rafi would become a great singer (Y. Rafi 2012, 34). Rafi sang for Radio Lahore and a Punjabi film before moving to Mumbai in 1942. He had very few resources at the time and had to canvass music studios on foot. His breakthrough came with Naushad's popular soundtrack to *Pehle Aap* (A. R. Kardar 1944). Rafi

had an opportunity to sing with Saigal in *Shahjehan* (A. R. Kardar 1946), and he also sang with Noorjehan in several films before she moved to Pakistan, including the film *Jugnu* (Shaukat Hussain Rizvi 1947). Like Lata, he had a few small acting roles in films early in his career, but he was never particularly interested in acting. Also like Lata, Rafi's career was firmly established through collaboration with Naushad, who was at the pinnacle of his popularity in the late 1940s and 1950s. Rafi's classical training was essential in this collaboration, and Naushad put it to good use in films like *Baiju Bawra* (Vijay Bhatt 1952), which portrayed a fictionalized encounter between Akbar's court musician Tansen and an itinerant musician named Baiju. Along with Mohammed Rafi and Lata Mangeshkar, the soundtrack featured Ustad Amir Khan and D. V. Paluskar, two of India's leading classical vocalists. In addition, one of the great early collaborative teams of this period was formed: the actor Dilip Kumar, the music director Naushad, the lyricist Shakeel Badayuni, and the singer Mohammed Rafi (e.g., *Dillagi* and *Dulari* in 1949, *Deedar* in 1951). In the same way that Mukesh became the singing voice of Raj Kapoor, Mohammed Rafi became the singing voice of Dilip Kumar in films throughout the 1950s. As such, Rafi was the voice of the "tragedy king," as Kumar was known, until he later became the voice of Dev Anand and Shammi Kapoor in the 1960s.

While his first association was with Naushad, Mohammed Rafi went on to work with nearly every music director in his 40-year career and became the most prolific male playback singer in Indian film history. As an all-around singer, Rafi was the singer of first choice in the 1950s and 1960s and the singing voice of nearly every hero in that period. Music directors held Rafi in high regard as a virtuosic singer who could handle even the most complicated melodies in virtually any musical style. As was the case with Lata, music directors composed melodies that only Rafi had the vocal technique to render properly. Unlike other singers of the early playback era, Rafi did not begin by imitating the crooning style of Saigal, but instead developed a distinct vocal style that drew more deliberately from Indian classical musics. With his three-octave range, Rafi expanded the expectations for the vocal range of male playback singers from one octave to one and a half octaves within any given song. While Rafi adapted to the ongoing changes in film song compositions after the 1960s, he preferred to work in contexts with less complicated orchestration where the singer's voice was the highlight of the recording. His voice dominated the evergreen era of film songs until it was (somewhat) overshadowed by the rise of Kishore Kumar in the 1970s; as Kishore Kumar came to be associated with R. D. Burman in the 1970s, so too Rafi came to be associated with Laxmikant-Pyarelal (see chapter 5).

In the 1960s, Rafi and Lata argued over the issue of song royalties for singers and became somewhat estranged. Rafi disagreed with Lata at the time, arguing that the "work for hire" arrangement that he made with music directors was fair payment for his services. According to his daughter-in-law, Yasmin Rafi, he later expressed regret that he took this particular stand but felt it was too late to make a change (2012, 119–120).[5] Rafi had a reputation for being generous and not being driven by fame or finances—there are many stories of his singing for new music directors for reduced fees or even for free (e.g., Laxmikant-Pyarelal). Yasmin Rafi describes Mohammed Rafi in ways that largely align with his reputation in the industry, as the consummate professional and family man who had few vices:

> Abba [Rafi] had his feet planted firmly on earth, despite the name, fame, wealth and success that he enjoyed. Surprisingly, he did not cultivate any of the airs that are prevalent in Bollywood, and he stayed away from the customary vices such as liquor, cigarettes, chewing betel or tobacco. He was so respectful of women, whether at home or outside, that he was always very shy when interacting with them. He did not like attending Bollywood parties, nor did he entertain at home. Even if he did attend a function or a marriage, he hardly spent any time there; just about long enough for him to enter through one gate and out another. He kept his profession completely segregated from his personal life. After finishing work, he liked to spend the rest of his time at home with his family (2012, 122).

Yasmin also notes that, in general, Mohammed Rafi was plainspoken, shy, and did not give many interviews (ibid., 125–126). Like other established playback singers, he performed in domestic live shows, beginning in 1960. In 1965, he began performing in international shows twice a year and, by 1980, had completed almost 30 tours abroad. He could also play the tabla and harmonium, and he recorded non-film songs as well, including *ghazals* and *bhajans*. Rafi won many awards for his song renditions, but officially stopped accepting them in 1962. I discuss Rafi's songs in more detail in chapters 4 and 5.

Lata Mangeshkar (b. 1929)

There is no more recognizable voice in Hindi cinema than that of Lata Mangeshkar. Lata (also known as Didi or "elder sister") has been the singing voice of many heroines since her debut in 1942 in a Marathi language film. Because she has worked with nearly every major music director, filmmaker,

and singer, a biography of Lata is essentially a history of Hindi film song itself.[6] Born in the city of Indore, she began classical vocal study with her father, Pandit Dinanath Mangeshkar, at an early age. When her father passed away in 1942, she was mentored by film producer Master Vinayak, and later by Ustad Amanat Ali Khan and the music director Ghulam Haider. Lata entered the film industry at an opportune time, when the technologically enabled practice of playback singing was to become mainstream recording practice in Indian films. In a relatively short period of time, this practice displaced the first generation of actor-singers who had dominated Indian cinema, albeit with some debate about the authenticity of the practice of "embodying" the voice of an actor (Majumdar 2001). In addition, the departure of Noorjehan for Pakistan created a space for a new kind of female voice in films. As I noted above, the broadcast of Lata's first successful song, "Aayega aane wala" ("The one I await will come") for the film *Mahal* (Kamal Amrohi 1949), reportedly led to many people calling into local AIR stations to enquire about the identity of the singer (Dwyer 2011). Lata's status as a star singer was cemented by the success of the film *Barsaat* (Raj Kapoor 1949), which was also the first venture of the music director duo Shankar-Jaikishan.

Lata went on to sing thousands of songs for films in many Indian languages. At one point she (erroneously) received the distinction of being the "most recorded human voice" by the *Guinness Book of World Records* for having recorded more than 25,000 songs; but after the publication of the *Hindi Filmi Geet Kosh* (*Dictionary of Hindi Film Song*), she was found to have sung a "mere" 5,067 songs between 1945 and 1989 (Bharatan 1995). Later writers would suggest that the honor of most recorded voice actually belonged to Lata's younger sister, Asha Bhosle (see chapter 5). Yet, in many ways, the exact number of songs she recorded is immaterial because there is absolutely no question that it is her voice that came to define the aural ideal of femininity for several decades of Hindi film (roughly 1950 to 1990), and she has retained a commercial appeal for film producers even into the 2000s.

Despite (or perhaps because of) her modest and devout, if not austere, comportment, Lata has an unparalleled star power. In terms of demeanor, she is most commonly compared to Meerabai, the medieval poet-saint who penned hundreds of Hindu *bhajans* (hymns). She was able to become one of the most powerful figures in all of Indian cinema. It is reported, for example, that her refusal to sing for the music director C. Ramchandra essentially ended his career. Similarly, Raju Bharatan (2010) notes that Lata had a falling-out with Raj Kapoor when she demanded royalties for her recordings and refused to sing for his films, which may have explained

the spectacular failure of his film *Mera Naam Joker* (1970). Her demand for royalties from Kapoor was only fulfilled with the film *Bobby* (1973), as was her reported demand that the music director duo Laxmikant-Pyarelal replace Shankar-Jaikishan in the project (ibid., 34). Her royalty demands similarly alienated her from Mohammed Rafi, the dominant male singer of the time, who refused to boycott film producers and music directors who would not pay royalties. Finally, she famously refused to sing any song that she felt had "vulgar" (i.e., overtly sexual) lyrics. Very often, the task of singing these songs fell to her sister Asha Bhosle, who has much the same musical background, albeit a somewhat lesser status.

There are several explanations for Lata's dominance as the consummate female singer in Hindi film song. Peter Manuel (1993) suggests, for example, that she was successful simply because she was heavily promoted within the film industry (i.e., the film industry generated a kind of mass cultural imposition on audience taste, necessitated by the need to produce songs quickly for the marketplace). However, much of the discussion about Lata's success has focused more on the distinct timbre of her voice than on the way she approaches songs or her relative skills. Some note that her voice is feminine but nonsexual, like the voice of an adolescent girl. In these accounts, "pure" and "soulful" are the terms most often used by her fans to describe it. Thus, some fans claim that her voice is ideally suited to representations of the demure and almost asexual Indian woman, the preferred feminine stereotype of Hindi films until the 1980s. Accordingly, as the voice of the "eternal 16 year old" (Bharatan 1995), Lata's voice has been picturized on the bodies of numerous heroines over four decades. But her success can also be attributed in large part to her classical vocal training and her ability to sing virtuosic musical ornaments, in a wide vocal range, seemingly without effort. Fans of Lata's voice often refer to it as flexible, if not limitless. In addition, her ability to learn songs in just a rehearsal or two made her a known quantity for music directors, who could get what they wanted in a recording in relatively little time. Most music directors who have worked with her reminisce quite fondly about their experiences with her personally and her professionalism in the recording studio.

Lata's voice is widely imitated in other Indian film song traditions, as well as light classical and folk genres. Her detractors use the adjectives "shrill," "thin," or "falsetto" to describe her voice, and her vocal timbre seems to be an insurmountable barrier for some listeners. Others have pointed out that the very fact that her thin voice has been used with so many heroines suggests a kind of disturbing infantilization of Indian womanhood in films (Srivastava 2006). Peter Manuel (1993) has noted that Lata's vocal timbre is not found within any of India's vast folk or classical traditions. Others have

snidely suggested that the popularity of her voice stems from its reproducibility on low-quality stereo systems (i.e., it is popular because it can be heard and understood). Nevertheless, Lata's voice represents a particular style of singing that is associated with a *filmi* vocal approach—a voice that is friendly to the microphone and technological reproduction more generally. Although she was not the first female playback singer, Lata became the consummate disembodied voice. Despite sometimes being described as timeless, however, the timbre of Lata's voice changed as she aged; in her songs recorded after 1990, the contrasts between the speaking voices of the heroines and Lata's singing voice became much more pronounced (songs from *Hum Aapke Hain Koun . . . !* and *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge* are good examples of this). Nevertheless, despite singing far fewer songs in her later years, her popularity has never waned.

THE VOICE OF INDIAN WOMANHOOD: "DUNIYA MEIN HUM AAYE HAIN" (*MOTHER INDIA* [1957])

One of the most important films that embodies a post-colonial conception of Indian womanhood is, not surprisingly, largely voiced by Lata. *Mother India* is considered one of the great masterpieces of Indian cinema and was the first Indian language film nominated for an Oscar. The film was propelled by Naushad's powerful soundtrack, and one of the central songs in this film, "Duniya mein hum aaye hain to jeena hi padega, jeevan hai agar zahar to peena hi padega" ("We have come into this world so we must live, if life gives us poison we must drink it"), is powerfully tied to the period after Indian independence and the struggles that the nation had to endure in its nation-building project.

"Duniya mein" (video 3.2) has the standard *mukhṛā* and three stanzas, where each of the refrains is sung by a chorus of Lata and her sisters Usha and Meena Mangeshkar. The song picturization begins with Radha (Nargis) pulling the yoke of a plow (figure 3.1) and follows the passage of time over most of a growing season as she and her little sons plow, sow, weed, and grow the crops. Shakeel Badayuni's lyrics represent the moral values that Radha is instilling in her sons as they toil in the fields, which happen to coincide with the long-term social values of the Indian nation. In the first verse, the lyrics stress Radha's belief that one must face misfortune and walk through fire when necessary; this is synchronized in the picturization with the image of Radha and her sons burning a field in preparation for plowing. The lyrics of the second stanza point to women's role in adversity, that they must prize their honor/modesty above all else. This is depicted by

Figure 3.1:
The iconic moment of Radha (Nargis) pulling the plow in "Duniya mein hum aayen hain" (*Mother India* [1957]).

Video 3.2: "Duniya mein hum aayen hain"

Radha feeding her sons in the picturization and resonates in the context of the film narrative and the moral choices she makes, even as it reinforces the popular ideal of Indian womanhood. As Radha and her sons weed in the picturization, the third verse emphasizes that redemption comes through hard work and perseverance, ending with the sentiment that you shall reap as you sow. The final image shows Radha and her sons in a blind overlooking the fields, with the sons standing guard over their crops.

From a musical perspective, the song is in a six-beat meter at a tempo of approximately 128 bpm. The vocal melody stays within Lata's middle register in the *mukhṛā*, and then moves higher within her middle register at the end of the *antarās* to stress particular lyrics (picturized as being sung by her young son Birju). The instrumentation is relatively sparse for a Naushad composition, including a small string section, flute, clarinet, piano, tabla, and triangle. The piano plays very low arpeggios in the background that, coupled with a string bass, allude to a simple I-V-I chord progression. The melody here is not directly based on a particular *rāga* but alternates between a major/minor third in a manner that alludes to *rāgas*

in the Āsāvari mode. The major/minor third intervals in the verses at the end of the refrains contrast in interesting ways with the use of the minor third in the *mukhṛā*, suggesting an underlying optimism in a song that is otherwise thematically dark. Characteristic of Naushad's orchestration, the interlude melodies alternate between strings in a low register and a combination of woodwinds.

The singing alternates between Radha (Lata Mangeshkar) and the boys (Lata's sisters Usha and Meena Mangeshkar) echoing her melody at the end of lyrical phrases. The alternation between mother and sons suggests that the boys are internalizing the moral compass of their mother, which is effective, coming after one point when she herself is being tested. It is noteworthy that the lyrics of this song had significant resonance beyond this particular film narrative—*Mother India* was released just as India was celebrating its 10th year of independence and the country was still trying to establish its national moral compass while facing many kinds of adversity that threatened to pull it apart. This is perhaps one of the reasons that this image of Radha/Mother India pulling the yoke is one of the most iconic in all of Indian cinema.

Befitting its masterpiece status, *Mother India* has been the subject of extensive scholarly analysis (e.g., Chakrabarty 1998, Dwyer 2000). The film is set in a village at an undetermined moment in Indian history. Radha has married into a family that mortgaged its land to the village moneylender in order to pay for her wedding with its scion. The majority of the family's crops are allocated to paying the interest on the loan, and the young couple attempts to secretly clear land that will enable them to extract themselves from the state of exploitation. In the process of clearing the land, however, they lose one of their oxen and the husband's arms are crushed in a farming accident. The husband leaves the village to avoid being an extra mouth to feed. Meanwhile, Radha's last ox, which she needs to plow the fields, is repossessed by the moneylender. He offers to forgive the debt, and return the land and the ox if she will agree to become his mistress. She refuses his offer and sings the song "Duniya mein" as she pulls the yoke herself with her two young sons guiding the plow. In the scene following this song, all of their crops are washed away in a flood just before the harvest, their home is destroyed, and her infant son dies. Radha convinces the villagers to remain and rebuild, which eventually leads to a happier time many years later. Yet, they are still under the power of the moneylender once her surviving sons have arrived at adulthood and are contemplating marriage. Birju (Sunil Dutt), the younger son, is unable to accept the family's sorry lot of perpetual debt. He becomes a bandit, murders the moneylender, and kidnaps his daughter. By the end of the film, Radha is forced to kill her own son as

much on principle as to preserve social order in the village. The sacrifices of Radha in this film resonated to an immense degree with an Indian population coping with the economic and social issues that accompanied India's status as a new post-colonial state. To that extent, "Duniya mein" is very much a part of the soundtrack of India's early struggles, even as it reified Lata as the voice of (nearly) all of Indian womanhood.

THE COSMOPOLITANISM OF SHANKAR-JAIKISHAN

Nearly every music director used the voices of Lata and Rafi in the 1950s and '60s. The composer duo Shankar-Jaikishan was no exception. Shankar Ramsingh Raghuvanshi (1922–1987) and Jaikishan Dayabhai Panchal (1932–1971) are among the most prolific music directors in Indian cinema, having composed the songs for more than 120 films. Born into a Punjabi family that lived in Hyderabad, Shankar played the piano, accordion, sitar, harmonium, several Indian percussion instruments, and also had some facility with *Kathak*, an Indian classical dance form. Jaikishan grew up in the state of Gujarat and moved to Mumbai in 1945. Jaikishan did not have formal training in music, but could play the harmonium and tabla. Shankar-Jaikishan, who followed on the heels of Husnlal-Bhagatram and preceded Laxmikant-Pyarelal, Kalyanji-Anandji, Jatin-Lalit, Vishal-Shekhar, and Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy, are among the most successful music director teams of Hindi cinema. Their relationship was based on a number of contrasts that at times served them well and at other times generated conflict.

Shankar worked as an assistant to the Husnlal-Bhagatram team in the 1940s, and he and Jaikishan worked together as Ram Ganguly's assistants in *Aag* (Raj Kapoor 1948). They achieved enormous success with their debut film *Barsaat* (Raj Kapoor 1949), which was followed by a string of superhit films in collaboration with Kapoor in the 1950s and '60s, including *Awara* (1951), *Shree 420* (1955), *Jis Desh Mein Ganga Behti Hai* (1960), and *Sangam* (1964). They were later associated with Shammi Kapoor's rock 'n' roll-oriented films of the 1960s. Along with the singer Mukesh, Shankar-Jaikishan remained the primary music directors for Raj Kapoor until Jaikishan's death in 1971, whereupon Kapoor replaced them with Laxmikant-Pyarelal (see chapter 5). Shankar continued to write music into the 1980s using the Shankar-Jaikishan name, albeit with little success.

Many commentators have noted film director/producer/actor Raj Kapoor's musical sensibility and the seamless integration of music in his films, along with the careful picturization (e.g., Bharatan 2010). Like Guru

Dutt, Raj Kapoor crafted the song picturizations even if he was not acting in or directing the film. Undoubtedly, Shankar-Jaikishan reaped the benefits of this, insofar as it suggests that they too had a visual sensibility, and that they composed music inspired by Kapoor's vision of film songs (Ranade 2006). One exemplar of the interconnection of sound and image is the spectacular eight-minute dream sequence (figure 3.2) of the songs "Tere bina aag yeh chandni" ("Without you this moonlight is like fire") and "Ghar aaya mera pardesi" ("My beloved has come from a distant land") (video 3.3) in the film *Awara* (Raj Kapoor 1951). In this sequence, the hero moves back and forth between heaven and hell as he considers the implications of being trapped in a life of crime.[7] In its time, this song sequence was one of the most expensive to produce, requiring more than 20 continuous hours to record in the studio, along with an additional three months to develop and shoot the picturization. In addition to rich visuals, Shankar-Jaikishan used one of the largest orchestras of the time, an innovative use of harmony and chromatic melodies (including some atonal moments reminiscent of the composer Igor Stravinsky), as well as the sounds and orchestration of Dixieland jazz.[8]

Figure 3.2:
Raj Kapoor's dream sequence (*Awara* [1951]).

Video 3.3: "Ghar aaya mera pardesi"

Perhaps to a greater extent than any other music director of this era, Shankar-Jaikishan desired to fashion a kind of branded sound, which led them to rapidly increase the size of their orchestra and exploit "eclectic" instrumental combinations (Arnold 1988) that might draw audience attention on *Binaca Geet Mala*. Some of the musical innovations that helped them create this branded sound included the use of a large string section as a single instrument in the orchestra, the use of strings in high registers, non-lyrical choirs, non-*tāla* meters, mandolin, accordion, and dholak-oriented rhythms. In addition, Ranade (2006, 268) suggests that they developed a special *tāla* called the "Dattaram theka kaharwa" (i.e., an eight-beat pattern derived from *kaharwa tāl* that was named after their longtime rhythm arranger Dattaram). Like prominent music directors of this period, their songs moved fluidly between Indian and international influences, in large part because their regular orchestra contained many members of Goan dance bands that were working in the Mumbai nightclubs during and after WWII (Booth 2008, 125). Most important, they wrote very catchy melodies that had significant commercial success.

While Shankar-Jaikishan were especially well known for their blend of Indian and non-Indian elements, they clearly had an ability to comfortably compose using Indian classical components. Like Naushad, many of their prominent melodies were based on Rāg Bhairavi (Bharatan 1995). Perhaps more important than their musical innovations, Booth (2008) notes that Shankar-Jaikishan were instrumental in transforming the ways that songs were composed, rehearsed, and recorded in the 1950s. They worked in a composition group of several sitting musicians to play back ideas immediately, with an assistant and rhythm arranger, a tabla or dholak player, and a guitarist. They codified rehearsal and production schedules (which became a common practice among music directors until the mid-1990s), including composition, arrangement, morning rehearsals with small orchestra, and full rehearsals with full orchestra and singer. This schedule, and the live performance ethic of the orchestra and arranger, meant that it might require up to 15 days for a single song to be composed and recorded. An increasing number of rehearsals were required for more complicated orchestral arrangements; some of the musicians rehearsed only as a component of the recording session, while others expected that rehearsals would take place outside of recording (ibid., 191). In the case of Shankar-Jaikishan, there was an expectation that musicians would be at these informal rehearsals, or else they would not be called for the paid recording session. Accordingly, this more intensive use of orchestra meant a longer workday for the musicians.

Despite their superstar status, their internal strife and dueling personalities increasingly came to public light in the 1960s, in part because Jaikishan was more of an extroverted public figure while Shankar spent

more time in the workshop composing. A series of film failures in the 1960s probably exacerbated this falling-out. Anantharaman (2008) and Bharatan (1995) speculate that there was also tension because Jaikishan's songs resonated more with the public, as well as the fact that Shankar wanted to use female singers other than Lata. In an interview with Ganesh Anantharaman, Pyarelal Sharma (of Laxmikant-Pyarelal) noted:

> Insiders know that very early in their career, they had started composing separately. Shankar would create some songs in a film and Jaikishan would create some others. Except for RK Films, where they were salaried employees on the payroll, they rarely worked together on the music of any film. Only their name appeared as Shankar-Jaikishan…. But in spite of their composing separately, they were able to give their music a distinct identity, a brand. That was their greatness (Anantharaman 2008, 92–93).

Even after Jaikishan's death, some of the early Laxmikant-Pyarelal songs for Raj Kapoor's production house RK Films were reputed to be composed by Shankar-Jaikishan and adapted by Laxmikant-Pyarelal (Bharatan 1995). As such, one might argue that Shankar-Jaikishan's musical versatility, branded compositional style, and productivity were one important transition point in the 1950s and '60s that led naturally into the sounds of the 1970s and beyond. As such, the sound of their most memorable compositions was also tied to this period of nation-building as reflected in the songs "Awara hoon" and "Mera joota hai Japani."

INDIAN NATIONALISM EMBODIED IN SONG: "AWARA HOON" AND "MERA JOOTA HAI JAPANI"

The soundtracks to the films *Awara* (Raj Kapoor 1951) and *Shree 420* (Raj Kapoor 1955) are among Shankar-Jaikishan's greatest musical accomplishments. *Awara* explores the classic philosophical "nature-nurture" question: Are people good or evil because it is in their natures or because of their social circumstances (nurture)? The film makes a strident argument for the latter theory, which contests a fatalistic outlook and thereby perhaps implies that India itself might overcome its social problems through structural transformation. In contrast, *Shree 420* (*The Fraudster*) addresses the economic disparities in new post-colonial India, and suggests that the wealthy maintain their privileges largely through deceit and fraud. In both cases, these films are emblematic of the kinds of socialist messages propagated by Indian filmmakers after Independence.

Exploring the Question of Nature Versus Nurture: "Awaara Hoon" ("I Am a Vagabond")

At the beginning of *Awara*, Leela (Leela Chitnis), the wife of Judge Raghunath (Prithviraj Kapoor),[9] is abducted by Jagga (K. N. Singh), a man wrongly convicted by Raghunath because Jagga's father is a criminal. His rationale for convicting Jagga is that criminals necessarily beget criminals on the basis of their "blood"; this, in turn, forces Jagga into a life of crime. Jagga releases Leela unharmed, but Raghunath becomes suspicious that the child she is carrying is Jagga's, not his. He exiles Leela, who gives birth to their son Raj (Raj Kapoor) in a Mumbai gutter. Although living in poverty, she is able to send Raj to school, where he meets Rita (Nargis) who comes from a high-class family. Raj works as a shoeshine boy to pay his school tuition, but he is dismissed from school because of class disparities between him and the other students. These disparities are accentuated by Raj's attendance at Rita's birthday party, where he encounters Judge Raghunath who—not recognizing Raj as his own son—hypocritically argues that Raj cannot be trusted because he does not know who his father is. Shortly thereafter, Rita moves away, and Jagga arrives to coerce Raj into a life of crime. At a key moment in the film, Raj returns home to find his mother ill and is forced to steal food in order to feed them, whereupon he is caught and thrown into prison. Raj encounters Rita again as an adult while stealing her purse as part of a bank heist. Now a ward of Judge Raghunath, Rita is finishing her studies to become a lawyer, and once they recognize a picture of Rita from her childhood, Raj and Rita quickly rekindle their romance, much to the judge's displeasure. Raj attempts to achieve respectability by finding gainful employment, but is subverted in this effort when Jagga informs Raj's employers that he has a criminal background. Rita and the judge also discover this fact when Raj gives Rita a necklace that he has stolen from Raghunath. Raj kills Jagga at the end of the film, and once he comes to realize that Raghunath is his father, attempts to kill him as well. Rita defends Raj in court, revealing to Raghunath that Raj is his biological son. Raj is sentenced to a prison term for murder, but Rita vows to wait for him.

The song "Awara hoon" (video 3.4) comes at a pivotal moment in the film, as it introduces the audience to Raj's adult character. From the picturization, the audience learns that Raj has become a rootless, petty thief who would steal from Mahatma Gandhi himself. It is also the song that established Mukesh's role as the singing voice of the actor Raj Kapoor, a collaboration that would continue until Mukesh's death in 1976. The introductory interlude of "Awara hoon" features the characteristic Shankar-Jaikishan

Video 3.4: "Awaara hoon"

mandolin and accordion. Strings play the equally recognizable "awara theme" below the accordion, which is used first in the opening credits of the film and is a touchstone melody used in the background score of the film. String bass begins a modified habanera rhythm (a rhythm associated with the Argentinian tango) that continues throughout the song in a four-beat cycle at a quick 177 bpm. In the *mukhṛā*, "awara hoon . . . ya gardish mein hoon aasman ka taara hoon" ("I am a vagabond . . . or I am a star in the sky"), Mukesh sings the eight-bar theme in his middle register, enhanced with violins as the accordion fills in short melodies in the gaps. This melody of the *mukhṛā* is accompanied by the habanera bass rhythm, a simple dholak beat, and bells. The lyrics of the first *antarā* suggest that Raj is homeless and that no one loves him, which we learn later in the film is not entirely true since he ostensibly stays with his mother when he is not in prison. This diatonic vocal melody stays in Mukesh's middle register with minimal ornamentation, and then leads back to the "awara hoon" refrain along with accordion fills at the end of his lines. The second interlude introduces a variation on the accordion melody with a countermelody in strings. Flutes and clarinets draw Mukesh into the second *antarā* that begins a fourth higher than the *mukhṛā* melody. The lyrics of this section note that while his life might be a "waste" (*barbād*), he still sings a song of happiness. In lyrics that address his role in the world at large, Mukesh shifts to his upper register, and then the melody shifts back down in the middle register to complete the verse. In the final *mukhṛā*, the habanera beat is replaced by a simple dholak pattern, and the song ends with the same "awara" accordion theme. Like other Shankar-Jaikishan songs, the melody of this song is extremely catchy and, not surprisingly, the whole film soundtrack was immensely popular in India, as well as in China and the Soviet Union where the socialist themes clearly resonated. In this way, "Awara hoon" is a cosmopolitan synthesis of instruments and styles that helps to define the sound of the film song even as it points to the socialist trajectory taken by the Indian nation-state.

But My Heart Is Still Indian: "Mera joota hai Japani" ("My shoes are Japanese")

Another exemplar of the Shankar-Jaikishan brand is the song "Mera joota hai Japani" ("My shoes are Japanese") from the film *Shree 420* (Raj Kapoor 1955) that presents a portrait of Indian nationalism in the early

post-colonial period. The story begins with the hero, Raj (Raj Kapoor), bringing his newly minted college diploma and medal of honesty (but no money) with him to Mumbai. Several cars pass him by as he tries to hitchhike on the road, so he fakes fainting to get a car to stop and pick him up. The ruse ends, however, when he overhears the passengers discussing whether they should take him to a hospital. Kicked out of the car and back on the road, Raj dusts off his shoes and continues the long walk to the metropolis, singing the refrain "Mera joota hai Japani, ye pantaloon Englistani, sar pe laal topi Russi, phir bhi dil hai Hindustani" ("My shoes are Japanese, these trousers are English, a red Russian cap on my head, but my heart is still Indian") (figure 3.3). Upon arrival in Mumbai, where he has no place to live but in the street, Raj soon realizes that his only escape from a life of destitution is by being a con artist and committing various kinds of fraud. First through sleight-of-hand card tricks and then through various land schemes, Raj defrauds the wealthy, seemingly without consequences. By the end of the film, however, he has stooped so low as to try to defraud the urban poor through a fake housing scheme, whereupon he has a moral crisis and vows to use his ill-gotten gains to facilitate the construction of low-cost housing in Mumbai (the lack of affordable housing remains a persistent problem for the city in the 21st century). As he looks back on the city, the film depicts a socialist representation of what life might be like with social and economic equality.

"Mera joota hai Japani" (video 3.5) is one of the most important and recognizable nationalist film songs in Indian cinematic history. The song contains several overlapping messages and metaphors in the lyrics and picturization that relate as much to the character in the narrative as to the newly formed Indian nation-state. In the picturization, the individual journey that Raj undertakes is paralleled by the mass migrations of people from rural to urban locations in the 1950s in order to seek work. Rivers of people are constantly moving, on various modes of conveyance (e.g., foot, camel, elephant). Like other good poetry, the lyrics of "Mera joota hai" have strong political and philosophical overtones that are, in many ways, a direct call to action. This point is especially apparent in the first two stanzas, which argue that there are moral and ethical imperatives to improve oneself, and in doing so, improve the nation. This perspective is emphasized in the final line of the second *antarā*, "chalna jeevan ki kahani, rukna maut ki nishani" ("To forge ahead is life's story, stopping is a sign of death"), which suggests that individual and national progress go hand in hand. The third stanza has more political resonances as a call for democratic action: After being ruled by kings and India's former colonizers, India now has democratic self-rule (*swarāj*).[10] The idea of democratic

Figure 3.3:
Raj Kapoor in "Mera joota hai Japani" (*Shree 420* [1955]).

Video 3.5: "Mera joota hai Japani"

change was a central theme in this film that had a particular poignancy in this early post-colonial moment.

"Mera joota hai Japani" begins with a short piano opening that moves into a brisk walking tempo (150 bpm). Percussion carries this four-beat meter with the lower-pitched side of the double-barreled dholak playing strong downbeats and the higher-pitched side playing upbeats, all with a constant accompaniment of bells. The melody of the introductory music is carried by woodwinds and xylophone and augmented by a string countermelody a few bars later. This instrumental theme is one of the most recognizable in Hindi cinema and helps establish the melodic basis of the song. The light voice of Mukesh then sings the uncomplicated *mukhṛā* in the middle of his range, with strings highlighting the ends of the lyric phrases. This song has the standard form for a mainstream Hindi film song, with a distinct instrumental interlude and *mukhṛā* that begins and ends the song, and three *antarā*/refrain combinations separated by musical interludes. While the melody and countermelody move between instruments, an ensemble of tambourine, dholak, and xylophone accompanies the melody throughout the song. Early in the song, the string section outlines the

final phrase of the refrain melody, while in later verses, strings shadow the vocal line. The song ends with the same melody of the introductory music in woodwinds and violin countermelody, thus suggesting the historical continuity of the Indian nation as Raj marches ahead. All told, the music and lyrics of "Mera joota hai" argue for the value of Indian cosmopolitanism in its own terms, through the centrifugal force of the Indian heart. In other words, the Charlie Chaplinesque garments that Raj wears might have diverse global origins, but he nevertheless retains his Indianness. This same Indian-inflected cosmopolitanism is reflected in the music of the song, insofar as the instruments in the orchestra have diverse places of origin, but Mukesh's vocal style embodies the Indian soul. Finally, the closing line of the *mukhṛā*, "phir bhi dil hai Hindustani" ("but my heart is still Indian") reverberates for many people in the Indian diaspora.

Insofar as this cosmopolitan orientation is manifest in these Shankar-Jaikishan songs, it is also apparent in the voices of Lata and Rafi and the diverse classical, semi-classical, and folk styles that they mediated into their own styles as playback singers. In the same way that the virtuosic, albeit disembodied, voice of Lata struck a chord of Indian womanhood writ large, so too did Rafi's voice pave the way for a kind of emotional masculinity that was personified in the film heroes he voiced. Thus, in spite of the resistance from India's cultural elites and scant support from the Indian state, the film songs described in this chapter later became emblematic of India's nation-building project.

CHAPTER 4

The Language and Lyrics of Hindi Films

"Hum aapki aankhon mein is dil ko basaa dein to" (What if I were to give my heart to your eyes?) is a well-known song from the film *Pyaasa* (Guru Dutt 1957) (video 4.1). It is a dream sequence midway in the film, set in motion when Vijay (Guru Dutt) encounters a former girlfriend, Meena (Mala Sinha), in an elevator and remembers how she ended their relationship. The song sequence is preceded by the depiction of couples waltzing in a park, which is interrupted by a harp glissando that indexes the shift to a dream reverie. In the song narrative, Vijay envisions a life with Meena, picturized as a heavenly space (figure 4.1) reminiscent of "Ghar aaya mera pardesi" from *Awara* discussed in chapter 3. After Meena descends a heavenly stair enclosed by a wrought iron gate and fences, they perform a Western couple's dance as clouds billow at their feet. Alternating between the singers Mohammed Rafi and Geeta Dutt (the wife of Guru Dutt), the lyrics are structured as a series of questions asked by Vijay that Meena negates with her own playful counter-questions.

The lyrics have a flirtatious dimension that is emphasized in Geeta Dutt's upward inflections at the end of her phrases. Supporting the picturization of their couple's dance, the music of "Hum aapki aankhon mein" has a strong jazz feel, with a pulse that emphasizes beats two and four, and guitar, violin, and vocal melodies that are performed with a jazz swing rhythm. In addition, the four-bar interchanges between Rafi and Geeta utilize the common jazz (ii-V-I) chord progression in the guitar accompaniment, and jazz turnarounds (i.e., the ends of chord progressions) in the guitar bring the interludes back into the *antarās*. The voices are accompanied in a four-beat meter at 145 bpm by a strummed acoustic

Figure 4.1:
Vijay (Guru Dutt) stands at the heavenly gates in "Hum aapki aankon mein" (*Pyaasa* [1957]).

Video 4.1: "Hum aapki aankhon mein"

guitar, piano arpeggios, violins that alternate between melody and countermelody, but no percussion, which following from S. D. Burman's style of sparse orchestration, accentuates the heavenly picturization.

The film *Pyaasa* is an indictment of the commercialism of art and the tyranny of market forces, a somewhat ironic statement given the commercial nature of the Indian film industry. Vijay is a penniless, unappreciated poet who is ridiculed by his family—his brothers sell his poetry as wastepaper—and abandoned by his college sweetheart Meena for a wealthy businessman. His poems are found by the courtesan Gulabo (Waheeda Rehman) who falls in love with him through his poetry. After giving his coat to a beggar who subsequently dies in a railway accident, Vijay is mistakenly believed to be dead, although he is shown in a hospital bed a short time later. Assuming that he had died, Gulabo commissions his poetry to be published by Meena's husband. The anthology is a great commercial success, and in order to disenfranchise Vijay from the profits of his poetry after

word gets around that he is still alive, the publisher bribes Vijay's brothers to not recognize him. The poet's protestations that he is indeed Vijay fall on deaf ears, and he is classified as insane and sent to a mental asylum. With the help of a friend, he manages to escape and arrives at his own memorial function where the very people who betrayed him in life are extolling him and his poetry. Disgusted, Vijay sings the Mohammed Rafi song "Yeh duniya agar mil bhi jaye to kya hai" ("What is the worth of this hollow world even if I were to have it?"), which gradually rises to a crescendo and eventually incites a riot. The film ends with Gulabo and Vijay leaving the city.[1] *Pyaasa* is one of the masterpieces of Hindi cinema and parallels the life and loves of the poet Sahir Ludhianvi, one of the great lyricists in the golden age of film song (Manwani 2013).

In slightly different terms, *Pyaasa* can be seen as an illustration of the role of the poet in the new Indian nation-state and the apparent "uselessness" of poetry, which is a source of both affective power and weakness in capitalism. One might also interpret the film as representing the frustrations that poets encounter when they attempt to produce art in commercial contexts, which is a particularly poignant issue for lyricists who write for film songs. As I show in this chapter, while song lyrics are integral for meaning-making in film songs, they are also frequently changed to fit the melodic and rhythmic needs of the song, which in turn changes the nuances of the poetry.

In this chapter, I contextualize the history and film of this period of song, especially as the issue of linguistic states was amplified in the post-Independence period. I then introduce the musical contributions of musicians from the former Portuguese colony of Goa, which was annexed by India in 1961. The musical influences in "Hum aapki aankhon mein" point to the contributions of Goan jazz musicians who were working in the Mumbai film industry as musicians and arrangers. Many of these musicians had a limited understanding of the Hindi language—and often little interest in Hindi language films—but nevertheless collaborated on the composition of Hindi film songs and helped enhance their cosmopolitan repertoire. I then discuss the lyrics and poetry of film songs and the kinds of audiences to whom they were oriented. I pay particular attention to the *ghazal* form, one of the important lyrical structures of film song that has a strong historical resonance with the erstwhile Mughal Empire. The chapter concludes with the biography and song analyses of one of the top music directors in this period, S. D. Burman, who would be one of the catalysts for the diminishing importance of lyrics in later film songs.

DECOLONIZATION AND LANGUAGE POLITICS (1957–1969)

Even after Indian independence in 1947, a number of colonies of other European powers remained in different parts of India. Among these was Goa, which lies about 280 miles south of Mumbai. The Portuguese had colonized Goa along with the islands of Mumbai in the early 16th century, and they ruled these with an eye to converting the local population to Christianity. Through various educational, cultural, and religious institutions, the centralized control of the life of the colony and the imposition of Portuguese cultural practices were significantly different from the British approach of "indirect rule." Many Goans fled Portuguese rule and migrated to other parts of the Indian subcontinent, including Bombay (now Mumbai). Their education in Western classical and international popular musics, as well as their proficiency in Western musical instruments, made them valuable contributors to the musical life of the British colonialists. Goans made up a significant portion of Indian military bands, orchestras, and jazz bands; they were also very influential as musicians and arrangers in Hindi film music and introduced a number of international music styles into film songs from the 1940s onward. Despite the Indian government's repeated requests and the desire of the local population to be incorporated into the new Indian nation, Portugal refused to relinquish its control over its colony. Eventually, in 1961, India invaded ("liberated") Goa and annexed it, giving it the status of a union territory, which it remained until 1987 when it became an Indian state. Hindi films sometimes include Goan characters with Christian names (e.g., John, Jenny) who speak in accented Hindi, and Goan musicians are shown in cabaret scenes as members of the band (Fernandes 2003).

The 1960s also found India fighting wars with China and Pakistan. Although it had relatively good relations with Maoist China in the 1950s, these began to sour by the end of the decade. In 1962, China overran the Indian border, including the portion on the Tibetan plateau, and India thus lost part of its northernmost territory. After a month of war, China abruptly and unilaterally ended its incursion into India, and it is still unclear what prompted the Chinese government to take this action in the first place. The ease with which China was able to move into India led to a crisis of confidence and a second-guessing of India's foreign and military policies; this led to further disillusionment with the Indian government (Guha 2007). After the death of India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, in 1964, his successor, Lal Bahadur Shastri, had to cope with a Pakistani invasion of Kashmir in 1965 that was eventually repelled by Indian forces. Shastri died

shortly after negotiating a peace treaty in 1966 and was replaced by Indira Gandhi, Nehru's daughter.

In its economic policy, India continued on a path of centrally planned industrialization and self-sufficiency. Its leaders came to recognize the pressures accompanying high population growth coupled with low agricultural productivity, and India began to import high-yield seeds and chemical fertilizers to boost crop yields in what has since been called the "green revolution." Meanwhile, activists in several regions of India continued to agitate for their own states based on linguistic and ethnic lines; this led to the split of Bombay State into the states of Gujarat and Maharashtra (1960), and the split of the Punjab into the states of Punjab, Haryana, and Himachal Pradesh (1966). Attempts to impose Hindi as the sole official language of the country led to demonstrations and riots in South India, and English was ultimately kept as the official government language. By the end of the decade, despite losses in her political party, Indira Gandhi began to consolidate her executive power and increasingly rely on radical socialist rhetoric (Ganti 2013). In addition, she nationalized India's banking system and pushed for greater Central Government control in ways that foreshadowed her declaration of the Emergency in 1975.

Although a handful of films that explored the social issues of the Indian nation-state were produced in this decade, the failure of the government to ameliorate the manifold social problems led to a brand of cinematic escapism that was signaled by the figure of the romantic hero. This hero was embodied by actors like Dharmendra and Shammi Kapoor who emerged as top stars in this decade, the old favorites Dev Anand and Dilip Kumar, and most especially Rajesh Khanna, who remains the most spectacular romantic hero of the '60s. The songs of these heroes and heroines were still primarily voiced by the singers Lata Mangeshkar, Asha Bhosle, Mohammed Rafi, and Mukesh; however, by the end of the decade, Kishore Kumar emerged as the dominant male playback singer with his songs in *Aradhana* (1969). By the reckoning of film song connoisseurs, the combination of a dominant melody line and an orientation toward "meaningful" lyrics placed the 1960s well within the evergreen era of film songs. Other aspects of film songs in the 1960s carry forward many of the same characteristics of the early post-colonial era; film orchestras were still relatively large and used a mix of Western and Indian instruments in orchestration. While music directors and their assistants continued to draw from Indian styles, there was a gradual shift in global influences as international music trends shifted from jazz to rock. This is especially noticeable in the stylistic borrowings of Shankar-Jaikishan and O. P. Nayyar in songs of the '60s. While the rhythm track is relatively inconspicuous in many songs (especially

compared to later eras), by the end of the decade, the instrumentation comes to include Latin percussion (e.g., bongos, congas, etc.) that would become a staple for later composers. Despite changes in the profile of the accompaniment, the vocal melody track still emphasized voice above all else in the recording mix, even as developments in recording technology of this era (e.g., magnetic tape) yielded subtle improvements in sound quality. While S. D. Burman and Shankar-Jaikishan were the dominant music directors of this period, there were several other important music directors, including Madan Mohan, Hemant Kumar, and Ravi. Finally, R. D. Burman and Laxmikant-Pyarelal also made successful debuts in the 1960s (see chapter 5).

THE LYRICS OF FILM SONG

There is no question that one of the most important components of meaning-making in songs is the lyrics. Indeed, lyrics paired with melody are central to the very definition of Hindi "song" (versus "music"). Like the music of film songs, the lyrics have cosmopolitan orientations, primarily because filmmakers write their songs for large, heterogeneous audiences in India and abroad.

Although some song lyrics aspire to the status of poetry, most are written to be accessible to a very wide range of audiences, including audiences that have little or no knowledge of the Hindi language. There are many regions of India where Hindi is not the dominant local language, yet film producers aspire to market Hindi films to these populations, and song broadcasts have long been one of the primary modes of film promotion. Generally speaking, lyrics are commissioned to fit particular song situations in films that the film director has sketched out in advance. These song situations give audiences insight into the emotional states of the characters at particular moments in the film and provide a way for film directors to condense a great deal of emotional information into a few minutes of screen narrative. Songs often provide an outlet for emotions that would otherwise be inexpressible by characters within the narrative; thus, many songs allow for relatively subtle representations of a character's interior states (Dudrah 2006). Any given film will have a romance narrative, and songs expressing love and related emotions make up the majority of songs in the cinematic context. This fact might help to explain the relatively limited vocabulary used by lyricists. Indeed, in an industry that produces thousands of songs every year, there are only so many ways that love can be expressed in language without encountering some lyrical repetition. It is also noteworthy

that many (if not most) of the people involved in producing Hindi language cinema, including film and music directors, singers, and actors, do not have a refined poetic sensibility in Hindi. Indeed, in the last two decades, the default language for many actors, directors, music directors, and musicians in the production of Hindi films has been English.

Like the language of films themselves, film songs have undergone several kinds of lyrical transformation, but always with the intention of making them as accessible as possible to heterogeneous audiences as fashions of speaking have changed. The film songs preceding Indian independence, for example, borrowed heavily from regional dialects of Hindi, many of which were associated with rural life. Songs in this period also incorporated the *bandishes* (fixed compositions) of famous North Indian classical pieces (Arnold 1991). After Independence, when films generally shifted from political to more romantic topics and were increasingly set in urban locales, the language of film lyrics also increasingly adopted the inflections of urban Hindi, Urdu, and Hindustani.[2] Yet particular characters in any given film might at times speak another language (e.g., Marathi-speaking servants) or a dialectical Hindi that indexes the place of origin of the character (e.g., a character might code-switch into Bhojpuri or a Goan character might speak in accented, ungrammatical Hindi). The trend toward urbanization in films continued into the 1970s with the emergence of the "angry young man" character of Amitabh Bachchan (see chapter 5) and the rise of "Bombay Hindi," which fuses a number of North Indian language practices from urban and rural centers into a marked language of Mumbai's working class. By the 1990s, the language of film songs changed yet again to reflect the settings of Indians who have lived (or are living) outside of India. "Hinglish," as it is called, fuses Hindi grammar with particular words and phrases in English. This linguistic orientation marks the global distribution of Hindi language films and once again calibrates the language of film songs to the limited Hindi of audiences living abroad.

To perhaps an even greater extent than their melodies, the golden age of song lyrics was widely argued to be the 1950s and '60s, largely because songs of this period foregrounded the melody and lyrics above all else in the recording mix, and the poetic lexicon was much larger than it would be in later years. In addition, many of the most beloved lyricists came of age in the 1950s. Several of these were acclaimed Urdu poets, including Sahir Ludhianvi and Kaifi Azmi; others had a particular facility with the language of song and the ability to craft carefully nuanced lyrics. Lyricists of this golden age frequently had enduring relationships with particular music directors. For example, Naushad (who himself had a poetic sensibility) worked with D. N. Madhok on several films and, later, with Shakeel

Badayuni for two decades. C. Ramchandra was associated with lyricist Rajinder Krishan, Shankar-Jaikishan with Hasrat Jaipuri and Shailendra, and S. D. Burman with Sahir Ludhianvi (see appendix A for a timeline).

As in many parts of the world, the social status associated with lyric writing is relatively lower than the status attributed to poetry writing. The collaborative nature of lyric writing to fit the constraints of the song situation and melody for an overtly commercial context pales in comparison to the freedom afforded by poetic expression.[3] Yet each mode of composition requires a different artistic temperament. In many cases, the contributions of the lyricist to any particular song are overlooked by audiences, especially compared to the influences of the music director. Indeed, it is only through advocacy on the part of Sahir Ludhianvi in the 1950s that the lyricist was announced on All India Radio along with the song, music director, and singer. Lyricists themselves are divided on the importance of lyrics to a song versus the importance of the melody, some suggesting that the lyrics are a distant second to the melody when it comes to the memorability of a song. Gulzar, one of the great contemporary lyricists, notes that after Independence, "(s)ome of the best-worded songs never became popular and songs that did hit the charts did not have the words worthy of being regarded as poetry" (2003, 287). However, another dominant contemporary lyricist, Javed Akhtar, argues that while melodies are important for the popularity of a song in the short term, only songs with outstanding lyrics achieve evergreen status (2005, 2–3). Despite the relatively lower status of lyricists compared to singers and music directors, however, portions of song lyrics are deeply embedded in the Indian psyche and frequently quoted in a variety of everyday media as shorthand for cultural memories, complicated personal emotions, and interpersonal relationships. Thus, lines like "phir bhi dil hai Hindustani" ("yet my heart is still Indian") from "Mera joota hai Japani" are frequently invoked as declarations of "Indian-ness" that resonate across space and time. Nevertheless, some film critics, cultural critics, and even some lyricists decry the increasing repetition of lyrics in the 1970s that became especially pronounced in the 1980s and 1990s. In particular, certain words and expressions related to love (e.g., *dīwāna, mohabbat, ishq, pyār*) were especially overused as the poetic lexicon declined over time. This repetition likely stemmed from the need to rhyme song lines, as well as the need to make songs accessible to a heterogeneous audience.

In terms of the production process, the lyrics and melody go hand in hand as the central elements of a song. In the initial stages, film directors brief music directors and lyricists on the broad outlines of the screenplay and the song situations. Most often, it is the filmmaker who gives the

lyricist detailed information on the setting of the picturization (i.e., where the song will be shot) and the psychological states of the characters in the scene, but sometimes a lyricist might suggest a song situation based on the screenplay to the film director. In most contemporary contexts, the music director provides the lyricist with the melody of a particular song using "dummy lyrics" (i.e., vocables) that gives the lyricist a sense of the underlying melodic structure and the poetic meter they will need to use. In one famous instance, the dummy lyrics were incorporated into the final lyrics of the song "Ek do teen" ("One two three") by Javed Akhtar that I discuss in the next chapter. However, both melody and lyrics are malleable in the production process, and it is quite common for music directors to tinker with lyrics in order to make them fit into melodies that they have already composed.

Critics of contemporary film songs (e.g., Chatterjee 1995, Premchand 2003, Anantharaman 2008) consistently point out—albeit incorrectly—that in the evergreen era, the lyrics were written first and the melody was composed to fit the needs of the song lyrics. These critics suggest that this priority of lyrics over melody accounts for the lyrical superiority of songs from this period. However, while some song melodies were certainly composed to fit their lyrics in the early years of film song, in practice, many of the music directors from this period wrote melodies first and communicated these melodies to the lyricists, who then composed the lyrics to fit the tune. In addition, it is common for music directors and lyricists to negotiate song lyrics and melodies to make them better fit together in the service of the film. As I noted in the introduction, no one element stands alone when it comes to song meanings and interpretations: Significances emerge in the interstices of the poetic imagery of the lyrics, the melody, the accompaniment, and the song's picturization. It is common for the picturization and melody to overwhelm the poetic imagery in the minds of audiences, although there are some very famous counterexamples (e.g., *Pyaasa*). Like every other dimension of film production in India, the lyrics of songs are flexible and subject to being changed by the lyricist, film director, or others involved in the production process to fit different contingencies (e.g., a word or phrase is not melodious when set to music, a singer cannot properly pronounce a word, or a film director caters to an actor's request). Unfortunately for non-Hindi speakers, many DVDs of films produced before the 2000s do not subtitle the songs, leaving non-speakers in the dark as far as the character development in lyrics is concerned. Not surprisingly, many of these song translations are also hastily produced and rarely convey the poetic imagery beyond a literal translation.

THE FILM *GHAZAL*

As I described in chapter 2, mainstream film songs rely heavily on the *mukhṛā* as the melodic and lyrical refrain of the song, especially in media promotions of films and their soundtracks. The lyricist Javed Akhtar (2005) argues that the *mukhṛā-antarā* structure of film songs is derived from folk forms that are likely blended with the *sthāi-antarā* form of classical compositions. This versatile melodic structure can be incorporated into other lyrical/poetic structures as well. One important lyrically oriented style of song that was present from the beginning and consistently incorporated into films until the 1980s is the *ghazal*. *Ghazals* are a style of classical poetry that originated in Iran in the 10th century; although there are *ghazals* in Hindi and English, most are particularly associated with Persian, Arabic, and Urdu poetic traditions. As a genre of both poetry and music, *ghazals* are principally associated with Islamic civilization, particularly the centers of Urdu poetry in India and Pakistan (e.g., Lucknow, Delhi, Bhopal, Lahore). As a formal poetic structure, *ghazals* can be recited or set to music, and they might have sacred or secular topics. In sacred contexts, the topics of *ghazals* might be hymns that "mourn the martyrdom of Imam Husain, grandson of the Prophet Muhammed and a prime focus of Shi'a Islam," as devotional hymns praising the Prophet Muhammed for Sunni Muslims, or as an expression of mystical devotion for Sufis in the musical performance of a *qawwali* (Qureshi 1990, 458–459). In secular contexts, *ghazals* are performed in poetry recitations (*mushā'ira*), as semi-classical art songs, and as both film and non-film songs (Manuel 1993). The topics of these secular contexts feature images of love, longing, separation, philosophical perspective, and commentary on current events. Since the *ghazal* is strongly associated with Mughal court traditions in India and Pakistan, films frequently depict such performances in the context of late-19th-century courtesan traditions; and courtesans are represented as singing *ghazals* in many classic period films (e.g., *Mughal-e-Azam, Pakeezah, Umrao Jaan*) in songs that have semi-classical vocal inflections and instrumentation. The *ghazal* is not limited to these film contexts, however, and the form can be adapted for use in many different kinds of song. Most frequently, these film song situations are contemplative or sentimental, and the lyrics point to emotional issues that a character might be working through.

In the context of poetic form, *ghazals* are short metrical poems of up to 12 couplets. Each couplet is itself deemed a complete poem (i.e., "a pearl in a string of pearls"), and there is no expectation that the meaning should carry over between couplets (Sarrazin 2009). The entirety of the poetic form follows an AA BA CA DA structure, in which the first rhyming

couplet, or *matla*, is repeated at the end line of each couplet. Each couplet is further connected by a *radif* (a repeated word or short phrase at the end of a couplet) and the *qāfiā* (a rhyming word) that is repeated before the *radif* (Kanda 1995). In recitation, the performance of a *ghazal* is nonlinear and does not proceed directly from beginning to end. Rather, poets repeat certain sections for the sake of emphasis and to generate new meanings. These kinds of repetitions of words and phrases are sometimes present in film *ghazals* as well, especially since repetition of certain lines fits within the *mukhṛā-antarā* melodic structure. In classical or semi-classical performance contexts, *ghazal* melodies are improvised by singers and musicians, and often have a melodic basis in *rāga* and a musical meter in *tāla*. The songs tend to use Indian classical and semi-classical instruments, such as the harmonium, sarangi, and tabla; couplets are separated by improvised tabla solos (*laggī*). In film song *ghazals*, the instrumentation and orchestration vary widely, although filmic representations of 19th-century courtesans tend to favor this semi-classical instrumentation with the addition of a string section. As with the semi-classical *ghazal*, there is a wide range of poetic meters used by lyricists in composing film *ghazals*, but it is common for music directors to write the melodic refrain to fit the *matla* of the poetic form. The improvised sections of the semi-classical *ghazal* are for the most part replaced by pre-composed music; the vocal performances have length and developmental constraints in their film versions when compared to semi-classical *ghazal* renditions. Most music directors and singers have many *ghazal* recordings in their repertoires, although some music directors (e.g., Madan Mohan) and singers (e.g., K. L. Saigal, Talat Mahmood, Asha Bhosle) are especially well known for their *ghazal* compositions and renditions.

The *ghazal* was a common genre of film songs from the 1940s to the 1960s; the *ghazals* of the 1960s, in particular, have a reputation for being among the finest renditions. However, the form became much less common in film songs after the 1960s. There are several possible reasons for this. First, insofar as the *ghazal* is text-centered and has a relatively rigid set of structural requirements, it presented certain kinds of (unwelcome) restrictions for music directors who often need to make changes to lyrics to fit a composed melody. Thus, like setting music to any kind of poetry, the changes that one can make are fairly limited. Even minor shifts in the poetic meter might mean that a poem is, strictly speaking, no longer a *ghazal*. As Gulzar (2003) has suggested, these melodic limitations may have been seen as somewhat boring to new audiences. Second, songs written after the 1960s were less oriented toward lyrics, especially as music directors experimented with aural and stylistic possibilities afforded by new technologies.

Insofar as the "music" of these songs became louder in the recording mix, they were often of comparable volume to the vocal melody, thus making it more difficult to hear the subtleties of the lyrics. Third, *ghazals* tend to be contemplative songs whose meanings are not always apparent on the surface, and they incorporate a much greater range of Urdu lexicon and imagery than most film songs. This makes them less accessible to many contemporary audiences that have a relatively limited grasp of the language (Trivedi 2006). Finally, competing music companies like Music India Ltd and, later, T-Series began to release *ghazal* recordings in private albums (i.e., non-film albums) in the 1970s and '80s, thus providing an outlet for the genre outside film recordings (see Manuel 1993).

"Koi sagar dil ko bahlata nahin" ("No amount of liquor can distract my heart")

One classic example of a film *ghazal* is "Koi sagar dil ko bahlata nahin" ("No amount of liquor can distract my heart") (video 4.2) written by the lyricist Shakeel Badayuni for the film *Dil Diya Dard Liya* (A. R. Kardar 1966). The music was composed by Naushad and it is one of Mohammed Rafi's best-known *ghazal* renditions. In this film, Shankar (Dilip Kumar) loses his family in a shipwreck and is found by a wealthy landlord (Sapru) who raises him as his own son. The landlord's biological son Ramesh (Pran) does not appreciate this and takes every opportunity to torment Shankar, to the extent that he has him beaten up and thrown off a cliff when Shankar expresses interest in marrying Ramesh's sister Rupa (Waheeda Rehman). When Shankar subsequently learns that he is the scion of the Raja of Belapur, he returns to propose to Rupa, but Ramesh remains intractable. The *ghazal* "Koi sagar" appears near the end of the film after Shankar has an altercation with Ramesh and realizes that despite his now being a Raja, Ramesh will still be able to keep him away from Rupa. The servant (Johnny Walker) suggests that Shankar drown his sorrows in alcohol but, as the song lyrics suggest, no amount of drunkenness will allow him to forget and Shankar continues to hear Ramesh's taunts despite his stupor.

This *rāga*-based song is in *dādra tāl* (six-beat meter) at a tempo of approximately 130 bpm. Insofar as it is a song that is vocally and lyrically oriented, the small ensemble features only the sitar, santur, bansuri (bamboo flute), and vibraphone, while the tabla and guitar provide rhythmic accompaniment. The lyrical form of the *ghazal* is held together by the

▶ Video 4.2: "Koi sagar dil na bahlata hai"

repetition of the *matla* (which is also the song title), the *radif, nahīn* (no, not). Words that rhyme with *ātā*, including *bahalātā* (distracts), *ghabarātā* (scared), *dikhalātā* (shows), operate as the *qāfiā* that ties each of the couplets together in the song.[4] Like other *filmi ghazals*, the repeated A couplet of the AA BA CA DA form functions as the *mukhṛā*, while the B, C, and D couplets are *antarās* in the melodic structure. The hero progresses through several stages of grief in each of the couplets, ultimately requesting that life's mirror (*zindagī kā āinā*) be broken as it no longer reflects anything worth seeing. Rafi's impeccable Urdu diction is quite evident in this song—especially in the words *sāġar, bekẖudi, ġam, qarār*—and a violin can be heard softly playing the melody along with him as he adorns it with light classical vocal flourishes. Typically for a Rafi song, the vocal melody features a range of approximately one and a half octaves, and his vocal register gradually rises in each *antarā* as his emotional pain increases in intensity. The simple picturization features many long shots of Shankar as he stumbles around his home in a state of intoxication, which does not distance him from the memories of the love he has lost. In terms of its location in the film, the *ghazal* form and style work well to capture the emotional tenor of the moment; a deep affect of melancholy and abject loneliness is consonant with the conventional subject matter of the secular *ghazal* poem and the tragic hero that actor Dilip Kumar so often expressed through the singing voice of Mohammed Rafi.

"MUSIC FIRST, WORDS NEXT": THE MUSIC OF S. D. BURMAN (1906–1975)

Although he was not a native Hindi speaker and had a limited grasp of the language, S. D. Burman composed many important songs of the 1950s and '60s. He was also an important figure in moving away from the centrality of lyrics in film songs toward the centrality of melody. As such, S. D. Burman contributed an influential new sound to Hindi film songs that mediated the folk traditions of his native Bengal into his own distinctive style.

Sachin Dev Burman, referred to as SD or Burman-*dada*, was born into a royal family in Comilla (now in Bangladesh). His father was in line for succession to be the king of Tripura, but was removed due to a dubious royal decree. In his youth, SD learned not only Indian classical music, but also the various folk forms of this part of Bengal and Assam, especially the *bhatiyali* (boatman) songs that were an important source of inspiration for many of his later songs in Hindi and Bengali. Like Naushad, SD roamed the area in his teen years learning the various folk approaches to

song production and composition, as well as learning to play a particular variety of flute that would inform many of his later compositions. All of this was contrary to his upbringing as a prince, in which interactions with the common classes were frowned upon. In addition to these local folk interactions, SD also cultivated relationships with many of the great Bengali classical artists of the day, including Nobel Laureate Rabindranath Tagore (who was a friend of his father). At the time he was growing up, Bengali *adhunik geeti* (modern songs) emerged that fused diverse musical systems into its own musical style, which informed SD's own compositional approach (K. V. Burman 2013, 27). SD moved to Kolkata in 1924 and began taking vocal lessons from K. C. Dey, Ustad Badal Khan, and other influential classical musicians of the day. Declining the invitation to take over his father's post in court, SD remained in Kolkata to continue learning music and began a music school in the process (1936). An accomplished singer, he also performed Bengali folk songs in radio broadcasts, but he failed an audition with HMV for a recording contract because the music company felt that his nasal voice would not be suitable for the marketplace. SD began recording Bengali songs with a rival music company, and his recordings achieved considerable success. Eventually, he did sign a contract with HMV in 1947 even though he was a fairly successful music director by this point, and continued to compose and sing Bengali and Hindi non-film songs. The key dimension of his success, K. V. Burman (2013) argues, was his ability to simplify Indian classical music and fuse it with folk traditions in ways that appealed to mass audiences. This compositional approach would serve him well as a Hindi music director.

When he entered the Bengali film industry, S. D. Burman struggled as a singer and music director, in large part due to the competition he faced from established music directors like R. C. Boral, Pankaj Mullick, and Anil Biswas. His first Bengali film song and first music directorial credit came in 1935. He steadily sang for other music directors in this period (1932–1938), but preferred that the songs used in films be his own compositions and that they not be lip-synced on screen by the actors. In short, he resisted the push toward playback singing, at least as far as the use of his own voice in film soundtracks was concerned. Accordingly, there are many influential S. D. Burman film songs that were picturized as non-diegetic music, which was fairly unusual in Indian cinema at the time. He married one of his music students, Meera, in 1938, and this, along with his public performances, alienated him from the rest of the royal family. Out of this marriage, his son Rahul Dev Burman was born in 1939.

Like others involved in film production, Burman became an active member of the communist-leaning Indian People's Theater Association (IPTA)

and the Progressive Writers Association (PWA) in the 1930s, organizations that, among other things, emphasized the importance of Indian folk traditions as being equally salient to the nation as its art music traditions. In the early 1940s, he began to establish himself as a music director in Bengali cinema but did not see great success. Consequently, he moved to Mumbai in 1944 to try his luck at Hindi cinema. In Mumbai the competition was also formidable, but his individual compositional style eventually enabled him to find a place in the industry.

Burman's first Hindi film soundtracks, *Shikari* (Savak Vacha 1946) and *Aath Din* (Dattaram Pai 1946), were well received by critics but did not get much popular acclaim, a fact that upset the composer and left him wondering how to achieve commercial success. His grandnephew Khagesh Dev Burman recounts a story, possibly apocryphal, about the catalyst that led him to change his approach to song composition. At home, SD would consistently hear his servant singing the songs of his rival music directors, but never his tunes, even though his songs were audible to the servant as he composed in the next room. One day, as he was composing the song "Mera sundar sapna beet gaya" ("My beautiful dream has lapsed") for *Do Bhai* (Munshi Dil 1947), he overheard his servant humming the tune in the next room. He then understood that he needed to change his style in order to make his songs palatable to larger audiences: "The greatest realization of my film life dawned on me then and there: a hit film song needs the simplest of tunes, the less ornate the better, because only then will the ordinary folk be able to give their voice to the song. My first guru in film music direction was that servant of mine" (S. D. Burman quoted in K. V. Burman 2013, 79). This developed into a style that largely eschewed classical ornamentation in the vocal line and combined many folk and classical elements in a way that was accessible to Indian mass audiences. From this insight, SD came to his "music first, words next" compositional approach that would enable him to be one of the most successful music directors of the 1950s and '60s.

Burman also had a successful film with *Shabnam* (Bibhuti Mitra 1949) but did not achieve mainstream success until the release of *Mashal* (Nitin Bose 1950); with the latter, he became a household name. He went on to build close ties with Navketan Films (i.e., the production house of actor Dev Anand and his brothers Chetan and Vijay Anand) and composed for the film *Baazi* (Guru Dutt 1951). Through this project, SD built a connection with the lyricist Sahir Ludhianvi that continued until *Pyaasa* (Guru Dutt 1957). *Baazi*'s success was followed by the film *Bahar* (M. V. Raman 1951) with Shamshad Begum's superhit song "Saiyyan dil mein aana re" ("Darling, come into my heart") that was remixed multiple times in the

2000s. Like Naushad, SD demanded a certain artistic freedom and needed time to craft songs. He began to limit the number of films he composed for during the 1950s down to three per year; perhaps because of this, he continued to see wide success in the 1950s. The year 1957, in particular, was a tremendous year for him as the hit films *Pyaasa* (Guru Dutt), *Nau Do Gyarah* (Vijay Anand), and *Paying Guest* (Subodh Mukherjee) were all released. SD had a heart attack in 1960, however, which initiated the overall decline of his health. With the state of his health unstable, film directors were reluctant to hire him, and only Navketan provided him with steady work in the early 1960s. This confidence in SD paid off with the music for *Guide* (Vijay Anand 1965), which is widely regarded as one of the finest soundtracks in Indian cinematic history, even as his later soundtrack for *Aradhana* (Shakti Samanta 1969) signaled the rise of the singer Kishore Kumar and the actor Rajesh Khanna (see below).

S. D. Burman brought a number of important contributions to Hindi film songs in this era. Like Naushad, Ranade (2006) credits him with the fine-tuning of the *mukhṛā-antarā* form. In addition, he was adept at moving between musical styles to fit the needs of song situations. He was equally comfortable writing songs that had a basis in Indian classical, folk, devotional, or international idioms, but he is perhaps best known for his incorporation of Bengali folk music into songs. SD's orchestras were significantly smaller than those of his contemporaries, and he felt that every musician had to be accounted for in the orchestration. One frequently cited example of this attitude about orchestral size is represented in an interaction between SD and his son R. D. Burman in the studio while recording a song for *Aradhana*. In this story, SD questioned RD's use of 12 musicians in the studio rather than 11, and demanded that RD pay and send home the extra musician as an object lesson in compositional and personnel management (Bhattacharjee and Vittal 2011).

Unlike other music directors of this era, however, SD did not feel compelled to use the same singer for the hero in any one film, but rather tied the voice of the singer to the needs of the song situation. For some songs, he tried out the voices of several singers before finally choosing one, which foreshadowed the practices of contemporary music directors. As such, SD provided a space for a number of singers to work in Hindi films who might otherwise have been overlooked. In particular, he is credited with introducing several Bengali musicians into Hindi films, including the singers Geeta Roy (Dutt), Kishore Kumar, Manna Dey, and Hemant Kumar. Yet, this practice of experimenting with singers caused a rift with Lata because SD had replaced Lata with her sister Asha in one of his songs.[5] Thus, Lata did not sing for him between 1957 and 1962, which gave Asha one of her

early breaks and provided her with an opportunity to establish her own reputation and emerge from the shadow of her elder sister. SD's son, R. D. Burman, began working with his father in 1955, assisting him until the 1970s (see chapter 5). This collaboration between father and son ultimately led to the emergence of a new modern sound in SD's compositions. Moreover, he was not above borrowing tunes that his son had composed to use in films, and RD later repurposed some of his father's tunes into some of his own 1980s compositions.

Even as he became a wildly successful music director in Mumbai films, SD retained his connection to Kolkata. He released annual albums in Bengali and performed in the musical festivities surrounding Durga Puja. However, he continued to suffer heart attacks in the 1970s, and this limited his productivity. He passed away while in a coma in 1975.

"PIYA TOSE NAINA LAGE RE" ("BELOVED, MY EYES HAVE MET YOURS") (*GUIDE* [1965])

In a career that included some of the most beloved film songs in Indian cinema, S. D. Burman's soundtrack for the film *Guide* (Vijay Anand 1965) is among his best. Composed with his son as his assistant, the songs illustrate the full spectrum of musical resources that was available for a music director's use in the 1960s. Unlike most film soundtracks, each and every song from *Guide* became popular, including two songs sung by SD himself.

In the song "Piya tose naina lage re" ("Beloved, my eyes have met yours") (figure 4.2 and video 4.3) the heroine Rosie (Waheeda Rehman) has left her loveless marriage to live with Raju (Dev Anand), a tourist guide, and she is now free to pursue her dance career. Rosie comes from a *devdāsi* (temple dancer) lineage, long considered an immoral profession by both the British colonialists and India's founding fathers, and had been obligated to marry Marco (Kishore Sahu) in order to improve her social standing. Before the song begins, Raju, who has changed Rosie's name to the more appropriately Indian "Miss Nalini" to sell her classical dance expertise, presents the pundits (cultural elites) who have come to view her dance with a choice: Will their students "grow up to appreciate cheap entertainment like rock-and-roll and the twist? Or will it be our ancient classical musics?" In this reframing of Rosie's dance abilities, Raju effectively rebrands Nalini's socially dangerous public performance as a high classical art that must be cherished by the new post-colonial nation.

At eight minutes in length (a *mukhṛā* and four verses), "Piya tose" is relatively long for a film song of this era. The gorgeous picturization shows

Figure 4.2:
Miss Nalini (Waheeda Rehman) performs India's high classical arts in "Piya tose naina lage re" (*Guide* [1965]).

▶ Video 4.3: "Piya tose naina lage re"

the passage of time through a series of stage shows with increasingly large and glamorous performance venues that indicate Miss Nalini's success as a performer. In two of the scenes, there are lyrical and visual references to the important Hindu festivals Diwali and Holi that help establish the passage of time.[6] In addition, the lyrics at the end of each *antarā* leading to the refrain feature onomatopoeic sound imagery that nicely synchronizes with the meter. These include the sound of ankle bells (*jhanaka jhan jhan*), bangles clinking (*chhanaka chhan chhan*), a tabla *bol* (*dhinaka dhin dhin*), and the meeting of the heart and soul (*milenge tan-man*). This song is also a great example of the ways in which the stanzas of the lyrics can be deeply interconnected with the visuality of the picturization and the aurality of the music. The music of "Piya tose" underscores SD's roots in Indian classical music; the melody of the song is set in Rāg Khamāj, a *rāga* performed in the early evening, and the meter is in *rupak tāl* (a seven-beat cycle) at 130 bpm. There is a greater-than-usual use of classical instrumentation (e.g., sitar, bansuri, santur, tabla, ankle bells), coupled with violins, string bass, guitar, bells, and vibraphone. R. D. Burman was the music assistant for *Guide*,

and one can certainly hear his influence in "Piya tose," especially the large percussion section and his characteristic pitched drums. Lata is at her best in this song, as her supple voice effortless evokes light classical ornaments in the vocal melody. In places, there are moments of harmony in the violin countermelody below the melody, as well as hints of a chord progression, especially in the guitar and vibraphone accompaniment in the instrumental interludes. Like other songs that feature a rendition of Indian classical dance, the sound of the ankle bells (*ghūnghrū*) is prominent in the recording mix of the song and, indeed, the entire film. The sound of these bells in the film is used as an index of the sexualization of women's dance—and women themselves—by men. This is indicated at one key moment in the film in which Raju shops with Rosie in a local market for bells, and Rosie insists on wearing them on the way back to Raju's house. The sound of the bells draws unwanted attention from men along their route, one going as far as to ask Raju, "So you have entered a new line?" (i.e., Are you now a pimp?). The sound of Rosie's bells as she dances in Raju's courtyard draws similar unwanted attention from all of the neighbors.

Guide is based on the 1958 English-language novel written by R. K. Narayan. The film features Raju, a tour guide in the Rajasthani city of Udaipur, who, through a strange destiny, ends up as a spiritual guide at an unnamed North Indian village. In the course of his tour guide business, he encounters Rosie, the unhappy wife of the archeologist Marco. Marco has made it clear that he will neither allow Rosie to pursue her passion for dancing nor consummate their marriage so that she can have children, and so forecloses any opportunity for her to find fulfillment in life as an Indian woman of that time. As Marco is exploring the caves in Udaipur, Rosie and Raju spend time together and gradually fall in love. Raju supports Rosie's interest in dance, but this alienates him from the rest of his family because of the then-unsavory reputation of women who perform for the public. This reputation is mitigated by Rosie's increasing fame, yet she becomes exhausted with the demanding performance schedule she must maintain. Later in the film, Raju is arrested after forging Rosie's name on a receipt for the jewelry that Marco returns after she has achieved fame, and a heartbroken Rosie severs ties with him. After serving his sentence in jail, Raju wanders through northern India and is mistaken for a spiritual seer by people desperate for rain in their drought-stricken village. Through a series of misunderstandings, Raju fasts for the sake of the village and renounces the material world, including the love of his mother and Rosie who find him after he becomes internationally famous. This demonstration of asceticism, the film suggests, leads to the village receiving the rain it desperately needed.

"ROOP TERA MASTANA" ("YOUR INTOXICATING BEAUTY") (*ARADHANA* [1969])

Even as *Guide* addressed the sexual double standards surrounding women in the performing arts, it was also significant as the first mainstream Hindi film to sympathetically represent a heroine in an adulterous relationship. *Aradhana* (Shakti Samanta 1969), on the other hand, depicts the perils of unwed motherhood, a not-so-novel theme in Hindi cinema. In this film, Arun (Rajesh Khanna), an Indian Air Force pilot, and Vandana (Sharmila Tagore) first see each other during the song sequence "Meri sapnon ki rani kab aayegi tu" ("When will you come, oh queen of my dreams?") and encounter each other again at her home. They fall in love and plan to get married with the support of their families, but end up marrying on an impulse at a Hindu temple, without witnesses from their families. Their sexual liaison thereafter leads to Vandana becoming pregnant, a factor that casts its shadow on the rest of her life as Arun dies in a plane crash and his distant relatives refuse to accept that Vandana is married to him and that the child she is carrying is his. Vandana gives birth to Suraj, gives him up for adoption, and unsuccessfully attempts to adopt him back. In order to continue being a presence his life, she agrees to be his nanny in the household that adopted him. A few years later, Suraj kills an uncle who is attempting to rape Vandana, but she takes the blame in order to save him from prison. Suraj (also played by Rajesh Khanna) becomes an Air Force pilot like his father and learns, at the end of the film, that the nanny who raised him and went to prison on his behalf was, in fact, his biological mother.

"Roop tera mastana, pyar mera deewana" ("Your beauty is intoxicating, my love is inflamed by it") (figure 4.3 and video 4.4) appears at the key moment in the film after Arun and Vandana have just been married by a Hindu priest. They have taken shelter in a small cabin to escape from a rainstorm, and Vandana is wearing a towel while her clothes dry. Filmed in one long shot, the picturization of this song is quite unusual. It begins with Arun and Vandana overhearing a dialogue between a couple in an adjoining room that is silhouetted on the wall, the man reciting poetry in order to seduce the woman he is with. The poem leads into the song "Roop tera mastana," during which Arun and Vandana circle the fire they have lit in a way that is mimetic of the Hindu marriage ceremony.[7] The lyrics reflect an irrepressible sexual desire and its associations with a state of intoxication (e.g., *mastānā*, or intoxicating; *nashā*, the state of intoxication; *sharābi mausam*, drunken weather), but with a small voice of caution that they ignore ("lest we make some mistake"). Not surprisingly, the marriage is consummated

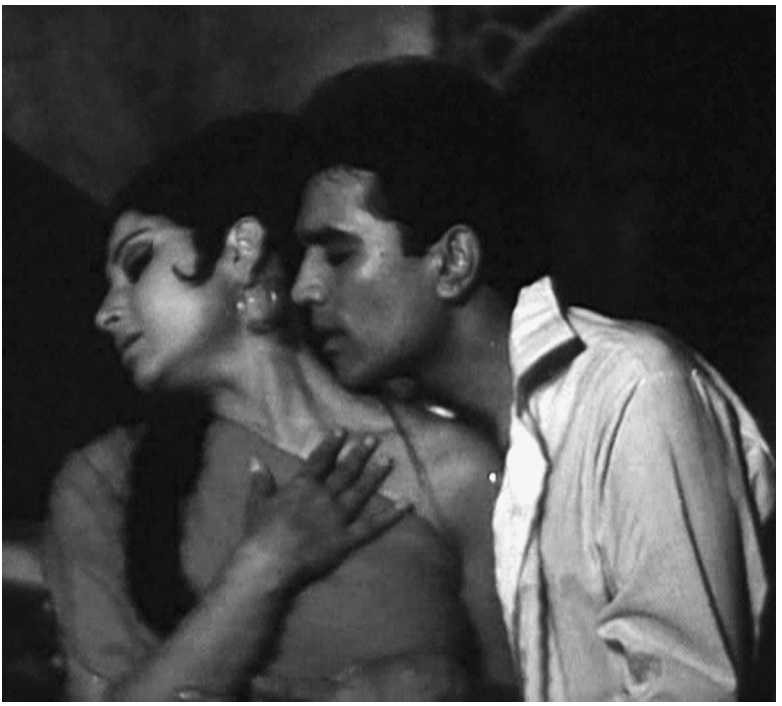


Figure 4.3:
Fires burn bright between Vandana (Sharmila Tagore) and Arun (Rajesh Khanna) in "Roop tera mastana" (*Aradhana* [1969]).

▶ Video 4.4: "Roop tera mastana"

after the song, which leads to the birth of the child for whom the heroine makes so many sacrifices.

In a standard *mukhṛā-antarā* form with three stanzas, the song is in a four-beat meter at a moderate tempo of 156 bpm and has a strong Latin-jazz feel to it. The accompaniment of trap set, congas, and guitar largely functions like a jazz rhythm section. The rhythm is punctuated by the sounds of the accordion and saxophone playing short melodic passages at the ends of vocal lines. A modified clave rhythm is played on woodblocks in a jazz-samba style and is present throughout most of the song, most noticeably in the interludes. A violin shadows Kishore's vocal line, and the saxophone and accordion solo fills make this melody very recognizable. The musical rise and fall in each of the stanzas operates as a musical metaphor of sexual tension. The volume gradually rises from the beginning of the verse to the end, with Kishore singing at full voice by the end of the song. In the refrains, this musical-sexual tension is still present but slightly subdued.

Insofar as this song is introduced by a poet in the opening phrases, it indicates the power of language and song in the expression of emotion. Like "Hum aapki ankhon mein" discussed at the beginning of this chapter, "Roop tera mastana" reinforces the stylistic mediation of jazz by way of the Goans who worked as musicians in film song orchestras like those of S. D. Burman. It also points to the cooperation of music, lyrics, and cinematography in creating a series of powerful images that evoke the emotional states of the characters. The popularity of "Roop tera mastana" was the beginning of the phenomenal success of singer Kishore Kumar, as well as his association with the romantic hero Rajesh Khanna, one of the dominant actors of the early 1970s. While the music director was officially S. D. Burman, some people speculate that his son R. D. Burman was responsible for most of the composition (Booth 2010). As such, the sound of "Roop tera mastana" heralded many of the changes that would take place in the music and films of the 1970s and '80s.

Finally, as each of the musical examples of this chapter has demonstrated, the narrative of the romantic hero was counterbalanced by the perceived dangerous expression of female sexuality. The female characters in the films discussed here represent, in many ways, a continuation of the ambivalence attached to courtesans and other female public performers more generally.[8] The threat of female sexuality that paralleled the figure of the courtesan lingered in films of this period: the courtesan Gulabo in *Pyaasa*, Rosie who has a *devdāsi* heritage and desires to dance without being encumbered by its negative associations with her sexuality, and Vandana who must overcome the humiliation of unwed motherhood. These ambivalent attitudes toward female sexuality and the discourse of the "fallen woman" would persist in later periods of Hindi cinema, particularly in the life and songs of the playback singer Asha Bhosle, discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

Songs in the Key of the Angry Young Man and the Cabaret Woman

The camera pans up Monica's (Helen's) legs clad in black fishnet stockings, to her sequined red dress, ultimately revealing her head resting on the bar. She sits up and chugs the last of her drink and then looks up at the clock as it chimes midnight. She stands and leans drunkenly against the bar as a voice (R. D. Burman) calls in the distance "Moneeekaaa," and her face can barely contain her excitement. Losing her tired demeanor, she vigorously dances away from the bar, exclaiming "He's come! Look, he's come!" and breathes in a sharp, rhythmic pattern. She runs up a flight of stairs leading to a large ornate birdcage, glides down a slide, and begins singing the refrain of one of Asha Bhosle's best-known cabaret songs, "Piya tu ab to aaja" ("Darling, please come now at least") (figure 5.1 and video 5.1). As she entreats her lover to come, the momentary breaks in the refrain are punctuated with the fast, rhythmic breathing that has made this song famous. In the background, now just a little closer, a voice sings "Monica, oh my darling." The camera later flashes to an audience in a restaurant, indicating that we are viewing Monica's famous cabaret show rather than an intimate moment. The heroine Sunita (Asha Parekh) sits in the audience hoping to get Monica's assistance in escaping from her murderous husband, only to learn shortly afterward that Monica and her husband have been colluding against her.

Multiple aesthetics are deeply but subtly indexed in this composition through a cosmopolitan mélange of film song, jazz, and Afro-Caribbean music. The song is structured in a slow introductory section that leads into

Figure 5.1:
Monika (Helen) performs her cabaret number in "Piya tu ab to aaja" (*Caravan* [1971]).

Video 5.1: "Piya tu ab to aaja"

a double-time Latin jazz section. Over a minute long, the first section is in a four-beat meter at a tempo of 125 bpm. It has a sultry jazz feel to it that is reminiscent of the opening sound of "Roop tera mastana" discussed in the previous chapter. A saxophone solo is accompanied by a distinctive dry surfer guitar riff plucked in a low register, with vibraphone filling in the gaps. A Western drum set playing a pattern of rim shots on the snare drum and floor tom replicates the sound of congas, and the scratching sound of a reco reco, a wooden percussion instrument used in Afro-Cuban music, is foregrounded in the mix. After eight bars, the rhythm instruments drop out and the piano playing tones in a low register indexes the chiming of a clock. At the end of the chimes, violins holding a dissonant harmony fade in, creating a powerful harmonic tension. Then the guitar riff returns and the violins shift to another harmony that subtly transforms—but does not end—the tension. An organ plays a short melody and holds a chord as a trumpet plays another melody that (in jazz nomenclature) lands on a 9th and then builds an 11th chord that keeps the harmonic tension alive until it is resolved by a vibraphone. As the saxophone fades back in, the guitar

alternates between the low surfer riff and a strummed extended chord. The drum set returns to the conga-like pattern that is played behind the beat, thus generating a rhythmic tension. Once again, the rhythm section drops out as the organ plays a brief melody that ends with a chromatic descending line leading into Asha Bhosle singing "piya tu" in a rubato style as an acoustic guitar strums a tremolo behind her. After RD's "Monika!" call, the rhythm section returns to its opening groove as Asha exclaims "woh aa gaya" ("He has come!"), which is followed by the rhythmic breathing in a pattern that accents the offbeats with sharp intakes of breath. The violin line that follows continues to accent the offbeats as it gradually crescendos into a complex chord built by the brass section that uses extended jazz harmonies. The brass section holds this chord as a fast, descending violin passage leads to a break that moves into the *mukhṛā*.

While Asha sings the melody in the same tempo as the beginning of the song, the rhythm accompaniment plays a double-time Latin-jazz style below her. The vocal melody strikingly includes a couple of unusual features for a Hindi film song, including a diminished fifth-scale degree at the end of the *mukhṛā* that borrows from the blues scale in jazz, as well as a descending chromatic scale at the end of the *antarās* that leads into a string and brass melody that is reminiscent of the opening portion of the "James Bond Theme" (Monty Norman). The *mukhṛā* ends with a syncopated rhythm line followed by RD singing "Monika, oh my darling." In each of the interludes, dry, picked guitar riffs return, accompanied by cowbell, reco reco, and drum set played in an Afro-Cuban-inspired rhythm as violins and brass move in and out with various motifs.

"Piya tu" is a classic example of the kind of cosmopolitan musical experimentation that R. D. Burman brought to Hindi film song. Combined with the topical changes that took place in 1970s Hindi films, this experimental aesthetic has had an impact that continues to resonate in contemporary songs. Even as it draws from the changing dynamics of international film and popular music, this sound aesthetic in many ways indexes the social upheaval that India endured in the 1970s and '80s, the diminishing value of lyrics, as well as changing depictions of feminine sexuality in the era of the filmic representations of the "angry young man." In this chapter, I address the history, films, and music that continued to be cosmopolitan but also incorporated more violent images and sounds in the production of a new breed of film song. This violence, as I will show, shaped the music of this period, especially as many songs incorporated longer interludes to support more onscreen action, along with instruments and musical styles that supported filmic fashions. Along with the new prevalence of the singers Asha Bhosle and Kishore Kumar, the music directors R. D. Burman and

Laxmikant-Pyarelal utilized new tools in the transformation of this sound. The chapter concludes with a discussion of some of the most popular songs of the 1970s and '80s: "Yeh dosti hum nahin todenge" ("We will never end this friendship"), the *qawwali* "Pardah hai pardah" ("The veil between us"), and one of the most famous songs from this period in late Old Bollywood, "Ek do teen" (One two three).

SOCIAL HISTORY, EVENTS, FILMS, AND SONGS OF THE 1970S AND '80S

To say that India of the 1970s and '80s was turbulent would be a gross understatement. In 1966, Indira Gandhi (the daughter of the country's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru) was elected prime minister and continued the rule of the Congress Party. But her tenure as prime minister was rocked by a number of events, including another war with Pakistan in 1971 that led to the province of East Pakistan becoming the independent nation of Bangladesh. The refugee crisis from this war, along with a drought and a food shortage, led to political turbulence and mass demonstrations in 1972–73. This period also saw the rise of smuggling and black markets for food and other commodities. In 1975, Indira Gandhi was found guilty of electoral fraud in the 1971 election and instead of stepping down, initiated the period known as the "Emergency" on June 26, 1975, ostensibly to shock the Indian nation-state back onto the right track. This period of President's Rule included suspension of most civil liberties including habeas corpus, the politically motivated jailing of anti-government activists and journalists, and censorship of the press. Indira's younger son Sanjay Gandhi also initiated a number of particularly draconian policies that disproportionally affected India's poor, including forced sterilizations and slum demolitions (Guha 2007, Ganti 2013). The Indian government centralized its power in other ways through attempted land reform, employment programs, price controls, and an ineffectual crackdown on smuggling. In 1977, Indira declared that the Emergency had had its desired effect, called an election, and lost spectacularly to an anti-Indira coalition that had no agenda beyond removing her from power. Not surprisingly, other than rolling back some of her legislation, this coalition was unable to develop coherent reforms, and Indira was reelected with an even stronger majority in 1980.

In the 1980s, however, Indira had to contend with the Khalistan (Sikh) separatist movement that desired an independent Punjabi nation-state. In order to combat this insurgency, Indira made the ill-advised decision to direct the Indian Army to raid the Golden Temple (the preeminent Sikh

holy site) in June 1984, which led to many civilian deaths. In October 1984, she was assassinated by her Sikh bodyguards, and her elder son Rajiv Gandhi was elected in her place. While Rajiv was not perceived to be a particularly strong prime minister, he did oversee the beginnings of the liberalization of the Indian economy (discussed in further detail in chapter 6), which indirectly led to a media revolution through the domestic mass production of television sets and audiocassette hardware. Peter Manuel (1993) has extensively described the consequences of this "cassette revolution," which, among other things, led to the emergence and later dominance of new music companies like Supercassettes and its T-Series label. Leveraging the lower production costs of audiocassettes, these music companies were able to end the dominance of the HMV company in music production and distribution. New, non-film genres like pop *ghazal* emerge in the 1970s and '80s, but the cassette era also enabled the beginning of rampant music piracy that has continued into the digital era.

Not surprisingly, the political turmoil of the 1970s was very much a presence in the music and films of this era. Tejaswini Ganti (2013), Rachel Dywer (2000), and other film scholars have noted that this period saw new kinds of representations in Indian films. Rather than being a force of development through socialism, for example, the films of the 1970s and beyond introduced negative depictions of the Indian state, particularly conflating politicians with social and economic corruption writ large. Whereas earlier representations of Indian poverty depicted it emerging from the evils of illiteracy or the social structures of class or caste, 1970s films showed it emerging from systemic political and economic disenfranchisement due to politicians serving their own interests, as well as from crime that went unpunished and rampant unemployment. Beginning with the 1973 film *Zanjeer*, the actor Amitabh Bachchan emerged as the "angry young man," that is, the figure of the marginalized working-class man who glorified vigilante justice as a way of solving issues arising from disenfranchisement (Rajadhyaksha and Willemen 1999). This kind of film was produced well into the 1980s, and it required a new kind of background music and a new kind of film song. Music was significantly less important to the narrative in this era than in previous eras. In particular, the angry young man films of the screenwriter duo Salim-Javed (Salim Khan and Javed Akhtar) focused much more attention on dialogue than on music. In other words, the action-oriented content of these films simply required fewer foregrounded songs. By the middle of the decade, the "new cinema" films of Shyam Benegal and other film directors eschewed the use of songs altogether in order to create an alternative to the mainstream Hindi film. Although critically acclaimed, these films never quite achieved the level of

commercial success necessary to make the movement sustainable beyond the mid-1980s.

The deaths of first-generation music directors like S. D. Burman in 1975 and Jaikishan in 1971 (which ended the Shankar-Jaikishan collaboration) also changed the character of the decade. Film directors like Raj Kapoor turned to others to fill the void left by the older generation of music directors. Thus, this era was generally dominated by three names, two of them composer duos—R. D. Burman, Laxmikant-Pyarelal, and Kalyanji-Anandji—who monopolized Mumbai's studio space and produced as much as 70 percent of all the film songs and music in this period (Booth 2008). Yet, when critics and some fans refer to the music of the 1970s and '80s, they tend to argue that the decade was a period of decline for film song in general, frequently couched as "the death of melody" (e.g., Chatterjee 1995, Anantharaman 2008). Although it would be a gross exaggeration to suggest that melody simply disappeared, there were some tangible differences in music directors' compositional and recording approaches to film songs in the 1970s as compared to earlier periods. For example, the music accompanying the vocal melody (e.g., orchestras, bands, rhythm sections) became much more prominent in the recording mix, at times overwhelming the melody line. Musical interludes experienced a dramatic increase in length, in large part because film directors were using the interludes to support onscreen action. Thus, while interludes may have been only a few seconds of a song in the 1940s, or 30 seconds in the 1960s, by the 1970s, they were frequently a minute or longer in length. Like the background scores for films, the sounds incorporated into many of these interludes often had a rhythmic intensity to them, with sharp musical "hits" that worked in tandem with the visual narrative. Many of the interludes and background scores were clearly influenced by the westerns and gangster films of 1970s Hollywood (especially in the fight scenes), while iconic indexes of Indian tradition were represented by the sitar, sarangi, and harmonium, especially when the narrative touched on institutions and rituals of the family.

The instrumentation of 1970s songs also shifted rather dramatically, as more electric instruments were added to film ensembles, including electric guitar, bass, and synthesizer. While Latin percussion (e.g., congas, bongos, etc.) had long been part of the toolbox of music directors, the Western drum set (a staple of rock and jazz) became much more prominent in recordings. As in earlier decades, one can hear the mediation of local and international musical styles, albeit with a temporal lag. In other words, popular sounds in international music trends eventually found their way into film songs, but sometimes years after they had gained popularity abroad. Thus, the big band Latin-jazz sounds became more and more prevalent in R. D. Burman

and Laxmikant-Pyarelal's music, even as disco and other electronic dance musics began to infiltrate film songs by way of the music director Bappi Lahiri in the 1980s. As with all periods, music directors incorporated more than one approach to composing film songs, and so there were no clear breaks between the ends of the 1960s, '70s, and '80s. Although there were certainly complaints that film music underwent a period of Westernization in this era, some songs were still embedded within a *rāga* aesthetic; while musical meter tended to favor shorter Western meters, there were many examples of songs that used *tāla*. Finally, critiques of musical "inspiration" (plagiarism) became more pronounced in this period, especially as they pertained to songs that borrowed from ostensibly Western sources.

"NEW" VOICES: KISHORE KUMAR AND ASHA BHOSLE

Despite changes in the musical accompaniment, instruments, and styles, the voices remained more or less the same. The dominant singers of earlier periods (i.e., Lata, Rafi, and Mukesh) continued to be used by music directors. However, Asha Bhosle and Kishore Kumar also rose in stature in the 1970s, in large part filling a need for a new kind of vocalist who incorporated certain kinds of non-lyrical approaches into their singing styles (e.g., yodeling in the case of Kishore, heavy rhythmic breathing in the case of Asha). Although these singers adjusted their vocal styles to fit the more rhythmic orientation of the 1970s, their approaches continued to utilize a *filmi* vocal aesthetic. Indeed, both Kishore and Asha had well-established careers in the 1950s and '60s but were overshadowed by other singers. Like most other singers of the evergreen era, their voices were seen by music directors of the time as being well suited for particular song situations, but they were not thought of as the all-purpose voices of Rafi and Lata. As the needs of films changed, however, Kishore and Asha rose to dominance, and the characteristics of their voices that were perceived to be liabilities in the 1950s and '60s came to be seen as assets in the 1970s and '80s.

KISHORE KUMAR (1929–1987)

Kishore Kumar (Abhas Kumar Ganguly) was born into a Bengali family and raised in Khandwa, a village in Madhya Pradesh. The son of a successful lawyer, Kishore moved to Mumbai with his family in 1946 after dropping out of college. His start in Hindi films was facilitated by his elder brother, Ashok Kumar, one of the important actor-singers in the

1940s to successfully transition solely to acting in the playback era. Ashok pushed Kishore to act in films, and Kishore accepted a number of small roles in the 1950s. From a relatively early point in his career, however, he seemed to be more interested in singing than in acting (Valicha 1998). Nevertheless, he produced and acted in several comedic films of the 1950s and '60s, most notably *Chalti Ka Naam Gaadi* (Satyen Bose 1958) (figure 5.2) and *Padosan* (Jyoti Swaroop 1968), in addition to directing several other films. In each case, he was his own playback singer, making him essentially one of the last regular actor-singers in Hindi cinema. His first song was recorded for the film *Ziddi* (Shaheed Latif 1948) for music director Khemchand Prakash. In those early years, he also worked with top composers like Anil Biswas; however, it was S. D. Burman who is credited with discovering him. SD overheard Kishore singing in the bath at Ashok Kumar's house one day and persuaded him to sing for him, leading to their forming a memorable composer-singer partnership until SD's death in 1975. This relationship with S. D. Burman carried forward into work with R. D. Burman, who used Kishore as his primary singer in his film projects of the 1970s.

Figure 5.2:
Kishore Kumar as the singing mechanic in "Ek ladki bheegi bhaagi si" (*Chalti Ka Naam Gaadi* [1958]).

Like S. D. Burman, Kishore came to be associated with Navketan Films, and thus his voice became linked to the actor Dev Anand in the 1950s. As I suggested earlier, the success of an actor and a singer are interconnected, and the popularity of one can reinforce the popularity of the other. Yet, in the case of Kishore, Valicha (1998) suggests, the mannerisms and image of Dev Anand were so thoroughly fused with the singing voice of Kishore Kumar that Kishore was essentially rendered invisible by Dev Anand's star presence. Accordingly, Kishore was inhibited in his attempt to generate his own discrete presence as a playback singer. With the phenomenal success of "Roop tera mastana" ("Your intoxicating beauty") in *Aradhana*, however, the voice of Kishore was effectively transplanted onto the actor Rajesh Khanna, an association that continued through the early 1970s in ways that benefited both singer and actor. Yet, Kishore continued to rise in prominence even after the romantic hero of Khanna was displaced by Amitabh Bachchan's angry young man. Working with R. D. Burman, Kishore went on to supplant—or at least complement—Rafi as the dominant male singer, even as Laxmikant-Pyarelal continued to use Rafi extensively in their songs.

Like his early idol K. L. Saigal, Kishore had no formal training in Indian classical music but developed a distinctive approach to singing at S. D. Burman's urging, a straightforward and lighter vocal style that used significantly less ornamentation than other singers of his era (ibid.). However, music directors in the 1950s used him only in limited song contexts because they felt that he lacked the technical proficiency to successfully render certain kinds of songs, especially those that drew from Indian classical music. This situational bias did not extend to Kishore alone—while Rafi was deemed the all-purpose singer, other male singers of the period were considered acceptable only for particular song situations. Thus, Manna Dey was brought in for classical-oriented songs and Talat Mahmood for *ghazals*, while Kishore was seen as ideal for comedic and other light-hearted songs.

Kishore had already developed other idiosyncratic vocal techniques that made his voice especially suitable for the music directors of the 1970s. A rhythm-oriented approach to singing served him well as the stylistic orientation of film song compositions shifted to more angular, rock-oriented idioms. Most prominent among these vocal idiosyncrasies was yodeling, which he used to great effect in "Zindagi ek safar hai suhana" ("Life is a wonderful journey") from *Andaz* (Ramesh Sippy 1971) in addition to many other songs. Other vocal effects included using nonsense lyrics, melding speaking and singing, shifting his voice to inflect reported speech, improvising lyrics, imitating other singers, and alternating between male and

female voices. Classic examples of his distinctive style include "Yeh dosti" from *Sholay* (see song analysis below), "Ek chatur naar" ("A clever lass") in *Padosan*, "Aake seedhi lagi dil pe" ("Like a dagger straight in my heart") in *Half Ticket* (Kalidas 1962), and many of the songs from *Chalti Ka Naam Gaadi*.

Kishore was a prankster in both professional and personal contexts, as well as a temperamental performer who would frequently refuse to work on particular days if he was not in the mood or had not been paid in advance. He also had a reputation for improvising in the recording studio, which was welcomed by some music directors but annoyed others. As an actor, he frequently diverged from the script, which generated similar responses of acceptance or irritation from film directors. He also notably refused to sing in the concerts organized by Sanjay Gandhi during the Emergency, which led to his songs being banned from All India Radio until Indira Gandhi was voted out of power (Ranade 2006). As he was ending his acting career in the mid-1960s (except in films he produced himself), he began the live concert circuit, and by the 1980s live concerts became his primary source of income. Unlike most other playback singers who had a relatively wooden demeanor while performing onstage, Kishore actively cultivated a dynamic stage presence and created entertaining live shows in which he extensively improvised song lyrics and melodies, much as he did in the recording studio (Valicha 1998).

Asha Bhosle (b. 1933)

Like Kishore, it took Asha Bhosle (also Bhonsle) many years of struggle to establish herself as a singer, in large part because she was overshadowed by her elder sister Lata Mangeshkar. Much of her early childhood biography is the same as Lata's, inasmuch as she received early vocal training from her father, first began singing in Marathi language films, and then transitioned to Hindi language songs, singing her first solo in 1949. Asha's personal life, however, was far rockier than that of her elder sister—she eloped at the tender age of 14 with Ganpatrao Bhosle, a much older rationing officer, and had two children with him. However, she left the house of her abusive in-laws and returned home to live with her mother while pregnant with her third child. Although her career trajectory was certainly inhibited by the success of her sister, Asha's daughter speculated in a 1993 article that Asha's personal biography was a contributing factor to the struggle she had to undergo early in her career, especially as this biography was tied to the discourse of the "fallen woman" (reprinted in 1997, http://m.rediff.

com/entertai/may/16varsha.htm). In an interview with the film journalist Rajeev Masand, Asha noted that she worked very hard in the early years to maintain her singing career and her family, without the patronage of any particular music director or actor (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6MWdINX16rs). This meant that she took nearly any singing opportunity that she was offered, often recording multiple songs on the same day at different studios.

The sexual double standard attached to her personal life may have manifested itself in other ways. Early in her career, the music director Anil Biswas suggested that "Asha's voice has body, Lata's soul." In other words, as Neepa Majumdar (2001) points out, while Lata came to be associated with the ideal, disembodied femininity of the heroine, Asha was associated with a variety of embodied, vulgar sexuality. Accordingly, in the 1950s, Asha would frequently be brought in to sing just one song in a film, usually the voice of the vamp, courtesan, or some other fallen woman because the top female singers refused to lend their voices to women of dubious character in films. To this extent, Asha's voice is strongly associated with the actress Helen, who provided frequent cabaret item numbers in the 1970s and '80s like "Piya tu ab to aaja" discussed above.[1] Ironically, when the *Guinness Book of World Records* controversy took place in the 1980s deeming Lata as the "most recorded voice in human history," the authors of the *Filmi Geet Kosh* (*Encyclopedia of Film Songs*) revealed that Asha had, in fact, sung many more songs than Lata, albeit in lower-profile films (Bharatan 1995).

The struggles in her early career were ameliorated by her association with the music directors S. D. Burman and O. P. Nayyar in the late 1950s. Asha sang frequently for Burman in the period when Lata had boycotted him. Meanwhile, O. P. Nayyar steadfastly refused to work with Lata and gave Asha her first opportunity to voice the heroine in the film *Naya Daur* (B. R. Chopra 1957). Asha and Nayyar had a musical collaboration until the 1970s (some music critics feel that Asha's best songs came from this early association), even as rumors swirled about the romantic nature of the relationship and their subsequent split. In the 1970s, Asha became associated with a number of superhit songs composed by R. D. Burman (whom she married in 1979), including "Mera naam hai Shabnam" ("My name is Shabnam") from *Kati Patang* (Shakti Samanta 1970), "Dum maaro dum" ("Take a hit from this joint") from *Hare Rama Hare Krishna* (Dev Anand 1971), and "Chura liya hai tumne jo dil ko" ("Now that you have taken my heart") from *Yaadon Ki Baraat* (Nasir Hussain 1973), all of which remain staples of her live shows. Her reputation as being the "voice of the bad girl" gradually transformed into a reputation for being a versatile

artist who did justice to every kind of song. This reputational change was especially marked by the film *Umrao Jaan* (Muzaffar Ali 1981), in which she demonstrated her ability to sing Urdu *ghazals* with a technical virtuosity that was comparable to that of her sister. Indeed, the song "Dil cheez kya hai" ("Why just my heart, take my life") is one of the most beloved *ghazals* in the entire Hindi film canon.[2] Asha continued to adapt to new trends in the music industry, recording private albums (i.e., non-film albums) and remixes in the 1990s, in addition to her work in film songs into the early 2000s.

While Biswas's "Asha's voice has body, Lata's soul" comment has been largely dismissed by later critics, the cabaret songs she is associated with nevertheless have a voluptuous quality to them, as she added a number of extra-musical sound elements (e.g., heavy breathing, sighing, moaning) that paralleled Kishore's vocal effects. These effects were well suited to film songs of the 1970s. For example, like the Geeta Dutt example from the previous chapter ("Hum aapki aankon mein"), Asha's flirtatious upward vocal inflections played well for the more sexually liberated heroines of the 1970s. A great example of this can be found in her duet with Kishore, "Nahin nahin, abhi nahin" ("No no, not now") from *Jawani Diwani* (Narender Bedi 1972) that has been remixed a number of times in the 2000s. Interestingly, while rumors of a fierce rivalry have always dogged Asha and Lata, there are many similarities between their voices, especially in their later years. While Asha's voice has a timbre that is distinct from the ostensible falsetto that critics have accused Lata of adopting, Asha, like her elder sister, has a versatile and flexible voice that drew from her background in Indian classical music. Unfortunately, her critics seemed to acknowledge this only after the release of *Umrao Jaan*.

R. D. BURMAN'S MEDIATIONS AND MUSICAL EXPERIMENTS

One might reasonably argue that Rahul Dev Burman (1939–1994) was the primary facilitator of both Asha's and Kishore's rise to dominance in the 1970s. RD was the son of music director S. D. Burman and worked extensively with his father as a music assistant, and then became a superstar music director in his own right. Born in Kolkata, he moved with his family to Mumbai in 1944 when SD decided to try his hand at Hindi cinema. RD is also referred to by his friends and fans as "Pancham," which is the fifth note of the Indian musical scale. The most prominent origin story of this name is that the actor Ashok Kumar dubbed him Pancham because he would sing the note for "Pa" (the fifth scale degree) when his

father sang "Sa" (the first scale degree). As a child, RD was sent back to Kolkata for schooling, where he was an indifferent student, but he had the opportunity to learn tabla from Brajen Biswas and sarod at the Ali Akbar Khan School of Music. Though he was not particularly industrious in his Indian classical music studies, Bhattacharjee and Vittal (2011) suggest that he picked up the essence of Indian classical music through observation of the duets between Ali Akbar Khan and Ravi Shankar, as well as the general atmosphere of the school. Meanwhile, he was also exposed to international music in the cosmopolitan environment of South Kolkata and through the record collections of the musicians who worked with his father. Pancham returned to Mumbai in the 1950s to work as his father's assistant and made notable contributions to his father's work during and after *Pyaasa* (1957). His music directorial debut was *Chhote Nawab* (S. A. Akbar 1961), which did not make much of an impression on audiences and thus he continued to assist his father in films in the 1960s. He composed for several more films on his own, but finally broke through with the Shammi Kapoor film *Teesri Manzil* (Vijay Anand 1966) that was offered to him because of his father's declining health. A mystery film in the style of Alfred Hitchcock, the songs and score of *Teesri Manzil* have a strong flavor of the Hollywood composer Henry Mancini that foregrounded the brass, Latin percussion, and a mediated version of the Brazilian bossa nova. All of these musical elements became part of his signature sound in later film projects (Bhattacharjee and Vittal 2011, 49–55). This was followed by the success of the music of *Padosan* (Jyoti Swaroop 1968), which features "Ek chatur naar," a comedic duet between the singers Kishore Kumar and Manna Dey that satirizes some of the pretensions of Indian classical singers.

Throughout the rest of the 1960s, RD continued to assist his father while he worked on his own projects; this gave him the opportunity to develop his reputation as a music director even as he brought new sounds and styles into his father's compositions (e.g., *Aradhana*). By the beginning of the 1970s, however, most of the dominant music directors from the 1940s–1960s period were succeeded by the next generation, and RD rode the crest of this wave as song situations required new sounds. As audiences' musical tastes changed, he was able to capitalize on the success of his late '60s soundtracks, and developed relationships with film directors/producers who hired him for new projects in the 1970s. He had a string of successes in the early 1970s up to and including the blockbuster *Sholay* (G. P. Sippy 1975), many of which featured hit songs performed by Asha Bhosle. He experienced a brief lull after his father's death in 1975 but came back with the wildly successful film *Hum Kisise Kum Nahin* (Nasir Hussain

1977). RD was quite prolific in the late 1970s into the 1980s, and at times, he and his team were working on 20 concurrent films. Yet many of these films flopped, especially after the mid-1980s. This string of failures, coupled with the death of Kishore and his own heart problems, seemed to sap his confidence, although he appeared to be on the verge of making another comeback with the film *1942: A Love Story* (Vidhu Vinod Chopra 1994). Unfortunately, the film was released after he passed away from a heart attack, and he was not alive to reap the rewards of its success. Pancham's music has never really disappeared, however, since many of the composers for the family films of the 1990s were deeply influenced by his musical approach. His songs also resurfaced in the film song remix trend of the late 1990s to early 2000s, when Pancham's songs were the overwhelming remix favorite (see chapter 7).

To a greater extent than perhaps any other music director, RD was open to musical collaboration and experimentation with his team of sitting musicians who worked with him night and day in crafting songs. As the case of "Piya tu ab to aaja" suggests, some of this experimentation used similar modes of generating melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic tension that were familiar in jazz and rock. Accordingly, some of his critics accused him of Westernizing Hindi film song, even as they tended to overlook the Western elements that had already been present in the film songs of earlier music directors. RD had a passion for experimenting with sound—besides a seamless incorporation of synthesizers and early effects processing (e.g., echo machines) into his music, he ingeniously assimilated environmental sounds into his compositions (e.g., the sound of blowing into half-full bottles, the particular squeak of a closing door, etc.) and drew new kinds of sounds from instruments (e.g., playing the tabla with drum sticks) (Bhattacharjee and Vittal 2011, Singh 2008). As I noted in the discussion of Kishore and Asha above, Pancham supplemented these sounds with non-lyrical vocal effects (e.g., shouts, heavy breathing, etc.), which also gave his songs a distinctive touch. Like other music directors, he occasionally sang his own compositions, and the rough timbre of his voice, as well as his singular style, rendered them extremely popular. Classic examples of the Pancham voice are "Duniya mein logon ko" ("In this world, people misunderstand") from *Apna Desh* (Jambu 1972), "Mehbooba mehbooba" ("Beloved oh beloved") from *Sholay* (Ramesh Sippy 1975), and "Tum kya jaano mohabbat kya hai" ("What would you know about love?") from *Hum Kisise Kum Nahin*. On several occasions, the iconic timbre of his voice has been imitated to index his memory in film music such as Vishal-Shekhar's soundtrack to *Jhankaar Beats* (Sujoy Ghosh 2003) and the song "Pardah" ("Veil") in

Once Upon a Time in Mumbai (Milan Luthria 2010). Perhaps more influential than any of these was the R. D. Burman rhythm section, which usually featured electric guitar, electric bass, and a large percussion section. His rhythmic style is especially recognizable in his elaborate use of percussion, in particular creating beats with pitched percussion (e.g., tabla, Congas, bongos, mandal, cow bell, etc.) in mediated renditions of bossa nova, Afro-Cuban, rock, and jazz styles. Because of its power, his rhythmic style was frequently imitated by his competitors in the 1980s.

R. D. Burman listened to a prodigious amount of music, and much of it made its way into his songs in one form or another. Critics note that like certain other music directors (e.g., Bappi Lahiri, Nadeem-Shravan, Pritam), many of the musical ideas that were incorporated into Pancham's songs had origins elsewhere.[3] The nature of this borrowing varied—sometimes it was the partial reuse of one of his father's melodies, sometimes a few notes derived from an ABBA song to make a new melody. Often, he would shape portions of another song's background into an entirely new song, and sometimes, he would make almost wholesale parodies of original songs. One classic example of a Pancham song parody is the popular "Mehbooba mehbooba" from *Sholay* (G. Sippy 1975), which is more or less a direct copy of Demis Roussous's "Say you love me" (1974). [4] In this case, as with some others, RD was approached by the film's producer to incorporate a version of the Roussous song (Bhattacharjee and Vittal 2011). Not surprisingly, there is a lot of debate surrounding this practice of borrowing musical ideas, although as I suggested in chapter 1, I prefer to view this in terms of mediation of musical styles, in large part because wholesale copying into song parodies is less frequent than the mediation of some preexisting idea into a new form. It is noteworthy that music genres like jazz and rap similarly create new musical ideas from the building blocks of other compositions. Some audiences might be able to trace some of the sources of inspiration and even derive pleasure from this recognition. Whether fair or unfair, this nominal lack of originality continues to dog many music directors.

Nevertheless, RD has continued to be the most influential music director through the contemporary era. For example, Jatin-Lalit carried many of his ideas forward in the 1990s, and one can hear a Pancham influence in the rhythm tracks of *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge* (Aditya Chopra 1995) and *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai* (Karan Johar 1997). Similarly, the songs of his former music assistant/collaborator Uttam Singh in films like *Dil To Pagal Hai* (Yash Chopra 1997) show a Pancham touch. Contemporary music directors Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy and Vishal Bhardwaj openly acknowledge their debt to Pancham in many of their songs (Singh 2008). Perhaps because his songs are so frequently remixed, Pancham's music has undergone a renaissance

in recent years. One might speculate that this is because he was already operating with a cosmopolitan aesthetic that aligns well with contemporary neoliberal musical values. Thus, the fact that he fused musical styles in such a distinctive manner foreshadowed the values of remix in ways that have been facilitated by technologies available to mainstream producers.

"YEH DOSTI," THE SONG OF ETERNAL FRIENDSHIP (*SHOLAY* [1975])

The duet "Yeh dosti hum nahin todenge" ("We will never end this friendship") (figure 5.3 and video 5.2) sung by Kishore Kumar and Manna Dey in the film *Sholay* (*Flames*) (Ramesh Sippy 1975) exhibits many of the classic characteristics of R. D. Burman songs, including his use of new technology, Latin-inspired beats, and experiments with sound. It opens with a synthesizer sound coupled with an ascending violin passage that then moves into the voices of the singers using non-lyrical vocalizations. The song shifts to a fast tempo (225 bpm) in a four-beat meter. The ensemble is the classic RD rhythm section, including electric bass playing a legato jazz-inspired bass line, several varieties of electric guitar, banjo, congas, guiro, and most characteristically, percussion that regularly plays a high-pitched note on the second offbeat. The song has a clearly outlined I-IV-V chord progression in the *mukhṛā* and an I-V progression in the *antarās*. Like other film songs of the 1970s, the musical introduction and interludes are quite long in order to accompany the onscreen action. In addition, Kishore and Manna yell out at points that synchronize with the tipping of the motorcycle in the picturization. The song form is a fairly standard *mukhṛā-antarā* form that alternates between each of the singers at each section, with Kishore and Manna singing together only at the end. Unusually, Kishore and Manna sing short portions of the end of the last *antarā* and *mukhṛā* in simple harmony.

Sholay was the first Hindi film released in stereophonic sound, and the recording engineer played with the spatial possibilities afforded by stereo recording, such as gradually panning the opening synthesizer sound from right to left, placing vocalists on the left channel, whistling on the left, harmonica on the right, etc. There is an unusual amount of panning to hard left or right, such that if one channel is missing, one might not hear the guitar, for example. Similarly, the string line accompanying the vocals shifts from the center to the right channel, suggesting two separate string sections that alternate like the vocalists.

The soundtrack includes a sad version of "Yeh dosti," a solo by Kishore Kumar that plays in the background as Veeru mourns the death of Jai at the end of the film. This version is much slower, uses different instrumentation

Figure 5.3:
Jai (Amitabh Bachchan) and Veeru (Dharmendra) consider a coin toss in "Yeh dosti" (*Sholay* [1975]).

Video 5.2: "Yeh dosti hum nahin todenge"

(solo violin, vibraphone, organ, bass), and is performed in a rubato style. Like the happy version, the sad version uses an I-IV-V chord progression that is suggestive of Christian church music but ends with a chord that does not resolve, a way of creating a musical tension that mirrors the grieving tone at the end of the film.

For approximately 20 years, *Sholay* reigned as the all-time top-grossing Hindi film and became one of the key landmarks in Indian film history. A film that has been extensively analyzed (e.g., Dissanayanke 1992, Chopra 2000, Derné 2000), *Sholay* incorporates many of the dimensions of Sergio Leone's style of "Spaghetti Western," most notably issues of law and order and the struggle between good and evil. These dimensions were particularly poignant since the film was released at the start of the Emergency and is one of the most famous examples of film censorship, inasmuch as the Indian censor board forced the producer to change the ending from a depiction of the grisly impaling of Gabbar Singh to the arrival of the Indian police to restore order. While critics panned both the film and music of *Sholay* at first (Bose 2007), the success of the film at the box office—and the release of some of the dialogue on LP—made the soundtrack one of the most important of the 1970s. "Yeh dosti" is the first song of the film and introduces its two heroes stealing a motorcycle with a sidecar even as they are headed to claim half the reward for their arrest (they are then arrested again). As the song title suggests, the lyrics demonstrate the strength of their friendship,

how they are always together, and how they overcome adversity together. Along with the item number "Mehbooba mehbooba" in which the actress Helen dances for the villain Gabbar Singh (Amjad Khan), "Yeh dosti" is one of the most popular songs of the film and of the entire 1970s.

LAXMIKANT-PYARELAL AND LATE OLD BOLLYWOOD

Along with R. D. Burman, the music director duo Laxmikant-Pyarelal dominated the period of what Gregory Booth (2008) has called "Old Bollywood," that is, the period of Hindi film songs from the late 1940s to the mid-1990s that was characterized by the social, economic, and technological structures that supported a particular set of compositional practices. Among other things, this production approach included large, diverse orchestras and studio practices, as well as a production aesthetic that mediated cosmopolitan musics into a distinctive sound that is an iconic index of the entire period.

Commonly referred to as Laxmi-Pyare or L-P, Laxmikant Kudalkar (1937–1998) and Pyarelal Sharma (b. 1940) were among the most prolific music directors in Indian cinematic history, having composed for well over 400 films during a 35-year period. Both worked in the full range of roles in song production, from playing in the orchestra, to arranging, to music direction. Laxmikant was an accomplished mandolin player; Pyarelal learned violin from his father Pandit Ramprasad Sharma and the Goan arranger-musician Anthony Gonsalves. After working as musicians in Naushad and C. Ramchandra's orchestras as teenagers in the early 1950s, they debuted as music directors in *Parasmani* (Babubhai Mistry 1963). Their first hit film came shortly thereafter with *Dosti* (Satyen Bose 1964) in large part because Mohammed Rafi graciously agreed to sing for less than his usual fee. Like R. D. Burman, they continued to assist other music directors in their early years, most notably the duo Kalyanji-Anandji, even as they composed for their own film projects. After Jaikishan's death in 1971 and with Lata's urging, Laxmikant-Pyarelal replaced their role models Shankar-Jaikishan in the film *Bobby* (Raj Kapoor 1973), although it is rumored that Kapoor told them that they were simply expected to orchestrate songs to tunes that Shankar-Jaikishan had already written (Bharatan 1995). They continued to work with Raj Kapoor until the film *Prem Rog* (1982) and by the end of the 1970s they were the highest-paid music directors in the industry. They were reputed to have been working on 40 to 50 film projects at a time (Arnold 1991), sometimes recording as many as four songs per day (Booth 2008). They went on to compose some of the most

popular soundtracks of this period, and their music reflected the ongoing changes in technology and film song aesthetics. Most notable among these were the soundtracks for the films *Amar Akbar Anthony* (Manmohan Desai 1977), *Karz* (Subhash Ghai 1981), *Mr. India* (Shekhar Kapoor 1987), *Tezaab* (N. Chandra 1988), and *Khalnayak* (Subhash Ghai 1993). Critics like Anantharaman (2008) argued, however, that the quality of their compositions declined in the late 1980s. This is perhaps best represented by the mediated folk song "Choli ke peechhe kya hai" ("What is beneath my blouse?") that they wrote for the film *Khalnayak*. Despite (or perhaps because of) the moral panic and lawsuit it incited about vulgarity in Hindi film lyrics, this song became immensely popular.[5]

Like other music director duos before them, L-P had a well-established division of labor. Laxmi was oriented to Indian music and tended to write the main melodies; Pyare was oriented to international musics and wrote the accompaniment to songs. Unlike most music directors, who left the background scores to their assistants, Pyare frequently composed these as well. As a team, they adapted well to new musical trends, and it is significant that they were able to successfully compete with emerging music directors over three decades of film. A major portion of their success was derived from the fact that Lata and Rafi continued to work with them through the 1970s and '80s, although they did introduce some new voices like Alka Yagnik, Anuradha Paudwal, Kavita Krishnamurthy, and Shailendra Singh. The musicologist Ashok Ranade (2006) notes that, like Shankar-Jaikishan before them, L-P were adept at crafting simple, yet memorable melodies that typically ended the first line of the lyrics on the fifth scale degree, which creates melodic tension, and then resolved this down to the tonic at the end of the second line, which creates melodic resolution. L-P were well aware of the marketing requirements of songs, and frequently found ways to include film titles in their songs. Ranade also points to their frequent use of the speech-song style, that is, the alternation between melody and spoken word (e.g., "My name is Anthony Gonsalves" in *Amar Akbar Anthony*, "Hawa hawai" in *Mr. India*, "Ek do teen" in *Tezaab*). This approach preserved the film context in the music itself, which film producers perceived to be particularly beneficial for increasing box office returns. L-P were especially known for the quality and virtuosity of their string section, a characteristic adopted by many of the music directors of the 1990s who followed them (e.g., Ram Laxman, Anand-Milind, Nadeem-Shravan, Anu Malik).

Like the prolific Shankar-Jaikishan, Laxmikant-Pyarelal developed their own brand that film producers were willing to pay for, in large part because it operated as a component of the marketing for a film project. But acquiring this L-P brand was expensive. Gregory Booth (2008) notes in

his interviews with Pyarelal—and the musicians that worked with him—that not only were L-P the highest-paid music directors of the era, they were also the most expensive in terms of their production costs. Part of the expense was due to the fact that by the 1980s, they essentially replicated the studio system by keeping an orchestra on call and paid some of their regular musicians a full day's salary even if their role was minimal in a recording. In addition, they began composing and rehearsing in the recording studio itself for the sake of efficiency, which also dramatically increased the production costs, as studio time is quite expensive. But despite their high price, their very presence on a film project meant that it would be easier for the film producer to raise capital for funding. Having star music directors like Laxmikant-Pyarelal on the marquee was one way to mitigate the risks of film production (Ganti 2012). Yet, as Booth argues, the production practices of Old Bollywood, and the sociability that they enabled, essentially ended with Laxmikant's death. Competing music directors of the 1980s and early '90s turned to smaller orchestras, synthesizers, and samplers to produce songs with a similar sound aesthetic (see chapter 6).

"PARDAH HAI PARDAH" ("THE VEIL BETWEEN US") AND THE FILM *QAWWALI*

Like other music directors, Laxmikant-Pyarelal were adept at mediating various musical styles into their own distinctive sound. One of the genres they incorporated is the *qawwali*, a genre of Sufi devotional song that has broad popularity across South Asia and was one of the non-film genres widely distributed through "cassette culture" (Manuel 1993) described above. This song style appears from time to time in Hindi films, and like the *ghazal* song form described in the previous chapter, the use of the *qawwali* in filmic contexts also indexes Islamic civilization, primarily in ecumenical (or secular) song situations like "Pardah hai pardah" described below. The evocation of the *qawwali* song style is quite frequent in the music of A. R. Rahman, as I discuss in the next chapter.

In the classic "lost and found" film *Amar Akbar Anthony* (Manmohan Desai 1977), Kishanlal (Pran), the father of three boys and driver for the gangster Robert (Jeevan), returns from prison only to learn that Robert has not been supporting Kishanlal's family as he had promised. Kishanlal unsuccessfully attempts to kill Robert and then flees in one of Robert's cars, which happens to be loaded with smuggled gold. As he reaches his house, he learns that his wife Bharti (Nirupa Roy) has abandoned the children because she has tuberculosis, so Kishanlal absconds with his boys and leaves

them near a Mahatma Gandhi statue as he flees Robert's men. As Kishanlal is then believed to have been killed in a fiery car crash, his wife is struck by a falling tree branch and rendered blind. In a nod to national religious harmony, each of the three boys is adopted by a different family: Amar (Vinod Khanna) by a Hindu police officer, Akbar (Rishi Kapoor) by a Muslim tailor, and Anthony (Amitabh Bachchan) by a Goan Catholic priest. As adults, the brothers interact with one another and their mother, but none of them knows that they are all related until their mother miraculously regains her sight at a Shirdi Sai Baba temple while Akbar sings the *bhajan* "Shirdi wale" (performed by Mohammed Rafi). Their mother instantly recognizes all of her adult children and all the brothers come together to free Jenny (Parveen Babi), Anthony's love interest, from a forced marriage. The film has a memorable soundtrack, and Laxmikant-Pyarelal won the best music director award for 1977. Moreover, two of the three brothers have their own songs in the film in which the lyrics invoke each of their names, in addition to the song "Anhoni ko honi kar de" ("They make the impossible happen") at the end of the film that invokes all three names. Most notable of the name songs is "My name is Anthony Gonsalves," which is a tribute to the Goan arranger and big band leader who had worked with Pyarelal.

In the song situation for "Pardah hai pardah" (figure 5.4 and video 5.3), Akbar sings with his own troupe of *qawwals* (singers) in a stage show. He has invited his love interest Salma (Neetu Singh) and Anthony, but unbeknown to both brothers, Anthony has also brought their blind mother to the performance. Performed by Rafi, "Pardah hai pardah" is one of the most famous examples of a *qawwali* in a film. *Qawwali* is typically set to esoteric poetry in Urdu, Hindi, and Punjabi, and texts often feature poetic imagery of sensuality, intoxication (*nashā*), and ecstasy (*mastī*) as metaphors for both romantic love and one's relationship with God. Sufis argue that setting these texts to music is an effective way of enhancing the message of the poetry.[6] In addition, many *qawwali* texts follow the forms and conventions of *ghazal* poetry (Qureshi 1986). If the performance is effective, one might expect members of the audience to achieve a state of spiritual ecstasy. *Qawwali* is performed in a wide range of venues, in devotional and secular contexts, including at Sufi shrines, in public and private concerts, and in film songs.[7] The Pakistani *qawwal* Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan acquired international fame in concerts in the 1980s, and his nephew Rahat Fateh Ali Khan continues in his footsteps.

In a traditional musical context, one would generally expect to hear solo male singers accompanied by the harmonium, tabla, and dholak. *Qawwals* have distinctive voices with a very wide vocal range and, in particularly intense moments, will hold long notes at a high pitch and improvise a rapid vocal melisma (sequence of notes). The accompanying ensemble claps the

beat along with the instrumentalists and contributes its collective voice in responsorial singing, especially in moments when singing/chanting a particularly powerful line of poetry that is repeated indefinitely. In film song mediations of *qawwali*, one would expect the composition to have a melodic introduction with a line of poetry in free verse, followed by a chorus responding with lines of the poetry to be emphasized. Whereas traditional *qawwali* is almost entirely performed by men, *filmi* renditions of *qawwalis* might be performed by male or female singers. Like the film *ghazal*, the lyrics of film *qawwalis* have a flavor of Urdu, although the text is most likely to emphasize the secular interpretations of romantic love and omit religious references. Film *qawwalis* are also significantly shorter than they are in live concert settings and incorporate minimal improvisation.

Mohammed Rafi's rendition of "Pardah hai pardah" follows many of these film *qawwali* conventions, insofar as the instrumentation includes a sparse ensemble of harmonium, tabla, dholak, guitar, mandolin, and a pairing of shehnai with clarinet. The song emphasizes the poetic text and

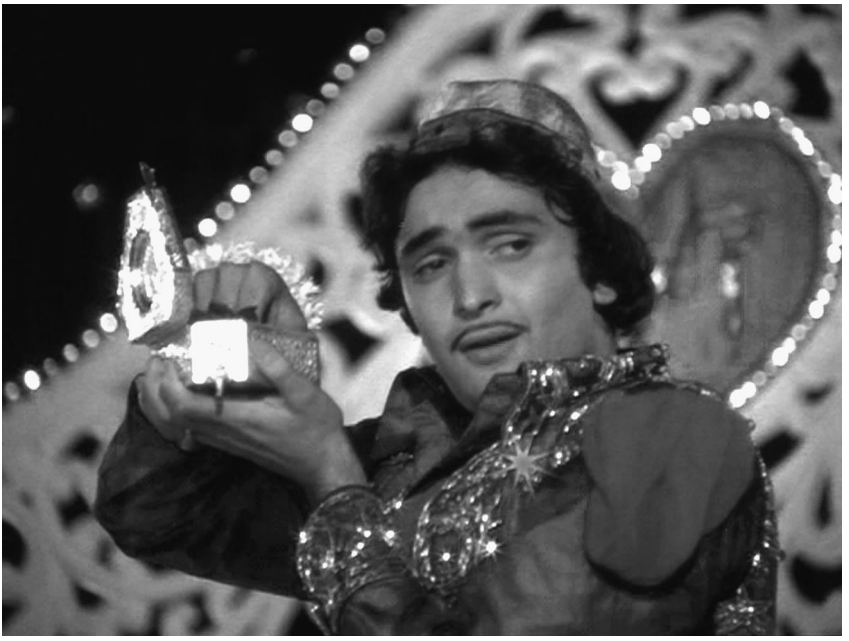


Figure 5.4:
Akbar (Rishi Kapoor) prepares to toss a rose to a beautiful woman in "Pardah hai pardah" (*Amar Akbar Anthony* [1977]).

▶ Video 5.3: "Pardah hai pardah"

has a modified *mukhṛā-antarā* form, in which the *antarās* include stretches of free verse of varying lengths. After a musical introduction, Rafi sings a short vocal melisma and then a line of free verse referencing alcohol that moves into the *mukhṛā*. At the end of this *mukhṛā*, he claims that if he cannot reveal the secret beneath the veil (i.e., the veil worn by his love interest), his name is not Akbar. A short interlude is followed by stanzas that alternate lines of free verse with prearranged melodies that incorporate responsorial singing from the ensemble, before moving to the *mukhṛā*. Rafi demonstrates his virtuosity in this song, as it utilizes much of his vast range, and the flawless renditions of the melismatic passages point to his technical prowess.

As I noted earlier, full-fledged *qawwalis* are relatively infrequent in contemporary films, yet I will show in the following chapters that the *qawwali* form and the ecumenical Sufi ethos that it inspires are one of the cornerstones of the contemporary era of film song, most especially in the music of A. R. Rahman. In the context of *Amar Akbar Anthony*, the use of a *qawwali* is consonant with the idea of religious and communal harmony, which is the clear message of this film.

COUNTING THE DAYS: "EK DO TEEN" ("ONE TWO THREE"), *TEZAAB* (N. CHANDRA 1988)

While Laxmikant-Pyarelal composed a number of songs that incorporated a message of communal harmony, their song "Ek do teen" ("One two three"), one of their most famous compositions in their late career, draws from a very different well. This song highlights some of the musical and narrative dimensions of films of the 1990s and beyond, perhaps the most important of which is the change in the representations of film heroines' sexuality.

The film *Tezaab* (*Acid*) (N. Chandra 1987) is a classic example of the kind of violent film that was produced in the 1980s. In the film, Mohini (Madhuri Dixit) is a stage performer who is exploited by her father (Anupum Kher). Her father had previously exploited Mohini's mother and eventually killed her by throwing acid in her face. He is living off the income that Mohini generates from her shows and spends the money on a life of debauchery. Mohini expresses a desire to marry her boyfriend Mahesh (Anil Kapoor), a former naval cadet, but her father rejects the match and sends a gang to scare him off. In the process, one of the gang members attempts to rape Mahesh's sister, but Mahesh kills him. Mahesh is then exiled from Mumbai and becomes a gang leader, adopting the name Munna. As such, Mahesh/Munna is an archetype of the frustration evoked by the declining

▶ Video 5.4: "Ek do teen"

law-and-order situation in India and representative of the kind of angry young man who pursues vigilantism. Mohini's father's lavish lifestyle catches up with him, and Mohini is abducted by her father's creditors. She is ultimately saved by Munna, who is acquitted of his earlier murder charges.

The song "Ek do teen" (video 5.4) appears at the beginning of the film and is picturized on the heroine performing her famous stage show, which is a marked contrast from the cabaret shows performed by vamps in earlier periods of Hindi cinema. A couple of stars were made by this song—Madhuri Dixit, who became one of the dominant actresses of the 1990s, and the singer Alka Yagnik, who became one of the important female voices of the 1990s and early 2000s. In this song, Alka's voice clearly adopts Lata's high tessitura and girlish timbre. Like Lata, Alka is a classically trained singer who incorporated in her songs many of the same *filmi*/semi-classical vocal ornaments that had been established in the 1950s. As such, she became a useful replacement, as Lata's voice had begun to betray the timbral changes of her advancing age.

The song begins with an interaction between Mohini and her audience in Laxmikant-Pyarelal's characteristic speech-song style. Performed at 130 bpm in a duple meter with a strong triple subdivision, the song is a typical *mukhṛā-antarā* form with three stanzas. "Ek do teen" is a mediated Maharastrian folk song in a rock style with rock instrumentation (i.e., electric guitar, electric bass, synthesizer, electronic drums) accompanied by percussion, a large horn section, and chorus that echoes the melody at the end of each *mukhṛā*. In contrast to earlier periods of film song, the percussion section, bass, and rhythm guitar are prominent in the mix below the vocalist, while the horn section punctuates the ends of the vocal lines. The electric bass plays a Latin-inflected groove throughout the song, and the long musical interludes index Spanish and Latin-American styles and rhythms in brass, guitar, and cowbell. The film director uses these interludes to depict the heroine's stage as a kind of catwalk, as she models new fashions for her onscreen and offscreen audiences.

The lyrics of "Ek do teen" were written by Javed Akhtar, formerly of the Salim-Javed duo who wrote the screenplays for the most influential films of the "angry young man" period. The lyrics of the *mukhṛā* have an interesting origin story that highlights the collaborative nature of film song. As I noted in the last chapter, music directors frequently use dummy lyrics (vocables) to convey the melody to the lyricist. These might be "dum dum dum dum" or "ek do teen char" ("one two three four"). In the case of "Ek do teen," Javed Akhtar elected to incorporate the dummy lyrics in the *mukhṛā*

of the song as an unusual gimmick. According to Akhtar's (2005) account, L-P were leery of taking this approach, but he ultimately convinced them that the verses of the song fit with the refrain (i.e., a young woman counting the days, weeks, and months before she can see her lover). The song became one of the most popular numbers of the 1980s and early '90s, and like many successful songs, was parodied for a number of other Indian film and non-film songs in various languages. Many children have learned Hindi numbers from "Ek do teen," which evokes nursery-rhyme melodies and stays primarily within a few notes in one octave. Peter Manuel (1993) argues that this simple melodic and lyrical combination might be the reason it was inescapable in the late 1980s, although the picturization of the song on Madhuri Dixit—who came to embody the sexy, but chaste, heroine of the later period of Hindi films—undoubtedly contributed to the song's success.[8]

More than anything else, "Ek do teen" exemplifies this period of late Old Bollywood in its use of a large orchestra and its particular cosmopolitan mediation of international rock and Latin styles in ways that were undeniably *filmi* in orientation. As such, it is emblematic of the sound of the angry young man and particular filmic representations of vigilantism, as well as a growing distrust of the Indian state to effect change that emerged from the turbulence of this period. From a musical perspective, the large orchestra inflected by the use of brass, electric guitar, bass, percussion, and trap set to create and maintain a groove is characteristic of the sound aesthetic of this era. Yet, this is also a period of transition, as the technological affordances that began in this era (e.g., synthesizers, samplers) eventually led to a reduction in the size of the film orchestra. The next generation of music directors competing with R. D. Burman and Laxmikant-Pyarelal at the end of this period, and who ultimately succeeded them, retained many of the dimensions of this *filmi* sound in the later family films that I discuss in the next chapter, albeit with much smaller orchestras.

CHAPTER 6

Liberalization, Family Films, and the Rise of Bollywood

The song "Kehna hi kya yeh nain ek anjaan se jo mile" ("What is there to say to this stranger whose eyes have met mine?") (figure 6.1 and video 6.1) in the film *Bombay* (Mani Ratnam 1995) contains a number of musical features that have been present throughout A. R. Rahman's career, including his use of a South Indian aesthetic, new singers, Western harmony and counterpoint, and musical moments that index a Sufi ethos. The song begins with a female choir in a high vocal tessitura singing a fast rhythmic figure in two cycles of seven beats at a tempo of approximately 120 bpm. This choir repeats this rhythmic figure as an ostinato (a repeated rhythmic-melodic figure), while a second group of female voices enters with a different rhythmic figure that occasionally splits into two-part harmony. The composition subtly shifts to a four-beat meter and remains there until the second interlude nearly four minutes into the song. The introduction ends with the choirs coming together in a unison melody and the addition of an electric bass playing a simple rhythm on a single note, as synthesizers hold a drone at a low volume. At the *mukhṛā*, the South Indian singer K. S. Chitra enters with the primary melody of the song as the choir gradually fades out. While the tessitura of her voice is quite high, her vocal timbre is clearly distinct from Lata's timbre. Chitra goes on to sing about the stranger (*anjān*) she fell in love with at first sight and whether she should initiate contact with him. The accompaniment of synthesizer and electric bass is very sparse, and the bass plays a smooth legato line that conforms to Western cadences and functional harmony. On beat eight of the meter, a tambourine sounds in an echoing acoustic space. The second time through

Figure 6.1:
Shaila Bano (Manisha Koirala) wonders what to say to a stranger in "Kehna hi kya" (*Bombay* [1995]).

Video 6.1: "Kehna hi kya"

the refrain, a countermelody of two acoustic guitars plays in close harmony, creating a sound texture that is reminiscent of flamenco music.

In the interlude, the song moves into a mediation of Sufi *qawwali*, a musical device that Rahman used frequently in his songs of the 1990s. In the first section of the interlude, male vocalists whose voices have the timbre of *qawwals* sing a melodic line in *sargam* (Indian solfége syllables), accompanied by hand claps and a simple tabla beat. The electric bass shifts to a percussive slap technique and remains on a single chord. In the second section of the interlude, the solo male vocalist (A. R. Rahman) improvises over *sargam*, which is echoed by the harmonium accompanying him. The electric bass outlines a harmonic progression that resolves to the tonic pitch by the end of the section and leads to the first *antarā*. Chitra begins singing to a light rhythm background, and her voice is accompanied by legato electric bass and the clapping and tabla carried over from the interlude. The second time through the refrain, a fast harpsichord countermelody that provides a contrast to the vocal line is added. Midway through the section, the countermelody shifts to a texture that seems inspired by the baroque period of Western classical music. The final interludes, verses, and refrains reprise the orchestration of the earlier sections, and the song ends with synthesizers holding a note as Chitra's voice slides down in pitch for approximately six beats. In this way, A. R. Rahman combines his knowledge of Western harmonic conventions, the musical indexes of *qawwali*,

and studio production practices, while raising the bar for all of the music directors who follow him.

The song appears near the beginning of the film and is beautifully picturized in a Mughal-era building at a Muslim wedding. In the context of the film's narrative, "Kehna hi kya" not only provides a vehicle to propel the love story by giving the audience an insight into the heroine's emotional state, it also subtly points to the acceptance of religious differences between the Hindu and Muslim populations before the events leading to the destruction of the Babri Masjid (mosque) in 1992 by Hindu nationalist fanatics. This religious acceptance is present not only in the visual elements and choreography of the song but is also embedded in the music of the song as well. As such, *Bombay* is an exemplar of a genre of 1990s film that addressed the consequences of communal violence and terrorism. It also solidified the dominance of the South Indian music director A. R. Rahman, who was instrumental in inspiring many changes in the production of Indian film songs, as well as increasing the international profile of Indian films and music along with the spread of global capitalism. In this chapter, I address the historical circumstances that led to the liberalization of India's economy, which, along with the coincident emergence of international satellite and music television channels, created the conditions for a new sound aesthetics. In contrast to the narrative of the so-called Westernization of the films and music of this period, I suggest that the music directors' approaches of this period were contiguous with earlier production practices, even as Rahman incorporated a broadly cosmopolitan sound that drew as much from South Indian musics as it did from international musics.

HINDI FILMS AFTER ECONOMIC LIBERALIZATION (1988–2001)

The 1990s dawned as an era of financial and social turbulence in India, bringing with them the assassination of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in 1991 and a rise in religious tensions. In 1998, India and Pakistan conducted nuclear tests, which entered them into the small cohort of nations possessing nuclear weapons. The end of the decade was marked by another armed conflict between India and Pakistan in the disputed province of Kashmir. In the 1990s, India underwent intense social and economic changes that had profound effects on Indian popular musics.

Although India was not a direct participant in the first Gulf War (August 1990 to February 1991), the Indian nation did feel its consequences. Remittances from Indian workers in the Persian Gulf, who were an

important source of foreign currency, slowed to a trickle during the war. As the cost of purchasing oil, medicines, and other commodities on the international market increased, the Indian government found itself on the verge of economic collapse. Ultimately, the country was forced to seek loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank in 1991 in order to ensure that the Indian economy would not implode. As a condition of these loans, India was expected to reform some its economic practices that dated back to the Nehru-era "planned economy." The Indian government had previously focused its economic policy on local production and self-sufficiency through the administration of five-year plans on the Soviet model (see chapter 3). However, the IMF and World Bank expected reforms that would orient India's economy toward the global market and the production of goods for export. Some of these reforms, now called economic liberalization, included reducing import taxes, eliminating the "License Raj" that tightly restricted the creation of new factories in India, privatizing state-owned industries, and devaluing the Indian currency to make Indian exports more competitive in international markets.[1] The IMF and World Bank anticipated that such changes would create a consumer-driven economy, as well as promote a consumption-oriented Indian middle class to international corporations. Economic liberalization led to an era of prosperity for some, creating new possibilities for middle and upper-middle class Indians in cities. However, this economic development was very uneven: The economic boom largely bypassed rural areas and the poorest of Indian households (e.g., Harris-White 2003).

These economic reforms had numerous consequences for the Indian film and music industries. The reduction of trade tariffs meant that the costs to import new production equipment, computers, and raw film stock dramatically decreased. One result of the importation of new equipment was that film and sound suddenly improved in production quality and became comparable to international conventions. Similarly, changes in factory licensing requirements and import laws enabled the local production of electronic goods in India, as well as the importation of inexpensive televisions, video CD players, and stereo systems for purchase by the Indian masses; this facilitated the market for inexpensive media distribution (e.g., cassettes, VCDs). Finally, rules on foreign investment in India were also relaxed, which led to a number of multinational music companies like Sony and Universal entering the Indian market in the mid-1990s. Many economists see India's economic liberalization as directly tied to globalization more generally. Even as India's economy grew, many Indians shifted their households to international locations to take advantage of new economic possibilities abroad. While the Indian diaspora was not particularly

new—Indians had been indentured servants in other British colonies and economic migrants to the United States and United Kingdom in the mid-20th century—Indians living in foreign locations became quite a visible presence in Indian films in the late 1990s. Non-resident Indians (NRIs) often returned at the beginnings of films and pitted the values they learned in foreign locations against a particular conception of Indian traditions, including joint families, filial piety, and arranged marriages.

One of the prominent new film genres that emerged with *Qayamat Se Qayamat Tak* (Mansoor Khan 1988) and *Maine Pyar Kiya* (Sooraj R. Barjatya 1989) is known as the "family film." Family films explore the meanings of the traditional and the modern in contemporary Indian society, as well as changes in generational norms. Frequently, this takes the form of a struggle of individual desires versus family desires and filial duties, especially when it comes to picking a marriage partner (Dwyer 2000, Ganti 2013). In these films, children almost invariably accept their filial obligations and find ways to convince their parents of the decisions that they make. As representations of the heroine's sexuality became more acceptable to film audiences, the figure of the vamp (i.e., the figure of the so-called fallen woman) all but disappeared. Accordingly, many of the cabaret songs that might have been picturized on a vamp were now picturized on the heroine, as I discussed in the analysis of "Ek do teen" in the previous chapter. Family films also represented wealth in very different ways from earlier periods of Hindi film. In the 1940s to the '70s, businessmen were usually depicted as somehow gaining their wealth by unethical, if not illicit, means (e.g., through exploitation, fraud, smuggling, etc.). From the late 1980s to the present moment, however, ostentatious displays of wealth in film are not deemed immoral, and the representations of poverty—and the noble poor—have virtually disappeared (Ganti 2013). Other contemporary films also address what Neal Stephenson (1995) has called "the problem of affluence" (i.e., the issues that arise when parents cannot motivate their children to strive in some occupation when they already have everything they might desire). Many of these film families are transnational, and in the 2000s, it became increasingly common for filmmakers to depict Indians living comfortably abroad while still retaining their Indian traditions.

While the family film was one prominent genre, the cinematic representation of violence continued unabated. In a continuation of the 1970s angry young man genre, certain films glorified the mafia and the life of gangsters but with subtle changes—they sometimes seemed to imply that organized crime was the only way that the urban poor might achieve success (Ganti 2013). Other Hindi films took on issues of domestic and international terrorism. In the early part of the 1990s, films obliquely

addressed external threats by way of euphemism. For example, the villain in *Mr. India* (Shekhar Kapoor 1987) is a caricature of a foreign-supported megalomaniac whose aim is to destroy the country and take over the world, while in *Khalnayak* (Subhash Ghai 1993), the villains are terrorists based in Singapore. But with the film *Border* (J. P. Dutta 1997), Indian films begin to explicitly point to Pakistan as the prime external threat to Indian stability, as Ganti (2013) argues, is likely due to Hindu nationalists rising to power in the 1990s.

Not surprisingly, there were new musical requirements for these films, and music critics gleefully announced that the era of melody had returned, particularly in the new genre of family films. While R. D. Burman died of a heart attack in 1994, and Laxmikant's ill health limited L-P's production, they were already competing with a new crop of music directors at the end of the 1980s that carried their song aesthetics into the new decade. These new music directors, including Anu Malik, Ram Laxman, Nadeem-Shravan, and Jatin-Lalit, began to transform the production practices in the era that Gregory Booth (2008) labels "New Bollywood." With the deaths of Rafi and Kishore in the 1980s, new male singers like Kumar Sanu and S. P. Balasubramaniam largely followed in Rafi and Kishore's stylistic footsteps. Lata and Asha remained a presence in the 1990s and sang in a number of important soundtracks, but new female singers continued their legacy forward in the early 1990s, most notably Alka Yagnik, Anuradha Paudwal, and Kavita Krishnamurthy. More important than all of these changes, the 1990s were marked by the rise of A. R. Rahman and a dramatic change in the production and sound aesthetics of Indian film songs that coincided with the arrival of foreign satellite television in 1991.

THE RISE OF SATELLITE TELEVISION

Coupled with the new music companies that emerged during the cassette revolution, the introduction of satellite television fundamentally transformed the economics of the Indian music industry and created the necessary conditions for the industry to become a money-making business in its own right.

Television was first introduced in India in a small fashion in 1959 as a way of providing an educational service to farmers and rural inhabitants. Nationwide television programming arose with the state-run television network Doordarshan (lit. vision from a distance). Just as it was with All India Radio (see chapter 3), the Indian government was suspicious of the power of broadcast media, especially its ability to ostensibly lead people toward

materialist (i.e., capitalist) ideologies. The Central Government, which prohibited the development of private commercial television in India, took a largely paternalistic approach to Doordarshan governance, orienting the programming toward education and social uplift rather than mere entertainment. This policy continued through the 1980s as Doordarshan was upgraded to color, added commercial sponsorship, and began regional language channels. However, the state-run network began to experience some competition in metropolitan cities as videocassette players surfaced in the mid-1980s and apartment buildings were connected to cable networks. These ad hoc networks allowed for additional (pirated) broadcasts of films that had largely been ignored on Doordarshan.

All of this changed in 1991 when the Indian state monopoly on terrestrial broadcasting was suddenly ended by the emergence of Rupert Murdoch's STAR satellite network. This "satellite revolution" as it has been called by proponents—or "satellite invasion" by its detractors—led to a wholly new media landscape in India. Over the next few years, foreign television networks, including CNN, MTV, and HBO, provided entertainment choices to anyone who owned a satellite dish or was connected to a cable network. In the 1990s, the range of television channels expanded from as few as five to as many as 100 in certain parts of the country, exposing large swaths of India to everything from *Baywatch* and *The Bold and the Beautiful* to contemporary films from Britain and the United States. Hindi and other local language programming expanded along with this network, beginning with ZeeTV in 1992, the first local language channel to be broadcast by this foreign-owned network. While critics of the new satellite regime feared cultural imperialism (i.e., local-cultural loss due to exposure to new media), various television channels localized their content to suit the tastes of Indian audiences.[2]

Broadcasters faced one important problem with this new television platform: There simply was not enough programming to fill all of the airtime that had suddenly become available. Broadcasting film songs was one inexpensive way that new television channels could fill this time. Film- and music-oriented programming had largely been absent from Doordarshan because programming executives rightly believed that film songs were a kind of free advertising for the film industry. Old film songs were grudgingly broadcast on Doordarshan only on one weekly television show, but not newer film songs (Dwyer 2000). However, film producers were more than willing to allow the broadcast of their songs for almost free on satellite channels. As a result, music countdown shows appeared on nearly every television network—including Doordarshan—and provided an entertaining and inexpensive way to fill airtime. In addition to countdown

shows, Channel V and MTV lampooned past and contemporary Hindi films to create a kind of "cool" programming that appealed to Indian youth, yet did not alienate their parents (Juluri 2004). Music television programming created the first set of niche channels oriented to a particular audience in India, thus delivering an emerging youth demographic to advertisers. And, as I discuss in chapter 7, satellite television created a space for new music genres to emerge in India that later inflected the sound of contemporary Bollywood.

Music television also created a context for broader exposure to international music genres that were originally limited to elites who could afford the taxes on imported records or cassettes. Music videos made these genres inexpensively available to new audiences, which further fueled fears of cultural imperialism. Satellite television helped to change the expectations of audiences and led to a dynamic shift in the ways that film songs were picturized. MTV, in particular, became a major force in promoting alternatives to film music, especially *bhangra* (Punjabi folk song), Indipop, *ghazal*, and international music genres that were popular with the Indian diasporic communities in the United Kingdom, Canada, and the United States. Television also opened a whole new world of possibilities to promote film and non-film music recordings. Before the satellite revolution, state-owned Doordarshan did not provide the necessary platform to market songs on television. After the satellite boom in the 1990s, television became the dominant medium for advertising music and film. Insofar as film songs have always had a visual component, it is understandable that audiences prefer to see their songs as much as hear them, especially since songs are such an important component of film narratives.

THE INDIAN MUSIC INDUSTRY AFTER LIBERALIZATION

Along with the distribution of music on satellite television, the physical distribution of film soundtracks by the Indian music industry also experienced a dramatic change, especially once music companies began to bid for the rights to distribute film soundtracks in the 1980s. When film songs were first released as recordings in the late 1940s, they gradually became the dominant popular music genre in India, eventually comprising the majority of recordings sold. Until the mid-1980s, music industry insiders speculated that film soundtracks reflected approximately 80 to 90 percent of music available on the Indian market, but this changed with the introduction of audiocassettes that enabled the inexpensive production and distribution of non-film music genres (Manuel 1993). Yet, the overall economic value of

film songs in the industry, much less the size of the industry itself, is very difficult to determine, in large part because music companies view their sales numbers as a trade secret. While the share of film-oriented music has certainly declined, film soundtracks still retain somewhere between a 40 to 70 percent market share of all of the music sold in India, depending on whom one asks. There are no institutions in India that provide an objective, or at least an agreed-upon, metric to publicly measure sales in India. Instead, unit sales of a particular soundtrack are only rarely released, usually as anecdotes, and the gross revenues of music companies are shrouded in mystery.

The Indian music industry's historical dependence on the film industry has had numerous implications for production and distribution, as well as the directions in which revenues flow. At the end of the day, film producers own the music of a film until a music company acquires the rights to distribute it. Until the 1980s, HMV essentially borrowed the music from the film producer to distribute, returning about 10 percent of the net profits in royalties. While Polydor began to give the film producer an advance on royalties in the 1970s, music labels like T-Series began to purchase the rights to distribute film soundtracks outright after the mass-market adoption of cassettes in the 1980s. Morcom (2007) argues that this practice of advance sale of music rights gradually transformed the music distribution system in India and led to an irrational exuberance about the potential revenue that could be generated from film soundtracks. In the late 1990s, film producers began to use the proceeds from the sale of music distribution rights to finance as much as 30 percent of film production costs (Ganti 2013). The competitive bidding process for distribution rights between domestic and international companies reached all-time highs, and the prices to purchase distribution rights ranged from 10 million rupees to 100 million rupees ($222,000 to $2.2 million) (Morcom 2008). However, because the returns were only a fraction of the purchase price, many music companies lost staggering amounts of money. The market correction that occurred in the year 2000 thus led to considerable consolidation and the dominance of a few music labels. Most notable among these is the T-Series label, which has also become an important film producer, as well as the Yash Raj film banner that opened its own music label in 2002.

As far as the sale of distribution rights from film producer to music company is concerned, the relative economic value of those rights is established on factors extraneous to the music itself; the value is negotiated on the basis of the star power of the film and music directors along with their most recent successes. But most important, the lead male actors who have signed on for a film largely determine the value of the rights. Even

with the same music director, the cost of purchasing music rights is significantly higher if Shah Rukh Khan is the hero as opposed to a lesser-known actor. Music labels and film producers both acknowledge that, historically, the commercial success of a soundtrack largely hinges on the commercial success of the film. Insofar as the purchase of distribution rights entails significant risk (i.e., most films are not hits), investment in music distribution rights requires careful calculation of all the factors that might impact the popularity of a film. Of course, the quality of the music is one factor in the success of a soundtrack, but it is not the only or sometimes even the dominant factor. Finally, as I point out in the next chapter, the contemporary music industry also experiences intense competition from piracy, multimedia, and internet distribution platforms (e.g., YouTube and other streaming websites).

In the early 1990s, Indian film producers feared that satellite television would hurt the film industry but soon came to realize that television had created a new platform for promoting films and music. As television became the most important advertising medium, songs became the most important component of marketing films. One of the trends that emerged in the late 1990s in particular was the production of song sequences with huge production budgets and multiple A-list Hindi film stars. In many cases, these large-scale dance routines were the first scenes shot for a film and were rumored to require as much as 50 percent of a film's initial investment to produce, as opposed to approximately 10 percent of a film budget in earlier eras (Booth 2008, Ganti 2013). In addition to their use in promoting the film on television, these songs were used by film producers to find potential investors for the film. Moreover, the sale of distribution rights for the music soundtrack became an important source of funding for film production, even when the film was in the very early stages of shooting (Ganti 2012). Satellite television created a new venue for the marketing of music, and TV teasers are often released several weeks before the music release in music stores and three months before the film release. Music has become the most important marketing tool for cinema, and many film trailers simply suture song sequences together as a way of simultaneously promoting the film and its music.

THE EMERGENCE OF NEW BOLLYWOOD

The 1990s represent a gradual musical transition from the production techniques of what Booth (2008) has called "Old Bollywood" to the computer-aided production of "New Bollywood." Along with the deaths of

R. D. Burman and Laxmikant Kuldalkar (of Laxmikant-Pyarelal), emerging music directors like Jatin-Lalit, Ram Laxman, and A. R. Rahman ushered in a new era of film song production and ultimately transformed the sound of Bollywood through the use of new music technologies.

As India's liberalizing economy made the cost of importing digital studio equipment much less expensive, these music production tools became more prevalent. For example, recording studios gradually shifted from magnetic tape (analogue) to computer-based (digital) recording, dramatically improving the quality of recording over the 1990s. Compositions that sounded dated relative to international standards became comparable to internationally produced recordings. In addition, as Booth (2008) notes, a transition in the terms of music director contracts meant that musician fees, studio recording time, and other incidental expenses began to come directly out of the music director's composition fees. Thus, music directors had every incentive to reduce the costs associated with recording and began to use synthesizers and samplers to steadily replace the orchestras of the earlier era. And, as ensembles became smaller, the texture of the musical recording became less rich in some ways. While certain big-budget films might still use the large orchestras and rehearsal techniques of Old Bollywood for a few songs, the average size of ensembles shrank as digital studio production became the norm.

Most music directors of the 1990s, including those discussed below, used many of the same musical and aesthetic practices of earlier periods of Hindi film song, which provided musical continuity. These included privileging the voice over instruments in the recording mix, emphasizing the voice and lyrics over the accompaniment, and generally avoiding the use of musical harmony. But Hindi film song underwent a dramatic transformation with the overnight popularity of the music of the South Indian music director A. R. Rahman. If the music director duo Shankar-Jaikishan were foundational in creating the sound and production practices of Old Bollywood, then A. R. Rahman had a foundational role in the developments of New Bollywood. In other words, through his use of new, minimalist studio-recording techniques, Rahman effectively created the sound of contemporary Bollywood.

THE SONGS OF FAMILY FILMS

Family films typically feature one or more duets between the hero and heroine in which they establish, explore, discover, and/or acknowledge that they have fallen in love. Two songs that readily fit this situational role are

"Didi tera devar deewana" from *Hum Aapke Hain Koun . . . !* (Sooraj Barjatya 1994) and "Tujhe dekha to yeh jaana sanam" from *Dilwale Dulhaniya Le Jayenge* (Aditya Chopra 1995), films respectively referred to as *HAHK* and *DDLJ* by fans. Both of these songs are voiced by Lata Mangeshkar and Kumar Sanu on the romantic leads—Madhuri Dixit and Salman Khan for *HAHK*, Shah Rukh Khan and Kajol for *DDLJ*—and each song has a simple, diatonic melody based in a melodic minor scale that is easily sung by audiences. Both songs were produced by music directors who followed in the footsteps of R. D. Burman and Laxmikant-Pyarelal, yet illustrate some of the production values that I describe in the next section.

"Didi tera devar deewana" ("Sister, your brother-in-law is crazy in love") (figure 6.2 and video 6.2) opens with a descending santur line that introduces a four-beat meter at approximately 190 bpm and helps to establish the scale on which the melody is based. The vocal melody stays well within an octave of the middle register of the singers, and the song form is a standard *mukhṛā-antarā* form that features Lata for the first *mukhṛā* and two verses, and Kumar Sanu for the *mukhṛā* and one verse. Like many Laxmikant-Pyarelal songs, the accompaniment uses a simple beat with occasional short breaks. Drum orchestration alternates between an ensemble of dholak and bass drum during the *mukhṛā* and *antarā*, and an ensemble of bongos and synthesized drums during the interlude portions. It is likely that the latter portions of the accompaniment of this song were generated by a sequencer and drum loops (i.e., samples of drum rhythms). The ensemble also uses electric bass and guitar, but these are muted in the sound mix so that the voices, strings, and dholak are the most prominent. The interludes feature high, fast strings, a women's chorus, brass band, and synthesized clapping. At the ends of interludes, Lata and Kumar Sanu also provide a portion of the melody using vocables (e.g., la la la). The brass band—or a synthesized representation of a brass band—used in the interludes of this song indexes the bands used in wedding processions (*barāt*), a signal that the hero and heroine are likely to be married at some point later in the film. The simplicity of the form, melody, and rhythm enabled the song to be easily replicated in the singing game *antakshari* and by wedding bands, which is undoubtedly one source of its popularity.

The song takes place in a film (often derisively called "the world's longest wedding video")[3] that in 1994 finally broke *Sholay*'s record as the top-grossing Hindi film. The soundtrack to *HAHK* was quite unusual insofar as it included 14 songs rather than five or six, the number typical for films of this era. The hero's brother and the heroine's sister are married at the start of the film, and the love between the hero and the heroine blossoms during the rest of its over three hour running time. In the context of the

Figure 6.2:
Nisha (Madhuri Dixit) next to her pregnant sister Pooja (Renuka Shahane) in the song "Didi tera devar deewana" (*Hum Aapke Hain Koun . . . !* [1994]).

▶ Video 6.2: "Didi tera devar deewana"

Indian joint family, when the new bride usually joins the groom's household, there is often an affectionate and/or flirtatious relationship between unmarried brothers-in-law and the new bride. There are also sometimes romantic or erotic tensions between the bride's unmarried sisters and their unmarried brothers-in-law.[4] "Didi tera devar deewana" explicitly acknowledges the tensions of these in-law relationships within the context of the joint family. The song takes place at a women's event that celebrates the heroine's sister's pregnancy. In theory, men are not supposed to be present at the event, but the hero and his manservant are watching from a balcony. A woman dressed in male drag imitates the mannerisms of the hero, alluding to the relationship between sister-in-law and brother-in-law by affectionately pointing to—and exaggerating—the hero's flirtatious tendencies. In a nod toward folk songs of lifecycle rituals, women are depicted as playing the dholak and singing, and the lyrics of the *antarā* mischievously index that men are often flustered during their wives' pregnancies and unable to fulfill their food cravings. Of course, the presence of the hero is discovered during the song, and he uses the opportunity to openly declare his love for the heroine in front of the entire audience. As such, the manifold significances of this song are embedded in the broader social and cultural contexts that would otherwise be transparent to Indian audiences.

In *DDLJ*, Raj (Shah Rukh Khan) and Simran (Kajol) fall in love while traveling together in Europe after college. Unfortunately, Simran was already betrothed at a very young age to the son of a family friend in

India, and when her ultra-traditional father (Amrish Puri) overhears her telling her mother that she has accidentally fallen in love, he moves the entire family back to India for Simran to be wed. Simran is barely able to conceal her misery as the families prepare for the wedding, even as it is revealed that the groom is a scoundrel. "Tujhe dekha" thus comes at a pivotal moment in the film when the London-based Raj comes to India looking for her, and they are reunited. Subsequently, Raj ingratiates himself with the groom's family and stays on for the long string of pre-wedding ceremonies, assuring Simran that he will marry her before her own planned wedding happens. Despite Simran's mother's entreaties that they elope after she finds out, Raj refuses, saying he will marry Simran only after her father gives his consent. This happens unexpectedly at the very end of the film.[5]

Like "Didi tera devar," the song "Tujhe dekha to yeh jaana sanam" ("When I saw you I knew it was love") (figure 6.3 and video 6.3) appears when Raj and Simran meet again in the iconic yellow mustard fields of a Punjabi village. Sound plays an important role in this meeting, insofar as Simran is drawn to the field by hearing the sound of Raj's mandolin. This mandolin melody appears throughout the film as a kind of leitmotif that indexes the love between the hero and heroine. Before this scene, the heroine has been imagining this mandolin melody at moments in the film when her imminent arranged marriage seemed inescapable. Like "Didi tera devar," the melody occurs entirely within a single octave, Lata and Kumar Sanu's middle range, and is based on a melodic minor scale. Like Jatin-Lalit's other blockbusters in Yash Raj and Karan Johar films such as *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai* (1997), *Mohabbatein* (2000), and *Kabhi Khushi Kabhie Gham* (2001), "Tujhe dekha" has a characteristic sound that prominently features the string section and a large chorus as a method for generating somewhat over-the-top emotional content. The song is in a simple four-beat meter at approximately 204 bpm and uses simple drum patterns and muted violin countermelodies during the vocal passages. The sounds of plucked and struck strings (i.e., mandolin, santur) are quite important to the aesthetics of the song. In addition, the use of pitched percussion in the introductory music subtly indexes the sound of R. D. Burman's rhythm section. However, while the presence of guitar, vibraphone, and electric bass can be heard in the accompaniment, they are much lower in the sound mix than they would have been in a typical R. D. Burman song.

HAHK and *DDLJ* are the consummate superhit family films of the 1990s, despite being produced by different production companies, film directors, and music directors. Both films epitomize the characteristics of family films I described above, insofar as they explore the filial obligations of a

Figure 6.3:
Simrin (Kajol) and Raj (Shah Rukh Khan) reunited in the mustard fields of Punjab in "Tujhe dekha to yeh pyar hai sanam" (*Dilwale Dulhaniya Le Jayenge* [1995]).

Video 6.3: "Tujhe dekha to yeh pyar hai sanam"

young hero and heroine as they navigate the constraints of Indian tradition and balance these with their own desires. Like other family films of this era, they represent a musical bridge between New and Old Bollywood. That is, while the production values are significantly better because of digital recording technologies and the smaller ensembles that they enable, these songs continue to utilize the sound aesthetics of Old Bollywood through a straightforward accompaniment that is much lower in the sound mix than the vocal melody, simple countermelodies in strings that reinforce vocal melodies without distracting from them, and minimal and uncomplicated harmonies. As such, this type of song provides a kind of stylistic continuity that lasted into the 2000s but was distinct from the compositional approach of the music director A. R. Rahman.

THE COSMOPOLITANISM OF SOUTH INDIAN FILM SONGS

As this discussion of family films suggests, globalization became an important theme of films beginning in the mid-1990s. This theme was present in the music as well. Indeed, both fans and critics of contemporary film songs often point to the international trajectory of film songs through global networks of production and consumption. Yet, as I have shown, this discourse of Westernization is inaccurate, insofar as the cosmopolitan orientations of music directors also include manifold Indian sources. Accordingly, it is important to note that another strain of cosmopolitanism in the 1990s materialized from the South Indian film industry.

As I pointed out in the preface of this book, South Indian films tend to be lumped together as "regional language" films, along with Punjabi, Bengali, Marathi, and Bhojpuri language films that target the audiences, issues, and traditions in Indian states that are divided on linguistic lines. In some ways, there are few differences between these film traditions beyond their language. Among other things, all of them almost always include songs that are written to suit song situations that are rendered by playback singers, whose star power uneasily coexists with that of the actors. Because many of the stylistic conventions of South Indian and Hindi film song are comparable, virtually every well-known Hindi film singer has recorded in these regional languages, from Rafi, Lata, and Asha to Kumar Sanu, Udit Narayan, Shreya Ghoshal, and Sonu Nigam. Similarly, other singers of South Indian origin successfully record in Hindi and other languages (e.g., S. P. Balasubramaniam, Shankar Mahadevan). When South Indian music directors are also given the marquee, they too are assisted by musicians and arrangers who draw from diverse musical sources in the creation of cosmopolitan music. Songs from different film industries are frequently borrowed or simply remade in another language, often without attribution. Production processes are roughly equivalent as far as the composition of melodies, lyrics, and accompanying music is concerned. Songs largely follow the same form, although the names of sections in the form are different (i.e., in South Indian songs, *pallavi* is equivalent to the *mukhṛā*, and *caranam* is equivalent to the *antarā*). These film songs are also the hegemonic popular music of their particular regions, although Hindi film songs are present in every region of India and are sometimes the site of oppositional discourses for regional songs (i.e., regional music directors often try to counter the hegemony of Hindi film songs). As in Hindi-speaking areas, radio and satellite television channels broadcast songs in local languages in their respective states, although the availability of films and songs on various physical media is somewhat limited outside of their regions.

The films and songs do manifest some differences, however, insofar as they draw from different sources and incorporate different instruments and sonic approaches. While they share the pan-Indian conceptions of *rāga* and *tāla*, there are significant differences between the North Indian (Hindustani) and South Indian (Carnatic) classical music systems, especially in terms of song form and vocal performance style. In addition, the Carnatic classical tradition is more open to experimentation with new instruments and styles than the Hindustani tradition. Each region draws from somewhat different folk and devotional styles, which inflect the overall sound. Similarly, South Indian music directors seem to be a bit more

portable, insofar as they are likely to compose for other regional languages of South India (e.g., Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu). For this reason, Baskaran (1996) argues, songs facilitate pan-regional appreciation of films, especially when people might not understand the language.

Like Hindi films, Tamil films historically originated in stage dramas, and music from various sources accompanied silent films exhibited in South India. The first sound film in a South Indian language was *Kalidas* (H. M. Reddy 1931), though Baskaran (1996) notes that this was a multilingual film. Also, as in Hindi films, the song form was not entirely codified until the 1940s. One of the early figures to develop the modern Tamil film song in the 1930s and '40s was Papansan Sivan. Paul Greene notes that dominant music directors of the 1940s and 1950s

> S. V. Venkatraman and G. Ramanathan developed a "light classical" style based on simplified Karnatak forms, ragas, talas, and performance techniques, to be performed on veena, sitar, sarod, violin, harmonium, tabla, and *mridangam* [double-barreled drum]. The light classical style generally involved less melodic variation than the usual Karnatak performance, and more repetition of catchy tunes (2000, 454).

In the 1950s and '60s, the music director duo Viswanathan-Ramamurthy (M. S. Viswanathan and T. K. Ramamurthy) composed for hundreds of films before splitting up to compose on their own in the mid-1960s. Viswanathan went on to have significant success on his own well into the 1990s. The dominant music director of the 1980s and '90s was Ilayaraja (b. 1943), who has extensive South Indian classical music training and a degree in Western art music from Trinity College, London. His first film was *Annakkili* (*The Dove*) (Devaraj Mohan 1976), and he has composed for over one thousand films—and a number of non-film albums—in his 40-year career (Baskaran 2009). As Getter and Balasubrahmaniyan (2008) note, Ilayaraja deployed a compositional style with mediated folk resources that was able to woo audiences away from Hindi film song to Tamil film song. Moreover, he blended elements of Western classical music in both films and private albums. As such, many Tamil film music fans view Ilayaraja's music as superior to any other Indian music director's, including A. R. Rahman. In addition to a deep integration of many styles and instruments, Ilayaraja pioneered the use of electronic instruments and musical practices into a musically unified fusion of styles. While a genius composer in his own right, one might reasonably argue that through his comfort in working in so many styles, Ilayaraja created the conditions for A. R. Rahman to become an international star.

A. R. RAHMAN, THE INTERNATIONAL STAR

Allah Rakha Rahman (A. R. Rahman or ARR) was born Dileep Kumar in 1966 in the South Indian city of Chennai. The son of a music director in the Malayalam film industry, ARR began playing keyboards and synthesizers at the age of four. His father's death from stomach cancer in 1976 left the Kumar family in desperate financial straits, and they had to rent the music equipment that his father left behind in order to survive. At the age of 11, ARR began playing in the orchestra of director Ilayaraja and worked as an instrumentalist and arranger for Ilayaraja throughout his teenage years. Like his mentor, he earned a degree in Western art music from Trinity College and has a solid grounding in both classical Western and Indian musics. Along with founding several rock bands, ARR also worked in the advertising jingle industry before being approached by the well-known film director Mani Ratnam in 1991 to compose the music for the Tamil film *Roja* (1992). The soundtrack for *Roja* is one of the important landmark albums of the '90s and went on to win every major Indian award, including the National Film Award in 1993. The film and music were later dubbed into Hindi and released in 1994. The *Roja* soundtrack signaled a wholesale change in the sound and production practices of Indian film songs. Accompanying the release of his inaugural film soundtrack, Dileep Kumar changed his name to Allah Rakha Rahman to reflect his family's conversion to Islam after his sister's miraculous recovery from a serious illness (Mathai 2010).

Rahman experienced a meteoric rise after *Roja*, and his soundtracks for the Hindi films *Rangeela* (Ram Gopal Varma 1994), *Bombay* (Mani Ratnam 1995), *Dil Se* (Mani Ratnam 1998), *Taal* (Subhash Ghai 1999), *Lagaan* (Ashutosh Gowariker 2001), *Rang De Basanti* (Rakeysh Omprakash Mehra 2007), *Guru* (Mani Ratnam 2008), and *Rockstar* (Imtiaz Ali 2011), among many others, won awards in a variety of categories. In 1997, Rahman signed a three-album contract with Sony Music that led to the production of the non-film album *Vande Mataram* that celebrated India's 50th anniversary of independence. In addition to his success in India, Rahman has had signature international success and name recognition outside of India, including a collaboration with Andrew Lloyd Weber for the musical *Bombay Dreams* that ran successfully in Britain (2002–2004). Perhaps cementing his reputation as one of the most recognizable Indian music producers, he won both an Academy Award and a Grammy for his role in the critically acclaimed film *Slumdog Millionaire* (Danny Boyle 2008). Music critics (e.g., Premchand 2003, Anantharaman 2008, Bharatan 2010) have happily noted that Rahman reintroduced the importance of melody to film

songs in ways that had not been present since the early 1970s. His music also reflects changes in the vocal timbre of the singers, especially female singers. While Lata Mangeshkar and Asha Bhosle have sung a number of important Rahman compositions, he has also revived the flagging careers of some singers (e.g., Sukhwinder Singh and Kavita Krishnamurthy) and has incorporated a number of South Indian talents into mainstream Bollywood (e.g., Sujatha, Shankar Mahadevan, KK, and Hariharan). Yet, even as these singers usher in new vocal sounds and techniques, Rahman's use of non-Urdu-speaking singers sometimes comes under fire when they occasionally mispronounce lyrics (Ranade 2006).

Like music directors before him, Rahman's music is cosmopolitan in the broadest sense. It draws from a wide variety of international music styles, making his music palatable to fans of world music in ways that are distinct from other music directors. Most important, however, he utilizes diverse regional Indian folk instruments and performance practices in his compositions, drawing in particular from Tamil, Gujarati, and Punjabi traditions. Thus, even as his music reflects an awareness of international styles, Rahman has created a new parity between Indian and international musical instruments and traditions. His compositions feature small ensembles with solo instruments that weave in and out of the accompaniment. Yet, unlike most other music directors, his knowledge of Western functional harmony is apparent in his compositions, and harmonic progressions are foregrounded in the sound mix in ways that are distinct from his predecessors. While chord progressions have long been present in Indian film songs, they had tended to be almost inaudible in recordings. This fact follows from the recording aesthetic noted earlier that privileges the human voice and lyrics over the accompaniment. In Rahman songs, however, the recording mix still privileges the human voice, but the lush, polyphonic accompaniment is almost equally present. Similarly, new instrumental textures and harmonic complexity are present in his music, and Rahman's songs incorporate vocal and instrumental harmony in ways that were quite rare in earlier periods of film song. Finally, Rahman has written a number of instrumental songs that explore Western classical and light classical conventions. Several of these instrumental songs, such as the "Bombay theme" from *Bombay* (1995) and "Waltz for a romance (in A major)" from *Lagaan* (2001), have been included on very popular film soundtracks.

While they tend to use the familiar *mukhṛā-antarā* song form, many Rahman songs explore a greater diversity of song forms by changing the development of interlude sections and introducing ostinato and vamp sections that augment the repertoire of song forms. Many songs also feature Sufi-inflected sections with men singing *sargam* in a high tessitura in ways

that are akin to the Pakistani *qawwal* Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan. Rahman himself sings many of these Sufi-inflected passages as a playback singer. This Sufi influence is prevalent throughout Rahman's musical repertoire and is one element that consistently distinguishes his music from that of newer music directors.

Rahman, who composes from his personal studio in Chennai with assistants, introduced computer-aided composition to Indian film song. His use of digital sampling (i.e., the digital recording and manipulation of sounds) in Indian studio practices is a particularly noteworthy development. As the quality of recording equipment and music production software has increased, there is an almost seamless transition between analogue and digital sounds. Indeed, at times, they are indistinguishable from each other. However, this move to the digital studio has not been uncontroversial. For example, Rahman has sometimes hired musicians to come to his studio, play their repertoires of songs for several hours, and be paid for their time. Because the music that was recorded digitally in the studio can be used and reused in composition after composition, some musicians might not receive additional work (Booth 2008). Not surprisingly, musicians are ambivalent about these practices: Though they appreciate the increase in the sound quality of the music, the amount of paying work has diminished. This controversy is mitigated by Rahman's international celebrity and the frequent international concert tours that he makes to cities like London, Dubai, Toronto, and Chicago, cities that contain large populations of diasporic Indians. One additional consequence of his use of digital production techniques is that the sound spectrum is much more clearly represented in Rahman recordings than in those of his predecessors. Accordingly, audiences can now hear (and feel) the movement of the bass and low drums on the new sound systems that became available after economic liberalization. Similarly, while the tendency for high frequency sounds to clip (distort) at certain frequencies is apparent in Rahman's earliest recordings, this all but disappeared by the mid-1990s. Ultimately, by 1995, the production values of Indian film songs took an enormous leap, and by the end of the 1990s, their standards in terms of recording quality were on par with international production aesthetics.

There are many interrelated reasons for Rahman's national and international success. While his music shows a genius of composition and attention to detail that many music directors of the 1980s and early '90s lacked, his popularity also reflects changes in the expectations of an Indian youth audience based on their exposure to international music on satellite television and the distribution channels afforded by audiocassette technologies. Youths were more willing to accept the elements that Rahman introduced

to film song, including complex countermelodies, new vocal timbres, and a foregrounding of Western harmony. Other music directors had experimented with these in their compositions, but their efforts did not succeed with their audiences, and they returned to more conservative compositional and production approaches. Thus, one might argue that the confluence of television and liberalization reforms created new audiences that ultimately enabled Rahman's enormous popularity and the consequent shift in the sound of Bollywood film song more generally.

RAHMAN'S SUFI ETHOS: "CHAL CHAIYYA CHAIYYA" ("WALK IN THE SHADOWS") (*DIL SE* [1998])

One of Rahman's most popular songs is "Chal chaiyya chaiyya" (figure 6.4 and video 6.4), the first song in the film *Dil Se* (Mani Ratnam 1998). The song, which uses a synthesizer pad as a drone, begins with an unmetered invocation sung by Sapna Awasthi: "Jinke sar ho ishq ki chhaon" ("Those whose heads are in the shade of love will have heaven beneath their feet"). The groove then begins in a four-beat meter at 90 bpm, with a sparse bass line that emphasizes beat one of the meter and a high-pitched shaker on each beat. The singer Sukhwinder Singh then enters into the *mukhṛā*, "walk in the shadows." He sings the lyrics in a very rhythmic manner, emphasizing the opening "ch" sound so that it aligns with the Afro-Cuban clave cum "Bo Diddley" riff that, like many ARR songs, provides one of the rhythmic bases. This 3-2 *son* clave rhythm appears many times in the song in different instruments, sometimes bass, sometimes guitar, sometimes with the final two beats clapped. At the second "chal chaiyya," tom-toms (drums) come in playing each beat with a duple subdivision in high hat. This strong pulse mimics the sound of the steam engine in the picturization that is emphasized later in the song by a synthesizer that mimics the sound of a steam whistle.

The lyrics of "Chal chaiyya chaiyya" are based on the Punjabi folk song "Thaiyya Thaiyya" by the Sufi saint Bulleh Shah, which *Dil Se*'s lyricist Gulzar changed to "chaiyya chaiyya." The song form of "Chal chaiyya chaiyya" is a variation of the *mukhṛā-antarā* form, with an interesting melodic and lyrical digression in the first *antarā* that, along with the repetition of "chaiyya chaiyya," directly and indirectly references Sufi mysticism. Sukhwinder then sings the first portion of the *antarā* as one might expect, but the second time through, the melody changes to center on the tonic and diminished second, such that it replicates chant. This chant emphasizes the words *tāvīz* (an amulet that protects the wearer from harm) and

Figure 6.4:
Amar (Shah Rukh Khan) rises from the shadows in "Chal chaiyya chaiyya" (*Dil Se* [1998]).

▶ Video 6.4: "Chal chaiyya chaiyya"

āyat (a Quranic verse, miracle, sign) in ways that highlight their semantic ambiguity. Sukhwinder returns to the beginning of the *antarā* and sings the lyrics using just the tonic note, and Sapna enters singing the second half of the *antarā* in the same chant-like manner. Sukhwinder sings a new line a half step below that emphasizes the words *naġma* (song of celebration) and *kalma* (declaration of faith in Islam). Sapna rejoins him, and they repeat this line several times alternating between the tonic and minor second, before Sukhwinder returns to the melody and completes the *antarā* in his upper register and then sings the refrain. Like other songs of this era, the musical interludes are relatively long, and in both cases, the first half of the interlude emphasizes a short riff over the bass and drum groove, and then shifts to a different riff in the second half. In the second interlude, ARR introduces low drums reminiscent of hip hop that can be felt through a subwoofer. These little details in the rhythm track, coupled with Sukhwinder Singh's powerful and rhythmic rendition of esoteric lyrics, give the song endless replay value.

The picturization of the song on Shah Rukh Khan and Malaika Arora is also one of the most famous in the Hindi film canon, and it strongly

connects to the lyrics and music. The song is set atop a moving train in the hills and represents the hero's literal journey to his new All India Radio job in northeastern India, along with his figurative spiritual journey. The song is an item number for Malaika because—according to rumors propagated by pop-up video on MTV India—the lead actress of the film (Manisha Koirala) refused to participate in the song sequence; she perhaps rightly felt that dancing on a moving train was too dangerous. Malaika begins the scene by stretching, as though waking up from sleep, as the hero rises out of the shadows when the train passes through a tunnel. The song ends much the same way, with the train—and the large dance ensemble on top of it—passing into the shadows of another railroad tunnel.

Insofar as the success of the music being tied to the success of the film at the box office is concerned, the *Dil Se* soundtrack was the exception that proves the rule. The film was released around the time India was celebrating its 50th year of independence, yet it made pointed references to the Indian Army being guilty of committing atrocities in some outlying regions of India that were undergoing their own struggles for independence.[6] It was never directly stated in the film, but audiences were certainly aware that these references were to the states in Northeastern India. Despite its failure at the Indian box office, *Dil Se* was one of the most popular films among the Indian diaspora. The soundtrack was immensely successful in India, one that was able to succeed on its own despite the poor fortunes of the film locally.

Like the *qawwali* form discussed in the previous chapter, "Kehna hi kya" and "Chal chaiyya chaiyya" provided an ecumenical representation of religious devotion that resonated among particular constituents of India's new middle classes (Fernandes 2006, Manuel 2008) after liberalization and provided a counterpoint to the rise of Hindu nationalism over the same period (Schultz 2013). The mediated cosmopolitanism of these songs drew from the cinematographic representations of local and international music television, even as the music synthesized Indian and international sources in much the same way that previous music directors had mediated different cosmopolitan sounds. Perhaps most important, A. R. Rahman—and the soundtracks he produced—paved the way for the contemporary era of film song. His pioneering practices of sound sampling, small ensembles, and his use of the home studio led to the rise of the production role of the programmer who had a familiarity with the software of digital audio workstations (DAWs). This technological affordance, as I suggest in the next chapter, created a trajectory of digitally distributed production that would be adopted by later music directors in the era of YouTube.

CHAPTER 7

Film Songs in the Era of the Multiplex and YouTube

The couple sits down in the balcony of a single-screen movie theater in Mumbai with popcorn, waiting for the film to begin. The groove with acoustic guitar, electric bass, and electric drums begins in a four-beat meter at 190 bpm that signals the start of the show. As the curtain rises to the opening music of "Woh ladki hai kahan" ("Where is that girl?") (figure 7.1 and video 7.1), a pennywhistle and fiddle play an Irish-inflected melody on top of the groove. The boy (Saif Ali Khan) and the girl (Sonali Kulkarni) are startled to realize that the hero and heroine in vintage black and white onscreen are played by them. The Indipop singer Shaan begins singing the *mukhṛā* by asking, "Where is that girl I'm seeking?" He is answered by the singer Kavita Krishnamurthy telling him, "That girl is right here!" In the groove beneath them, Ehsaan plays acoustic guitar in the classic "Bo Diddley" riff, the rhythm used by A. R. Rahman in "Chal chaiyya chaiyya" in the last chapter, and Loy flits in and out of the mix, playing the piano with chord voicings that index (American) country music. This is reinforced in the first interlude by Ehsaan's country guitar riff augmented by fiddles bowing in thirds.

The song uses a hybrid of a *mukhṛā-antarā* form and the verse-chorus form of an international rock song. In addition, this is one of the early examples of music directors titling the song based on the end of the *mukhṛā* rather the beginning. The melody is clearly composed with chord changes in mind, as the phrases in the vocal melody are built around the tonic and then shift to suit the chord changes. Befitting its role as a film song, the interludes are longer in order to supplement the changes onscreen. In

Figure 7.1:
Sameer (Saif Ali Khan) and Pooja (Sonali Kulkarni) dance in a Raj Kapoor-esque dreamscape in "Woh ladki hai kahan" (*Dil Chahta Hai* [2001]).

▶ Video 7.1: "Woh ladki hai kahan"

particular, the first interlude includes a break that features the rhythmic sound of tap shoes that ties in with the dance sequence of the hero. Reverb and open hip hop drums are gradually added into the mix during the final round of refrains in order to tie into the onscreen representation of the hero and heroine on a mountainside. The pipe/fiddle melody remains consistent throughout the song and functions as the musical reference point to bring the musicians back into the refrain.

While it has relatively little relevance to the narrative arc, the visual narrative to "Woh ladki" incorporates the unusual gimmick of representing several periods of film song picturization. The opening *mukhṛā* is shot in faux black and white and bears many of the traces of Raj Kapoor's style, including extreme close-ups of the faces of the actors, period costuming, and visual references to "Ghar aaya mera pardesi" ("My lover has come home from a distant land"), the song sequence from *Awara* discussed in chapter 3. The second sequence indexes the period of early color film (i.e., the films of Dev Anand and Rajesh Khanna) through hairstyles, period costuming, and replication of the color balance and saturation of 1960s cinema. The third sequence similarly moves the history lesson forward to the late 1980s by depicting the actors alone on a mountainside, with bright outfits, hairstyles, and dance styles that evoke a composite of the popular actresses Sridevi and Madhuri Dixit and actors Sunny Deol and Salman Khan. The final sequence returns to the couple in the movie theatre, who

acknowledge that they are in love. It must be noted, however, that these nostalgic visual changes are not accompanied by musical changes—the music of the song locates this scene entirely within contemporary stylistic and production aesthetics.

"Woh ladki hai kahan" comes from *Dil Chahta Hai* (Farhan Akhtar 2001), a film that carried forward many of the themes of family films, even as it introduced some of the conventions that would become common in films of the early 21st century. From a musical perspective, the soundtrack of *Dil Chahta Hai* heralded the contemporary era of film song, insofar as it incorporated a variety of local and international musical sources to create a Bollywood sound, not the least of which was the inclusion of the vocal timbre and singing style of the Indipop singer Shaan, the trance-inspired dance club song "Koi kahe" ("Even if they call us crazy"), and novel instruments such as the Australian didgeridoo in "Jane kyon" ("Who knows why") that index the rock and jazz orientations of the music director trio Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy.[1] As such, *Dil Chahta Hai* ushered in not only many of the conventions and themes of the multiplex film, but also the sound of the 2000s. In this chapter, I discuss this era in the context of neoliberal India, new trends in filmmaking, and song production practices. The affordances of music technology mobilized by A. R. Rahman continued in this period, even as the sound of film songs was inflected by the stylistic mediation of *bhangra*, film song remixes, and Indipop. Each of these genres was a non-film alternative to film song that was, in some ways, absorbed by Bollywood music directors. As such, the songs of the 2000s added to the cosmopolitan repertoire of music styles and introduced new singers who challenged the sounds, practices, and career trajectories of the institution of playback singing. While music television retained its promotional power for films through its broadcast of film songs, the power of television was somewhat mitigated by the growth of private commercial radio, mobile phones as a mode of music consumption, and the emergence of YouTube and other Internet streaming sites as a new distribution platform that amplified the popularity of Hindi film song for international audiences.

BOLLYWOOD SHINING: THE "MULTIPLEX FILM" AND DIGITAL DISTRIBUTION (2001–2013)

Despite the Kargil conflict with Pakistan in 1999, the communal riots in the state of Gujarat in 2002, and the "26/11" terror attacks in Mumbai in 2008, the 21st century in India has largely been characterized as an era of rapid economic growth, which the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)

chose to showcase in its political campaign called "India Shining." The country particularly benefited from the outsourcing boom of the service sector industries of many English-speaking countries. Middle-class and upper-middle-class Indians who live in metropolitan areas, have English language proficiency, and have technological access (i.e., a very small minority of the Indian population as a whole) most directly benefited from this economic growth and the flood of white-collar office jobs that outsourcing has enabled. But the economic boom has unevenly affected India's population, as some have experienced more modest benefits from the economy, while others continue to lack access to clean water, employment, and a developed infrastructure. Workers have certainly benefited from the growth of manufacturing and the service sector, but the decline in government jobs has particularly impacted the employment prospects that used to be available to middle-class youth in rural areas (Jeffrey 2010). Nevertheless, the 2000s ushered in an age of consumption, as centrally air-conditioned shopping malls began to mushroom throughout urban India, presenting the fruits of India's liberalizing economy for sale. Not surprisingly, the films and music of this period demonstrate an optimistic outlook as they increasingly place India as an equal partner in the spread of global capitalism.

Along with changes in the marketplace, the Indian mediascape underwent a significant shift in the 2000s. In the early part of the decade, radio regained its central role in marketing Hindi film songs. This transformation was predicated on a shift in media policy in 1997 that created an autonomous broadcasting authority, effectively reducing the state's involvement in broadcasting and creating the conditions for the emergence of private, commercial radio stations. Before 1999, radio broadcasting was entirely run by the state, which meant that even metropolitan cities like Delhi and Mumbai had very few radio stations compared to other international cities of their size. After the first phase of radio privatization, however, there were 21 new private commercial stations in 12 Indian cities, and by 2009 there were 248 private radio stations operating in 91 cities. This growth of private radio is expected to expand dramatically in the coming years to as many as 1,000 stations in nearly 300 cities according to projections made in 2010.[2] Yet, Indian radio stations operate under certain constraints that their counterparts in other places in the world do not have. For example, unlike stations in the United States, Indian radio stations must pay royalties on the music that they broadcast (Kohli-Khandekar 2010), an important source of new revenue for music companies. Private stations are also restricted in the type of content that they can provide and are barred from broadcasting news programming. Thus, *filmi* gossip (i.e., the lives and loves of actors) and film songs remain the dominant components of radio broadcasting.

By the late 2000s, the rise of YouTube and other video and music streaming sites created a key disruptive technology for film and music distribution. As urban and metropolitan India gradually developed a broadband Internet structure in the mid-2000s, streaming sites became an important mode for promoting music for both people living in India and audiences outside of it. This mechanism for distribution was officially augmented by film and music companies that incorporated streaming media as a component of their promotional campaigns for films. But music is also unofficially distributed by fans who upload Hindi film songs (and sometimes entire films) to streaming websites. Of course, these fan uploads are frequently subject to takedown notices instigated by copyright holders who struggle to protect their intellectual property. But for every successful takedown, fans upload two or more versions of the same content somewhere else. The net result is that thousands of film songs from every era of Hindi cinema are available to stream on YouTube, which has become the key site of struggle for control over the "celestial jukebox" (Burkart and McCourt 2006). It is noteworthy that in addition to being a new mode of film distribution, streaming media have enabled diasporic Indians to learn contemporary manifestations of Indian folk music and dance traditions, which they incorporate into competitive dance teams at American universities (Schreffler 2013). Along with learning musical instruments and styles through YouTube (Miller 2012), it has become common for people to take music lessons on Indian instruments from gurus all over India by way of the Skype communications platform. These instructors are compensated by way of global payment sites, so they can potentially earn far more by giving lessons to international students than students in their own localities.

One of the consequences of these digitally facilitated modes of song and video distribution is that the price of acquiring music has rapidly reached zero. Although this state is quite beneficial for music consumers, it is disastrous for music companies that monetize their products in order to fund their operations. This decline in the prices of music recordings began in the late 1970s with the shift in physical distribution from LPs to cassettes, followed by cassettes to CDs to MP3s. This media transformation also facilitated a pirate market for music that increasingly went digital in the 2000s by way of MP3 encoding of songs and distribution of 10 or more complete albums on inexpensive blank CDs (see Beaster-Jones 2014). While dedicated digital music players like the Apple iPod never had a large market in India, by 2010, it was common for people to use their mobile phones (via headphones and the phone's speaker) as media consumption platforms. Many people thus use their phones to listen to FM radio and television broadcasts and to stream music through phone networks that

often provide free access to it as an incentive to buy into their brand. Other mobile phone owners upload songs to their phones from mobile vendors who have access to terabytes of music on computer hard drives. Not surprisingly, physical distribution of music has largely evaporated in the last few years—the mobile phone has become the media device of choice and digital distribution has taken its place.

These changes in India's media institutions and forms of distribution have impacted the form and content of contemporary Hindi films. In the late 1990s and into the 2000s, Bollywood came to develop an international reputation that was facilitated by the global distribution networks of Indian language DVDs. In short, Bollywood became "cool," not just for international audiences but also for the middle- and upper-middle-class urban Indian youth who used to dismiss Bollywood films and film songs as not being relevant to their tastes. Not surprisingly, Indian film directors and producers increasingly oriented their films to the metropolitan and overseas markets where they had a higher likelihood of getting a return on their investments. This global distribution was facilitated by the film industry formally gaining industry status in 1998, which finally allowed film producers to take out bank loans to finance film productions. The consequence of this, as Ganti (2012) notes, is that Bollywood "went corporate," which among other things meant that there was greater transparency in film investment. Coupled with the continued policy of relaxing regulations on foreign investments in India, this new financing regime encouraged multinational companies like Sony, Universal, and Disney to begin investing in and distributing Indian films, even as these companies began outsourcing some of their film production labor to India. While international distribution of films is welcomed by some as a way for Indians living abroad to retain contact with Indian popular culture, local film critics sometimes complain about cinematic themes that have little to do with metropolitan Indians, much less smaller cities or villages.

The mid-2000s were also characterized by the arrival of multi-screen theaters and what has come to be called the "multiplex film." While the first multiplex was built in Delhi in 1997, multiplexes began to be built in earnest in the early 2000s. Until the mid-2000s, most cinemas had a single screen and contained 700 to 1,700 seats, typically charging anywhere between ₹15 to ₹100 (roughly $0.33 to $2.20) per ticket depending on the city, a price that was generally affordable for the Indian masses. By 2008, there were 800 multiplexes nationwide that seated 200 to 300 per screen in stadium seating (Athique and Hill 2010). Frequently anchoring new centrally air-conditioned shopping malls, the prices of multiplex tickets are four to five times more expensive than single screen tickets,

and thus out of reach for many audiences. These increased prices—along with the wider distribution platforms that enabled Bollywood producers to release big budget films at 1,000 or more theaters simultaneously—have made the multiplex quite profitable, and are one of the factors that have spurred the production of numerous sequels of blockbuster films, including the *Golmaal* series (2006, 2008, 2010) and the *Dhoom* series (2004, 2006, 2013). However, the multiplex has also enabled the profitability of lower-budget niche films that are oriented toward metropolitan elites and international audiences. These films can take certain kinds of narrative and musical risks that were not commercially feasible in earlier eras, including the creation of films without songs and the incorporation of new musical forms and styles of composition. Accordingly, films of the 2010s are frequently 30 or more minutes shorter than they were in previous eras. It has become common for film directors to use songs in montages without the actors lip-syncing and while the end credits roll. In addition, some songs composed for a film are used in the film promotions but not in the film itself. These songs might or might not appear on the film soundtrack.

Finally, one theme of many Bollywood films of the 2000s has been nostalgia. While *Lagaan* (Ashutosh Gowariker 2001), *Asoka* (Santosh Sivan 2001), *Kisna* (Subhash Ghai 2005), and *Mangal Pandey: The Rising* (Ketan Mehta 2005) created contemporary cinematic representations of Indian history, the iconic period film *Mughal-e-Azam* (Mehboob Khan 1960) was also re-released in a colorized version. Other films have employed dual narratives that have paired period representations with contemporary ones. Some examples of these films include *Veer-Zaara* (Yash Chopra 2004), *Rang De Basanti* (Rakeysh Omprakash Mehra 2006), and *Love Aaj Kal* (Imtiaz Ali 2009). Not surprisingly, nostalgia has similarly permeated film song as well—primarily through remixes (discussed below)—but also through films like *Dil Vil Pyar Vyar* (Anant Mahadevan 2002) and *Jhankaar Beats* (Sujoy Ghosh 2003), which were tributes to R. D. Burman, even as unused Madan Mohan melodies were unearthed for the film *Veer-Zaara* (2004). However, despite finding inspiration in earlier eras of film song, these homages utilize the production practices ushered in by music directors like A. R. Rahman in the creation of songs that have a contemporary sound aesthetic.

FILM SONGS AND PRODUCTION PRACTICES OF THE 2000S

One of the overarching trends of Hindi films of the 2000s is an overall reduction in the number of song situations. It has also become increasingly common for soundtracks to contain fewer original songs and to include

one or more DJ remixes of the songs composed for the film. In the multiplex era, it has even become possible for so-called "songless films" to be commercially successful, although this happens most frequently with action-oriented films rather than romantic films, since the latter still use songs to communicate the emotional states of the hero and heroine. Since the 1990s, there has been a gradual increase in the number of foreign locations in which film directors shoot Hindi films, which has led to more songs in international styles that represent foreign places.[3] The use of these internationally inflected songs undoubtedly points to filmmakers' awareness of their geographically distributed audiences.

A similar trend in the contemporary era is for filmmakers to include prerecorded tracks or celebrity guest artists in the soundtrack. For example, the song "Garaj baras" by the Pakistani rock band Junoon was used in the soundtrack for the film *Paap* (2003). Similarly, several songs from the film *Waisa Bhi Hota Hai, Part II* (2003) became superhits on the basis of the Indipop and Sufipop artists who performed them.[4] International guest artists like Tata Young in *Dhoom* (2004), Kiley Minogue in *Blue* (2009), and Snoop Dogg in *Singh is Kinng* (2008) have performed song cameos in big-budget films. While music directors have historically drawn from international styles, contemporary music directors are also drawing from a much more diverse and specialized pool of styles than in previous eras. These internationally oriented songs retain certain musical indexes that suggest an insider knowledge of the genre, rather than mediations of the genre by outsiders (i.e., as compared to the rock mediations of Shankar-Jaikishan or R. D. Burman). While there have always been musicians playing international musics, metropolitan India has been experiencing a boom of amateur rock, pop, and fusion musicians who have had some success outside the film industry. Many of the contemporary music directors have themselves worked as rock or pop musicians, in addition to being studio musicians for film songs (e.g., A. R. Rahman, Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy, Amit Trivedi). They brought this sound with them into production, along with a certain respectful irreverence for earlier modes of production and sound aesthetics. Their experimentations are facilitated by their audiences, who also have insider knowledge of international music trends by way of music television, radio, and YouTube. This quick global spread of international trends has effectively eliminated the musical-cultural lag that characterized earlier eras. In the 2010s, for example, songs were exhibiting signs of international styles even as they were popular abroad. This is particularly true for electronic dance music fashions, including dubstep in "Jannatein kahan" in *Jannat 2* (Kunal Deshmukh 2012), "Pareshan-Remix" in *Ishaqzaade* (Habib Faisal 2012), and a fusion of tango and reggaéton in "Behke behke nain" in

Aisha (Rajshree Ojha 2010). However, though it might seem that the trajectory of Bollywood film song is entirely in the direction of international sounds (i.e., Westernization), I argue later in the chapter that the sound of 21st-century film song emerged from much more complicated musical interactions.

The contemporary era of film songs is especially characterized by the entrance of new voices. While some of the regular playback singers continue to appear on soundtracks, there is a much greater proliferation of voices in contemporary film songs than in previous years. Some of these singers come from Indipop (e.g., Lucky Ali, Alisha Chinai, Shaan, Mohit Chauhan); others come from Sufi and folk traditions (e.g., Kailash Kher, Rahat Fateh Ali Khan, Daler Mehndi); and others are winners of television talent shows (e.g., Sunidhi Chauhan, Shreya Ghoshal, Neeti Mohan) who successfully transitioned into playback singers and stage performers. Not surprisingly, the cornucopia of new voices in Bollywood is itself the site of criticism, as these new voices displaced the reigning playback singers of the 1990s, like Alka Yagnik and Kumar Sanu who had modeled their singing on the "timeless" voices of Lata and Kishore. Yet, as the music producer Clinton Cerejo noted to me in an interview in May 2013, there is a space for new voices in Hindi film songs that simply did not exist in previous eras:

> What is interesting is the fact that there used to be this thing, "Āp kiskī āwāz mein gāte ho?" Have you heard that before? Which means, "Whose voice do you sing in?" Like any favorite singer would be asked, "Āp Ashaji ke yā Lataji ke āwāz mein?" Do you sing in the voice of Lata or Asha? What school of singing do you come from? But not just school, "Do you copy Lata or do you copy Asha?" There was no third path . . . essentially all the guys are trying to be a Mohammed Rafi, or Kishore. "Rafi-saheb ke yā Kishore-saheb ke." Nowadays you say, "main apnī āwāz mein gāta hoon." They sing in their own voice. Now at least singers can have their own voice, and people are looking for singers who have their own voice (interview with Clinton Cerejo in Mumbai, May 16, 2013).

One of the consequences of this approach is that contemporary music directors and their assistants are largely orienting their songs to the strengths of the singer, not necessarily to match the voice of the actor. This is, of course, not an entirely new development, as music directors like S. D. Burman had much the same approach of fitting the voice to the song. Yet, the association of a particular singing voice with a particular actor has become far less relevant in contemporary film songs than in any other era of Hindi film song. For better or worse, the likely consequence is that the stereotypical *filmi* voice is likely to disappear in the coming decades, if it has not already.

The sound of contemporary film songs is also inflected by production practices that have been completely transformed in the post-A. R. Rahman era. Most contemporary music directors compose in small personal studios and have cultivated a deep understanding of music production hardware and software for digitally streamlined collaboration with their assistants. Indeed, as the arranger and session guitarist Sanjay Divecha noted to me, "Every project is started first on the computer, and executed and finished on the computer" (interview in Mumbai, May 23, 2013). High-quality sample libraries (digitized instrument sounds) and drum loops (prerecorded drum grooves) have replaced sitting musicians in the studio, and even the initial rough versions of songs have relatively high production values. Singers typically hear a version of the entire music arrangement in the studio, and in contrast to earlier years, the singer might even be recorded before any of the other live musicians. In many cases, musicians are only added to the recording mix if a song needs to be "humanized." The large orchestras that were the mainstay of earlier film songs have essentially disappeared as the large string sound can be replicated through double tracking (i.e., by recording one to four violinists over and over and combining the recordings onto a single string track). Other musicians are similarly recorded by way of tracking onto a pre-composed computer framework, and most contemporary film songs include a subtle mix of acoustic instruments and sound samples from various software packages.

In addition to some of the changes in the recording studio, a few musical roles have undergone a change in the last decade. Most prominently, the role of the music arranger has been largely supplanted by the "programmer", a music assistant with the technical skills to operate digital audio workstations (DAWs). Like the arrangers before them, programmers make many of the day-to-day musical decisions (e.g., instrumentation, orchestration, texture, etc.) that are eventually incorporated into the final product. Programmers are also increasingly responsible for producing background scores of films, much as arrangers composed scores in earlier eras. Finally, more specialized roles have begun to emerge in the compositional process, including "vocal arrangers" who focus on the harmonic arrangements of accompanying vocal tracks and the local term "producers" who add an additional layer of studio effects to songs to give them a final polish. In spite of these shifts of roles in contemporary film song production, the music director still has the highest status in the production hierarchy and receives the highest pay in his or her role as a freelance composer. They continue to coordinate song situations with film directors, partner with lyricists in the creation of song melodies, and manage personnel as they provide the musical flesh to the melodic skeleton. As such, music directors retain

responsibility for the entire musical product from their studios and their names share the marquee with those of the film director and lyricist, even as the names of their collaborators are still buried in the film credits.

Beyond the technological changes in film song production, the sound of contemporary film songs is further inflected by musical innovations that took place in non-film contexts. Many of these innovations were incorporated to form the Bollywood sounds of the 2000s. In particular, three musical streams that modulate the sound of contemporary songs include adaptations of the Punjabi *bhangra*, film song remixes, and the non-film genre of Indipop.

BHANGRA BEAT AND "RANG DE BASANTI" ("COLOR IT SAFFRON") (*RANG DE BASANTI* [2006])

Bhangra has received a lot of attention as a form of popular dance music in India and abroad. It was also a frequent component for hip hop sampling and club remixes in the 1990s and 2000s (Maira 2002, Sharma 2010). Bhangra ostensibly has its roots in Punjabi folk traditions, but like other folk musics, it has been reinvented a number of times to suit particular local and historical contingencies. Perhaps because of its international presence—and the large number of Punjabi producers, directors, and actors working in the film industry—*bhangra*-oriented film songs are a musical staple of many of the dance sequences in 21st-century Bollywood. As such, it is important to emphasize that as both a style of dance and a style of music that indexes that dance, *bhangra* is a genre that stems from different local musical approaches that developed in distinct spheres (i.e., in India and the Indian diaspora), which in some ways mutually influenced each other. Thus, *bhangra* is a useful musical figure through which to explore the larger ramifications of musical mediation and cosmopolitanism.

In some ways, the story of *bhangra* begins outside of India. As representatives of the Indian diaspora, Punjabis have a large international presence (e.g., in London and Vancouver). Gerd Baumann (1990) notes that the Punjabi male migration to Britain began in the 1950s; as guest workers, they sent paychecks home to support their families. Families began to arrive in the United Kingdom in the 1960s, which led to the development of a permanent population. This population was augmented by Punjabi Hindus who had been administering the British Empire in Africa and were fleeing post-colonial African states that perceived the Indian population as not having indigenous roots. These groups that migrated to the United Kingdom by way of Africa tended to come from more affluent class

backgrounds and had relatively little in common with the working-class South Asians who had emigrated directly from India. Nevertheless, Indian immigrants to Britain, regardless of their route, were subject to casual racism. In the minds of locals, all Asian immigrants were lumped together, and Asians were portrayed in news media as a visible problem rather than integrated into a multicultural British self-conception. This conception lingered despite the palpable class, regional, and religious divisions even within the Indian community, much less between Indians, Pakistanis, and Bangladeshis.

One of the ways that these media representations began to shift was through the popularization of the dance and music of *bhangra*, which is a male-oriented folk dance and style of music primarily associated with weddings and the spring festival Baisakhi. Schreffler (2012, 2013) notes that as a folk genre, *bhangra* was associated with West Punjab (now in Pakistan). It was constantly being reframed and innovated in India by post-Partition refugee populations, as well as by Punjabis living abroad. In the context of its movement from Punjabi villages to Britain, it was essentially reinvented by British Punjabis who created a circuit of amateur musicians who improvised from the instruments and styles available in their surroundings. Thus, the terms "*bhangra* beat" and "disco *bhangra*" emerged from *bhangra*'s encounter with Caribbean musics by second-generation Punjabis who also listened to reggae, hip hop, and dub. *Bhangra* was popularized in Britain as a club music known also as the "Southall Beat" (West London) that enabled diasporic South Asians to create a community, if not a distinct identity (Shreffler 2012). In the British media, the ostensibly non-threatening images of colorful, dancing youths were mobilized to challenge racist assumptions of the so-called "Asian problem" (Baumann 1990).

In its British incarnation, the music of *bhangra* sounded quite different than it would in the Punjabi pop movement that emerged after the cassette revolution of the 1980s in India. In the British case, ensembles consisted of four to 12 musicians (usually male) singing lyrics in Punjabi that tended to be celebratory, focusing on beauty, love, companionship, friendship, and nostalgia for the Punjabi homeland. Songs were performed by one or two lead singers with the instrumentalists singing in response. Certain instrumental sounds were used that index "authentic" *bhangra* in the broader context of Indian musics, such as the single-stringed lute known as the tumbi and the double-barreled drum known as the dhol, which is typically played with sticks in a swing beat pattern. However, many diasporic Punjabis did not have access to the hereditary musicians who could play these instruments because the musicians in India tended to come from populations that could not muster the economic resources to emigrate.

Thus, it was fairly common for *bhangra* ensembles to incorporate only the Western instruments they had available, yet nevertheless retain other musical indexes of the genre.

In its Indian incarnation, *bhangra* developed differently, although there has been a significant cross-pollination of ideas from India and abroad. Schreffler (2013) notes that in India, *bhangra* as dance is largely a post-colonial folkloric reconstruction for the stage. Indian *bhangra* included any number of innovations that were misrecognized by audiences to be part of the timeless tradition of the community dance in stage performances and in Hindi films, most notably in the film *Naya Daur* (B. R. Chopra 1957). Yet, there was a reflexive movement of ideas between folk and film, as music directors wrote songs that mediated *bhangra* styles, even as folk musicians mediated these Bollywood mediations. Bollywood mediations were further inflected by the sounds of *bhangra* as it developed as an international style, and have become quite common in contemporary films. Accordingly, there are many examples of *bhangra*-inflected film songs, especially songs that are versions of *bhangra* remix.

One example of the stylistic mediation of *bhangra* in an early 21st-century film song context is the A. R. Rahman song "Rang de basanti" from the 2006 film of the same name. The song takes place during the characters' road trip to the Punjab in order to re-experience the (historical) Indian nationalism that is the central narrative arc of the film. In a sense, the song takes the characters back to their village roots from their urban existence in Delhi in order to understand India's independence movement. For films of the late 1990s to 2000s, the ideal-typical Indian village is frequently represented as rural Punjab, a place that is sufficiently cosmopolitan for the urban upper-middle-class characters. Perhaps because of its rural setting, ARR's version of *bhangra* strives for a representation of folk authenticity, albeit in the form of a film song. This authenticity is somewhat reinforced by ARR's choice of Daler Mehndi as the playback singer. In the minds of an Indian mass audience, Mehndi is associated with the Punjab as an Indipop/Punjabi pop artist in the 1990s, especially with albums like *Bolo Ta Ra Ra* (Magnasound 1995). His voice has a distinct high tessitura, with a passionate, folkish timbre. In his private albums, his song lyrics tend to be in Hindi with minor inflections of Punjabi, and he is renowned for using nonsense lyrics in his songs for the sake of maintaining a groove. Mehndi is also known for his disco-influenced dance songs that are largely created with electronic instruments and very colorful dance videos. His songs were popular with mass audiences in India and the Indian diaspora. While he might be seen as a sign of authenticity for those listeners, for connoisseurs of Punjabi musics, Daler Mehndi is decidedly inauthentic (Roy 2010).

Figure 7.2:
Colorful *bhangra* dancers in "Rang de basanti" (*Rang De Basanti* [2006]).

Video 7.2: "Rang de basanti"

In "Rang de basanti" (figure 7.2 and video 7.2), Mehndi carries forward his legacy, including the use of non-lyric, onomatopoeic vocalizations, including "ringa dinga ringa" representing the sound of the tumbi and "duga duga duga" for the sounds of a heartbeat and the dhol. Like "Kajra re," the song that I described in chapter 1, the background of "Rang de" is punctuated by a chorus of male singers who rhythmically exclaim "Ah ha!" "Hey hey," and "Shava." These interjections index the folk atmosphere for the performance and its location in the Punjab, tying the song to the choreography of the actors and the dance troupe. With the exception of these interjections, the lyrics are otherwise entirely in Hindi. Like other Punjabi pop songs, the "Rang de" lyrics build into a Punjabi nostalgia that points to the fragrance of the earth, the festive sounds of the dhol, and the ethnic color.

The song begins with a synthesized sound of a tumbi playing a chromatic riff, which is joined by the sound of a dhol. The dhol continues throughout the song as the dominant percussion instrument in an adaptation of *kaharwa tāl* (eight-beat cycles) at approximately 208 bpm. This is shortly joined by an electric bass groove and a synthesizer pad. In characteristic A. R. Rahman compositional style, the first part of the *mukhṛā* is carried by a drone in synthesizer, and at a midpoint in the *mukhṛā*, the synth pad shifts to a chord progression that changes the overall color of the melody and builds harmonic tension along with the rising melodic and rhythmic tension. Also characteristic of post-2000 ARR, the synthesizer and guitar build a fair amount of harmonic dissonance in extended harmonies that is never entirely resolved. The melody line is contained entirely within a few

pitches and plays with the melodic tensions of the seventh scale degree. This is augmented by dissonant vocal harmonies at the ends of refrains (i.e., "mohe rang de basanti"). The interludes bring back the mediated sounds of *bhangra*, particularly the tumbi and drum fills with the dhol, which keep the listener firmly rooted in the soil of Punjab, albeit a soil that has been seeded with cosmopolitan sounds.

FILM SONG REMIXES

Like the discussion of *bhangra* above, the practice of remixing Hindi film songs and the ways that diasporic Indians use these to fashion syncretic or hybrid identities has received significant scholarly attention.[5] Yet, in India, the practice has been more controversial, insofar as the evaluations of remixes have been interpolated into discourses about the decline of new Hindi film songs and anxieties about Indian modernity. In the particular cultural history of India, the valence of the category of remix is significantly different than it is in other parts of the world; this has led to some ambiguity of meaning in public discourse. Thus, while the term "remix" sometimes refers to a set of musical *practices* in India, people more often refer to it as a mainstream *genre* of music that came to dominate non-film popular music charts in the late 1990s and early 2000s, and became a regular feature of contemporary film soundtracks.[6]

In its earliest incarnations, remix is associated with the production of cover versions by new music companies in the late 1970s. Due to the HMV music label's monopoly on music distribution and the company's inability to fulfill popular demand for film song recordings, remix versions were one way to circumvent Indian copyright laws (Manuel 1993). The packaging of these cover versions was often designed to deceive consumers (Zuberi 2002). For example, a cassette jacket that might have in large print "The Songs of Kishore Kumar" might only mention "Sung by Sonu" in smaller print below. Sometimes, cassette jackets added "With Jhankar Beats," which suggested that a rhythm track had been added to a version to pep it up. Sold on inexpensive media to people who were not often cognizant that the singers were different from the original, these versions were quickly recorded by aspiring playback singers as cheaply produced copies of more famous renditions. As such, these recordings and those who consumed them were held in contempt by middle-class music fans who sometimes dismissed the remixes as "truck-driver music." I would speculate that this association with working-class audiences and the hastily produced renditions themselves are the likely reasons that reinterpretations of evergreen

Hindi film songs never gained respectability in India in the ways that jazz standards or rock covers were able to do in other parts of the world. Consequently, there also has been a semantic slippage between "remaking" and "remixing" a film song (i.e., the two terms are generally used interchangeably by both media outlets and audiences), much to the frustration of DJs and composers who see themselves as creating new arrangements of these songs.

The symbolic taint of cover versions often attached to remixes was reframed by the tremendous success of Bally Sagoo's *Bollywood Flashback* (Columbia 1994) in Britain. Raised in Birmingham, England, Bally Sagoo is widely credited with popularizing Indian music genres in the West, especially *bhangra* and remixes of Hindi film songs that borrowed the "riddims" and spatializing practices of Jamaican dub. The acclaim that followed from Sagoo's assertion of his Indian identity in the face of rampant racism in Britain validated his remixes in India. Remixing was later taken up by artists associated with Indipop, such as the groups Instant Karma and Colonial Cousins in the late 1990s. By the early 2000s, remixes by DJ Aqueel, Harry Anand, and others had become the dominant non-film popular music in terms of sales in the national retail chains, supplanting the popularity of many Indipop singers and bands. By the mid-2000s, it had become common practice for film music directors to include remixes of their own songs for inclusion on Hindi film soundtracks, a practice parallel to the production of "happy" and "sad" versions in 1970s and '80s film soundtracks. While remix albums are still being produced and still appear on the charts, their popularity seems to have waned somewhat as Sufi-influenced artists like Kailash Kher and Rahat Fateh Ali Khan have moved to the foreground (see Manuel 2008).

The musical content of film song remixes can vary widely: from a song that is little more than a drum track superimposed over the original recording, to a version song that emphasizes a DJ's interpretations of the best elements of the song, to a pastiche that borrows from a host of transnational sources and defies the concept of authorship. Generally speaking, remix transforms film songs associated with a song situation into dance music, which is signaled in particular by a heavy beat, a focus on low frequencies, and the borrowing of at least the *mukhṛā* of the song and one or more verses. With heavy bass lines and drums that suggest electronic dance music, remix frequently alternates between Hindi and English lyrics, with the gender of the singer sometimes changing along with the language. Some remixes also use short sections of rap in English. Despite being transformed into dance songs, film song remixes are still vocally centered, especially when compared with some international styles that were designed to

defamiliarize the original recording through recomposition (Veal 2009). In most cases, the melody, lyrics, and song forms of the original film song are retained in song remixes. Whereas Hindi film song composers and arrangers usually attempt to conceal the use of synthesizers in their recordings, remix versions of these songs tend to heighten their use, applying sound effects that clearly reflect influences from transnational dance or electronica genres. Nevertheless, the same lyrical and aural characteristics of stand-alone remix albums are typically utilized when original film songs are remixed for inclusion on a film soundtrack.[7] Although this might be seen as an attempt to craft a new interpretation of a freshly composed song, a more cynical observer might note that creating a remix of one or more songs of an original soundtrack is an inexpensive way to fill the necessary quota of five to six songs for the film soundtrack recording.

THE RISE AND FALL OF INDIPOP

Beyond the mediations of folk styles and remixes, there has always been a market for popular music outside of film. Nearly all of the established playback singers and music directors tried their hands at producing albums that were not attached to film projects. Prominent among these "private albums" (non-film albums) were S. D. Burman's Bengali albums released in Kolkata at the time of Durga Puja; Lata Mangeshkar's retrospective albums of earlier eras of singers (e.g., Saigal, Noorjehan, etc.) and her *bhajan* (Hindu devotional) albums; Rafi's *ghazal* albums; Shankar-Jaikishan's *Raga-Jazz Style* (1968); and R. D. Burman's *Pantera* (1987). The lower capital requirements for producing audiocassettes in the 1980s boosted this trend and enabled new music companies to challenge the hegemony of film songs, thereby creating an efflorescence of new music genres. In some ways, their attempts to carve out a space for non-film musics succeeded, especially with the dissemination of pop *ghazals*. While T-Series and a plethora of small domestic labels profited from the small-scale distribution of local folk musics (Manuel 1993), attempts to create pan-Indian popular musics by music companies like Magnasound, Sony, and Universal achieved more modest success.

One of the genres that briefly flourished in the 1990s and early 2000s was Indipop, a kind of private album in English, Hindi, and/or Punjabi that borrowed the romantic artist-centric ideology of rock music in order to create a popular music that was independent of the needs of film narratives. Indipop albums were also deemed to be free from the other constraints (i.e., film directors, producers, distributors) that orient films and musics to

the mass market. Among the perceived needs of this market from the perspective of film producers are the use songs in every film and the same very small subset of singers for each song. Peter Kvetko notes that Indipop was conceived in multiple senses as a private music that did not sell the film narrative, but rather the "persona of the singer" (2008, 113) in ways that might appeal to the affluent, urban, and educated audience that had already abandoned the perceived inauthenticity of Indian films for the "authentic" self-expression of Western rock and pop. It is no accident that Indipop discourses emerged in the neoliberal era in India, a historical moment when discourses of privatization and entrepreneurship came to dominate, even as satellite television created new marketing opportunities.

As a way of promoting this new genre, Indipop artists created a set of oppositional narratives to distinguish Indipop from film song; these included a focus on the artist rather than the music director, depicting the artists in music videos rather than actors lip-syncing to the videos, and promoting the albums as the creative self-expressions of the artists themselves rather than incoherent (fractured) products of the film industry (Kvetko 2008, 2013). Indipop offered a number of musical differences from film song as well. Many Indipop artists had experience playing in rock bands in metropolitan cities and thus self-consciously grounded the genre in international rock and pop styles rather than *filmi* mediations of international styles. The vocal style in particular drew from Western rather than Indian sources in its use of vocal melismas that were largely rooted in African-American vocal practices rather than Indian classical and folk traditions. Kvetko notes that artists composed their melodies around riffs and chord changes rather than modal foundations like *rāga*. They also avoided other indexes of *filmi* sound, such as the high tessitura of singers, choirs and string sections, overemphasis on the vocal line, and the excessive use of reverb. In contrast, they incorporated studio production values of international styles that emphasized a full frequency spectrum (especially bass) and balanced the vocal melody with the accompanying instruments in the recording mix in ways that were distinct from the sound of film songs.

With the enthusiastic support of MTV and other music channels, Indipop had modest success in the 1990s as a new genre, but declined in the 2000s. There are a couple of reasons for this. First, Indipop was crowded out in the marketplace by the marketing juggernaut that is the film song: It is very difficult to build an artist's image when the face of an actor stands in for the singer. Indeed, Kvetko notes that one of the great frustrations of Indipop artists was that they might toil for years producing a private album, only to sell a few thousand copies. But once they sang a hit Hindi film song, they garnered instant name recognition. Perhaps more important, however, the

sound of Indian film songs changed to appeal to the same audiences that Indipop targeted. Thus, I would argue that the very successes of Indipop made it attractive to music directors in film projects. Introducing these new approaches to the Indian soundscape was also the origin of its downfall, as music directors like A. R. Rahman successfully adopted the new voices, vocal techniques, and sound production practices of Indipop. This engineered the transition into the aesthetic that largely prevails in contemporary film songs. Accordingly, many of the singers formerly associated with Indipop have been incorporated into the fold of playback singers, albeit under different terms. Emerging artists in the contemporary era have internalized this lesson from Indipop and now turn to Bollywood as a way of launching their careers and branding themselves as stage musicians without necessarily singing hundreds or thousands of songs "behind the curtain" (Booth 2008), an idea that I address in the final chapter.

Undoubtedly, the Indipop movement was partly inspired by the frustrations of the people working as session musicians within Bollywood, and the regime that gave the music director credit for all of their individual successes. In slightly different terms, we might see Indipop as an unsuccessful attempt to wrest control of the Indian music industry from the clutches of the Indian film industry. The net result was a Bollywood sound that were created by the dominant music directors of the 2000s, including Pritam, Vishal-Shekhar, Vishal Bhardwaj, Amit Trivedi, and particularly Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy.

NEW COSMOPOLITAN SOUNDS: SHANKAR-EHSAAN-LOY

The music of the Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy team (also known as SEL) is one of the consummate examples of cosmopolitanism in 2000s and 2010s film song. Shankar Mahadevan (singer), Ehsaan Noorani (guitar), and Loy Mendonsa (keyboards) began their careers in the early 1990s by composing advertising jingles and working as independent musicians. Ehsaan and Loy were part of a mid-1990s group known as Instant Karma that created a number of immensely popular film song remixes. While their first film project as a trio was never released, their first film release, *Mission Kashmir* (Vidhu Vinod Chopra 2000), captured immediate attention. After the success of their soundtrack for *Dil Chahta Hai* (Fahran Akhtar 2001), SEL succeeded Jatin-Lalit as filmmaker Karan Johar's primary music directors with films like *Kal Ho Na Ho* (Nikhil Advani 2003), *Kabhi Alvida Na Kehna* (Karan Johar 2006), and *My Name is Khan* (Karan Johar 2010). They have also had significant musical successes with Javed Akhtar's

children Fahran and Zoya in the films *Rock On!!* (Farhan Akhtar 2008) and *Zindagi Na Milegi Dobara* (Zoya Akhtar 2011), each including a return of the actor-singer in several songs. While SEL note in interviews that they enjoy composing film songs, it is not the only kind of music they are interested in producing. Each member follows his own musical trajectory and works on other non-film projects (e.g., Shankar sings for private albums, Ehsaan is an active rock and blues guitarist, and Loy performs jazz bass and piano). Accordingly, their musical backgrounds are quite diverse, but they incorporate one another's influences in ways that are faithful to the experimental aesthetic of music directors like R. D. Burman, even if the songs sound quite different from earlier eras.

Of their list of hits, the *Dil Chahta Hai* soundtrack is widely viewed to have changed the trajectory of the film music industry, especially as it was oriented to the contemporary urban youth audience that had an interest in Indipop and international popular musics. While the soundtrack received lukewarm reviews when it was first released—especially since it was competing with ARR's soundtrack for *Lagaan* (2001)—its popularity grew substantially over time. In retrospect, it is considered the beginning of the contemporary sound, since it established that audiences were ready for a new musical approach. As such, SEL noted in a 2011 interview that the popularity of *Dil Chahta Hai* enabled them to define themselves as innovative and distinct from other music directors of the time (see http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vaZo_zpJqDw). Years later, they noted that they still try to avoid repeating themselves, and film directors expect them to take music in a new direction for each project. They also point out that the initial reviews of their soundtracks are frequently mixed, but the popularity of many of their soundtracks increases over time. This is especially true if they are experimenting with a song form or style, since audiences do not always know how to react to musical innovations. SEL also consistently perform together onstage as a band, which enables them to get immediate audience feedback on their music and learn what does or does not work musically. They note in interviews that they listen to a lot of international music and stay abreast of the tastes of Indian youths; as musical innovators, they seek to create new trends just as much as they respond to existing trends. For example, the song "Koi kahe" in *Dil Chahta Hai* has a trance feel to it (i.e., an electronic dance music feel) that had not been successfully used in Hindi film songs before, but became a staple of later music directors in the 2000s. Similarly, they composed a series of rock songs performed in Hindi—by the actors—for the film *Rock On!!* and a karaoke song in *We Are Family* (2010), which similarly changed the musical discourse of film songs. Seeing the success of these innovations, other music directors began

to incorporate international genres like heavy metal and dubstep more or less directly.

Insofar as they compose as though they are a band, SEL are an ideal-type of the compositional aesthetic of contemporary Bollywood. They have an established division of labor, whereby Shankar provides the Indian component and Ehsaan and Loy provide insights from international musics. Like other music directors, Shankar sings some of his compositions, but SEL as a group actively try to incorporate as many new singers as they can. Though they might begin composing a song with the lyrics or melody first, as a trio, they interact with the director in planning the song, and compose the song immediately rather than using a bank of already composed song melodies. If a lyricist happens to be in the sitting, they compose the *mukhṛā* and other lyrics in the moment to fit the melody. However, since Shankar's voice is used when pitching rough cuts to the film director, it is common for directors to desire the song to be recorded exactly as they hear it in the rough version by a new singer, with all of the same inflections. Like other music directors, SEL incorporate diverse musical styles from India to fit the situational needs of any given film, such as "Kajra re" discussed in chapter 1. That said, their songs are primarily characterized by the diversity of international guitar-based genres, including rock, blues, jazz, (American) country, and heavy metal, as well as the chord progressions of these music styles. They have successfully introduced new instrumental timbres (e.g., guitar, country fiddle, didgeridoo) and compose many of their songs to fit the conventions of Western harmony that include jazz and rock chord progressions. As a group, they are the core musicians on most of their compositions in the studio, and like the songs of A. R. Rahman, their ensembles tend to be quite small compared to those of earlier eras.

BHAAG MILKHA BHAAG (*RUN MILKHA RUN!*) (RAKEYSH OMPRAKASH MEHRA 2013)

The innovation, flexibility, and cosmopolitan orientation of Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy is nowhere more evident than in the soundtrack to the film *Bhaag Milkha Bhaag* (Rakeysh Omprakash Mehra 2013) (video 7.3), a cinematic biography of the famous runner Milkha Singh. The film depicts Milkha's (Farhan Akhtar) escape from the newly partitioned Punjab after the murder of his family, eventually finding his elder sister (Divya Dutta) in a refugee camp. After spending time in a gang as a youth, he joins the Indian Army in order to become an acceptable suitor for Biro (Sonam Kapoor), the neighborhood girl with whom he has fallen in love.

Video 7.3: Songs from *Bhaag Milkha Bhaag*

In the army, he is given an opportunity to try out for the Brigade Games, begins his athletic training, and ultimately joins the Indian Olympic team. Unfortunately, Biro is married off by her family before he has an opportunity to ask her parents for her hand. Milkha goes on to compete at the 1956 Melbourne Olympics, but loses his race after having a fling with the granddaughter of his Australian technical advisor. As a way of atoning for this mistake, he sets his sights on breaking the world 400m record, which he is able to accomplish. He competes in the 1960 Rome Olympics, but once again falters and finishes fourth when the voice of his coach yelling "Bhaag Milkha bhaag!" returns him to the horrific memory of his father, who was killed by goons during Partition. He goes on to win a number of important races that are depicted in montage as an arrangement of the nationalist song "Saare jahan se achcha Hindustan hamara" ("Our India is the best place in the world") plays in the background. At the urging of India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, Milkha reluctantly joins the contingent for the Indo-Pak Friendship Games. The film culminates in a dramatic race between Milkha and the Pakistani runner Abdul Khaliq (Dev Gill). Milkha wins the race easily and, at the end of the film, Pakistani general Ayub Khan dubs him "The Flying Sikh."

Taken in its entirety, the soundtrack incorporates manifold Indian and international styles and fuses them together in innovative ways. In the order of their use in the film (rather than their order on the soundtrack), the film features the song "Zinda" ("Alive") in a heavy metal style in the opening moments of the film and again later as the film illustrates Milkha's misspent youth. This is later followed by "Maston ka jhund" ("A band of merry men") in a mediated *bhangra* style with musicians beat-boxing dhol rhythms along with a tumbi playing a chromatic riff that is set in the army barracks and lip-synced by his fellow soldiers. This is followed by the love song "Mera yaar" ("My love"), which has a country-rock guitar loop with Sufi-inspired lyrics that equate Milkha's romantic love with divine love. "O rangrez" ("Oh dyer of my soul") is set in a style of Indo-jazz fusion with Indian classical instrumentation and vocal ornamentation that depicts Milkha's return to the neighborhood where Biro lives. "Slow motion Angreza" ("Slow motion foreigner"), a song that is picturized in a pub in Melbourne, is in the style of American/Australian roots music that incorporates the country guitar, accordion, and fiddle, along with lyrics that switch between English and Hindi, and extensive vocal harmonies. Finally, "Bhaag Milkha bhaag," which paints a lyrical-heroic narrative that is picturized in a montage style as Milkha trains in the desert, is a

mediated folk song over a sitar/guitar drone performed by the Pakistani folk singer Arif Lohar.

The soundtrack has only one song by an established playback singer (Shreya Ghoshal); the others are sung by a variety of new voices (including Shankar's son Siddharth Mahadevan). Also, as is characteristic of many films of this period, only two of the songs are lip-synced by the actors; the rest are used as montages and underscore the action much like the cinematic usage of songs in Hollywood. As with each earlier era of film song, each song of *Bhaag Milkha Bhaag* is written to fit a song situation that enhances character development and the narrative contexts of the film. As a rendition of the life of one of India's sports heroes, the film is also in line with the historical nostalgia that I discussed earlier in this chapter, even though it does not shy away from the animosity between India and Pakistan by depicting the slaughter that accompanied Partition and the subsequent competition for international attention. Indian nationalism is palpable in the film, but it is reframed to fit a narrative in which India was already comfortable on the international stage (i.e., the Olympics).

In other words, *Bhaag Milkha Bhaag* is a neoliberal rendition of this historical trajectory, one in which the accompanying music is a cosmopolitan mix of Indian and international sounds. This cosmopolitanism is reflected as much in the mediated heavy metal sounds of "Zinda" as it is in the mediated folk sounds of "Bhaag Milkha bhaag." As I suggest in the concluding chapter of this book, this soundtrack heralds the future of Bollywood sounds, even as it points to the contiguity of their approach over the long history of Indian film song.

CHAPTER 8

Concluding Thoughts on the Art and Commerce of Hindi Film Songs

This book has covered the history and practices of over 70 years of Hindi film song. It should be clear at this point that like every other music genre, there are numerous points of musical change and continuity across this history. For example, the production roles of some of the people involved in the creation of film songs have remained more or less consistent (e.g., film producers, directors, music directors, singers), even as the music and sound aesthetics have undergone significant change. As I suggested in chapter 1, the Indian film song is, in multiple senses, the consummately cosmopolitan, consummately mediated musical genre—inasmuch as it is not just a genre that draws nearly everything from nearly everywhere, but has always already incorporated a visual dimension into its sound. In terms of discussions of music and meaning, it is also important to note that there are enduring connections between music and multimedia in precisely the same way that music and other kinds of social practices are connected (e.g., lifecycle ritual events like weddings and funerals). Accordingly, the sounds of certain Indian instruments (e.g., the shehnai, sarangi, sitar) retain their cultural associations even in contemporary contexts. In fact, one might speculate that some of the extra-musical associations between instrumental sounds, timbres, rhythmic styles, etc. were strengthened, if not created, through their mediation in film. This is certainly the case with the folk genre of *bhangra* as I discussed in chapter 7, because the sound of the dhol and the particular swinging drum pattern are not only an index of *bhangra* but of the entirety of the Punjab.

Fans of any era of Hindi film songs might question my approach of placing contemporary film songs in aesthetic equivalence with older film songs. Moreover, both fans and critics of contemporary film songs might argue that Bollywood songs are more Western now than they were in earlier periods. Yet, as I have illustrated in this book, this Westernization of film song is better understood as a manifestation of the cosmopolitanism that has permeated Indian film song from even before the time it was recorded on films (i.e., in the orchestras of silent films). This trajectory of musical cosmopolitanism can be seen throughout the history of Hindi film song; from the folk and classical elements that Naushad adopted and Lata rendered, to the film-rock fusions of R. D. Burman, to the voices of Indipop singers who otherwise eschewed *filmi* styles of singing, to the *bhangra* beats of Pritam and A. R. Rahman. It is not simply drawing from an undifferentiated West, but from manifold musical practices, timbres, and styles from inside and outside of India. Thus, I would argue that film songs of any era are deeply and indelibly connected through their mediation in Indian films and the cosmopolitan aesthetic that comes with it. As such, one might reasonably argue that as a musical style and genre that has a commercial basis, the cosmopolitan Bollywood sound is one that comes from everywhere at the same time, even as it is necessarily situated within the aesthetic tendencies of the place of its production.

In other words, despite the obvious changes in the sound of Hindi films, musical continuity is presented through *filmi* mediation of style (i.e., through the adoption/cohesion/solidification of certain stylistic practices). One might reasonably argue, as Manual (1993) does, that rhythmic, melodic, and harmonic complexity are transformed—if not reduced—to make film songs palatable to heterogeneous mass audiences, and are thus simply inauthentic representations of local traditions. But in some ways, this argument misses the point of Indian film songs. Insofar as they are written to fit situations that laminate additional social and cultural meanings onto sound, one might counter that film songs mobilize a different aesthetic than the music genres they draw from. The fusion of image and sound is the additional dimension of its mediation, and the site of manifold viscous meanings that adhere to musical sound. One might make the same argument about the relative authenticity of the lyrics and dances that are produced along with songs.

Nevertheless, we must also be careful to keep the commercial dimensions of songs in mind as much as their aesthetic dimensions. After all, film songs are a peculiar kind of popular music that in the vast majority of cases succeeds only when the parent film succeeds. Like other popular musics of the world, this ultimately means that the majority of songs

that are remembered by audiences have achieved commercial success. This success may stem as much from the actors on whom they are picturized—and the associated memories of the film narrative—than any of the musical-aesthetic merits of the particular song. In other words, rather than falling back on romantic discourses of Bollywood as a kind of spectacular manifestation of Indian cultural heritage, one must never lose sight of the fact that films are commercial enterprises, and songs fulfill certain roles in facilitating the success of these enterprises. To this extent, there are tensions built into the production system and hierarchy that index the artistic-commercial nature of the film song genre. While music directors compose songs, their songs might be accepted or rejected by film directors and producers because they do not fit the needs of the film or because they are insufficiently commercial. That is, they might be rejected for reasons that are extraneous to the quality of the musical content, but important to the audiences that film directors and producers envision as their target markets. Indeed, in my research into music in the Indian marketplace (Beaster-Jones 2007), it soon became apparent that the people who ordered recordings for music stores based their decisions on the star power and recent successes of the lead actors, film directors, film banners, and music directors (in that order). The relative quality of the music was a somewhat distant consideration. However, everyone in the film and music industries knows that there is no absolute formula for predicting the success of a film project or soundtrack, and many of the factors that might cause a film to rise or fall are out of the control of producers (e.g., natural disasters or political events). Thus, although good music is one important factor in the success of any given film, it is neither a necessary nor an enabling condition for a film's success. Just as there are many films with excellent songs that have been forgotten because the film flopped, there are also many films that have had mediocre (or worse) music that have been blockbusters. Of course, many films have been redeemed on the basis of a strong soundtrack, and there are also those rare exceptions where a song or soundtrack has been remembered despite poor box office returns.

FUTURE BOLLYWOOD SOUNDS

Since fashions change quite rapidly, making predictions about the future of popular culture is a notoriously perilous enterprise. Nevertheless, on the basis of the trajectory of contemporary film songs described in this book, it might be reasonable to envision some trends in the near future.

First, it seems that the era of the music director might be waning. If the number of songs continues to decrease in contemporary films—and so-called songless films become more palatable to mainstream audiences—it may become more feasible for filmmakers to use prerecorded songs and/or independent artists to compose and perform one or two songs in a film. As Ganti (2012) has argued, certain film directors have long desired to create films without songs, but have always been pressured by producers and distributors to include songs in order to alleviate the risk of a songless film being branded an "art film" and thus lose commercial appeal. However, given that the social environment and metrics for measuring a film's success have changed in the multiplex era, it is more likely that a distinction between Hindi films and Bollywood musicals will become salient, rather than music disappearing totally from films. If this bifurcation does indeed occur, we might see some changes in production roles, including the disappearance of the music director from certain films. Or the music director might simply become the person who manages the personnel for a soundtrack and composes very little. We might also see an increase in the number of song-oriented scores in the style of other film industries like Hollywood (Smith 1998). In other words, a Bollywood film soundtrack might consist only of prerecorded songs selected by the film director and not lip-synced by the actors. Indeed, this has become more possible in the 2010s as some films like *Bhaag Milkha Bhaag* include only one or two lip-synced tracks, while the rest of the songs operate as background music to montages.

From a film director's perspective, minimizing the role of foregrounded, lip-synced songs in the film narrative has some tangible benefits. Some filmmakers undoubtedly welcome the flexibility whereby they can choose whether to tailor the music to fit the situation or tailor the situation to fit the music. Like other parts of the filmmaking process, this decision might ultimately turn out to be made on the basis of economic rather than aesthetic decisions: It might be more (or less) expensive to pay royalties for a few pre-composed songs than to hire someone to compose them for a film project. As I noted in the previous chapter, there are already some examples of soundtracks that include songs recorded by independent artists; other artists have contributed songs to films that they had composed for private albums (not film soundtracks), for which they receive royalties. In that case, the film promotes their songs, but their songs do not directly promote the film.

Music directors and musicians who work in the film industry have a perspective on the musical value of a recording, which is somewhat different from that of film producers and distributors. Their reputations and career

opportunities are of course enhanced by participating in a blockbuster production; however, their individual careers are also more directly affected by critical evaluations and opinions about musical quality that may originate from extra-musical discourses (e.g., a critic or fan may not like the actor on which the song is picturized, the narrative context of the song, etc.). Perhaps even more important, musicians and composers in India's film industry seldom have a financial stake in the album sales of any particular project. The predominant business model in India is that music directors and musicians are contracted by film producers on a work-for-hire basis. When film producers sell the distribution rights for a soundtrack, the licensing and royalty rights are generally transferred as well, with the artists no longer having any stake in the process. But with the recent changes in India's copyright laws—which now include music directors, singers, and lyricists in the royalty loop—the laissez-faire attitude of the latter toward music piracy and new distribution channels might change, as their direct financial interests are now involved in music as a commodity by way of their direct access to song royalties.

The role of the film song in the career of artists is also changing dramatically, and singers might finally be able to liberate themselves from the curse of disembodiment (i.e., having their voices attached to someone else's body). This might enable them to develop their own distinct musical and career identities beyond playback singing, as Indipop artists so desired to accomplish in the 1990s. Film productions might experience some changes accordingly, insofar as they could become a kind of promotional platform for singers. This would be the fruition of a trend that began with the film *Aashiqui* (Mahesh Bhatt 1990). The singer Kumar Sanu frequently points out in interviews that he had recorded a private album for the T-Series label, but the owner of the company felt that the sound of his album was better suited to a film. Thus, the film was created from the album, which caused some music journalists like Raju Bharatan (1995) to express the fear that films were simply becoming vehicles for songs without any coherent narrative of their own. Although this prophecy has not quite come to pass, there are signs that it might be imminent. As I suggested in chapter 5, T-Series entered the film business in the 2000s in large part as a way to reap greater economic rewards on the music they distribute. Similarly, Yash Raj Films opened their own music label and recording studio to similarly leverage the synergy between film and soundtrack sales. It therefore seems possible to envision a Bollywood in which songs become the marketing jumpstart for independent artists who are not playback singers in the traditional sense; they pursue playback singing only until they establish their own name as singers and then pursue an independent career beyond films. Indeed, this

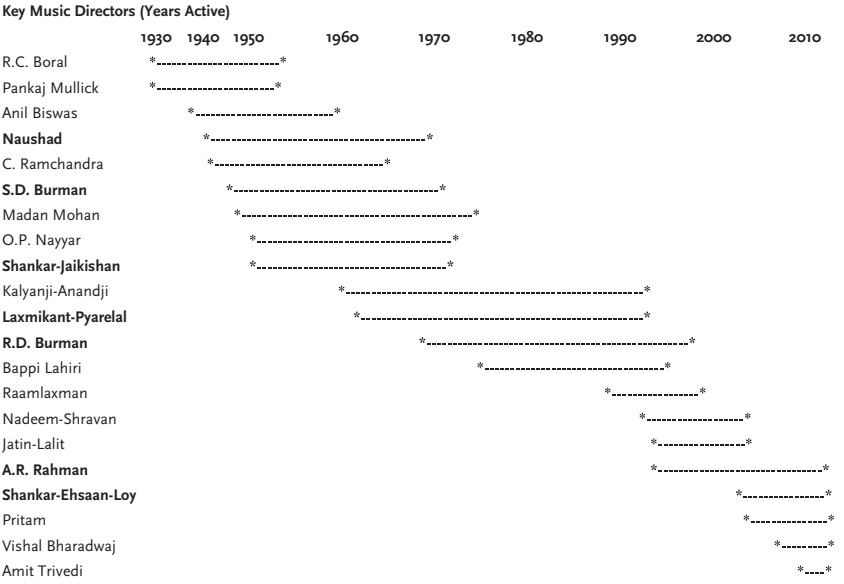
has happened with the contemporary singer Neeti Mohan, who won a television amateur music show, which enabled her to sing several film songs that became quite popular and gave her the recognition to pursue a career that includes film work, but is not dependent on it. Of course, this career move is predicated on her ability to perform live shows with the stage presence of a pop star rather than the wooden demeanor of a playback singer. Thus, as their potential popularity straddles multiple genres, artists might begin avoiding the playback singer label altogether.

Finally, Hindi film music is always already in a state of crisis, as each generation has its own nostalgic golden age that shifts according to generational norms. This was true just as much in the 1950s when film songs were accused of being tainted by un-Indian cosmopolitanism and thus banned from AIR, in the so-called death of melody in the 1970s, and in the rampant "inspiration" from foreign sources that seemingly characterized the 1990s. As I noted in the previous chapter, the apparent crisis of the 2010s stems from the number of electronically produced dance-oriented soundtracks whose numbers have been steadily increasing. This trend of dance songs is likely to continue until it reaches some apparent nadir; then music directors at some point in the future will "rediscover" melody and thus reproduce the cyclical discourse that has been invoked in previous eras. From a different perspective, a parallel critique of the current crop of singers is that they lack the staying power of Lata, Rafi, Asha, and Kishore. Yet, the industry structure that could support the dominance of a Lata or a Rafi has shifted dramatically in the contemporary era. Thus, even as the aesthetic merits of particular voices shift from era to era, the trend of dance-oriented songs, coupled with singers who pursue careers independent of playback singing, might lead to a very different picture for future Bollywood film song. Or it might not.

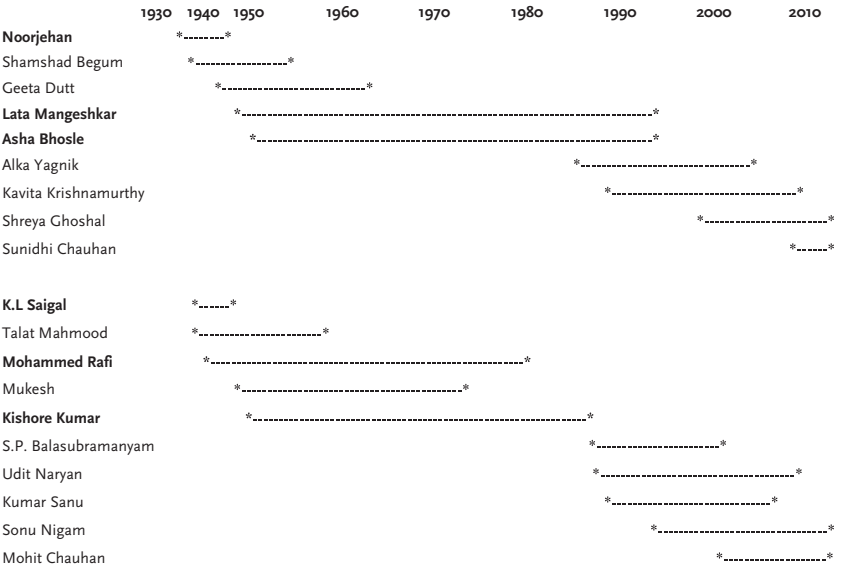
Whether songs gradually disappear from Hindi films, whether pre-composed songs become more common, whether singers and musicians gain a new star power vis à vis music directors, or whether actors begin to sing their own songs, one thing is clear: The producers of the sounds of future Bollywood will continue their cosmopolitan mediations.

APPENDIX A

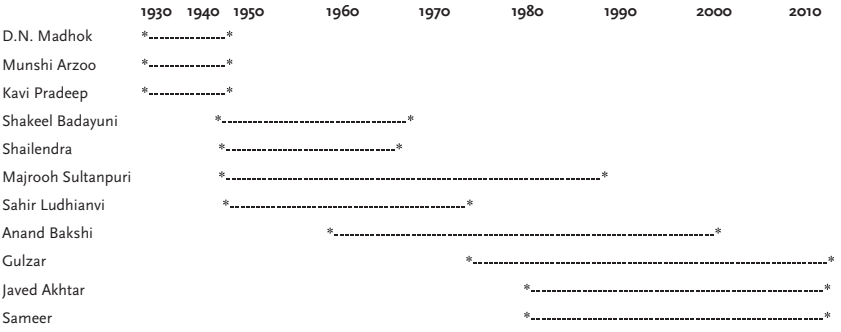
Timelines of Key Figures



Key Singers (Years Active)



Key Lyricists (Years Active)



APPENDIX B

Recommended Listening and Viewing

NOTES ON THE SONG AND FILM LISTS

My guiding approach in selecting these songs was to identify songs that most Indians would recognize, regardless of the generation of the person or the decade of the song. In essence, each of the song/film selections should be relatively obvious to a connoisseur of Indian film song. That said, I have tried to limit my suggestions to one or two songs per film in order to provide the greatest variety, especially since many great songs appear in less-than-great films. In contrast, while there are a lot of fantastic films that do not have noteworthy music, I have recommended films that are best known for their songs but have a strong film narrative as well.

Although each of these songs would be deemed as canonical (or evergreen) by most fans, these lists should not be construed as comprehensive. Indeed, in every decade, there are hundreds of songs that could be great examples here. In addition, there are many songs that were very popular in their time, but have not weathered as well as most of the songs on this list. Some songs have resurfaced in popular remixes or advertisements that have drawn audience attention by their reuse. I have tended to prioritize these songs on this list. Similarly, many older songs have appeared in contemporary films in a different form. For example, "Eena meena deeka" was reprised in *Dil Chahta Hai* (2001); "Pyar kiya to darna kya," "Kahin pe nigahen," and several other evergreen songs were sung by the actors in *Dilwale Dulhaniya Le Jayenge* (1995); while "Awara hoon" and "Duniya mein logon ko" were part of the diegetic background music of *Bunty Aur Babli* (2005). The reuse of these songs is a testament to their enduring popularity as classics, even as they are introduced to new generations.

While it might be useful to represent a broad swath of music directors, the goal of this book is to make everything manageable for new audiences. Thus, there is an obvious concentration on the music directors (e.g., Shankar-Jaikishan, S. D. and R. D. Burman, Laxmikant-Pyarelal, A. R. Rahman, Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy) and singers (Lata, Asha, Rafi, Kishore) that I have discussed in this book. Finally, I have tried to avoid listing songs that are not easily available in the United States. Each of these songs should be available just about anywhere in the world in music stores that carry film songs, on music service channels (like Spotify, eMusic, etc.), or online retail outlets like iTunes or Amazon.com.

10 Recommended Films (1940–1949)

Nartaki. 1940. Director: Debaki Bose. Music: Pankaj Mullick.
Kismet. 1943. Director: Gyan Mukherjee. Music: Anil Biswas.
Tansen. 1943. Director: Jayant Desai. Music: Khemchand Prakash.
Meri Bahen. 1944. Director: Hemchandra Chunder. Music: Pankaj Mullick.
Shahjehan. 1946. Director: A. R. Kardar. Music: Naushad.
Anmol Ghadi. 1946. Director: Mehboob Khan. Music: Naushad.
Shehnai. 1947. Director: P. L. Santoshi. Music: C. Ramchandra.
Aag. 1948. Director: Raj Kapoor. Music: Ram Ganguly.
Barsaat. 1949. Director: Raj Kapoor. Music: Shankar-Jaikishan.
Andaz. 1949. Director: Mehboob Khan. Music: Naushad.

15 Recommended Songs (1940–1949)

"Guzar gaya woh zamana" ("Those days have passed") *Doctor* (1941) Singer: Pankaj Mullick. Music Director: Pankaj Mullick. Lyrics: A. H. Shore.

"Dheere dheere aa re badal" ("Oh clouds, come quietly") *Kismet* (1943) Singer: Ashok Kumar, Amirbai Karnataki. Music Director: Anil Biswas. Lyrics: Pradeep.

"Barso re" ("Make it rain") *Tansen* (1943) Singer: Khursheed. Music Director: Khemchand Prakash. Lyrics: D. N. Madhok.

"Diya jalao" ("Light a lamp") *Tansen* (1943) Singer: K. L. Saigal. Music Director: Khemchand Prakash. Lyrics: D. N. Madhok.

"Do naina matware tihare" ("Your dreamy eyes") *Meri Bahen* (1944) Singer: K. L. Saigal. Music Director: Pankaj Mullick. Lyrics: Pt. Bhushan.

"Dil jalta hai" ("Let the heart smolder") *Pehli Nazar* (1945) Singer: Mukesh. Music Director: Anil Biswas. Lyrics: Aah Sitapuri.

"Awaz de kahan hai" ("Call out to me, where are you?") *Anmol Ghadi* (1946) Singer: Noorjehan, Surendra. Music Director: Naushad. Lyrics: Tanveer Naqvi.

"Jawan hai mohabbat" ("Love is youthful") *Anmol Ghadi* (1946) Singer: Noorjehan. Music Director: Naushad. Lyrics: Tanveer Naqvi.

"Mere sapnon ki rani, Ruhi" ("Ruhi, the queen of my dreams") *Shahjehan* (1946) Singer: K. L. Saigal. Music Director: Naushad. Lyrics: Majrooh Sultanpuri.

"Aana meri jaan . . . Sunday ke Sunday" ("Come my love, every Sunday") *Shehnai* (1947) Singer: Chitalkar, Meena Kapoor, Shamshad Begum. Music Director: C. Ramachandra. Lyrics: P. L. Santoshi.

"Jhoom jhoom ke nacho aaj" ("Sway in happiness and dance today") *Andaz* (1949) Singer: Mukesh. Music Director: Naushad. Lyrics: Majrooh Sultanpuri.

"Tu kahe agar" ("If it is your wish") *Andaz* (1949) Singer: Mukesh. Music Director: Naushad. Lyrics: Majrooh Sultanpuri.

"Chhod gaya balam mujhe" ("My sweetheart has left me") *Barsaat* (1949) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar, Mukesh. Music Director: Shankar-Jaikishan. Lyrics: Hasrat Jaipuri.

"Mujhe kisise pyar ho gaya" ("I am in love with someone") *Barsaat* (1949) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar. Music Director: Shankar-Jaikishan. Lyrics: Hasrat Jaipuri.

"Aayega aanewala" ("The one I await will come") *Mahal* (1949) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar. Music Director: Khemchand Prakash. Lyrics: Nakshab.

10 Recommended Films (1950–1959)

Awara. 1951. Director: Raj Kapoor. Music: Shankar-Jaikishan.

Baiju Bawra. 1952. Director: Vijay Bhatt. Music: Naushad.

Anarkali. 1953. Director: Nandlal Jaswantlal. Music: C. Ramchandra.

Aar Paar. 1954. Director: Guru Dutt. Music: O. P. Nayyar.

Shree 420. 1955. Director: Raj Kapoor. Music: Shankar-Jaikishan.

C.I.D. 1956. Director: Raj Khosla. Music: O. P. Nayyar.

Mother India. 1957. Director: Mehboob Khan. Music: Naushad.

Naya Daur. 1957. Director: B. R. Chopra. Music: O. P. Nayyar.

Pyaasa. 1957. Director: Guru Dutt. Music: S. D. Burman.

Kaagaz Ke Phool. 1959. Director: Guru Dutt. Music: S. D. Burman.

25 Recommended Songs (1950–1959)

"Gore gore o banke chhore" ("Oh fair-complexioned, charming lad") *Samadhi* (1950) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar, Amirbai Karnataki. Music Director: C. Ramachandra. Lyrics: Rajendra Krishan.

"Awara hoon" ("I am a vagabond") *Awara* (1951) Singer: Mukesh. Music Director: Shankar-Jaikishan. Lyrics: Hasrat Jaipuri.

"Ghar aaya mera pardesi" ("My beloved has come home from a distant land") *Awara* (1951) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar. Music Director: Shankar-Jaikishan. Lyrics: Hasrat Jaipuri.

"Saiyan dil mein aana re" ("Come into my heart, darling") *Bahar* (1951) Singer: Shamshad Begum. Music Director: S.D. Burman. Lyrics: Rajendra Krishan.

"Tu Ganga ki mauj" ("You are the waves of the Ganges") *Baiju Bawra* (1952) Singer: Mohammed Rafi, Lata Mangeshkar. Music Director: Naushad. Lyrics: Shakeel Badayuni.

"Yeh raat yeh chandani phir kahan" ("Such a night, such moonlight may never come again") *Jaal* (1952) Singer: Hemant Kumar. Music Director: S. D. Burman. Lyrics: Sahir Ludhianvi.

"Yeh zindagi usi ki hai" ("This life belongs to the one who . . .") *Anarkali* (1953) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar. Music Director: C. Ramchandra. Lyrics: Rajendra Krishan.

"Babuji dheere chalna" ("Slow down Sir, watch your step in love") *Aar Paar* (1954) Singer: Geeta Dutt. Music Director: O. P. Nayyar. Lyrics: Majrooh Sultanpuri.

"Dil-e-nadaan tujhe hua kya hai" ("Naive heart, what has happened to you?") *Mirza Ghalib* (1954) Singer: Talat Mahmood, Suraiya. Music Director: Ghulam Mohammed. Lyrics: Shakeel Badayuni.

"Man dole mera tan dole" ("My mind sways, my body sways") *Nagin* (1954) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar. Music Director: Hemant Kumar. Lyrics: Rajendra Krishan.

"Jayein to jayein kahan" ("No place where I can go") *Taxi Driver* (1954) Singer: Talat Mahmood. Music Director: S. D. Burman. Lyrics: Sahir Ludhianvi.

"Nain so nain nahi mila" ("Do not look into my eyes") *Jhanak Jhanak Payal Baaje* (1955) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar, Hemant Kumar. Music Director: Vasant Desai. Lyrics: Hasrat Jaipuri.

"Mera joota hai Japani" ("My shoes are Japanese") *Shree 420* (1955) Singer: Mukesh. Music Director: Shankar-Jaikishan. Lyrics: Shailendra.

"Pyar hua ikrar hua" ("Love has happened") *Shree 420* (1955) Singer: Manna Dey, Lata Mangeshkar. Music Director: Shankar-Jaikishan. Lyrics: Shailendra.

"Kahin Pe Nigahen" ("The gaze is somewhere, the target is somewhere else") *C.I.D.* (1956) Singer: Shamshad Begum. Music Director: O. P. Nayyar. Lyrics: Majrooh Sultanpuri.

"Eena meena deeka" [nonsense words; no translation] *Aasha* (1957) Singer: Asha Bhosle, Kishore Kumar. Music Director: C. Ramachandra. Lyrics: Rajendra Krishan.

"Duniya mein hum aaye hain" ("We have come into this world") *Mother India* (1957) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar. Music Director: Naushad. Lyrics: Shakeel Badayuni.

"Nagri nagri dwaare dwaare" ("In every city, at every door") *Mother India* (1957) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar. Music Director: Naushad. Lyrics: Shakeel Badayuni.

"Yeh desh hai veer jawanon ka" ("This country belongs to its brave youth") *Naya Daur* (1957) Singer: Mohammed Rafi. Music Director: O. P. Nayyar. Lyrics: Sahir Ludhianvi.

"Maana janaab ne pukara nahin" ("So what if you didn't call me") *Paying Guest* (1957) Singer: Kishore Kumar. Music Director: S. D. Burman. Lyrics: Majrooh Sultanpuri.

"Hum aap ki aankhon mein" ("What if I were to give my heart to your eyes?") *Pyaasa* (1957) Singer: Mohammed Rafi, Geeta Dutt. Music Director: S. D. Burman. Lyrics: Sahir Ludhianvi.

"Jaane woh kaise log the" ("I wonder what kind of people those were") *Pyaasa* (1957) Singer: Hemant Kumar. Music Director: S. D. Burman. Lyrics: Sahir Ludhianvi.

"Ek ladki bheegi bhaagi si" ("A drenched girl") *Chalti Ka Naam Gaadi* (1958) Singer: Kishore Kumar. Music Director: S. D. Burman. Lyrics: Majrooh Sultanpuri.

"Aye malik tere bande hum" ("Oh Lord, we belong to you") *Do Aankhen Barah Haath* (1958) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar. Music Director: Vasant Desai. Lyrics: Bharat Vyas.

"Waqt ne kiya kya haseen sitam" ("The beautiful injustice of time") *Kaagaz Ke Phool* (1959) Singer: Geeta Dutt. Music Director: S. D. Burman. Lyrics: Kaifi Azmi.

10 Recommended Films (1960–1969)

Mughal-e-Azam. 1960. Director: K. Asif. Music: Naushad.

Sangam. 1964. Director: Raj Kapoor. Music: Shankar-Jaikishan.

Jab Jab Phool Khile. 1965. Director: Suraj Prakash. Music: Kalyanji-Anandji.

Guide. 1965. Director: Vijay Anand. Music: S. D. Burman.

Teesri Manzil. 1966. Director: Vijay Anand. Music: R. D. Burman.

An Evening in Paris. 1967. Director: Shakti Samanta. Music: Shankar-Jaikishan.

Hamraaz. 1967. Director: B. R. Chopra. Music: Ravi.

Jewel Thief. 1967. Director: Vijay Anand. Music: S. D. Burman.

Padosan. 1968. Director: Jyoti Swaroop. Music: R. D. Burman.

Aradhana. 1969. Director: Shakti Samanta. Music: S. D. Burman.

25 Recommended Songs (1960–1969)

"Pyar kiya to darna kya" ("I have loved so what is there to fear") *Mughal-e-Azam* (1960) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar. Music Director: Naushad. Lyrics: Shakeel Badayuni.

"Yahoo! Chahe koi mujhe junglee kahe" ("Yahoo! Call me uncivilized if you will") *Junglee* (1961) Singer: Mohammed Rafi. Music Director: Shankar-Jaikishan. Lyrics: Shailendra.

"Kahin deep jale kahin dil" ("Somewhere a lamp burns, somewhere a heart") *Bees Saal Baad* (1962) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar. Music Director: Hemant Kumar. Lyrics: Shakeel Badayuni.

"O janewale ho sake to laut ke aana" ("Come back if you can, oh one who is departing") *Bandini* (1963) Singer: Mukesh. Music Director: S. D. Burman. Lyrics: Shailendra.

"Jaane waalon zara mud ke dekho mujhe" ("Look back at me, oh passersby") *Dosti* (1964) Singer: Mohammed Rafi. Music Director: Laxmikant-Pyarelal. Lyrics: Majrooh Sultanpuri.

"Kar chale hum fida" ("We now depart, having laid down our lives") *Haqeeqat* (1964) Singer: Mohammed Rafi. Music Director: Madan Mohan. Lyrics: Kaifi Azmi.

"Har dil jo pyaar karega" ("Every heart that loves") *Sangam* (1964) Singer: Mukesh, Lata Mangeshkar, Mahendra Kapoor. Music Director: Shankar-Jaikishan. Lyrics: Shailendra.

"Naina barse rimjhim" ("Tears flow from my eyes") *Woh Kaun Thi?* (1964) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar. Music Director: Madan Mohan. Lyrics: Raja Mehdi Ali Khan.

"Gaata rahe mera dil" ("My heart keeps singing") *Guide* (1965) Singer: Kishore Kumar, Lata Mangeshkar. Music Director: S. D. Burman. Lyrics: Shailendra.

"Piya tose naina lage re" ("My eyes have met yours") *Guide* (1965) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar. Music Director: S. D. Burman. Lyrics: Shailendra.

"Yahan main ajnabi hoon" ("I am a stranger here") *Jab Jab Phool Khile* (1965) Singer: Mohammed Rafi. Music Director: Kalyanji-Anandji. Lyrics: Anand Bakshi.

"Aage bhi jaane na tu" ("You don't know the future") *Waqt* (1965) Singer: Asha Bhosle. Music Director: Ravi. Lyrics: Sahir Ludhianvi.

"Aye meri zohra jabeen" ("Oh my beautiful one") *Waqt* (1965) Singer: Manna Dey. Music Director: Ravi. Lyrics: Sahir Ludhianvi.

"Aaja re pyar pukare" ("Come now, love is calling") *Dil Ne Phir Yaad Kiya* (1966) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar. Music Director: Sonik-Omi. Lyrics: G. S. Rawal.

"Tu jahan jahan chalega" ("Wherever you go") *Mera Saaya* (1966) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar. Music Director: Madan Mohan. Lyrics: Raja Mehdi Ali Khan.

"Aaja aaja main hoon pyar tera" ("Come, oh come, I am your love") *Teesri Manzil* (1966) Singer: Mohammed Rafi, Asha Bhosle. Music Director: R. D. Burman. Lyrics: Majrooh Sultanpuri.

"O mere Sona re Sona re" ("Oh my Sona") *Teesri Manzil* (1966) Singer: Mohammed Rafi, Asha Bhosle. Music Director: R. D. Burman. Lyrics: Majrooh Sultanpuri.

"Neele gagan ke tale" ("Under the blue sky") *Hamraaz* (1967) Singer: Mahendra Kapoor. Music Director: Ravi. Lyrics: Sahir Ludhianvi.

"Hothon pe aisi baat" ("With a secret on my lips") *Jewel Thief* (1967) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar, Bhupinder Singh. Music Director: S. D. Burman. Lyrics: Majrooh Sultanpuri.

"Meri aawaz suno, pyar ka raaz suno" ("Listen to my voice, listen to the secret of love") *Naunihal* (1967) Singer: Mohammed Rafi. Music Director: Madan Mohan. Lyrics: Kaifi Azmi.

"Dil ke jharokhe mein" ("In the window of my heart") *Brahmachari* (1968) Singer: Mohammed Rafi. Music Director: Shankar-Jaikishan. Lyrics: Hasrat Jaipuri.

"Ek chatur naar" ("A clever lass") *Padosan* (1968) Singer: Manna Dey, Kishore Kumar. Music Director: R. D. Burman. Lyrics: Rajendra Krishan.

"Mere saamne wali khidki mein" ("In the window across from mine") *Padosan* (1968) Singer: Kishore Kumar. Music Director: R. D. Burman. Lyrics: Rajendra Krishan.

"Mere sapnon ki rani" ("Queen of my dreams") *Aradhana* (1969) Singer: Kishore Kumar. Music Director: S. D. Burman. Lyrics: Anand Bakshi.

"Roop tera mastana" ("Your intoxicating beauty") *Aradhana* (1969) Singer: Kishore Kumar. Music Director: S. D. Burman. Lyrics: Anand Bakshi.

10 Recommended Films (1970–1979)

Hare Rama Hare Krishna. 1971. Director: Dev Anand. Music: R. D. Burman.

Andaz. 1971. Director: Ramesh Sippy. Music: Shankar-Jaikishan.

Pakeezah. 1971. Director: Kamal Amrohi. Music: Ghulam Mohammed.

Apna Desh. 1972. Director: Jambulingam. Music: R. D. Burman.

Bobby. 1973. Director: Raj Kapoor. Music: Laxmikant-Pyarelal.

Yaadon Ki Baraat. 1973. Director: Nasir Hussain. Music: R. D. Burman.

Sholay. 1975. Director: Ramesh Sippy. Music: R. D. Burman.

Kabhi Kabhie. 1976. Director: Yash Chopra. Music: Khayyam.

Hum Kisise Kum Naheen. 1977. Director: Nasir Hussain. Music: R. D. Burman.

Amar Akbar Anthony. 1977. Director: Manmohan Desai. Music: Laxmikant-Pyarelal.

Muqqadar Ka Sikandar. 1978. Director: Prakash Mehra. Music: Kalyanji-Anandji.

25 Recommended Songs (1970–1979)

"Mera naam hai Shabnam" ("My name is Shabnam") *Kati Patang* (1970) Singer: Asha Bhosle, R. D. Burman. Music Director: R. D. Burman. Lyrics: Anand Bakshi.

"Aye bhai zara dekh ke chalo" ("Hey bro, watch your step") *Mera Naam Joker* (1970) Singer: Manna Dey. Music Director: Shankar-Jaikishan. Lyrics: Neeraj.

"Zindagi kaisi hai paheli" ("Life is such a riddle") *Anand* (1971) Singer: Manna Dey. Music Director: Salil Chowdhury. Lyrics: Yogesh.

"Zindagi ek safar hai suhana" ("Life is a wonderful journey") *Andaz* (1971) Singer: Kishore Kumar. Music Director: Shankar-Jaikishan. Lyrics: Hasrat Jaipuri.

"Piya tu ab to aaja" ("Come at least now, my love") *Caravan* (1971) Singer: Asha Bhosle, R. D. Burman. Music Director: R. D. Burman. Lyrics: Majrooh Sultanpuri.

"Chal chal chal mere saathi" ("Walk on, my companion") *Haathi Mere Saathi* (1971) Singer: Kishore Kumar. Music Director: Laxmikant-Pyarelal. Lyrics: Anand Bakshi.

"Dum maaro dum" ("Take a hit from this joint") *Hare Rama Hare Krishna* (1971) Singer: Asha Bhosle. Music Director: R.D. Burman. Lyrics: Anand Bakshi.

"Tick tick tick chalti jaye ghadi" ("Tick tick tick goes the clock") *Kal Aaj Aur Kal* (1971) Singer: Mukesh, Kishore Kumar, Asha Bhosle. Music Director: Shankar-Jaikishan. Lyrics: Neeraj.

"Maar diya jaye" ("Should I kill you?") *Mera Gaon Mera Desh* (1971) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar. Music Director: Laxmikant-Pyarelal. Lyrics: Anand Bakshi.

"Inhi logon ne le lena dupatta mera" ("These are the people who took my scarf") *Pakeezah* (1971) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar. Music Director: Ghulam Mohammed. Lyrics: Majrooh Sultanpuri.

"Duniya mein logon ko" ("In this world, people often misunderstand") *Apna Desh* (1972) Singer: R. D. Burman, Asha Bhosle. Music Director: R. D. Burman. Lyrics: Anand Bakshi.

"Chalte chalte" ("As I went along") *Pakeezah* (1972) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar. Music Director: Ghulam Mohammed. Lyrics: Kaifi Azmi.

"Hum tum ek kamre mein" ("We are alone together in a room") *Bobby* (1973) Singer: Shailendra Singh, Lata Mangeshkar. Music Director: Laxmikant-Pyarelal. Lyrics: Anand Bakshi.

"Main shayar to nahin" ("I am not a poet") *Bobby* (1973) Singer: Shailendra Singh. Music Director: Laxmikant-Pyarelal. Lyrics: Anand Bakshi.

"Chura liya hai tumne jo dil ko" ("Now that you have stolen my heart") *Yaadon Ki Baraat* (1973) Singer: Asha Bhosle, Mohammed Rafi. Music Director: R. D. Burman. Lyrics: Majrooh Sultanpuri.

"Mehbooba mehbooba" ("Lover, oh lover") *Sholay* (1975) Singer: R. D. Burman. Music Director: R. D. Burman. Lyrics: Anand Bakshi.

"Yeh dosti" ("This friendship") *Sholay* (1975) Singer: Kishore Kumar, Manna Dey. Music Director: R. D. Burman. Lyrics: Anand Bakshi.

"Kabhi kabhi mere dil mein" ("Sometimes in my heart") *Kabhi Kabhie* (1976) Singer: Mukesh, Lata Mangeshkar. Music Director: Khayyam. Lyrics: Sahir Ludhianvi.

"My name is Anthony" *Amar Akbar Anthony* (1977) Singer: Kishore Kumar. Music Director: Laxmikant-Pyarelal. Lyrics: Anand Bakshi.

"Pardah hai pardah" ("The veil between us") *Amar Akbar Anthony* (1977) Singer: Mohammed Rafi. Music Director: Laxmikant-Pyarelal. Lyrics: Anand Bakshi.

"Kya hua tera vada" ("What happened to your promise?") *Hum Kisi Se Kum Nahin* (1977) Singer: Mohammed Rafi. Music Director: R. D. Burman. Lyrics: Majrooh Sultanpuri.

"O saathi re" ("Oh my lover") *Muqaddar Ka Sikandar* (1978) Singer: Asha Bhosle, Kishore Kumar. Music Director: Kalyanji-Anandji. Lyrics: Anjaan.

"Salam-e-ishq" ("Greeting of love") *Muqaddar Ka Sikandar* (1978) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar, Kishore Kumar. Music Director: Kalyanji-Anandji. Lyrics: Anjaan.

"Satyam shivam sundaram" ("Truth, godliness, beauty") *Satyam Shivam Sundaram* (1978) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar. Music Director: Laxmikant-Pyarelal. Lyrics: Narendra Sharma.

"Aanewala pal jaanewala hai" ("Every moment that comes must go") *Golmaal* (1979) Singer: Kishore Kumar. Music Director: R. D. Burman. Lyrics: Gulzar.

10 Recommended Films (1980–1989)

Umrao Jaan. 1981. Director: Muzaffar Ali. Music: Khayyam.

Silsila. 1981. Director: Yash Chopra. Music: Shiv-Hari.

Lawaaris. 1981. Director: Prakash Mehra. Music: Kalyanji-Anandji.
Masoom. 1982. Director: Shekhar Kapur. Music: R. D. Burman.
Prem Rog. 1982. Director: Raj Kapoor. Music: Laxmikant-Pyarelal.
Ram Teri Ganga Maili. 1985. Director: Raj Kapoor. Music: Ravindra Jain.
Mr. India. 1987. Director: Shekhar Kapur. Music: Laxmikant-Pyarelal.
Ijaazat. 1987. Director: Gulzar. Music: R. D. Burman.
Qayamat Se Qayamat Tak. 1988. Director: Mansoor Khan. Music: Anand-Milind.
Maine Pyar Kiya. 1989. Director: Sooraj R. Barjatya. Music: Ram Laxman.

25 Recommended Songs (1980–1989)

"Om Shanti Om" [a religious incantation; no translation] *Karz* (1980) Singer: Kishore Kumar. Music Director: Laxmikant-Pyarelal. Lyrics: Anand Bakshi.

"Mere angane mein" ("In my courtyard") *Lawaaris* (1981) Singer: Amitabh Bachchan, Alka Yagnik. Music Director: Kalyanji-Anandji. Lyrics: Anand Bakshi.

"Yaad aa rahi hai" ("Remembering you") *Love Story* (1981) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar, Amit Kumar. Music Director: R. D. Burman. Lyrics: Anand Bakshi.

"Aap jaisa koi" ("Someone like you") *Qurbani* (1981) Singer: Nazia Hassan. Music Director: Biddu. Lyrics: Indivar.

"Rang barse bheege chunarwali" ("A girl drenched with a shower of colors") *Silsila* (1981) Singer: Amitabh Bachchan, Lata Mangeshkar. Music Director: Shiv-Hari. Lyrics: Javed Akhtar.

"Dil cheez kya hai" ("Why just my heart, take my life") *Umrao Jaan* (1981) Singer: Asha Bhosle. Music Director: Khayyam. Lyrics: Shahryar.

"In aankhon ki masti ke" ("The intoxication of these eyes") *Umrao Jaan* (1981) Singer: Asha Bhosle. Music Director: Khayyam. Lyrics: Shahryar.

"I am a disco dancer" *Disco Dancer* (1982) Singer: Vijay Benedict. Music Director: Bappi Lahiri. Lyrics: Anjaan.

"Jimmy Jimmy Jimmy Aaja" ("Jimmy Jimmy Jimmy come to me") *Disco Dancer* (1982) Singer: Parvati Khan. Music Director: Bappi Lahiri. Lyrics: Anjaan.

"Tujhse naraaz nahin zindagi" ("I am not angry with you, life") *Masoom* (1983) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar, Anup Ghoshal. Music Director: R. D. Burman. Lyrics: Gulzar.

"Meri kismat mein tu nahin shayad" ("You are probably not destined to be mine") *Prem Rog* (1982) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar, Suresh Wadkar. Music Director: Laxmikant-Pyarelal. Lyrics: Amir Qazalbash.

"Jab hum jawan honge" ("When we grow up") *Betaab* (1983) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar, Shabbir Kumar. Music Director: R. D. Burman. Lyrics: Anand Bakshi.

"Do naina ek kahani" ("Two eyes, one story") *Masoom* (1983) Singer: Aarti Mukherji. Music Director: R. D. Burman. Lyrics: Gulzar.

"Inteha ho gai intezar ki" ("I've waited for so long") *Sharaabi* (1984) Singer: Kishore Kumar. Music Director: Bappi Lahiri. Lyrics: Anjaan.

"Sun sahiba sun" ("Listen, sir") *Ram Teri Ganga Maili* (1985) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar. Music Director: Ravindra Jain. Lyrics: Hasrat Jaipuri.

"Main teri dushman, dushman tu mera" ("I am your enemy, you are my enemy") *Nagina* (1986) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar. Music Director: Laxmikant-Pyarelal. Lyrics: Anand Bakshi.

"Mera kuch saaman" ("A few of my possessions") *Ijaazat* (1987) Singer: Asha Bhosle. Music Director: R. D. Burman. Lyrics: Gulzar.

"Hawa hawai" [nonsense words; no translation] *Mr. India* (1987) Singer: Kavita Krishnamurthy. Music Director: Laxmikant-Pyarelal. Lyrics: Javed Akhtar.

"Ay mere humsafar" ("Oh, my life partner") *Qayamat Se Qayamat Tak* (1988) Singer: Udit Narayan, Alka Yagnik. Music Director: Anand-Milind. Lyrics: Majrooh Sultanpuri.

"Papa kehte hain" ("Father always says") *Qayamat Se Qayamat Tak* (1988) Singer: Udit Narayan. Music Director: Anand-Milind. Lyrics: Majrooh Sultanpuri.

"Ek do teen" ("One two three") *Tezaab* (1988) Singer: Alka Yagnik. Music Director: Laxmikant-Pyarelal. Lyrics: Javed Akhtar.

"Mere haathon mein" ("Bangles on my wrists") *Chandni* (1989) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar. Music Director: Shiv-Hari. Lyrics: Anand Bakshi.

"Dil deewana" ("The crazy heart") *Maine Pyar Kiya* (1989) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar. Music Director: Ram Laxman. Lyrics: Asad Bhopali.

"Mere rang mein" ("In my colors") *Maine Pyar Kiya* (1989) Singer: S. P. Balasubramaniam. Music Director: Ram Laxman. Lyrics: Asad Bhopali.

"Tirchi topiwale" ("You, wearing the rakishly tilted hat") *Tridev* (1989) Singer: Amit Kumar, Sapna Mukherjee. Music Director: Kalyanji-Anandji. Lyrics: Anand Bakshi.

10 Recommended Films (1990–1999)

Roja. 1992. Director: Mani Ratnam. Music: A. R. Rahman.

Hum Aapke Hai Koun . . . ! 1994. Director: Sooraj R. Barjatya. Music: Ram Laxman.

Bombay. 1995. Director: Mani Ratnam. Music: A. R. Rahman.

Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge. 1995. Director: Aditya Chopra. Music: Jatin-Lalit.

Maachis. 1996. Director: Gulzar. Music: Vishal Bhardwaj.

Dil To Pagal Hai. 1997. Director: Yash Chopra. Music: Uttam Singh.

Dil Se. 1998. Director: Mani Ratnam. Music: A. R. Rahman.

Kuch Kuch Hota Hai. 1998. Director: Karan Johar. Music: Jatin-Lalit.

Hum Dil De Chuke Sanam. 1999. Director: Sanjay Leela Bhansali. Music: Ismail Darbar.

Taal. 1999. Director: Subhash Ghai. Music: A. R. Rahman.

25 Recommended Songs (1990–1999)

"Yaara seeli seeli" ("This smouldering night of separation") *Lekin* (1990) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar. Music Director: Hridaynath Mangeshkar. Lyrics: Gulzar.

"Dekha hai pehli baar" ("I have seen love in your eyes for the first time") *Saajan* (1991) Singer: Alka Yagnik, S. P. Balasubramaniam. Music Director: Nadeem-Shravan. Lyrics: Sameer.

"Chhoti si aasha" ("Simple little dreams") *Roja* (1992) Singer: Minmini. Music Director: A. R. Rahman. Lyrics: P. K. Mishra.

"Jaadu teri nazar" ("Your gaze is magic") *Darr* (1993) Singer: Udit Narayan. Music Director: Shiv-Hari. Lyrics: Anand Bakshi.

"Choli ke peechhe" ("What lies behind the blouse?") *Khalnayak* (1993) Singer: Alka Yagnik, Ila Arun. Music Director: Laxmikant-Pyarelal. Lyrics: Anand Bakshi.

"Ek ladki ko dekha" ("On seeing a girl") *1942: A Love Story* (1994) Singer: Kumar Sanu. Music Director: R. D. Burman. Lyrics: Javed Akhtar.

"Didi tera devar deewana" ("Sister, your brother-in-law is crazy in love") *Hum Aapke Hain Koun . . . !* (1994) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar, S. P. Balasubramaniam. Music Director: Ram Laxman. Lyrics: Dev Kohli.

"Joote do, paise lo" ("Give the shoes, take the money") *Hum Aapke Hain Koun . . . !* (1994) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar, S. P. Balasubramaniam. Music Director: Ram Laxman. Lyrics: Ravinder Rawal.

"Kehna hi kya" ("What should I say") *Bombay* (1995) Singer: Chitra, A. R. Rahman. Music Director: A. R. Rahman. Lyrics: Mehboob.

"Tu hi re" ("You and only you") *Bombay* (1995) Singer: Hariharan, Kavita Krishnamurthy. Music Director: A. R. Rahman. Lyrics: Mehboob.

"Mehndi lagake rakhna" ("Keep your hands adorned with henna") *Dilwale Dulhaniya Le Jayenge* (1995) Singer: Udit Narayan, Lata Mangeshkar. Music Director: Jatin-Lalit. Lyrics: Anand Bakshi.

"Tujhe dekha to ye jaana sanam" ("Sweetheart, I saw you and realized") *Dilwale Dulhaniya Le Jayenge* (1995) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar, Kumar Sanu. Music Director: Jatin-Lalit. Lyrics: Anand Bakshi.

"Chhod aaye hum" ("We have left behind those alleys") *Maachis* (1996) Singer: Hariharan, KK, Suresh Wadkar, Vinod Sehgal. Music Director: Vishal Bhardwaj. Lyrics: Gulzar.

"Pardesi pardesi" ("Hey you from a distant land") *Raja Hindustani* (1996) Singer: Kumar Sanu, Alka Yagnik, Udit Narayan. Music Director: Nadeem-Shravan. Lyrics: Sameer.

"Dil to pagal hai" ("The heart is crazy") *Dil To Pagal Hai* (1997) Singer: Udit Narayan, Lata Mangeshkar. Music Director: Uttam Singh. Lyrics: Anand Bakshi.

"Koi ladki hai" ("There is this girl") *Dil To Pagal Hai* (1997) Singer: Udit Narayan, Lata Mangeshkar. Music Director: Uttam Singh. Lyrics: Anand Bakshi.

"I love my India" *Pardes* (1997) Singer: Hariharan, Kavita Krishnamurthy, Shankar Mahadevan, Aditya Narayan. Music Director: Nadeem-Shravan. Lyrics: Anand Bakshi.

"Chal chaiyya chaiyya" ("Walk in the shadows") *Dil Se* (1998) Singer: Sukhwinder Singh, Sapna Awasthi. Music Director: A. R. Rahman. Lyrics: Gulzar.

"Jiya jale" ("This heart burns") *Dil Se* (1998) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar. Music Director: A. R. Rahman. Lyrics: Gulzar.

"Aati kya Khandala?" ("Will you come to Khandala?") *Ghulam* (1998) Singer: Aamir Khan, Alka Yagnik. Music Director: Jatin-Lalit. Lyrics: Sameer.

"Kuch kuch hota hai" ("Something happens") *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai* (1998) Singer: Udit Narayan, Alka Yagnik. Music Director: Jatin-Lalit. Lyrics: Sameer.

"Nimbooda" ("Sour lemon") *Hum Dil De Chuke Sanam* (1999) Singer: Kavita Krishnamurthy, Karsan Sagathia. Music Director: Ismail Durbar. Lyrics: Mehboob.

"Hoshwalon ko khabar kya" ("What would those in their senses know?") *Sarfarosh* (1999) Singer: Jagjit Singh. Music Director: Jatin-Lalit. Lyrics: Nada Fazli.

"Ishq bina kya jeena" ("What is life without love?") *Taal* (1999) Singer: Anuradha Sriram, Sujatha, Sonu Nigam, A. R. Rahman. Music Director: A. R. Rahman. Lyrics: Anand Bakshi.

"Taal se taal mila" ("Match your rhythm with mine") *Taal* (1999) Singer: Alka Yagnik, Udit Narayan, Vaishali Samant. Music Director: A. R. Rahman. Lyrics: Anand Bakshi.

10 Recommended Films (2000–2009)

Mohabbatein. 2000. Director: Aditya Chopra. Music: Jatin-Lalit.
Dil Chahta Hai. 2001. Director: Farhan Akhtar. Music: Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy.
Kabhi Khushi Kabhie Gham. 2001. Director: Karan Johar. Music: Jatin-Lalit.
Lagaan. 2001. Director: Ashutosh Gowariker. Music: A. R. Rahman.
Devdas. 2002. Director: Sanjay Leela Bhansali. Music: Ismail Darbar.
Kal Ho Na Ho. 2003. Director: Nikhil Advani. Music: Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy.
Swades. 2004. Director: Ashutosh Gowariker. Music: A. R. Rahman.
Rang De Basanti. 2006. Director: Mani Ratnam. Music: A. R. Rahman.
Rock On!! 2008. Director: Abhishek Kapoor. Music: Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy.
Dev D. 2009. Director: Anurag Kashyap. Music: Amit Trivedi.

25 Recommended Songs (2000–2009)

"Piya Haji Ali" ("The good lord is my beloved") *Fiza* (2000) Singer: A. R. Rahman. Music Director: A. R. Rahman. Lyrics: Shaukat Ali.

"Ek pal ka jeena" ("One moment of life") *Kaho Naa . . . Pyaar Hai* (2000) Singer: Lucky Ali. Music Director: Rajesh Roshan. Lyrics: Vijay Akela.

"Bumbro" ("Bumblebee") *Mission Kashmir* (2000) Singer: Sunidhi Chauhan, Jaspinder Narula, Shankar Mahadevan. Music Director: Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy. Lyrics: Rahat Indori.

"Humko humise chura lo" ("Steal me away from me") *Mohabbatein* (2000) Singer: Lata Mangeshkar, Udit Narayan. Music Director: Jatin-Lalit. Lyrics: Anand Bakshi.

"Jaane Kyon" ("Wonder why") *Dil Chahta Hai* (2001) Singer: Udit Narayan, Alka Yagnik, Caralisa Monteiro. Music Director: Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy. Lyrics: Javed Akhtar.

"Woh ladki hai kahan?" ("Where is that girl?") *Dil Chahta Hai* (2001) Singer: Shaan, Kavita Krishnamurthy. Music Director: Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy. Lyrics: Javed Akhtar.

"Bole chudiyaan" ("My bangles are saying something") *Kabhi Khushi Kabhie Gham* (2001) Singer: Alka Yagnik, Sonu Nigam, Udit Narayan, Kavita Krishnamurthy. Music Director: Jatin-Lalit. Lyrics: Sameer.

"Yeh ladka hai deewana" ("This boy is crazy") *Kabhi Khushi Kabhi Gham* (2001) Singer: Udit Narayan, Alka Yagnik. Music Director: Jatin-Lalit. Lyrics: Sameer.

"Chale chalo" ("Keep marching onward") *Lagaan* (2001) Singer: A. R. Rahman, Srinivas. Music Director: A. R. Rahman. Lyrics: Javed Akhtar.

"Radha kaisa na jale" ("How could Radha not be jealous?") *Lagaan* (2001) Singer: Asha Bhosle, Udit Narayan, Vaishali Samant. Music Director: A. R. Rahman. Lyrics: Javed Akhtar.

"Dola re dola" ("My mind and body sway") *Devdas* (2002) Singer: Kavita Krishnamurthy, Shreya Ghoshal, KK. Music Director: Ismail Durbar. Lyrics: Nusrat Badr.

"Silsila yeh chahat ka" ("This bond of desire") *Devdas* (2002) Singer: Shreya Ghoshal. Music Director: Ismail Durbar. Lyrics: Nusrat Badr.

"Kal ho na ho" ("Tomorrow might never come") *Kal Ho Na Ho* (2003) Singer: Sonu Nigam. Music Director: Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy. Lyrics: Javed Akhtar.

"Mann ki lagan" ("My mind's obsession") *Paap* (2003) Singer: Rahat Fateh Ali Khan. Music Director: Shahi. Lyrics: Amjad Islam Amjad.

"Allah ke bande" ("God's people") *Waisa Bhi Hota Hai, Part II* (2003) Singer: Kailash Kher. Music Director: Vishal-Shekhar. Lyrics: Vishal Dadlani.

"Dhoom machale" ("Make a commotion") *Dhoom* (2004) Singer: Sunidhi Chauhan. Music Director: Pritam. Lyrics: Sameer.

"Yun hi chala chal" ("Keep moving") *Swades* (2004) Singer: Udit Narayan, Kailash Kher, Hariharan. Music Director: A. R. Rahman. Lyrics: Javed Akhtar.

"Kajra re" ("Your mascaraed eyes") *Bunty Aur Babli* (2005) Singer: Alisha Chinai, Shankar Mahadevan, Javed Ali. Music Director: Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy. Lyrics: Gulzar.

"Beedi jalai le" ("Light the cigarette") *Omkara* (2006) Singer: Sunidhi Chauhan, Sukhwinder Singh, Nachiketa Chakraborty, Clinton Cerejo. Music Director: Vishal Bhardwaj. Lyrics: Gulzar.

"Rang de basanti" ("Color it saffron") *Rang De Basanti* (2006) Singer: Daler Mehndi, K. S. Chithra. Music Director: A. R. Rahman. Lyrics: Prasoon Joshi.

"Barso re" ("Let it rain") *Guru* (2007) Singer: Shreya Ghoshal, Uday Mazumdar. Music Director: A.R. Rahman. Lyrics: Gulzar.

"Socha hai" ("Have you wondered?") *Rock On!!* (2008) Singer: Farhan Akhtar, Arjun Rampal, Luke Kenny, Purab Kohli. Music Director: Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy. Lyrics: Javed Akhtar.

"Masakali" *Delhi 6* (2009) Singer: Mohit Chauhan. Music Director: A. R. Rahman. Lyrics: Prasoon Joshi.

"Emosanal attyachar" ("Emotional torture") *Dev D* (2009) Singer: BandMaster Rangeela and Rasila. Music Director: Amit Trivedi. Lyrics: Amitabh Bhattacharya.

"Twist" *Love Aaj Kal* (2009) Singer: Neeraj Shridhar. Music Director: Pritam. Lyrics: Irshad Kamil.

5 Recommended Films (2010–2013)

Ishqiya. 2010. Director: Vishal Bhardwaj. Music: Vishal Bhardwaj.

Rockstar. 2011. Director: Imtiaz Ali. Music: A. R. Rahman.

Zindagi Na Milegi Dobara. 2011. Director: Zoya Akhtar. Music: Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy.

Barfi! 2012. Director: Anurag Basu. Music: Pritam.

Bhaag Milkha Bhaag. 2013. Director: Farhan Akhtar. Music: Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy.

10 Recommended Songs (2010–2013)

"Behke behke nain" ("Intoxicated eyes") *Aisha* (2010) Singer: Anushka Manchanda, Samrat, Raman Mahadeven. Music Director: Amit Trivedi. Lyrics: Javed Akhtar.

"Dil to baccha hai ji" ("My heart is a child") *Ishqiya* (2010) Singer: Rahat Fateh Ali Khan. Music Director: Vishal Bhardwaj. Lyrics: Gulzar.

"Sajda" ("Reverence") *My Name is Khan* (2010) Singer: Rahat Fateh Ali Khan, Shankar Mahadevan, Richa Sharma. Music Director: Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy. Lyrics: Niranjan Iyengar.

"Bhaag D. K. Bose" ("Run D. K. Bose") *Delhi Belly* (2011) Singer: Ram Sampath. Music Director: Ram Sampath. Lyrics: Amitabh Bhattacharya.

"Nadaan parinday" ("Innocent birds") *Rockstar* (2011) Singers: Mohit Chauhan, A. R. Rahman. Music Director: A. R. Rahman. Lyrics: Irshad Kamil.

"Senorita" *Zindagi Na Dobara Milegi* (2011) Singers: Maria del Mar Fernandez, Fahran Akhtar, Hrithik Roshan, Abhay Deol. Music Director: Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy. Lyrics: Javed Akhtar.

"Main kya karoon" ("What should I do?") *Barfi!* (2012) Singer: Nikhil Paul George. Music Director: Pritam. Lyrics: Ashish Pandit.

"Pareshaan" ("I'm troubled") *Ishaqzaade* (2012) Singer: Shalmali Kholgade. Music Director: Amit Trivedi. Lyrics: Kausar Munir.

"Jiya Re" ("The heart") *Jab Tak Hai Jaan* (2012) Singer: Neeti Mohan. Music Director: A. R. Rahman. Lyrics: Gulzar.

"Zinda" ("Alive") *Bhaag Milkha Bhaag* (2013) Singer: Siddharth Mahadevan. Music Director: Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy. Lyrics: Prasoon Joshi.

NOTES

PREFACE

1. For example, Dudrah 2006; Bose 2007; Mazumdar 2007; Gopal, Moorti, et al. 2008; Gokulsing, Dissanayanke, et al. 2009; Mehta, Pandharipande, et al. 2010; Dwyer and Pinto 2011; Ganti 2012, 2013.
2. For example, Bharatan 1995, 2010, 2013; Valicha 1998; Premchand 2003; Anantharaman 2008; Vijayakar 2009; Bhattacharjee and Vittal 2010; Burman 2013.
3. For example, Beeman 1981; Skillman 1986; Arnold 1988; Manuel 1993; Booth 2000; Dudrah 2006; Sarrazin 2008a, 2008b, 2009, 2013.
4. By the accounting of the Central Board of Film Certification (CBFC), in the year 2009, 1288 films were certified in an Indian language, including 235 in Hindi, 218 in Telugu, 190 in Tamil, and 177 in Kannada. In 2010, 1274 Indian language films were certified, including 215 in Hindi, 190 in Tamil, 181 in Telugu, 143 in Kannada. These figures include a significant number of films that were dubbed from one Indian language to another (202 in 2009; 117 in 2010). For more details see http://cbfcindia.gov.in.

CHAPTER 1

1. *Antakshari* (lit. final letter or start with the end) is a game played at parties and as a way to pass the time while waiting. The game is very adaptable and has a number of variations. Most commonly, participants are divided into two or more groups. A member of the first group begins singing a refrain or chorus of a song (usually from a film) and the rest of the group joins in until the end of the refrain. Someone in the next group must sing a song that begins with the final letter or sound of the refrain sung by the previous group. The game can be played competitively through a point system or until an opposing group is unable to think of a song. One variation is to use the final word, rather than the final sound of the refrain to begin the next song.
2. Following from the implications of this local situatedness, there is a temptation to consider "cosmopolitanisms" in the plural. Although it might at times be useful to speak of local conceptions of cosmopolitanism, it makes more sense to retain cosmopolitanism in the singular both for the sake of clarity and to describe the phenomenon in theoretically general terms (cf. Pollack et al. 2000).
3. For example, see Morcom 2014 for stylistic mediation in the context of Indian dance.

4. In linguistic anthropology, Michael Silverstein (2003) has called this phenomenon of interpretation on different temporal and (meta)analytic levels "indexical orders." That is, interpreting the particular sound of the R. D. Burman percussion section—and its later incarnations in the music of Jatin-Lalit—as an iconic index of the 1970s would be a kind of second-order index.
5. Some very coherent accounts of Peircean theory can be found in Parmentier 1994, Lee 1996, and Daniel 1984. A noteworthy application of semiotic theory to music and its meanings can be found in Turino 1999.
6. The Peircean theory of signs rests upon the notion that the mind utilizes and manipulates signs in the process of cognition. As a unit of cognition, Peirce defines the sign as "something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity" (1916, 2.228). Thus, a sign can be almost anything, at any level of perception, from a quality of sound, a passage of music, a song, a musical style, or even the category "music" itself. Moreover, the object represented by the sign can be "internal" (i.e., residing in the mind in the form of memories, beliefs, etc.) or "external" (i.e., existing outside the mind). Thus, because cognition operates through the collaboration of internal and external signs, no sign exists in isolation: Signs necessarily co-occur with other signs.

   From the perspective of interpretation or experience, it is important to acknowledge that not all *potential* signs are recognized as such. In the process of cognition, a potential sign may slip by without being recognized as a sign by one individual, while another individual recognizes it as a sign based upon his or her (inter)subjective experience, knowledge, or memory. Something that is beyond the experience of the individual and not recognized as a sign by him/her is not a sign at that particular moment, although it is certainly possible that the sign might be recognized as such at some later point by that individual.
7. In the Peircean nested sign hierarchy, icons are signs based upon a quality or resemblance (the sound of the shaker in the song "Chal chaiyya chaiyya" is iconic of a moving train). Indexes are signs made up of icons and are based upon contiguity, co-occurrence, or causality (the pronunciation of the word *chaiyya* indexes a folk pronunciation of the word *chhāyā*). Symbols are signs containing indexes that are based solely on social convention or law (the word *chaiyya* in Hindi is a symbol that has a valence of *shadow, shade*, or *protection* in English). In making these distinctions, the analyses in this book demonstrate the ways in which visual, aural, social, and historical signs operate together in the process of signification. Accordingly, I argue here that musical meaning is constituted through the interaction of signs of all sorts, inside and outside the individual, and inside and outside the music itself.
8. See Marcus 1992, Manuel 1993.
9. In Peirce's theoretical framework of semiosis, mediation refers to human cognitive encounters with sign systems, in which signs represent objects, even as they are partially determined by their objects, which are further mediated by their interpretants. I will not explore all the permutations of this way of thinking, but one particular idea in this paradigm that is useful is the notion of the "iconic index," which is based upon the cooperation of sign relations of resemblance (i.e., icons) and co-occurrence (i.e., indexes) (Monson 1994).

CHAPTER 2

1. See Barnouw and Krishnaswamy 1980, Arnold 1991, Garga 1996.
2. See Barnouw and Krishnaswamy 1980, Hansen 1992, Gupt 2005, Shope 2003.

3. The record for number of songs in a Hindi film is held by the 1932 *Indra Sabha* which had 71 songs.
4. See the glossary for descriptions of these instruments and some of their extra-musical associations.
5. In the classical *khayal*, the *mukhṛā* refers to a short phrase or composition ending on the first beat of the metrical cycle. In Hindustani classical vocal music, the *sthāi* is the primary theme in a classical composition in the middle register; an *antarā* is a secondary melodic theme in a composition that is usually performed in the upper register of a singer. (see Courtney 1995, Ruckert 2004).
6. In the nomenclature of Indian film musicians, the melodic form of the *antarā* ends with the "cross" (i.e., a moment of melodic and lyrical tension that leads into the refrain, referred to by musicians as the "sign"). Both "cross" and "sign" are terms derived from Western music notation referring to the symbols used in the D. S. al Coda (i.e., 𝄋 and 𝄌 that denote where musicians should return after a repeat, and where they should jump ahead in the sheet music).
7. Within the sphere of music direction, Saraswati Devi (1912–80), Usha Khanna (b. 1941), and Sneha Khanwalkar (b. 1983) are among the very few exceptions.

CHAPTER 3

1. See also Booth 2013 for a discussion of C. Ramchandra's compositional style.
2. As with "Dheere dheere" discussed in the previous chapter, there are differences between the film and gramophone versions of the song that are likely due to technological and space constraints at the HMV studio (India's dominant music company) in Mumbai. In particular, the ensemble in the HMV version is significantly smaller and uses only one female singer rather than two. There are also more musical contrasts between the male singer and the village girl, and in the film version, the orchestra shifts to Indian percussion, which evokes a rhythmic feel of folk songs in an eight-beat meter.
3. See Tharoor 1997, Das 2000, Guha 2007 for more details.
4. For example, many of the early actor-singers were courtesans (*taway'if*), the bearers of India's classical music and dance traditions, and had been performing in urban salons (*koṭha*) from the late 19th century (see Qureshi 2006). In addition to bringing classical vocal flourishes and the *ghazal* (Urdu poetic) form to films, they sang in a full-voiced style meant to be projected into large spaces. This heavy singing style became less palatable to audiences after the development of microphone technology and after they had a taste of the crooning style of Saigal. Note that this microphone-afforded shift in vocal style also happened in the United States with singers like Bing Crosby at about the same time (see Taylor 2005).
5. The issue of regulating royalty payments to singers was recently addressed by the Copyright Act of 2012, which is still being contested in the Indian court system at the time of this writing.
6. Biographies of Lata tend to focus on her interactions with various music directors and their unceasing praise of her musical abilities (e.g., Bharatan 1995, Bhimani 1995, Kabir 2009, Bichu 2010).
7. See Dwyer 2005, 36–37, for more analysis of this sequence.
8. Guru Dutt's picturization of "Hum aapki aankhon mein" ("What if I were to give my eyes to your heart?") in the film *Pyaasa* (1957) is believed to pay tribute to this sequence (see the discussion of this song in chapter 4). One can also see the visual—but not musical—influence of this song sequence in Farhan Akhtar's

picturization of "Woh ladki hai kahan" in *Dil Chahta Hai* (2001), discussed in chapter 7.

9. Prithviraj Kapoor is Raj Kapoor's real-life father.
10. Of course, a later readings of these lyrics (i.e., after the 1970s) might point to the glimmers of corruption by the Indian state itself and the ability to change course through the same kinds of democratic processes. This kind of reframing or re-reading of the lyrical message would be a kind of "second order index" in Silverstein's (2003) terms.

CHAPTER 4

1. See Bhattacharya 2011 for analysis of this song sequence and Rockwell 2003 for discussion of the picturization of this and other songs in *Pyaasa*.
2. For the sake of convenience, most scholars refer to this as a Hindi-language industry, but at times, the dialogue is inflected with the Urdu language, most especially in song sequences of early films (Trivedi 2006). The Urdu language uses the syntax of Hindi, but incorporates a different lexicon that is derived from Persian rather than Sanskrit. The presence of Urdu is notable in period films that represent the Mughal era such as *Shahjehan* and *Mughal-e-Azam*, as well as in the *ghazal* song form. In short, the language of Hindi films and songs is more accurately described as Hindustani, the language spoken by 400 million people in North India that blends the Hindi and Urdu lexicons.
3. As Akshay Manwani rightly notes in his biography of Sahir Ludhianvi, "Poetry is free of any predefined boundaries. The poet is not confined by a melody, a film's situation or the language of the protagonists. . . . Songwriting, on the other hand, is a diametrically opposite experience. Here, a lyricist has to write within the framework of the melody, bearing in mind the film situation while giving due recognition to the language of the movie and its characters" (2013, 79–80).
4. I am unable to provide all of the lyrics for copyright reasons, but the lyrics of "Koi sagar" and many other *ghazals* are widely available on the Internet, including the website http://smriti.com/hindi-songs.
5. There are conflicting accounts on the origin of this rift, but it appears that SD had asked Lata to re-record one of her songs, but due to either her scheduling or her outright refusal, SD replaced Lata's voice with Asha's.
6. Diwali (or Deepawali) is the annual "festival of lights" that takes place in October or November of every year. In its religious context, Diwali celebrates the return of Lord Rama (an incarnation of the Hindu god Vishnu) to his home of Ayodhya after many years in exile. As an important moment in the Hindu epic *Ramayana*, or *The Story of Ram*, the inhabitants of Ayodhya lit many small clay lamps (*dīp*) filled with oil and set them around the city to welcome Rama home. Indian families similarly put lamps around their houses and set off fireworks to celebrate the festival. Both lamps and fireworks appear in the set design of this song sequence. Diwali is also the beginning of the New Year in the Hindu calendar. As a cultural festival, Indian families use the opportunity to clean their houses and make large household purchases (e.g., automobiles, washing machines, etc.). Thus, Diwali has become an important retail holiday. Indian film producers frequently release their biggest budget films in this season, and the soundtracks of these films precede the film releases by several weeks on radio and television channels. Holi, the Hindu "festival of colors," takes place in February or March. Holi celebrates the beginning of spring in the Hindu calendar, and people "play colors" (i.e., they gather in public spaces in white clothes and throw colored powder at each other and/

or squirt each other with colored water). In "Piya tose," this is represented in the fourth stanza when the accompanying dancers throw colored powder into the air and mime the use of water guns.
7. See Philip Lutendorf, http://www.uiowa.edu/~incinema/Aradhana.html, for additional analysis of this poignant song sequence.
8. Courtesans were not only the artists who performed *ghazals* and maintained the classical music and dance traditions in their salons during the colonial period; they also had greater economic and sexual freedom than the vast majority of Indian women (Qureshi 2006). As in the late-19th-century European opera, the courtesan was represented as very much a tragic figure in Indian film. She was the embodiment of talent, grace, and beauty, yet her background prevented any opportunity for respectability (Chakravarty 1998, Dwyer 2005). See also Majumdar's 2009 analysis of actresses in early Indian cinema. Of course, the ambivalent—if not dangerous—status of female performers was not limited to Indian cinema (see Pullen 2005, 2014).

CHAPTER 5

1. See also Jerry Pinto's (2006) biography of the actress Helen.
2. See Sarrazin 2009 for an analysis of this song.
3. For example, see www.itwofs.com.
4. By parody, I mean the adaptation of a new set of lyrics to a preexisting melody. The creation of song parodies is a widespread folk practice worldwide, and indeed the American national anthem is a parody of the late 18th-century British drinking song "In Anacreon in Heaven." In India, this practice dates back to at least the 13th century (Manuel 1993). Music directors have long mediated folk melodies for use in film songs, although cultural critics note that there has been a feedback loop as folk musicians have adapted film songs that have adapted folk song melodies (again, mediated).
5. See Monika Mehta's (2011) discussion of the lawsuit against "Choli ke peechhe" and the grounds on which it was based.
6. Sufism is a syncretic sect of mystical Islam that has devotees in a broad swath of territory from Turkey to Myanmar. Their shrines (*dargah*) are visited by people of all faiths and believed to be places where many kinds of physical and mental affliction can be healed (see Bellamy 2011).
7. See also Qureshi's (1989) ethnography of *qawwali* at the Nizamuddin shrine in Delhi and Morcom's (2007) discussion of the characteristics of film *qawwali*.
8. See also Mehta 2011 for a discussion of the narratives of Madhuri Dixit, with her sexy but nevertheless traditional persona, as the ideal embodiment of the new Indian middle classes.

CHAPTER 6

1. Not surprisingly, there has been extensive scholarship on the social and economic transitions that liberalization entailed. For example, see Tharoor 1997, Byres 1998, Das 2000, Liechty 2003, Mazzarella 2003, Fernandes 2006, Oza 2006, Gupta and Sivaramakrishnan 2011, among many others.
2. Like liberalization, this post-satellite period has also been the subject of extensive analysis. For example, see Shah 1997, Mankekar 1999, Page and Crawley 2001, Rajagopal 2001, Juluri 2004, Oza 2006, Kumar 2009, Kohli-Khandekar 2010.
3. See Dwyer 2005, 113–115, for a more detailed synopsis of the film.

4. See Uberoi's (2001) ethnographic description of watching the film with women who question the underlying basis of this assumption.
5. See also Uberoi's (1998) analysis of *DDLJ's* film narrative.
6. See also Kabir's (2003) analysis of the film and its music.

CHAPTER 7

1. See Sarrazin 2008 for additional discussion of the songs of *Dil Chahta Hai*.
2. http://content.icicidirect.com/mailimages/Company_Research_201092716740.pdf (accessed August 13, 2013).
3. European nations frequently provide a number of economic incentives to Hindi film producers to shoot films in their countries in the hope that seeing these countries onscreen will draw Indian tourists (Ganti 2012).
4. See Beaster-Jones 2013 for an analysis of the songs "Ek pal ka jeena" ("One moment of life") and "Allah ke bande" ("God's people").
5. See Diethrich 1999, Hutnyk 2000, Zuberi 2002, Maira 2002, Dawson 2005.
6. See also Beaster-Jones 2009; Greene 2001, 2013.
7. As a genre of the early 2000s, stand-alone film song remixes were heavily promoted on Indian television and became the site of moral panic about the sexualization of India's popular music heritage and the ostensible dearth of creativity in the neoliberal era; this even prompted Naushad to lead the movement against remixes (Beaster-Jones 2009).

GLOSSARY

Antarā : the verse in Hindi song form with a melody that is distinct from the *mukhṛā* (see chapter 2).

Bansuri : a flute made from hollow bamboo with air and finger holes cut into the top. The sound of the bansuri is quite similar to the Western flute, and the instrument has the ability to slide between pitches. The bansuri is used in most Indian musical styles and has strong cultural associations with the Hindu god Krishna.

Dholak/Dhol : a double-barreled drum used in many Indian folk and devotional musics, as well as festival contexts. The drum is present in many forms throughout India and can vary greatly in size and shape. The larger version is usually referred to as the dhol, the smaller as the dholak. Depending upon the musical context, the instrument is played either by hand or with sticks.

Drone : a small set of pitches played continuously that establishes the foundation and reference point for all of the pitches played in a composition. In classical musics, the drone role is commonly played by the tanpura, whose four strings are usually tuned to the 1st and 5th scale degrees. In some contemporary contexts, the role of the drone is filled by a synthesizer known as a surpeti or shruti box that replicates the sound of the tanpura. The drone is used in almost all classical and semi-classical contexts, as well as many film songs.

Filmi : the characteristic of being from an Indian film; an inauthentic performance that might resemble that of an Indian film.

Harmonium : an instrument introduced to India by Christian missionaries which looks like a wooden box with a small keyboard. Bellows pumped with the left hand force air through reeds, producing an instrumental timbre similar to the accordion. The harmonium has an accompaniment role similar to the sarangi in classical contexts, but is also frequently used in devotional and folk musics as well.

Mukhṛā: the primary melody and lyrics for most Hindi film songs that is repeated in whole or in part throughout the song as a refrain. Most frequently, the first line of the *mukhṛā* is also the song title (see chapter 2).

Rāga : a term used to describe both individual song compositions and the rules governing the creation of melodies in the Indian classical music system. The term is derived from the Sanskrit word for color (*rang*); individual rāgas have strong extra-musical associations to, and evoke, particular times of day (e.g., early morning, late evening, etc.), seasons, Hindu deities, and moods or emotions (*rasa*). While individual rāgas can form the basis of a large variety of songs, the use of rāga is not limited to classical music, inasmuch as certain folk or film songs might be based upon a particular rāga. In other words, these songs adhere to the rules governing melody creation for a particular rāga composition and musical improvisation on this composition. This adherence to rāga composition is particularly pertinent to early film songs, which derived much of their inspiration from light classical genres like *khayal, thumri*, and *ghazal*. These rules might include notes that can be played or must be avoided, short melodic motifs or contours, and particular scales or modes. Many rāgas are defined by their different ascending and descending patterns or contours, with, at times, a single note differentiating one rāga from another. Indian classical music has long been an oral tradition; most of its best-known practitioners have (literally) learned at the feet of their masters in musical lineages (*gharana*). Accordingly, each rāga composition contains an extraordinary lore and history of its practice, which might include miracles that have taken place or details of legendary performances by particular masters.

Santur : a string instrument similar in construction to the hammer dulcimer. A santur contains as many as 100 strings on a sounding board that are played with wooden mallets.

Sarangi : a variety of bowed lute. The instrument is made from a hollow wooden base covered in goatskin and usually has three melody strings. Like the sitar, it has sympathetic strings that resonate when certain notes are played and has a timbre similar to a violin, albeit with a touch of melancholy. The sarangi is an important accompaniment instrument in classical vocal contexts, and the musician frequently shadows the melodic line.

Sargam : seven vocables (non-lexical syllables) attached to pitches that parallel Western solfége. In India, these pitches are Sa Re Ga Ma Pa Dha Ni.

Shehnai: a double-reed woodwind instrument that has an instrumental timbre similar to the oboe. The instrument is used for accompaniment

in classical contexts, but the sound of the shehnai is strongly associated with royalty and weddings.

Sitar : a plucked string instrument that has three or four melody strings, a hollow gourd at one end, and tuning pegs and moveable frets lining the neck. The sitar has sympathetic strings that resonate when certain notes are played, which gives the instrument a shimmery sound quality. While sometimes used as an accompaniment instrument in Indian films, the sitar is one of the most important solo instruments in Indian classical music.

Tabla : a set of two pitched drums played by a single musician. The right-hand drum is made of hollowed wood with a goatskin head that has a black paste applied in the center. The left-hand drum is larger, made from metal or clay, and also features a goatskin head with a black paste circle. The right drum is usually tuned to the fundamental pitch of a song (Sa), whereas the left drum has a deeper, variable pitch that can be adjusted by changing hand pressure. Tabla is most commonly used as rhythm accompaniment instruments in North Indian classical and devotional contexts.

Tāla (or tāl) : the meter underlying a classical composition, comprised of groups of pulses of equal length that are repeated cyclically. In the Indian context, each tāla has a *theka* or drum stroke associated with it. The most common tāla of North Indian classical compositions is *tīntāl* (16 beats). In film songs, the most common tālas are *kaharwa* (eight beats) and *dādra* (six beats). Although many film compositions use the tāla system in a recognizable way, some musicologists (e.g., Ranade 2006) sometimes refer to the simple meter of most film songs as *ardhatālā* (lit. half meter) as an extension of the meters associated with Indian folk genres. Others suggest that music directors and arrangers use the Western metrical system rather than the tāla system. Most film song compositions use a mixture of Indian and Western meters. Accordingly, in many compositions, one might reasonably make both cases that a particular song is in either a fast eight-beat *kaharwa tāla* or in a moderate four-beat meter.

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