UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Department of Film Studies

Beyond ‘Masala’: Horror and Science Fiction in Contemporary Bollywood

by

Zubair Shafiq

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

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Since the early 1990s, Bollywood has witnessed a significant shift from its traditional 'formulae', particularly in terms of formal elements (i.e. narrative, themes, mise-en-scène) in its attempt to reach international audiences. The term *Masala,* often used to refer to all Bollywood films, has become one of the most popular genres of Bollywood. The 'angry young man' era of the 1970s and 1980s has lost its popularity in the last two decades as a self-conscious genre cinema has developed in Bollywood. This change has not only influenced genre conventions but also audience expectations. As a result, genres such as horror and science fiction have gained popularity within India and abroad. Despite changes in form and expectation, the critical discourse on Bollywood has mostly retained its focus on the genres of 'classical' Bollywood and its 'golden era'. These shifts in Bollywood in the new millennium require re-visiting our understanding of this cinema. One of my central arguments is that horror and science fiction have developed through a process of *Bollywoodization* while the dominant discourse often credits *Indianization* as the main factor. *Bollywoodization,* in this case, refers to the transnational cinematic shifts in which genre conventions from other industries are appropriated to a specific Bollywood style. This thesis aims to expand the understanding of genre cinema in Bollywood whilst claiming it as what Tom Ryall has called a 'cinema of genres'.

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Zubair Shafiq, declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

Beyond 'Masala': Horror and Science Fiction in Contemporary Bollywood.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;

2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;

3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;

4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;

5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;

6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;

7. None of this work has been published before submission

Signed: .....

Date: .....

Acknowledgements

My love for films started in childhood when I used to watch them through the state-owned channel Pakistan Television (PTV) or on borrowed pirated copies and VCR from friends or neighbours on any special occasions. Like many others, my parents were always strict about films so I sometimes had to watch them discreetly. It was not until I started my studies at the University of Punjab that I was introduced to cinema. However, visiting cinema was a social taboo and to break free from it was very challenging. The University of Punjab did not offer any film course in 2005 though it was arguably the largest public sector institution so I joined the department of Mass Communication.

I watched the first film in a cinema in 2007 when Shoaib Mansoor's films *Khuda Ke Liye* (KKL - *In the Name of God*) was released. This was the first film by a Pakistani filmmaker which attracted a large number of families to cinema halls which were previously considered as forbidden places for families. The families cinema-going trend was set by this and similar films after 2007. Since then, I developed a taste for cinema and films and it became easier for me to learn more about them due to my regular visits. My interest and passion for cinema and films led me to choose film studies for my PhD research. I am thankful to Professor Tim Bergfelder who accepted my research proposal and I started my PhD at the University of Southampton. After completion of PhD, I plan to focus on Pakistani cinema which is one of the least explored cinema industries.

I am grateful to my sponsor, The Islamia University of Bahawalpur, Pakistan for providing me with the opportunity to pursue a PhD at a prestigious university in the United Kingdom. My sincere thanks to my uncles Rafique Jatoi, who has been an inspiration and motivation for me throughout my life, and Dr Zia Ullah Jatoi, for his timely help in the scholarship process which enabled me to complete the PhD.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my main supervisor and mentor Professor Tim Bergfelder for his continuous support, guidance and patience throughout this project. His direction and understanding always helped in the

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Zubair Shafiq Jatoi

Note on Style and Translation

Throughout the thesis, an effort has been made to use English translation of Urdu/Hindi from film subtitles wherever it was possible.

The word masala in this thesis refers to the term as well as genre. Therefore, to differentiate the two, I would use *masala* in italics when referring to the term. However, the usage of masala in a non-italic style will refer to the genre.

Chapter 1: Introduction

> The joy in genre is to see what can be dared in the creation of a new form or the creative destruction and complication of an old one. The ongoing genre subject therefore always involves a complex relation between the compulsions of the past and the freedoms of the present, an essential part of the film experience.[1]

Bollywood has become one of the global cinema industries in the post-2000s and evidently adopted new forms and conventions while abandoning some traditional genres such as the mythological in order to reach wider, global audiences. This shift has resulted in the emergence and popularity of some genres which could be categorised as global. These include two important genres; horror and science fiction. Horror, which only occupied a niche market in the 1970s and the 1980s, now targets mainstream audiences. Similarly, science fiction, which has always been a risky genre for filmmakers due to the large budgets involved and potential risks of commercial failure, has appeared as one of the most successful genres of the post-2000s. Their box office earnings 'have been in the tens of millions of US dollars'.[2] This reflects changing audience expectations, making it a perfect stage to re-visit the

[1] Leo Braudy, *The World in a Frame: What We See in Films*, 25th edn (University of Chicago Press, 2002), p. 109.

[2] Jessica Langer and Dominic Alessio, 'Indian Science Fiction Cinema: An Overview', in *The Liverpool Companion to World Science Fiction Film*, ed. by Sonja Fritzsche, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014) (p. 56).

genre formation process in Bollywood and explore these significant genres, although my main focus will be on horror. My argument follows Thomas Schatz, who has suggested in the preface of his book *Hollywood Genres: Formulas, Filmmaking, and the Studio System* that:

> A genre approach provides the most effective means for understanding, analysing, and appreciating … cinema. Taking into account not only the formal and aesthetic aspects of feature filmmaking, but various other cultural aspects as well, the genre approach treats movie production as a dynamic process of exchange between the film industry and its audiences.[3]

Schatz suggests that the strength of a genre approach is based on four assumptions. Firstly, it considers film making as commercial art; secondly, it recognises the strong bond between cinema and its audiences; thirdly, it considers cinema as a 'narrative medium'; and finally a genre approach establishes a context for cinematic conventions and formal elements used in film.[4] Daniel Chandler also argues that, 'genre analysis situates texts within textual and social contexts, underlining the social nature of the production and reading of texts'.[5] These characteristics of genre

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[3] Thomas Schatz, *Hollywood Genres: Formulas, Filmmaking, and the Studio System* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981), p. vii.

[4] Ibid., (vii-viii).

[5] Daniel Chandler, *An Introduction to Genre Theory*, 1997, University of Aberdeen, UK, Available: <http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/intgenre/intgenre1.html>, [accessed June 16 2010].

analysis prove helpful if applied to Bollywood.

In the remainder of this chapter, I shall outline initially the value of genre history and criticism in general terms, before outlining its applicability to the Indian context. I neither intend to challenge existing theories of genre nor do I want to claim that they are perfectly suitable for Bollywood; instead, this is an attempt to assess the contemporary genre cinema of Bollywood on its own merits. The chapter will conclude with an overview of the structure of the thesis and a plan for the subsequent chapters.

Genre Criticism

Historically, the concept of genre is rooted in Aristotle's *Poetics,* however, in film studies from an industrial perspective a genre discourse started developing in the 1940s when successful formulae were repeatedly adopted by Hollywood studios. Thomas Schatz suggests that, the need of the studio system to have commercially successful formulae was one of the main factors for the emergence of film genres in Hollywood. He notes that,

> Hollywood's genres have their basis in the economic impulse to repeat or to build upon commercially successful formulae, that this basis was further underpinned on one hand by the routines and practices of studio production

and on the other by the reciprocal links between producer and consumer, artist, industry and audience.[6]

Similarly, Christine Gledhill notes that genres 'emerged from the studio system's dual need for standardisation and production differentiation'.[7] With the disintegration of the studio system, individuals' role in genre making came to be acknowledged by theorists and critics and thus those arguments which considered the film director as an 'auteur' were challenged. Essays by André Bazin (1953), Robert Warshow (1948); and Lawrence Alloway (1963) can be considered as some of the pioneer work on film genres.[8] Christine Gledhill suggests that Tom Ryall's triangular model of art product, artist and audience can be considered as a foundation of current genre criticism.[9]

Theoretically, on the question of genre emergence, there seems to be some agreement among scholars that genre theory came into existence because of various theoretical problems associated with authorship theories. Referring to Hollywood work patterns, Christine Gledhill cites Lawrence Alloway that 'collective authorship and diffusion of responsibility are the actual working condition of Hollywood and

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[6] Thomas Schatz cited in Steve Neale, 'Genre Theory Since the 1980s', in *The Cinema Book*, 3rd edn, ed. by Pam Cook, (London: British Film Institute, 2007).

[7] Christine Gledhill, 'History of Genre Criticism', in *The Cinema Book*, 3rd edn, ed. by Pam Cook, (London: British Film Institute, 2007) (p. 252).

[8] Tom Ryall, 'Genre and Hollywood', in *The Oxford Guide to Film Studies*, ed. by John Hill and Pamela Church Gibson, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) (p. 327).

[9] Gledhill, 'History of Genre Criticism', (p.258).

authorship is therefore much less appropriate than genre theory in analysis of the American cinema'.[10] The work of Alloway for challenging those existing critical approaches associated with auteurism cannot be ignored:

> The rhetoric of art discussion tends to require… personal authorship and a high level of permanence, criteria not easily satisfied in the popular cinema. There is … a related tendency to overrate originality at the expense of conventional elements in any art. This is particularly unhelpful in the discussion of movies, as our vocabulary is not designed to handle fixed and recurrent elements. It is the schematic parts, the symmetrical plots, the characters known beforehand and their geometrical relationships, that characterize the movies.[11]

Alloway and Ryall, both refer to conventions, repetitions and the relative position of originality from a genre perspective. It is also important to note that these theories were strongly influenced by post-structuralism and semiotics. It is for this reason that this debate not only resulted in the need for an alternative approach to authorship, which was directly associated with formalism, but also in the inclusion of the role of socio-cultural and economic factors involved in the film production process. Directors who were once considered as having full control over the film production

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[10] Ibid.

[11] Lawrence Alloway, *Violent Amercia: The Movies 1946-1964* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1971), p. 60.

process did not seem to contribute as much particularly after the fall of the studio system and the emergence of multimedia organizations.

However, this does not mean that authorship theories disappeared or proved to be less important. Instead, their contribution towards the emergence of genre theories cannot be ignored. Tom Ryall argues that 'critical acceptance of Hollywood cinema was initially achieved through its extensive mapping, by the critics of *Cahiers du cinema,* in terms of authorial oeuvres rather than in terms of the genres'.[12] Similarly, Gledhill argues that 'if genre films could not be evaluated against some presupposed definitive model, then their particularity had to be netted by overlaying another grid, and authorship was the obvious one to hand'.[13] For this reason, a more balanced view was needed to acknowledge the importance of genre, its conventions and authorial expressions. In this way, both seem to be helping each other. For instance, set genre conventions help film directors to interplay those conventions, create some new formula of linking those conventions or to have 'formal order and control over the drive to personal expression'[14] for the creation of certain meaning.

Gledhill further notes that the 'examination of how and why the perceived meanings of a film are produced in particular context is not tied to the specific text, but can pull back to look at the social motivations and expectations that governed its production,

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[12] Ryall, 'Genre and Hollywood', (p.327).

[13] Gledhill, 'History of Genre Criticism', (p.258).

[14] Ibid.

marketing and consumption'.[15]

This diverse nature of genre has often resulted in theoretical disputes among scholars. The very existence of genre was controversial from the beginning as being an alternative to authorship theories. Edward Buscombe has questioned the existence of genres, their defining criteria, and their function and how genres emerged.[16] Theoretically, the concept of genre has always been problematic. As Daniel Chandler notes, 'One theorist's genre may be another's sub-genre or even super-genre (and indeed what is technique, style, mode, formula or thematic grouping to one may be treated as a genre by another)'.[17] He starts his essay by citing Robert Stam's comment that various doubts regarding any particular understanding of genre theory have 'plague[d] genre theory'. Stam poses some important questions:

> Are genres really 'out there' in the world, or are they merely the constructions of analysts? Is there a finite taxonomy of genres or are they in principle infinite? Are genres timeless Platonic essences or ephemeral, time-bound entities? Are genres culture-bound or transcultural? Should genre analysis be descriptive or prescriptive?[18]

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[15] Ibid., (259).

[16] Edward Buscombe, 'The Idea of Genre in The the American Cinema', *Screen*, 11 (1970).

[17] Chandler, *An Introduction to Genre Theory*, [accessed.

[18] Ibid.

Arguably, Stam's first point concerning the very existence of genre may no longer be as relevant as when Stam formulated it, considering how genre discourse has expanded. Nevertheless, the focus on how genres are defined and the way they are structured remains an important issue. Genres have been defined by scholars on various grounds. Factors such as film directors, producers, budget, country, time period, stars, themes, iconography and the studios have been some of the centres of debate. David Bordwell has categorised various genres by the following criteria:

> Grouping by period or country (American films of the 1930s), by director or star or producer or writer or studio, by technical process (Cinema Scope films), by cycle (the "fallen woman" films), by series (007 movies), by style (German Expressionism), by structure (narrative), by ideology (Reaganite cinema), by venue ("drive-in movies"), by purpose (home movies), by audience ("teenpix"), by subject or theme (family films, paranoid-politics movies).[19]

This categorisation has been attempted by various scholars in various ways but it has always been difficult to find any appropriate method for this. Janet Staiger, for example, cites Andrew Tudor who has summarised these approaches into four categories:[20] *Idealist, empiricist*, a *priori* and the *social convention* method. In the

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[19] David Bordwell, *Making Meaning: Inference and Rhetoric in the Interpretation of Cinema* (Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press, 1989), p. 148.

[20] Janet Staiger, 'Hybrid or Inbred', in *Genre Reader III*, ed. by Barry Keith Grant, (University of Texas Press, 2003) (p. 187).

Idealist method, a film is selected and then other films are compared with it on the basis of 'patterns and conventions'. In the *empiricist* method genre characteristics are determined on the basis of 'empirical observation'. In the *a priori* approach genre characteristics are pre-determined and then films are judged on the basis of the pre-determined elements of that genre. Finally, in the *Social Convention* method, 'cultural expectations' are used to categorize films. These are some helpful methods to define and understand genres, however, these methods are interrelated and none of these methods can be applied without the help of another. For instance, an *Idealist* approach requires understanding 'patterns and conventions' of genres, which requires empiricist research in order to understand them. Similarly, an *a priori* approach requires to have an understanding of *ideal* characteristics in order to test different genre films if they fit the ideal criteria. I suggest these methods can only help if they are used as a process in which all four approaches are used repeatedly in order to determine general criteria for any genre which can be acceptable to a majority of theorists and critics. Figure 1 demonstrates a combined approach of these methods which works as a process.

Despite the various attempts of classifying genres, there are scholars who argue that it is nearly impossible to categorise genres. Boris Tomashevsky suggests that 'no firm logical classification of genres is possible. Their demarcation is always historical, that

is to say, it is correct only for a specific moment of history'.[21] This is why genre introduction literature often starts with the 'problem of definition'.[22]

In his introductory text on film genres, Chandler has presented a detailed discussion of the problem of genre definitions. He argues that various approaches to define genre can be categorized into 'conventional' approaches, 'contemporary' approaches and the 'psycholinguistic concept of prototypicality'. He further notes that from a conventional approach, a genre is defined by its various conventions whereas in contemporary approach 'family resemblance' is the defining criteria for any genre. He explains the Psycholinguistic concept by noting that 'some text would be widely regarded as being more typical members of a genre'.[23] On the basis of these three

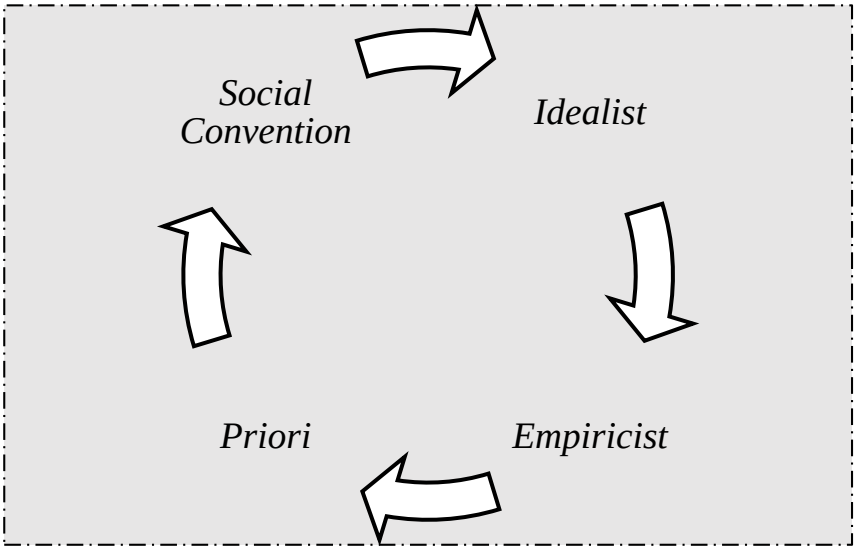

Figure 1: Genre circular model based on Andrew Tudor's Categorisation.

[21] Bordwell, *Making Meaning: Inference and Rhetoric in the Interpretation of Cinema* p.147.

[22] Daniel Chandler (1997), Sarah Berry-Flint (2004, p26)

[23] Chandler, *An Introduction to Genre Theory*, [accessed.

problems, he concludes that a genre cannot be defined using any of these approaches and instead suggests that genre should be defined on the basis of our purpose, how we, as reader, like a genre to be. Offering yet another interpretative framework, Rick Altman distinguishes genre films in terms of their semantic elements and syntactic elements where the spectator's role is to establish the links between these elements.[24] For Altman, the genre's semantic properties are the building blocks while the syntactic elements provide the structure in which the semantic elements are arranged. Altman suggests that there are two methods of genre development.

> Either a relatively stable set of semantic givens is developed through syntactic experimentation into a coherent and durable syntax, or an already existing syntax adopts a new set of semantic elements.[25]

Thomas Schatz suggests an industrial perspective for genre development. He considers any genre to be a 'contract' between audiences and filmmakers but he also suggests that major genres (for example the western and the musical) are developed by a process of evolution that has close links with the culture of its audience.[26] Schatz considers commercial cinema as a communication system which has quality of structuring and delivery of meaning. Within that system, 'genre can be studied as

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[24] Rick Altman, 'A Semantic/Syntactic Approach to Film Genre', in *Film Genre Reader III,* ed. by Barry Keith Grant, (Austin: University of Texas, 2003).

[25] Ibid., (35).

[26] Leo Braudy and Marshall Cohen, *Film Theory and Criticism,* 6th edn (New York: Oxford Publishers, 2004).

a language, as a formalized sign system whose rules have been assimilated through cultural consensus'. Furthermore, he proposes three levels of genre study: the characteristics shared by all genre films; characteristics shared by the films of specific genre and those characteristics which differentiate one genre from another.

For Leo Braudy, the major difference between genre and non-genre films is the set conventions of genre films. He argues:

> Because of the existence of generic expectations – how a plot 'should' work, what a stereotyped character 'should' do, what a gesture, a location, an allusion, a line of dialogue 'should' mean – the genre film can step beyond the moment of its existence and play against its own aesthetic history.[27]

Questions over the perceived stability and purity of generic identities have been one of the most contested areas within genre criticism. Janet Staiger suggests that the 'purity' thesis has been a hurdle in developing an accurate understanding of how genre has historically functioned.[28] She claims that not even in the Fordian era of Hollywood were there any 'pure' genres. Steve Neale also argues that, 'many of the most apparently 'pure' and stable genres, both inside and outside the cinema, initially evolved by combining elements from previously discrete and separate genres either

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[27] Leo Braudy, 'Genre: The Conventions of Connections', in *Film Theory and Criticism,* ed. by Leo Braudy and Marshall Cohen, (Oxford University Press, 1999) (p. 618).

[28] Staiger, 'Hybrid or Inbred'.

within or across specific generic regimes'.[29] As my discussion below will demonstrate, a similar controversy over generic purity versus hybridity can be observed in Bollywood criticism.

Trans(national) Hybrid Genres

The significance of genres cannot be ignored because of their contribution to cultural history, stylistic analysis, narratology, and ideological criticism.[30] However, it is important to understand that various external aspects particularly cultural, political, industrial and critical which influence genres as well. The same genre will adopt different conventions in one nation state to another because of these factors.

Barry Keith Grant has presented a useful discussion in the conclusion of his book *Film Genre: From Iconography to Ideology*, which he titles as 'Beyond Hollywood'. Grant has tried to present a convincing summary of how genre as an industrial category extends its boundaries from national to transnational. Grant starts his conclusion with the complex nature of the term 'nation' and thus 'national cinema' as the 'national borders, like genres, are in process [of change], despite attempts to preserve them'.[31] The most striking examples of this can be seen in the failed attempt of European film industries to initiate the *Film Europe* project in the 1920s and

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[29] Steve Neale, 'Question of Genre', *Screen*, 31 (1990).

[30] Ivo Ritzer and Peter W.Schulze, *Genre Hybridisation: Global Cinematic Flows*, Genre Hybridisation: Global Cinematic Flows (Germany: Schüren Verlag, 2013), p. 9.

[31] Barry Keith Grant, *Film Genre: From Iconography to Ideology* (London: Wallflower Press, 2007), p. 102.

1930s and in another project *European Cinema* in late 1980s.[32] The term 'national cinema', Grant observes, is traditionally associated with non-Hollywood cinemas, particularly in terms of their distribution and reception.[33] He points out the problematic nature of the term 'national cinema', as it does not represent various cinematic categories produced in any state. For example, the term 'Hollywood', he notes, does not represent all 'modes and practices that are outside of Hollywood but part of American cinema'.[34] Thus, Grant argues that 'the concept of genre is particularly useful for addressing the idea of national cinema generally as well as for conceptualising the contours of specific national cinema'.[35] However, studying genre in any non-Hollywood context, often coincides with the existing understanding of genre cinema that is predominantly associated with Hollywood. As the concept of genre is no longer limited to Hollywood, various countries confront the 'global cultural domination of Hollywood' in their attempt to develop a 'distinctive and vital national cinema' by either 'adopting Hollywood genres and 'indigenising' or reworking them'.[36]

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[32] Tim Bergfelder, 'The Nation Vanishes: European Co-productions and Popular Genre Formula in the 1950s and 1960s', in *Cinema and Nation,* ed. by Mette Hjort and Scott Mackenzie, (New York: Routledge, 2000).

[33] Grant, *Film Genre: From Iconography to Ideology,* p.103.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid., (103-04).

[36] Ibid., (104-05).

Indeed, there are various commercial benefits in the use of genres and their indigenisation as:

> The frame of genre allows filmmakers the multiple benefits of working in forms familiar to audiences both at home and abroad, and thus offers more lucrative potential to producers for international distribution.[37]

Due to these commercial reasons and increasing global media flow, it is important for the filmmaker to adopt certain genres and their conventions in order to extend their reach to a more global audience while increasing their boundaries from the national to the transnational. For exactly the same reason, one could also argue that there is no national cinema due to the extending media reach and thus use of the term 'transnational cinema' seems more appropriate. Elaborating on the term 'transnational cinema', Tim Bergfelder observes that it

> never refers to a single or universal phenomenon; instead it is always about specific transnational practices in the plural: coproduction between national or regional film industries; the mobility of film personnel (whether enforced or by choice) or the export and reception of films between one territory and another.[38]

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[37] Ibid., (104).

[38] Tim Bergfelder, 'Love Beyond the Nation: Cosmopolitanism and Transnational Desire in Cinema', in *Europe and Love in Cinema,* ed. by Luisa Passerini, Karen Diehl and Jo Labanyi, (Bristol: Intellect Ltd, 2011) (p. 61).

If the idea of national cinema is too limited and narrow, in a similar vein transnational cinema cannot be taken from the perspective of unlimited boundaries. Bergfelder notes this problem, stating

> despite occasional claims on universality, in the study of transnational cinema the concept of 'nation' remains the ultimate backbone of identity and cohesion. The subsumption of the transnational under the overarching boundaries of the nation echoes the way in which the ideal of multiculturalism is often co-opted in state initiatives for cultural integration.[39]

This struggle between national and transnational boundaries of genre makes it essential for filmmakers to choose those genres which have wider audience appeal, leading to their selection of hybrid contents for their domestic as well as global audiences.

To explore this, Ivo Ritzer and Peter W. Schulze's recent book *Genre Hybridisation: Global Cinematic Flows* is a good starting point, as it presents a helpful discussion on the hybrid nature of genres. Ritzer and Schulze argue that genres 'cannot be understood as closed systems, but only as processes of systematisation' in which, 'every film transformatively shapes its genre in the very process of "speaking"'.[40] They further note that genres 'are always in flux and undergo changes, especially

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[39] Ibid., (62).

[40] Ritzer and W.Schulze, *Genre Hybridisation: Global Cinematic Flows*, pp.15-16.

when the semantic dimension (the general inventory of signs of genres) is realigned by the syntactic dimension (the special approach of the filmmakers)'.[41] Ritzer and Schulze also point out that describing these semantic and syntactic elements becomes challenging when they are analysed from textual and linguistic perspectives. This discussion suggests that changes in film content are rapid, and that this influences the genres and thus makes it challenging for film scholars to complete an analysis on the basis of any of the essential elements. They suggest that genres need to be analysed more openly and from broader perspectives in which, theoretical enquiry should be based on 'what features such a genre bears, what expectations it raises, what sets of artistic potentials it provides or to what extent it is engaged by audiences'.[42]

Genre Approach for Bollywood

Drawing on this idea of the changing nature of genre and the criteria used to analyse them, it is also important to understand the factors that bring about change within genres. There are studies available in which various social, cultural, political, and gender issues have been discussed with reference to Bollywood genres. [43] However, there are not many studies which discuss the external factors that influence the Bollywood genres, particularly those genres which are not the 'original' Bollywood genres as is the case of science fiction. This global flow of film relations between

[41] Ibid., (15).

[42] Ibid., (16).

[43] Rajinder Kumar Dudrah, *Bollywood : Sociology Goes to the Movies* (New Delhi ; Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2006).

Bollywood genres and the genres of other industries is one of the understudied areas. Iain Robert Smith's PhD research, which I will discuss later in this thesis, could be considered one of the most relevant pieces of research focusing on this aspect of how global aesthetics and conventions are appropriated in Bollywood films.[44]

As the previous section has shown, studying genre is often multifaceted and problematic for various reasons; nevertheless the usefulness of genre as a critical category cannot be denied, as genre conventions and expectations continue to aid film makers and audiences in making choices. Surprisingly, a generic approach to Bollywood has been rare in the past. Madhava Parasad argues that this is because of the absence of the kind of commercial 'Industrial production logic' which played a part in the creation and development of genres in Hollywood.[45] I would challenge Parasad's assertion that Bollywood cinema has been producing genre films since its beginning.[46] Moreover, I suggest it was not the industrial production logic of Hollywood which affected the genre study in Bollywood; instead, it was the theoretical model of genre based exclusively on Hollywood which kept theorists at distance from studying Bollywood cinema in its own right. My thesis attempts to bridge this gap.

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[44] Iain Robert Smith, 'The Hollywood Meme: Transnational Appropriation of U.S. Film and Television' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Nottingham, 2011).

[45] M. Madhava Prasad, 'Genre Mixing as Creative Fabrication', *BioScope: South Asian Screen Studies*, 2 (2011), (p. 69).

[46] See historical sections of Chapter 2, 3 and 4.

It is common for academic introductions to Bollywood to begin by discussing the very use of the term 'Bollywood' while considering it as controversial. From the perspective of Indian national pride, the mere analogy with Hollywood is a problem. On the other hand, English-language media in India and even the public have been using this term for a long time and thus it has become a commonly used term to refer to the Hindi Urdu language industry in Mumbai. It is for this reason that Tejaswini Ganti in her book *A guidebook to popular Hindi Cinema* emphasises that she 'will not attempt to introduce "Indian cinema", but will focus on Hindi cinema produced in post-independence India'.[47] She points to the 'most frequent factual error' in the use of these terms ('Bollywood' and 'Indian cinema') by the International and Indian press which often claim that Bollywood produces 800-1000 films every year, when in fact Bollywood cinema is only one of several regional cinema industries in India and only produces between150 and 200 films annually.

A closer look at Bollywood introductory literature reveals that terms such as 'Indian cinema', 'Indian popular cinema', 'Bombay cinema' and/or 'Bollywood' are commonly used, especially to support various arguments associated with the globalization of Indian cinema. Some scholars often solve this problem by putting Bollywood in quotation marks and letting the reader decide how they would like to

[47] Tejaswini Ganti, *Bollywood: A Guidebook to Popular Hindi Cinema* (Routledge, 2004), p. 3.

use it. Essays by Daya Kishan Thussu[48], David J. Schaefer and Kavita Karan[49] adopt this approach. The text by Daya Kishan is a particularly interesting example of the scholarly use of the term 'Bollywood'. He uses various terms interchangeably without differentiation and thus claims that 'in terms of production and viewership, 'Bollywood' is the world's largest film industry, which employs more than 2.5 million people, sells over 4 billion cinema tickets annually'.[50] Consequently, the status of Bombay cinema is often exaggerated particularly in terms of its production and exhibition. Looking at the industry statistics for Bollywood (considering it as the Hindi-Urdu Language cinema industry) it becomes evident that it is not the largest cinema industry in the world in terms of film production or even in terms of viewership. This Mumbai based Hindi Urdu cinema industry only produced 235 movies in 2009 out of a total of 1288.[51] In some cases, it cannot even be considered as the largest film industry in terms of film production within India because of the high number of films produced by other regional cinema industries in India such as Tamil and Telugu.

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[48] Daya Kishan Thussu, 'The Globalization of "Bollywood": The Hype and the Hope', in *Global Bollywood,* ed. by Anandam P. Kavoori and Aswin Punathambekar, (New York: New York University Press, 2008).

[49] David J. Schaefer and Kavita Karan, 'Problematizing Chindia: Hybridity and Bollywoodization of popular Indian cinema in global film flows', *Global Media and Communication,* 6 (2010).

[50] Thussu, 'The Globalization of "Bollywood": The Hype and the Hope', (p.98).

[51] Central Board of Film Certification, *Annual Report* (Mumbai, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting Government of India, 2009). P.29.

Ashish Rajadhyaksha's use of the term 'Bollywood' is also interesting. Referring to the contribution of cinema in India as a culture industry, Rajadhyaksha notes that:

> Bollywood is *not* the Indian film industry, or at least not the film industry alone. Bollywood admittedly occupies a space analogous to the film industry, but might best be seen as a more diffuse cultural conglomeration involving a range of distribution and consumption activities from websites to music cassettes, from cable to radio.[52]

He differentiates between Bollywood and Indian cinema while noting that the term, '*Bollywood*… refers to a reasonably specific narrative and a mode of presentation'[53] and thus is not a cinema industry, instead cinema is one of its significant elements.

Looking at these three different explanations raises many questions. For example, if one considers Bollywood to be the Mumbai based Urdu-Hindi cinema industry then the question arises whether those films made by the Indian diaspora in the Urdu-Hindi language should be considered as Bollywood films or not? This includes, for example, films produced by Mira Nair and Deepa Mehta. Similarly, can films such as *Slumdog Millionaire* (dir. Danny Boyle, 2008) which use an all-Indian cast, are adapted from a novel by an Indian author, and use Indian locations, be considered as Bollywood movies? Or considering Rajadhyaksha's concept of the term 'Bollywood'

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[52] Ashish Rajadhyaksha, 'The "Bollywoodization" of the Indian Cinema Cultural Nationalism in a Global Arena', in *Global Bollywood* ed. by Anandam P. Kavoori and Aswin Punathambekar, (New York University Press, 2008) (p. 20).

[53] Ibid., (23).

in a broader context, then how should one name the industry producing films in Mumbai in Urdu-Hindi language along with many other cinema industries in various other parts of India? Questions such as these make it difficult for anyone who wishes to study Indian cinema or to be more precise Bollywood cinema. There is a need to have a general consensus among film scholars to decide what Bollywood cinema is and what the characteristics are which make any film qualify as Bollywood? Establishing this consensus is beyond the scope of my current study. Therefore, to make my own use of the term for the remainder of this thesis clear, I shall use the term 'Bollywood' for the Urdu-Hindi language Mumbai based cinema industry and the term 'Indian cinema' to represent all cinema industries of India. However, I will use the terms 'Bollywood' and 'Indian popular cinema' interchangeably throughout my study, as scholars seem to be in agreement that Bollywood is Indian popular cinema.

As with the terms Bollywood and Indian cinema, a problem often arises when film theorists and critics use the terms *Indianization* and *Bollywoodization* interchangeably. The distinction between these two concepts needs further elaboration and although I will return to this discussion in more detail in Chapter 4: , a brief description and use of these terms will suffice at this point.

The term *Indianization* refers to any transformations of foreign content into Indian culture, traditions and values. However, in the context of accelerating flow of international culture, it has become difficult to define what makes any content *Indian* in nature. Anything which can be considered as *Indian* for some, may not be regarded *Indian* at all by others. To further understand this point, the examples of *Dilwale Dulhaniya Le Jayengen* (DDLJ, *The Braveheart will take the bride,* 1995)

and *Band Baaja Baaraat* (3B, 2010) are instructive. Both films were produced by Aditya Chopra under the banner of Yash Raj Films. In DDLJ, there is a scene in which Raj and Simran who meet each other on a European trip, get drunk and sleep together. The next morning when Simran gets up, Raj makes a joke suggesting to Simran that they got intimate last night. Upon hearing this Simran gets very emotional, angry and starts crying. Raj, upon seeing her severe reaction, then tells her that:

> *I know what you think of me. You think I'm a wastrel? I'm not scum, Simran. I'm Hindustani and I know what honour means for the Hindustani woman. Not even in my dreams can I imagine doing that to you.*

This particular scene refers to *Indian* values in which a couple do not have any extra-marital relationships. In *Band Baaja Baaraat* there is again an unmarried couple who starts a joint business of wedding planners. After completing one of their events, they get drunk and then we not only see a kissing scene but it also ends in suggestive intimate moments of the two in the bedroom. The next morning when Shruti (Anushka Sharma) wakes up, her reaction is neither emotional nor is she crying. Instead, she is shown as waking up with a smile and then she remains happy. Instead it is the male hero Bittoo (Ranveer Singh) who is shown as being embarrassed, anxious and worried. This scene ends in their conversation in which Shruti tells Bittoo that '*whatever happened between us just happened. Don't worry, l am not like your other ones who stick to you like glue, and you are always running away from them. I have no problems with whatever happened between us'.* It is evident from these examples that the same filmmaker has adopted a different approach in the post 2000s than its selection of the content of 1990s. In scenario one, it chooses to show

Indian values in which the girl and the boy are both familiar with their *Indian* traditions and thus both attempt to abide by their values. Unlike this, the film of 2010 then goes in a completely opposite direction and not only shows an approval of extra-marital relationships but it also takes the audience into the bedroom showing the most intimate moments. Now both of these scenarios can be considered *Indian* depending on the understanding of the audience. What I intend to show from this example that the Indian values are changing and so are the values of Bollywood cinema. Making a selection of what an *Indian* value is, is subjective and more problematic than selection of what Bollywood tradition is in any given time period. Thus, I suggest that by replacing the term *Indianization* with *Bollywoodization* the problem to a greater extent disappears as it refers to changes of the contents as per Bollywood specific style. This will be further evident in the case of the horror genre where Bollywood has established its own genre conventions which are different from its tradition of *Indianization*.

In summary, the term Bollywoodization refers to the conventions which are not necessarily Indian but Bollywood cinematic conventions. Thus, any Indianized contents maybe Bollywood contents too but not all Bollywood indigenization attempts can be included into the category of Indianized contents.

Apart from the ambiguities in terminologies, another aspect that makes Bollywood difficult to define, especially for outside observers, is this cinema's deep rootedness in specific cultural contexts and its inter-textual references. Bollywood has often been criticised by scholars for its melodramatic techniques. Interestingly, the same non-realist approach is accepted as 'real' for its audiences. 'Hindi film viewers *know* that the films are melodramatic and conform to narrative formulas in fact, it is

through an active engagement with these conventions that people find the films relevant to their lives'.[54] For audiences, verisimilitude and the link with their previous experiences of watching films of the same genre are more important than realism.[55] They expect a new film to follow the same kind of conventions with which they are already familiar.

Bollywood films, as genre films, set these expectations. Audiences actively involve themselves in the films, whereas others may consider Bollywood cinema as a cinema that disengages from reality, and they suggest real and immediate changes in cinema according to their real life.[56]

The genre conventions that Bollywood adopts can be described with a tripartite model. I shall discuss this in detail in Chapter 4, but it is important to mention here that Bollywood borrows its genre conventions from three sources: firstly it borrows from Indian cinema conventions in general; these do not necessarily have to belong to any genre. Instead they are chosen by almost all the genres films of Bollywood. Songs and dance sequences are one such conventions which no genre in Bollywood can claim to be its conventions, instead they are adopted in every genre film including science fiction and horror. The second source of conventions are the

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[54] Brian Larkin cited in Ulka Anjaria and Jonathan Shapiro Anjaria, 'Text, Genre, Society: Hindi Youth Films and Postcolonial Desire', *South Asian Popular Culture,* 6 (2008), (p. 126).

[55] Neale, 'Question of Genre'.

[56] Anjaria and Anjaria, 'Text, Genre, Society: Hindi Youth Films and Postcolonial Desire'.

previous films of same genre within India. These films may be from Bollywood or can be from other regional industries of India such as Tamil and Telugu films. The third source of conventions is the global family of genres outside of Indian cinema industry. Bollywood films repeatedly adopt different genre conventions and sometimes even the syntax from non-Indian genres. This will be further explained in Chapter 3, 4 and 5.

Besides borrowing conventions from other films, Bollywood aesthetics and narrative conventions are deeply rooted in Hindu mythologies such as the Ramayana and Mahabharata and other art forms such as Parsi theatres and photography. These references have helped Bollywood films to create a strong relationship with its audiences. Borrowing conventions from Parsi Theatres helped Indian cinema to build upon those existing narrative and visual traditions/conventions with which audiences were already familiar. The impact of mythologies on Indian cinema is evident in Indian films from the first Indian film *Raja Harischandra* (King Harischandra) by D.G. Phalke 1913 through to the present. References from these mythologies can be observed in almost all genres of Indian cinema, including science fiction films. An interesting example is Anubhav Sinha's *Ra.One*. The main protagonist was named as 'Ravan', a well-known negative character in Indian mythology.

In his essay *Spectres of Sentimentality: The Bollywood film*, Vijay Mishra argues that 'no amount of references to the production and circulation of the film bring us any closer to the inner dynamics of the form, to the design and antecedents of the song

texts, unless one can shed a tear and sing with the film.[57] Bollywood filmgoers involve themselves with the film, they sing with the song and also dance with the film dance. They cry if their favourite actor sheds tears and clap, laugh and whistle when the hero is beating up the villain. One cannot ignore Bollywood spectators. In *Bollywood Cinema Temples of Desire*, Mishra suggests that cinemas have the status of 'temples' and stars are 'gods' for the Indian audience. They go to 'temples' to 'take *darsana*'[58] of their 'gods'.[59] Probably this kind of strong relationship between cinema and its audiences is one of the main factors which makes Bollywood a unique case study in world cinema. Seeing their 'gods' in 'temples', provides audiences with satisfaction and entertainment which allows them to escape from their difficulties and the worries of daily life. Ganti has presented an interesting discussion about the power of stars in India, particularly their role in politics.[60]

As Richard Dyer has argued, in countries or historical periods which experience social injustice, poverty and inequality, cinema can provide entertainment, and this entertainment provides audiences with an escape from their daily worries and

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[57] Vijay Mishra, ' Spectres of Sentimentality: the Bollywood film', *Textual Practice*, 23 (2009), (p. 457).

[58] A Sanskrit word which literally means 'to see'

[59] Vijay Mishra, *Bollywood Cinema : Temples of Desire* (New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 1.

[60] Ganti, *Bollywood: A Guidebook to Popular Hindi Cinema*.

difficulties and also gives them fantasies and aspirations.[61] This is what Bollywood has been providing. Pavan K. Varma suggests that,

> often entertaining and mostly escapist, these [Bollywood] films, with their rags-to-riches fairy tales set to music and romance, sustain the middle-class dream, and provide an escape from the pressures and frustrations of the world outside.[62]

It is this relationship between Bollywood and its audience that strongly influences its genres as they depend on audiences' expectation of the cinema. Thus studying and analysing these genres will help us understand not only the cinema industry itself but it will also help us understand the entertainment choices of its audiences as well.

Rosie Thomas has emphasised the advantages of adopting genre analysis as an approach insofar as it

> moves immediately beyond the tired rantings about Hindi cinema's "repetitiveness" and "lack of originality". [Moreover] …it points to questions about narrative structure, modes of address and conventions of verisimilitude.[63]

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[61] Richard Dyer, *Only Entertainment,* 2nd edn (Routledge London, 2002).

[62] Pavan K Varma cited in Anjaria and Anjaria, 'Text, Genre, Society: Hindi Youth Films and Postcolonial Desire', (p. 125).

[63] Rosie Thomas, 'Indian Cinema: Pleasures and Popularity', *Screen,* 26 (1985), (p. 120).

At the same time, Thomas advocates caution in assuming that the same developments that structure Hollywood also govern Bollywood genres:

> Hollywood genre classification is quite inappropriate to Hindi cinema and, although almost every Hindi film contains elements of the "musical", "comedy", and "melodrama", to refer to the films in any of these ways imposes a significant distortion. Certainly no Indian filmmaker would normally use such classification.[64]

One of the major differences between Bollywood and Hollywood is their respective use of songs and/or dance sequences. Whereas in Hollywood, they are primarily integrated in their own separate genre (the musical), in Bollywood they can be found across many different genres. Moreover, musical numbers play a much greater role in plot and character development, and set audience expectations.

Considering these factors, genre analysis is one of the most suitable tools for locating and situating texts and intertextuality in their specific social and cultural contexts in Bollywood films. Contextualising my genre analysis of Bollywood in different ways, my argument in this thesis will be based on three main premises. First, the existing critical literature on Bollywood genres does not provide sufficient detail on narrative properties or the conventions of horror and science fiction in Bollywood. The limited available literature on these genres mainly revolves around social themes such as

[64] Ibid.

globalization, gender, family institutions, politics, the urban/rural divide, Indians versus foreigners, while less attention has been paid towards genre forms and their contents. Neelam Sidhar points out that most of the academic literature on Bollywood focuses on the political and social aspects of this cinema, and very often texts are not approached from a film studies background.[65] The significance and contribution of the above mentioned issues is self-evident; for example, political situations do clearly contribute towards genre establishment. However, focusing only on these components often results in the marginalization of the textual components of film such as aesthetics, iconography and audiovisual conventions. Rachel Dwyer has expressed similar concerns when she claims that her book, *Cinema India: the Visual Culture of Hindi film* (2002) is the first book on the visual culture of Hindi cinema.[66] Moreover, focusing on political and social issues does not contribute much towards setting a theoretical and critical foundation that can help to define the collective creative expression of a cinema industry.

My second main premise is that the classification of genres in the Indian context is often ambiguous and contradictory. There are two major schools of thought. The first group of scholars consider Bollywood cinema as a genre industry and argue that Bollywood cinema has produced various identifiable genres. Lalitha Gopalan's book

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[65] Neelam Sidhar Wright, 'Bollywood Eclipsed: The Postmodern Aesthetics, Scholarly Appeal, And Remaking of Contemporary Popular Indian Cinema' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sussex, 2009).

[66] Rachel Dwyer and Divia Patel, *Cinema India: The Visual Culture of Hindi Film* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2002).

on the action genre,[67] the work of Rachel Dwyer[68] and Rosie Thomas[69] on Bollywood mythological films, and Ravi Vasudevan's research on Bollywood social films are good examples of this kind of approach. Another critical tendency has been to argue that all Bollywood films belong to one single category of *Masala*[70] films. Thus any genre and any content can be put in any film without worrying much about its use of any previously set and established patterns. For example, Manjunath Pendakur has dedicated a chapter of his book to this *Masala* category.[71] He argues that:

> *Masala* is an appropriate metaphor to analyse India's popular cinema because it draws attention to the variety of ingredients that make up the basic narrative structure of the popular film. Just as there are regional variations to the masalas (spices) that are used in Indian cooking, cinemas also take on certain regional specificities. The core of the films – the look and feel and purposes to which the cinema is put – remains the same despite regional differences.[72]

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[67] Lalitha Gopalan, *Cinema of Interruptions: Action Genres in Contemporary Indian Cinema* (London: British Film Institute, 2002).

[68] Rachel Dwyer, *Filming the Gods* (Oxon: Routledge, 2006).

[69] Rosie Thomas, 'Mythologies and Modern India', in *World Cinema since 1945*, ed. by William G. Luhr (Roundhouse Publishing Ltd, 1992).

[70] 'Masala' means 'mix of spices'.

[71] Manjunath Pendakur, *Indian Popular Cinmea: Industry, Ideology, and Consciousness* (2003).

[72] Ibid.

Although I disagree with Pendakur for considering Masala to be an 'appropriate metaphor' for Indian popular cinema, it is not uncommon for Western audiences to consider all Indian films as Masala. It is, therefore, understandable that the annual Indian film festival in Australia is called the *Bollywood Masala Festival*, and aims 'to introduce Indian cinema to Australian audiences, who have never seen an Indian film other than Monsoon Wedding [*sic*] and to build the crossover market'.[73]

I do however, agree with Pendakur when he notes that 'Masala film, or the popular entertainer, is formulaic and built around a number of box office ingredients that make up the masala to appeal to a wide audience of family members'.[74] The formulae of Masala films keep changing but the basic ingredients remain the same. They include songs and dance as important devices for narrative development. Attesting to this ubiquity of Masala as an industrial strategy, Prasad argues that, 'there is nothing remarkable about any activity that might be termed 'genre mixing.' It is a routine activity in the industry, with several known and also, presumably, unpredictable results'.[75]

Besides these two schools of thought, there is a more recent approach which considers Masala as a genre in its own right, alongside the other above-mentioned

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[73] Marcus Georgiades, co-director of *Bollywood Masala* cited in Adrian Athique, 'The Crossover Audience: Mediated Multiculturalism and the Indian Film', in *Bollywood in Australia: Transnationlism and Cultural Production,* ed. by Andrew Hassam and Makarand Paranjape, (Crawley: The University of Western Australia, 2010).

[74] Pendakur, *Indian Popular Cinmea: Industry, Ideology, and Consciousness*.

[75] Prasad, 'Genre Mixing as Creative Fabrication', (p. 70).

genres.[76] The following table provides a brief overview of the classification of these genres by two different sets of scholars:

Table 1: Genre classification by different scholars

Moti Gokulsing and Wimal Dissanayake[77]	**Rajinder Kumar Dudrah and Jigna Desai**[78]
Devotional Films	Devotional/Mythological films
Historical Films	Historical films
Social Films	Muslim Socials
Masala	Masala Films
Romantic Genre	The Romantic Genre
Mythological	Social Films/Topicals
Stunt Films	NRI films
Family Melodrama	Horror Films / Supernatural Films

[76] Rajinder Dudrah and Jigna Desai, 'The Essential Bollywood', in *The Bollywood Reader*, ed. by Rajinder Dudrah and Jigna Desai, (Open University Press, 2008).

[77] K. Moti Gokulsing and Wimal Dissanayake, *Indian Popular Cinema - A Narrative of Cultural Change* (Staffordshire: Trentham Books Limited, 2003), pp. 23-26.

[78] Dudrah and Desai, 'The Essential Bollywood', pp.12-13).

Considering ‘Masala’ as an independent genre solves some problems as it does not completely reject Bollywood films by considering all of them as non-generic and also provides an opportunity to study those genres from a different perspective. Another positive aspect of this approach is that it allows more diversity in Bollywood genres and does not restrict it to one dominant genre. It is this broader generic understanding that my thesis will also adopt.

It is also important to distinguish the term *masala* and masala as a genre here. The term *masala* refers originally to a mix of spices or any other ingredients, however masala as a genre is a broader phenomenon which refers to the linguistic as well as textual elements adopted and repeated by the genre in almost all of its films. I would therefore use *masala* as a term in italics throughout this thesis in order to differentiate it from the masala genre.

Nevertheless, in order to have a theoretical and critical foundation for any cinema industry, we need to define a genre corpus, a central genre criticism for Bollywood which could represent Bollywood cinema as a ‘cinema of genres’. The above mentioned examples focus on isolated individual genres however, a systematic study to establish a Bollywood genre corpus is still missing: which I argue, is only possible to achieve when these genres are studied as a collective product of Bollywood cinema.

My third main premise for this thesis is that Bollywood has become increasingly globalised since 2000, with the distribution of its films spreading over one hundred countries. This globalization has altered Bollywood’s demographics, its focus shifting from middle-class audiences to multiplex audiences, and from domestic

audiences to global audiences.[79] Rachel Dwyer and Divia Patel argue that globalization and the information flow have been key factors in shaping the visual culture of Hindi films.[80] They suggest that the aesthetic foundations of contemporary cinema have been influenced by Hollywood, leaving the 'filmi' style of the1990s in the past, and that they have adopted a new 'consumerist style' depicting bars and men and women living together and adopting various relationships. These changes are visible in all Indian film genres. In a similar vein, Shakuntala Rao observes in her ethnographic study that due to globalization and internationalization processes, Bollywood is now less interested in appealing to the lower middle-class. Its main focus has shifted to more 'profitable' markets, consisting of upper middle-class urban consumers and Indian Diaspora audiences. Rao notes that 'Bollywood recognizes its audiences as the upper middle-class diasporic urban communities whose tastes, values, desires, and consumptions are reflected and re-energised by these films'.[81] As a result, contrary to its set traditions, the new Bollywood has developed a new style, new content and new conventions to fit the expectations of its domestic as well as global audiences. Within this new Bollywood, Masala has emerged as the most dominant and popular genre of Bollywood for its domestic and diaspora market. I will discuss this in more detail in the following chapter.

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[79] Shakuntala Rao, 'The Globalization of Bollywood: An Ethnography of Non-elite Audiences in India', *The Communication Review,* 10 (2007).

[80] Dwyer and Patel, *Cinema India: The Visual Culture of Hindi Film*.

[81] Rao, 'The Globalization of Bollywood: An Ethnography of Non-elite Audiences in India'.

Methodology

David Bordwell notes that

> If we want to understand how a popular cinema's artisans mobilize a range of appeals, we cannot neglect form and style. We must learn to look closely. We must examine popular films as wholes, seeking out what makes them cohere (or not). We must probe their moment-by-moment texture.[82]

A qualitative research approach is most suitable for achieving an understanding of films for their 'moment-by-moment texture'. There are few working methodologies available for qualitative research. Textual analysis has been widely adopted to analyse film genres, and I will also employ this in this thesis. Alan McKee notes:

> [In Textual Analysis] we interpret texts … in order to try and obtain a sense of the ways in which, in particular cultures at particular times, people make sense of the world around them. And, importantly, by seeing the variety of ways in which it is possible to interpret reality, we also understand our own cultures better because we can start to see the limitations and advantages of our own-sense-making practices.[83]

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[82] David Bordwell, *Planet Hong Kong : Popular Cinema and the Art of Entertainment*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, Mass.: Irvington Way Institute Press Madison, Wisconsin, 2011), p. 13.

[83] Alan McKee, *Textual Analysis: A Beginner's Guide* (Sage Publications, 2003), p. 1.

I have selected this methodology mainly because of its flexibility and wider applicability, which will allow it to include all elements of any given text and its context in the analysis. Having focus on the text (i.e. film) can also help to explore audiences' expectations, which can be measured in two ways. One possible approach would be to involve audiences in the research, but factors such as the number of audiences involved, budget, timeframe and then generalization of results on the basis of limited audiences make this difficult. In contrast, textual analysis requires analysing the text and deriving all possible interpretations from it. McKee argues that that there can be many interpretations of any given text but they would still be within a boundary. He notes, 'There isn't a *single,* "true" account of any event, but there are limits on what seems reasonable in a given culture at a given time'.[84] Moreover, it also allows more flexibility to adopt different ways to analyse text for example, one can study a text from realist, structuralist or even post-structuralist perspectives.

As mentioned in the previous section, textual analysis in this thesis will be conducted from two perspectives - genre hybridity and transnational cinema. Although postcolonial theory has helped scholars to understand Indian cinema from the pre and post-Independence period, an understanding of global Bollywood requires a transnational perspective. Arguably, the boundaries between 'Indianness' and 'otherness' seem to have been blurred in new Bollywood. As will be evident later in the thesis, defining what is 'Indian' is becoming problematic particularly due to the changing nature of social, cultural and political elements in Indian society. Although,

[84] Ibid., (18).

considering the nature of this project, postcolonial theory cannot be fully avoided, the focus of my analysis will be on the transnational dimension of the genres.

In addition to the use of these methodologies, I will seek help from Rick Altman's model of semantic and syntactic elements to explore the genre formation process. In his essay *A Semantic/Syntactic Approach to Film Genre,* Altman has pointed out the contradictions in the existing genre corpus.[85] He argues that there are two different categories of genre definitions. On one hand, there are 'tautological semantic definitions, with their goal of broad applicability', on the other hand, there are 'syntactic definitions… [which] stress a narrow range of texts that privilege specific syntactic relationships'.[86] This approach, he suggests, puts the genre theorists in a difficult situation because if they choose semantic explanation of the genre then it does not have the 'explanatory power', if they choose the syntactic definition then it only explains the generic features without their 'broad applicability'. Altman notes that,

> we can as a whole distinguish between generic definitions that depend on a list of common traits, attitudes, characters, shorts, locations, sets and the like – thus stressing the semantic elements that make up the genre – and definitions that play up instead certain constitutive relationships between undesignated and variable placeholders – relationships that might be called

[85] Altman, 'A Semantic/Syntactic Approach to Film Genre'.

[86] Ibid., (34).

> the genre's fundamental syntax. The semantic approach thus stresses the genre's building blocks, while the syntactic view privileges the structures into which they are arranged.[87]

Altman suggests combining both semantic and syntactic approaches in order to understand any genre as 'some of the most important questions of genre study can be asked only when they *are* combined'.[88] He argues that,

> While the semantic approach has little explanatory power, it is applicable to a larger number of films. Conversely, the syntactic approach surrenders broad applicability in return for the ability to isolate a genre's specific meaning-bearing structures.[89]

Using Altman's model to discuss Bollywood cinema will not only help understand various on-screen elements but it will also explain the bond which structures these elements together in order to create culturally specific meanings.

Considering Altman's model as a Hollywood specific genre model, this is arguably the first attempt of studying Bollywood genres using a western centric genre model. The strength of Altman's model lies in its distinction between semantic and syntactic elements. I suggest the same can also be considered its weakness while studying the

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[87] Ibid., (31).

[88] Ibid., (33).

[89] Ibid., (32).

Bollywood context. For example, the same element can be semantic for one reader/observer and syntactic elements for another depending on their previous cinematic, cultural and social understandings. For example, a watch not only suggests its literal textual meaning which refers to a time device but it also represents a device of invisibility in *Mr India.* So, if this one element is repeated in any other Bollywood film in similar context, the audience will be able to identify and relate that to its invisibility characteristics. Similarly, a spaceship can literally mean a spaceship when used for the first time in a film, however, with its repetition in several films could generate a context and a new meaning for it. It is, therefore, important to identify that the difference between semantic and syntactic lies between their linguistic and textual meanings. These meanings are interpreted differently by difference audiences depending on their knowledge and understanding of the specific socio-cultural contexts. In my thesis, I will differentiate the semantic and syntactic elements on the basis of my interpretations of those elements which may not possibly match with other readers' interpretation.

In the following section I present the structure of the thesis, in which Chapter 2 deals with the historical context of genre development process in India; Chapter 3 discusses the indigenous syntax of the genre; whereas Chapter 4 focuses on those elements which Bollywood has borrowed from other industries mainly Hollywood. Finally, Chapter 5 discusses the science fiction genre which is relatively speaking more recent.

Thesis Structure

Following on from my introductory comments in this chapter, in Chapter 2, I shall present descriptive and historical accounts of Bollywood whilst claiming that Bollywood cinema is a 'cinema of genres'[90]. Considering the long-term visibility of the mythological genre and then the current popularity of the Masala films as a new genre in Bollywood, my focus in this chapter, thus, will be mainly on these two genres. I will present an overview of how these formulae emerged and developed historically and under what contexts. My main argument is that Bollywood genres emerged and developed from a different context to Hollywood genres and beside their commercial motives, the influence of Indian mythologies, Parsi theatres and dominant political ideology in India have been driving forces for the emergence of new genres. I will support my arguments by giving empirical evidence from some of the main films and political events of that era which contributed to the continuation of those formulae in one form or the other. Moreover, I will attempt to establish the common narrative conventions in these films to support one of my objectives of building a genre corpus for Bollywood cinema.

Chapter 3 will explore contemporary horror films, their genre conventions and the role of religion in establishing this genre. I will present the case of the *Raaz* (*Secret*, 2002) by Vikram Bhatt. This chapter will also present the historical development of the genre and analyse the contribution of horror films by the Ramsay Brothers who

[90] A term used by Tom Ryall for Hollywood cinema. See Ryall, 'Genre and Hollywood', (p.327).

are considered to be the founders of horror films in Indian cinema. I argue that the horror genre is the genre of believers,[91] a genre that heavily depends on the conflict between believers and non-believers.

Chapter 4 will continue investigating primarily the horror genre, but with a specific emphasis on remakes and their influence on the genre cinema of Bollywood. Unlike the previous chapter in which my main focus is on indigenous context of the horror genre, this chapter aims to mainly focus on the transnational dimension of the genre with particular focus on the semantic elements of the genre. One of the labels often associated with Bollywood cinema is that it is a 'copy Hollywood' because of the fact that it has a long history of producing remakes of films originating from other cinema industries, mainly Hollywood. Moreover, it is also evident from the literature that issues of originality have a very close connection with the concept of genre and its conventions. Therefore, I have selected the case of William Friedkin's *The Exorcist* (1973) to explore how the conventions adopted in *The Exorcist* have been used in a Bollywood context and how this approach of remaking has helped to establish new genres. In this chapter, my focus will be on the semantic elements of the genre, in contrast to the other chapters which focus on syntactical elements.

Chapter 5 will discuss science fiction, which is one of the contemporary genres of Bollywood that has become successful in the post-2000 era. This chapter will expand my argument about the emergence of genres in Bollywood. I have selected science

[91] In this context, my use of term 'believer' refers to all those who follow any religion.

fiction and horror films mainly because they are not considered “indigenous” unlike the mythological. I intend to explore how science fiction has maintained its identity of being Bollywood while continuously borrowing various generic elements from other industries such as Hollywood and Hong Kong cinema. Considering Rakesh Roshan as a pioneer of the contemporary science fiction of Bollywood, I will discuss his *Krrish* series in order to explore the semantic and syntactic elements of the genre.

Chapter 2: Towards New Bollywood - from the Mythological to Masala

This chapter primarily aims to focus on two important aspects of Bollywood. Firstly, it intends to discuss the historical account which is to explore how the genres of Bollywood have evolved since its beginning, starting with the mythological. Secondly, it aims to define and expand on the understanding of the Masala genre in order to provide a context for understanding the contemporary genre cinema in Bollywood. Considering the specificity of this genre within Bollywood cinema, I argue that the conventional approaches to analysing a genre such as studying them from the perspective of their visual/or and narrative styles are not sufficient, instead, it is the rasas (feelings/moods) and bhawas (emotions)[92] which play significant roles in the formation of this genre.

In this chapter, I will discuss how Bollywood and its industry have evolved over the last century. I mentioned in Chapter 1: that Bollywood started to change existing formulae in the early 1990s. This shift has not only influenced some of the older genres of Bollywood such as mythological films, but has also resulted in the emergence of Masala as a genre. This chapter will attempt to expand this argument. I argue that Masala is now the most dominant genre in contemporary Bollywood. In contrast, mythological films, which were once the most popular genre, have lost their popularity and do not appear to have any future in their current form. This shift in

[92] An explanation of *Rasas* and *Bhawas* will follow in due course.

Bollywood, the dominance and popularity of the Masala genre, and the emergence of new genres such as science fiction require revisiting the existing academic discourse on the genre cinema in Bollywood. This chapter is an attempt to fill this gap.

To achieve my objectives, I have divided the current chapter into three sections; an historical overview of the emergence of genre cinema, the decline in popularity of the mythological genre, and the emergence of Masala as the most popular genre in Bollywood. In the first section, I follow Neelam Sidhar's categorization of genre cinema in Bollywood, which divides it into five phases. My second section will be an attempt to discuss the changing nature of Bollywood genres. For this purpose, I have selected a snake film, *Hisss* (2010) which belongs to the mythological genre. Studying one of the recent mythological films will help us to understand the contemporary status of this genre. The third section will be based on *masala* as the most successful formula in Bollywood, the reasons for its popularity and the theoretical context behind this success. I will present the case of *Dabangg* (2010) as a Masala film.

Historical Overview

Any genre study not only requires an understanding of the current genre conventions, audience expectations and prescriptive function of the genre but it also requires to have an understanding of the generic past. For example it explores when any cinematic technique becomes a convention and why. What are those phases through which any genre evolved and under what conditions? In case of Bollywood, which is as old as the history of cinema itself, it is also important to have some brief understanding of how individual genres developed throughout its history. Although,

my focus is on the contemporary Bollywood, it is unavoidable to mention the filmic past of these genres. The following section, thus, offers a brief survey of the emergence and development of individual genres in Bollywood.

Ashish Rajadhyaksha has divided Hindi cinema's institutional growth into four phases[93]: the first one encompasses the silent era from 1913 to 1931, which was strongly influenced by the *swadeshi* movement in India. This movement urged the public to boycott all foreign products, particularly British ones, and persuaded the public to use indigenous products, including cultural products. The second period is from the 1930s until World War II (1945), when Indian cinema started strengthening its own industry, using European and Hollywood industrial models. As there were no restrictions on Hollywood and European imports, Bollywood filmmakers established Hollywood style studios and followed European modes of storytelling. Moreover, experimentation in film style was very much in practice at this time, mainly because of presenting films which would look like Indian films from their contents and style. Rajadhyaksha credits the third phase of Indian cinema with the process of becoming independent. This process also involved support from illegal financial sources. The fourth phase consists of state initiatives to create a 'parallel' cinema in the 1960s and 1970s.

Rajadhyaksha's periodization has focused on the industrial growth of Indian cinema and does not provide information about how these developments influenced the

[93] Ashish Rajadhyaksha, 'Hindi Cinema', in *The Cinema Book*, 3rd edn, ed. by Pam Cook, (London: British Film Institute, 2007) pp. 217-19).

growth of genre cinema. Neelam Sidhar, however, has presented a more relevant categorization of the development of genre in Bollywood films.[94] She divides these phases into five genre categories: the Mythological genre from the 1910s to the 1920s, Stunt movies from the 1930s to the 1940s, the Social genre from the 1950s to the 1960s (which represents the golden era of Bollywood), the 1970s and the 1980s are attributed to the *angry young man era* which Sidhar refers to as 'social retribution action films' and the final phase, Family genre from the 1990s to the present. Sidhar has assigned different genres to each phase, but has not explained how these genres emerged in the first place. What are the external factors which have contributed towards the establishment of these individual genres? Considering classical Bollywood as more of a family owned business, what is the contribution of individuals to the emergence of genre cinema? The following section will provide a brief survey of the various phases in which different genres developed while presenting information on the individuals' contribution to the development of these genres. I will give a brief overview of the beginnings of a new medium in India and those who adopted this technology at an early stage, along with their backgrounds and motivations and how it led to the emergence of new genres in Bollywood.[95] This will help us to understand and identify the contributing factors which led to the formation of the contemporary genres.

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[94] Wright, 'Bollywood Eclipsed: The Postmodern Aesthetics, Scholarly Appeal, And Remaking of Contemporary Popular Indian Cinema' (unpublished doctoral thesis), p. 18.

[95] To read more about exhibition companies, cinema theatres, and the urban and technological development at that time see Kaushik Bhaumik (2011)

Phase One: The Beginning (1910s-1920s)

From the beginning when motion picture technology was introduced in India with a film show at Watson's Hotel Bombay in 1896, many Indians started taking an interest in this new technology because of its huge creative and commercial potential. This process started just a few months after the Lumière Brothers introduced motion picture technology in Paris. Their agents showed various film shows in India between 7th July 1896 and 15th August 1896, which included a variety of short films including *Entry of Cinematography, Arrival of a Train, The Sea Bath, A Demolition, Workers Leaving the Factory, Ladies and Soldiers on Wheels.*[96] The most noteworthy figures inspired by these films are Harishchandra Sakharam Bhatvadekar, Jamshedji Framji Madan, Hiralal Sen and Dhundiraj Govind Phalke. Later on, it was the contribution and interest of these individuals which led to the emergence of genre cinema in Bollywood. According to Stephen Herbert and Luke McKernan's *'Who's Who of Victorian Cinema: A Worldwide Survey'*, Harishchandra Sakharam Bhatvadekar also known as Save Dada, a photographer by profession, was the first Indian who took the initiative of filmmaking by ordering a camera from Riley Brothers of England at a price of 21 guineas.[97]

[96] S.B.Bhattacherje, 'Encyclopaedia of Indian Events & Dates' (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Pvt.Ltd, 2009) (A165).

[97] Stephen Herbert and Luke McKernan, *Who's Who of Victorian Cinema: A Worldwide Survey* (London: BFI Publishing, 1996).

Bhatvadekar's contribution can be divided into two sections. Firstly, he attempted to make and exhibit films on the basis of their visual attractions. Secondly, he was the first Indian to start news coverage in the sub-continent. Bhatvadekar's first film showed a wrestling match at the Hanging Gardens in Bombay in November 1899. His other similar achievement was exhibiting a film based on the training of circus monkeys.[98] For the news coverage, he exhibited the distinction of R. P. Paranjpye in Mathematics in Cambridge when he returned to India in 1901. He later on filmed the coronation of Edward VIII in 1903.[99] These films made three significant contributions in the history of genre cinema. Firstly, these films were professionally processed in London and thus were of similar quality as foreign imports. Secondly, seeing the possibility of making such films by an Indian attracted other artists towards the medium which was previously only run by the foreigners, and thirdly Bhatvadekar's films set the foundation for audience expectations, which is one of the key components of any genre cinema.

Furthermore, for any genre to establish itself, it either adopts contents from another medium or from other genres of the same medium. This appropriation can take the form of any visual or narrative appropriation. In Bollywood cinema, this process was started by Hiralal Sen. Similar to Bhatvadekar, he was fond of Indian history and

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[98] Ibid.

[99] Lalit Mohan Joshi, *Bollywood : Popular Indian Cinema*, 2nd edn (London: Dakini Books, 2002), p. 14.

mythologies[100] and started filmmaking in the 1890s. His major contribution was to introduce contents from other art forms into cinematic form as well as providing news coverage. [101] Although, Sen's main focus in the beginning was on film exhibition, he later produced more than thirty films, which included political films, news coverage of Durbars, and private shows for the elite class. Along with his brother Motilal Sen, he established his own company named the Royal Bioscope Company.[102] Most of Hiralal's films including his well-known film *Alibaba and the Forty Thieves* (1903), were appropriated from various performances in the Classic Theatre, Kolkata.[103] These adaptations were repetitive in nature and thus can be considered as formulaic in nature.

Despite his attempts at different projects, Hiralal's company had to cease its production in 1913 because of 'newer film ventures' in the Indian film market.[104] He became bankrupt and had to sell his equipment. Towards the end of his life, a fire erupted in their warehouse in October 1917 which destroyed all the films.[105] Due to this incident, none of his work is available. In fact, more than 90% of films from the

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[100] Gokulsing and Dissanayake, *Indian Popular Cinema - A Narrative of Cultural Change*, p.12.

[101] Pamela Hutchinson, 'The birth of India's film industry: how the movies came to Mumbai', in *The Guardian* (York: Guardian News and Media Limited, 2013).

[102] Herbert and McKernan, *Who's Who of Victorian Cinema: A Worldwide Survey*.

[103] Ibid.

[104] Ibid.

[105] Hutchinson, 'The birth of India's film industry: how the movies came to Mumbai'.

silent era of Bollywood are lost. There are a very small number of incomplete films remaining, which do not give us enough information.

Starting from the early phase of the 1890s until the beginning of the first decade of the 20th century, films were valued on the basis of their length instead of their content. Although genre labels started being used in the late nineteenths century, they were only being used to differentiate films and not to attract the audience. Kaushik Bhaumik has pointed out the same about one of the advertisements of that era which notes, 'footage of action, thrill, and frills on the screen'.[106] The inclusion of the word 'footage' refers to the duration, however, interestingly this text also used the keywords of 'action', 'thrill', and 'frills' which refers to key genre categories of that era.

Although, various performing arts, particularly Parsi Theatre, were well established in India at that time, Kaushik Bhaumik argues that it was the urbanization process which gave impetus to introduction of this new mode of entertainment. He notes that 'early film culture in Bombay was part of the breathtaking excitement generated by modernization'.[107] Those who were already in the performing arts business were the first to invest in this new medium. Realising the significance and the growth potential of motion picture technology, progressive businessman Jamshedji Framji Madan (also known as J. F. Madan) started investing in it. Madan set the foundation

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[106] Kaushik Bhaumik, 'Cinematograph to Cinema: Bombay 1896-1928', *BioScope: South Asian Screen Studies*, 2 (2011), (p. 54).

[107] Ibid., (57).

of commercial cinema in India and therefore, if one has to give a credit to a single person for the foundation of genre cinema in Bollywood, then it is J.F. Madan. It was direct result of his efforts that mythological films were produced at that time. 'Not only did he build a vast production empire on the lines of Hollywood but he also imported foreign actresses (Ermline, Patience Cooper and others) "to act in Indian mythologicals and folk tales, as Indian females were hesitant to expose themselves to the gaze of the film camera"'.[108] Unlike Bhatvadekar or Hiralal Sen, Madan had an extra advantage of running Parsi theatre companies in Bombay. This was the beginning of the influence of Parsi Theatres on Indian cinema which continued until today in the form of songs and dance sequences.

As a result of the contribution of these individuals, the establishment of various studios and access and availability of foreign films led to a competitive market in India. K. Moti Gokulsing and Wimal Dissanayake note that films like *Vendetta, Whilring the Worlds, The Great Train Robbery, Don Juan, Cinderella, Uncle Tom's Cabin,* and *The Sign of the Cross* were being shown to Indian audiences.[109] At this stage, a film called *Pundalik* (dir. R. G. Torney) was exhibited in India in 1912 which gained huge popularity among Indian audiences. The reason behind the success of this film was its central theme based on the 'legend associated with a well-

[108] Gokulsing and Dissanayake, *Indian Popular Cinema - A Narrative of Cultural Change*, p.12.

[109] Ibid.

known Maharashtran saint'.[110] Although, there were already anticolonial sentiments in Indian society, the success of the film based on indigenous contents, was a significant milestone for the establishment of the mythological genre. This was probably the first time when the importance and success value of using the indigenous legends and mythologies was felt amongst Indian filmmakers. Both of these factors motivated Dhundiraj Govind (D.G.) Phalke to produce *Raja Harishchandra* [King Harishchandra] in 1913. Tejaswini Ganti quotes Phalke's own words from a Marathi language journal Navyug:

> While the life of Christ was rolling fast before my physical eyes I was mentally visualising the Gods, Shri Krishna, Shri Ramachandra, their Gokul and Ayodhya. I was gripped by a strange spell. I bought another ticket and saw the film again. This time I felt my imagination taking shape on the screen. Could this really happen? Could we, the sons of India, ever be able to see Indian images on the screen? The whole night passed in this mental agony.[111]

These feelings of Phalke are quite visible in his *Raja Harishchandra,* which was not only based on Hindu gods and Indian mythology (*Mahabharata)* but the cast and crew were also 'sons of India'. It seems to be for the same reason that Phalke

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[110] Ibid.

[111] D.G. Phalke cited in Ganti, *Bollywood: A Guidebook to Popular Hindi Cinema*, p.9.

promoted his first film by advertising it as 'the first film of Indian manufacturer'.[112] Phalke continued this use of mythologies in his later films. For instance, films like *Lanka Dahan* (1917) or *Shri Krishna Jamna* (The Birth of Krishna, 1918) or another film *Kaliya Mardan* (The vanquishing of Kaliya, 1919) were all based on Hindu mythologies. Tejaswini Ganti suggests that 'Phalke's socio-political context was significantly shaped by anti-colonial struggles against the British'.[113] Ganti further comments that Phalke's films provided the basis for one of the most famous genres of Bollywood now referred to as the Mythological genre. The early film-makers tried to use already familiar narratives in the film medium to make them seem less alien and more Indian. Phalke not only contributed towards the first genre of Indian cinema but also established the first indigenous film studio, Hindustan Cinema Films Company in 1918.

The individual filmmakers mentioned above incorporated their individual experiences before starting the film business and set the direction of Indian cinema in terms of its contents and style. K. Moti Gokulsing and Wimal Dissanayake note that 'the success of Phalke and Madan served to fortify the foundations of the film industry in India'.[114] They mainly followed those conventions that were already established in other popular arts, particularly Parsi theatres. Referring to the

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[112] Ibid., (10).

[113] Ibid., (9).

[114] Gokulsing and Dissanayake, *Indian Popular Cinema - A Narrative of Cultural Change*, p.13.

foundations of Indian cinema, Lalith Mohan Joshi notes that 'traditional art forms such as *Ramleela* (dramatization of the story of Lord Rama), *Nautanki* (form of Indian folk entertainment) and Parsi Theatres were sucked into the cinema and evolved into a new avatar (reincarnation) of mass entertainment now called Bollywood'.[115] Ashish Rajadhyaksha, however, discusses the problems which emerged because of this 'encounter' between various art forms. He argues that this era

> generated a specific set of cultural and aesthetic problems resulting from the encounter between traditional non-perspectival representational practices and the emergent lens-based media with their inbuilt notions of perspective and space.[116]

Keeping aside these cultural and aesthetic problems, one thing is evident; that Indian audiences warmly received this new media and its preference for focusing on indigenous content particularly Hindu epics (*Ramayana* and *the Mahabharata)*. This is best summarised by Gokulsing and Dissanayake in their book *Indian Popular Cinema: A Narrative of Culture Change:*

> A good many films made during this initial period were greatly inspired by the two celebrated epics – the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. Many of the

[115] Joshi, *Bollywood : Popular Indian Cinema*, p.14.

[116] Rajadhyaksha, 'Hindi Cinema', (p.217).

> directors sought to invest their mythological narratives with a clear social message relevant to contemporary society. The filmmakers associated with this phase in the growth of Indian cinema were Janus-faced. They looked back to the past lovingly and sought to reconnect with tradition; at the same time, they sought to draw on the resources and innovations of Hollywood.[117]

Phase Two: Experimentation – all-talking, all-singing, all-dancing (1930s-1940s)

In this phase (1931 – until World War II) Bollywood's genre industry went through cinematic and industrial experimentation, and as a result, some new genres such as stunt films emerged. As mentioned earlier, movies had already become a popular form of entertainment amongst Indian audiences. However, at that time there were two challenges for Indian filmmakers: lack of resources and lack of necessary filmmaking skills. They managed to overcome their skills deficiency by closely monitoring and working with Euro-American filmmakers in India. They not only learnt various filmmaking techniques from those foreign filmmakers but also reappropriated those styles and techniques into Indian style. Ashish Rajadhyaksha rightly suggests that this era

> was marked by experimentation with styles that combined, in spite of the Hollywood organisational model, aspects of British and especially German cinemas with Indian modes of storytelling, models that characteristically do

[117] Gokulsing and Dissanayake, *Indian Popular Cinema - A Narrative of Cultural Change*, p.13.

not adhere to western-style distinctions between the realms of fantasy and reality.[118]

In this second phase, sound cinema took off and was welcomed by Indian audiences. Sound provided an excellent opportunity for Indian films to use a repertoire of songs and dance into the film. The first talkie *Alam Ara,* made by Ardeshir M. Irani, released on March 14, 1931 at the Majestic Cinema of Bombay[119] gained huge popularity amongst Indian audiences mainly because it introduced songs and dance along with the story of the film. The advertising of the film showed it as an 'all-talking, all-singing, all-dancing film' as it included seven songs.[120] Although Indian genre cinema had already started focusing on indigenous content such as use of legends and mythologies, in the second phase, it further moved away from western styles towards a more local and indigenous styles while incorporating one of its core strengths which were music, songs and dance sequences. This tradition of incorporating songs in the film became so popular that one of the films of the 1930s *Indrasabha* (1932), included 70 songs.[121]

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[118] Rajadhyaksha, 'Hindi Cinema', (p.218).

[119] Now named as Mumbai

[120] Ganti, *Bollywood: A Guidebook to Popular Hindi Cinema*, p.11.

[121] Gokulsing and Dissanayake, *Indian Popular Cinema - A Narrative of Cultural Change*, p.14.

J.P. Singh and Kate House claim that *Alam Ara* overshadowed *The Jazz Singer*, as the former had talking characters throughout the film.[122] Tejaswini Ganti cites film distributor N.R. Desai's remarks of 1930 when he stated,

> with the coming of the talkies, the Indian motion picture came into its own as a definite and distinctive piece of creation. This was achieved by music … it gives us musical entertainment which even the best Hollywood pictures cannot'.[123]

Ganti further notes that the coming of sound in Indian films dominated the Indian domestic market while minimising the import of foreign films to less than 10 percent. Although, Ganti mainly credits the coming of sound as the main factor, however, as referred earlier, the localised narrative traditions also played equally important role for this success.

Although sound helped Indian filmmakers to try and test new ventures, it did not come without its own problems. One of the main problems they faced, as Ganti points out, was the selection of language and its suitable dialect. Language selection and searching for actors who were fluent in the same language were amongst the major concerns for Indian filmmakers. Similarly, finding those actors who could sing

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[122] J. P. Singh and Kate House, 'Bollywood in Hollywood: Value Chains, Cultural Voices, and the Capacity to Aspire', in *International Studies Association Annual Convention* (New Orleans: Association of Cultural Economics International Copenhagen, 2010) (70).

[123] Ganti, *Bollywood: A Guidebook to Popular Hindi Cinema*, p.11.

in the same language was another challenge which was resolved by adopting the lip synchronization technique which continues until today.

Another significant shift in this phase was the establishment of studios following the Hollywood studio pattern of vertical integration, in which the entire cost of a film was funded by the studio. Moreover, actors and film directors were full time employees thus the content selection was in full control of the studios. The only major difference between Hollywood and Bollywood studios was that Bollywood studios did not have control over the distribution and exhibition of the films and this lack of control led to the failure of the Bollywood studio system.[124] Within this period, four major studios emerged which made a significant contribution in terms of production and also introducing film stars to Indian cinema. Among these studios, the most famous were the Imperial Film Company Bombay (1926- 1938), the Prabhat Film Company in Pune (1929- 1953), New Theatres in Calcutta (1931-1955) and Bombay Talkies (1934 – 1954).

Tejaswini Ganti has presented a detailed overview of the contribution of each studio.[125] In summary, the Imperial Company played a key role in terms of technological innovations and produced the first sound film of Indian cinema, *Alam Ara*. The Prabhat Film Company was renowned for the introduction of a new genre called ‘saint films’. Ganti refers to them as Saint Films, however, these are also

[124] Ibid., (15).

[125] Ibid., (15-18).

referred to as 'devotional films' by film scholars. Although, the first devotional film *Pundalik*, as referred earlier[126], was made by R. G. Torney in 1912, Prabhat studio later helped establish this indigenous genre of Bollywood. Ganti refers them as biographical films on 'popular poet-saints from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries'.[127] New Theatre not only made a significant contribution towards Bengali language cinema but it also introduced playback singing to Indian cinema. Similarly, Bombay Talkies can be credited for introducing stars in Bollywood. Dev Anand, Raj Kapoor, Ashok Kumar and Dilip Kumar are some of those names introduced by Bombay Talkies.[128] There were, of course, some other important studios such as Sohrab Modi's Minerva Movietone, the Ranjit Film Company, Wadia Movietone and the Sagar Film Company which contributed to the making of Indian cinema.[129] Among these, Wadia Movietone is the studio that not only introduced the genre of stunt films in Bollywood but it did that by introducing a female star. Australian born Mary Evans aka Fearless Nadia who had previously worked in a circus performed various stunts in the Wadia Movietone productions which resulted in the emergence of popular stunt genre.

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[126] See p.58

[127] Ganti, *Bollywood: A Guidebook to Popular Hindi Cinema*, p.17.

[128] Ibid.

[129] Joshi, *Bollywood : Popular Indian Cinema*, p.25.

Phase Three: The Social and Historical Genre (1950s-1960s)

Until this phase, mythological, devotional and stunt genres had already taken shape as individual genres. Apart from frequent dependence on the Hindu mythologies, religious and devotional themes, Indian cinema had also started focusing on issues of traditions, modernisation, gender and rituals in the previous two decades.

> V. Shantaram, for example, in his film *Amritmantha* (1934), held up for scrutiny the theological absolutism and ritualistic excesses, … *Devdas* (1935) sought to explore the self-defeating nature of social conventionalism… [and] *Jeevana Nataka* (1942) … had as its theme the baleful effects of modernisation. [130]

This, however, became established in phase three which is mainly associated with the social genre. In this phase (1945 – 1950s) three significant developments took place which influenced the genre cinema of Bollywood with the introduction of social and historical genres. Firstly, World War II had a strong impact on film studios in India and they lost their control on film actors and directors. This created opportunities for filmmakers such as Mehboob Khan, Satyajit Ray, Kidar Sharma, Bimal Roy and Guru Dutt to show their creative capabilities independent of any studio influence. This resulted in the emergence of the social genre. Secondly in this phase a star system was built into Indian cinema in which they were no longer

[130] Gokulsing and Dissanayake, *Indian Popular Cinema - A Narrative of Cultural Change*, p.14.

employees of studios. The most noteworthy stars of this era were Raj Kapoor, Dev Anand and Dilip Kumar. Thirdly, Indian cinema started attempting to cross its geographical boundaries to other nations particularly Russia. Raj Kapoor became the first star to start his own company called Raj Kapoor films (RK Films). His films contributed to the making of popular cinema and brought Indian cinema to international fame. For example, his film *Awara* was dubbed in many languages including Arabic, Turkish and Persian and broke box office records even in the Middle East.[131] Mehboob Khan's film *Mother India* (1957) was the first film to be nominated for an Oscar Award.[132]

Until this phase, genres of mythological, devotional, stunt and social had been introduced and established in Indian cinema, although stunt and devotional films had a relatively short life. In the 1960s, Indian cinema introduced historical films to Indian audiences. The most significant 'event' of the 1960s was the film *Mughal-e-Azam* (dir. K Asif, 1960) which was a historical film based on the love affair between Mughal prince Saleem and his court dancer Anarkali.

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[131] Joshi, *Bollywood : Popular Indian Cinema*, p.29.

[132] Some other significant films of that era include, *Andaz* (dir. Mehboob Khan, 1949), *Do Bigha Zamin* (dir. Bimal Roy, 1953), *Madhumati* (dir. Bimal Roy, 1953), *Pathar Panchali* (dir. Satyajit Ray, 1955), *Devdas* (dir. Bimal Roy, 1955), *Pyaasa* (dir. Guru Dutt, 1957), and *Kaghaz Ke Phool* (dir. Guru Dutt, 1959).

Phase Four: 1970s – 1980s (*The Angry Young Man* era and the Horror genre)

In this phase, three of the above-mentioned directors, Bimal Roy, Mehboob Khan and Guru Dutt passed away. However, their creative work continued to prosper in different forms. In this phase, Indian cinema shifted from 'art cinema' based on social themes towards entertainment. Tejaswini Ganti notes that,

> In 1973, the tremendous success of *Zanjeer* (Chain), a film about a police officer (played by Amitabh Bachchan) who works outside the bounds of the law, introduced the figure of the "angry young man," which completely changed the persona of the hero in Hindi cinema.[133]

In this phase, Bollywood films 'shifted their focus from the family and domestic domain to that of the state, society and the streets'.[134] Lalit Mohan Joshi argues that this was a result of the urbanization process in India, however, other factors such as the state's inability to deal with crimes were the main factors behind the *Angry Young Man's* emergence.[135] This *angry young man* character, played by Amitabh Bachchan, was there to defend the poor and victims of state and society.

Considering, the influence of cinema on general public and its 'anti-state' narratives in films of that era, the Government of India started initiatives in order to build a

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[133] Ganti, *Bollywood: A Guidebook to Popular Hindi Cinema*, p.32.

[134] Ibid., (32-33).

[135] Joshi, *Bollywood : Popular Indian Cinema*.

parallel to commercial cinema to counter its monopoly and build a 'good cinema'. This divided Indian filmmaking practices to what, Rajadhyaksha terms as state-sponsored, commercial and the 'middle' and 'epic' modes of storytelling. He has defined state sponsored cinema as the cinema which promoted Satyajit Ray's work which was more akin to the Western realist style of filmmaking of that time. Commercial cinema 'refined its own melodramatic narrative orchestrations and sought to achieve greater visceral impact' whereas the 'middle cinema' attempted to mix both the approaches of commercial cinema and state sponsored cinema. The work of Shyam Benegal is an example of this kind of cinema. The final category, the 'epic' mode of storytelling, as Joshi suggests, evolved from Ritwik Ghatak's work.[136] From all these categories, it is the commercial cinema which thrived further and adopted certain variations while producing family, masala and horror genres. Production of these three genres marks phase five of Bollywood when a globalised cinema emerged.

Phase Five: Global Bollywood (1990s – present)

The fifth phase of Bollywood is important for several reasons as this is the phase when a self-conscious genre cinema emerged. Firstly, it is the period when Bollywood has become a global cinema industry. Moreover, some directors such as Ram Gopal Varma, Vikram Bhatt, Anurag Kashyap and Debakar Banerji have started making independent films significantly departing from existing formulae and

[136] Ibid., (182-83).

successfully establishing their own name and place within the industry and amongst audiences. This shift in form and style resulted in the popularity of not only the previously introduced genres of masala and horror but it also resulted in the emergence of science fiction as one of the most popular genres of post-2000s. It was the result of industrial development in Bollywood which opened up financial as well as commercial venues for Bollywood filmmakers with the ease of technological access as well financial support. My discussion will explain how this new cinema emerged and those factors which contributed towards the growth of genre cinema in Bollywood as these were the industrial developments which strongly influenced the genre cinema.

Bollywood has expanded its exports to more than 100 countries of the world and every year some of its films break new records in terms of their box-office revenue. It is no longer restricted to the cinemas of major cities like New York, London, Paris, Sydney, St Petersburg or Kuala Lumpur. Bollywood films are shown alongside mainstream films in cinemas of almost all the major cities of the US, Europe and Australia[137] via its own distribution companies such as Eros International and sometimes in collaboration with Hollywood distributors (for example *My Name is Khan* (dir. Karan Johar, 2010)) was distributed by 20th Century Fox). Table 2 presents a picture of overall growth in terms of the number of film productions by

[137] Subhash Ghai cited in Rajadhyaksha, 'The "Bollywoodization" of the Indian Cinema Cultural Nationalism in a Global Arena', (p.26).

Indian cinema since 1932. These figures include productions from all the regional industries of Indian cinema as well as Bollywood.

Table 2: Number of films produced in select years in India from 1932 - 2011[138]

Year	1932	1942	1952	1962	1974	1984	1994	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Number of films	84	173	233	315	432	829	754	946	1041	1091	1146	1325	1288	1274	1255

From the table above, it is evident that cinema in India has experienced an overall growth in its number of productions each year, although it achieved this with some minor ups and downs. It is also well known that India is the largest film producer in the world with its production of 1,255 films in 24 different languages annually, targeting its 1,189 million domestic population and about 25 million South Asians.[139] As is often quoted in academic literature, it sells more than three billion tickets annually, has more than 2.5 million employees and exports films to more than one hundred countries.[140] Bollywood has been successful in gaining popularity in Europe and beyond. In fact, its films are becoming equally popular in other parts of the

[138] For the period from 1932 to 2004 see Thussu, 'The Globalization of "Bollywood": The Hype and the Hope'.; For 2005- 2014 see Central Board of Film Certification, *Annual Report* (Mumbai, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting Government of India, 2010). 16.

[139] Singh and House, 'Bollywood in Hollywood: Value Chains, Cultural Voices, and the Capacity to Aspire'.

[140] Olivier Barlet, 'Bollywood/Africa: A Divorce?', *Black Camera*, 2 (2010).

world. For example, *Three Idiots* (2009) played on screens for 29 weeks in Taiwan. The same film was released with subtitles on 230 screens in South Korea and 900 screens in China.[141] Olivier Barlet notes that Bollywood has been immensely popular among African audiences, especially female audiences, for its peculiar style of music, dance and costumes.[142] This is evident from the Bollywood growth rate in recent years. The latest FICCI-KPMG report (2014) suggests that the Indian cinema industry achieved an 11.5% percent growth rate in 2011.[143] This growth is, indeed, due to its focus on domestic as well as foreign markets. Figure 2 shows the overall share of Indian film industry within its domestic and foreign markets:

[141] Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, *FICCI-KPMG Indian Media & Entertainment Industry Report* (2012).

[142] Barlet, 'Bollywood/Africa: A Divorce?'.

[143] Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, *FICCI-KPMG Indian Media & Entertainment Industry Report* (2014).

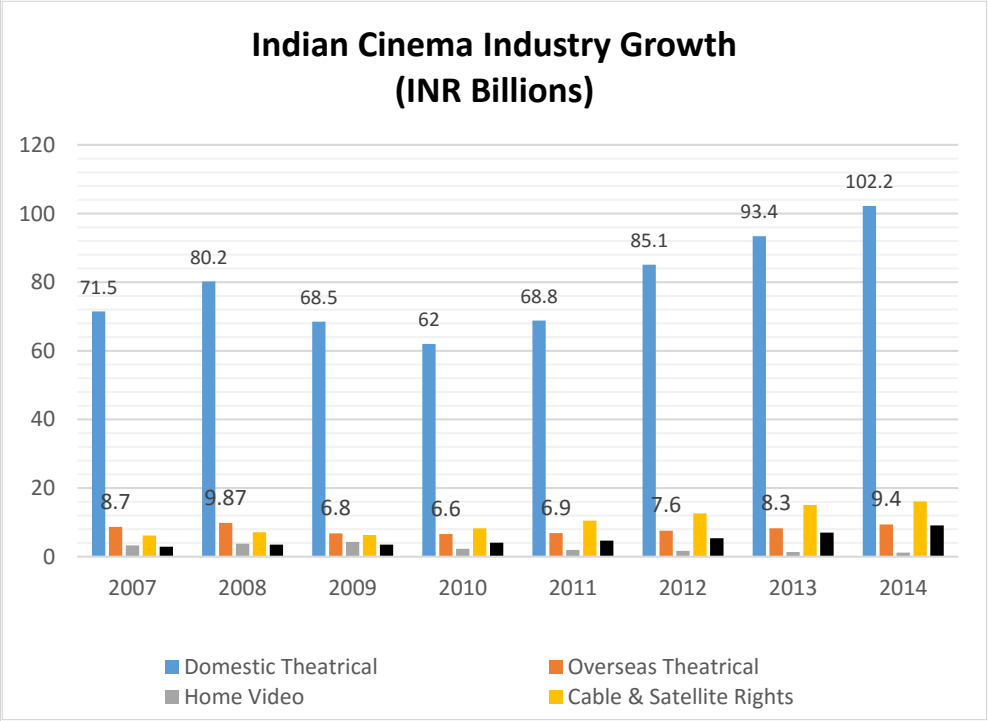

Figure 2: Indian Cinema Industry Growth

It indicates that a large proportion of Indian cinema industry's earnings are from its domestic theatre exhibitions whereas the contribution of its overseas theatrical exhibitions is also growing with every year. This expansion not only indicates the growing popularity of Bollywood among non-Indian audience but one could also argue that these growing figures show the attempts from Bollywood to contend foreign markets parallel to Hollywood. Singh and House negate this argument while stating that 'Bollywood is not necessarily contending for Hollywood's crown, but instead, asserting itself as Hollywood's peer in the global film community'.[144]

[144] Singh and House, 'Bollywood in Hollywood: Value Chains, Cultural Voices, and the Capacity to Aspire' (20).

Besides having a huge domestic population and global reach to other parts of the world both dominate more than 90% of their domestic markets (India 94.1 per cent in 2005; USA 93.4 per cent)[145]. Hollywood collects maximum revenues not only from its domestic market but also covers a 70 to 80% market share in Europe, however, its share in the Indian market is less than 5%.

These similarities with Hollywood cinema which is the founding industry of a genre cinema, and then gradual growth makes it a perfect stage for Bollywood where it can not only take the opportunity of exhibiting its own indigenous genres to the rest of the world, but also at the same time adopt those genres which are part of the global family of genres such as horror and science fiction. It is for this reason that Bollywood has shifted from its traditional formulae and started adopting more globalised themes and conventions. I will further demonstrate these shifts later in this thesis.

Contemporary Bollywood Genres

I have already discussed the emergence of single genres in each phase of Bollywood's development, for example the mythological genre in the silent era, the stunt genre at the beginning of the sound era, the social genre in the golden era, and the action films of *angry young man* in the 1970s. NRI (non-resident Indians) and family films have been the most popular films in the 1990s. In the post 2000s, as

[145] Mark Lorenzen, 'Internationalization vs. Globalization of the Film Industry', *Industry and Innovation*, 14 (2007), (p. 350).

mentioned earlier, Masala films have emerged as one of the most favourite genres of Indian audiences. Beginning with mythological or devotional films, Bollywood has been flexible in adopting or discarding earlier genres. For example, mythological and devotional films which were once popular do not have a visible presence now. In order to illustrate this generic fluidity and transformation in Bollywood, the following sections will present a number of case studies, beginning with the case of *Hisss*.

Decline of the Mythological Genre

Mythological films constitute one of the most original and prolific genres in Indian cinema.[146] Rosie Thomas considers it as 'the original Indian genre'.[147] Despite this, mythological films have not received much attention within academia. Most scholars, including Ravi Vasudevan, Rajinder Dudrah, K. Moti Gokulsing and Wimal Dissanayake have limited themselves to merely providing brief definitions and short summaries of this genre, considering its roots in myths and folklores or stories of gods and goddesses.[148] Some more in-depth research on mythological films has been undertaken by Rachel Dwyer, T. Vishnu Vardhan and Rosie Thomas. What has also often been neglected is that mythological films have generated their own

[146] Dwyer, *Filming the Gods*, p.15.

[147] Thomas, 'Mythologies and Modern India' (304).

[148] Gokulsing and Dissanayake, *Indian Popular Cinema - A Narrative of Cultural Change*, p.24.

sub-genres, such as devotionals and snake movies. The available literature on the latter is particularly sparse.

Throughout history, Indian society has been divided into a caste system of *Brahmins*, *Kshatriyas*, *Vaishyas*, and *Shudras*. Similarly in terms of Indian cinema, certain genres were associated with a particular class. For example, the fact that the 1950s are considered a 'golden period of Indian cinema' and also as 'high art' is mainly because films in this era were closer in style to Western arts and were thus favoured by the urban elites of India. As Manjunath Pendakur argues, the mythological genre, and particularly snake movies, have been considered as 'low-taste' films and have been ignored.[149] This perception of 'low-taste' is not primarily due to artistic or technical aspects of the films, but due to their popularity with the working-class. This perception has transferred to film criticism and scholarship and has helped to prevent an engagement with genres such as snake-movies, despite the fact that they have maintained a presence in Indian cinema since the 1950s. I argue that the snake film is among the truly unique and indigenous genres in South Asia, with no directly comparable Western counterpart. In the following section, I compare a more recent snake film *Hisss* (2010) to an older but one of the most successful films of the same category, *Naagin* (*Snake women*, 1976) to trace its evolution and development in the past few decades.

[149] Pendakur, *Indian Popular Cinmea: Industry, Ideology, and Consciousness*, pp.173-75.

Manjunath Pendakur has used the term 'snake film' for those films **'**in which snakes play central characters**'**.[150] The narrative template of snake movies is based on the myth of *Manidhari* and *Ichhadhari* snakes. The *Manidhari* snake is believed to possess a precious gem called *Naagmani* whereas the *Ichhadhari* snake has the ability to change into human form. Legend has it that *Naagmani* can cure diseases and anyone who possesses this gem will receive divine powers and become immortal. Moreover, if anyone kills these snakes then their partner will take revenge. No matter where the killer goes or hides, the snake-man or woman will find them. It is believed that if anyone kills a *Manidhari* or *Ichhadhari* snake then his image is captured by the snake. Its lover then takes that image which aids it to find the killer. It is because of the belief in this myth that in many parts of India and Pakistan people kill snakes and then burn them. All snake movies draw on these myths and legends and follow their basic template. The subgenre has had a limited (but continuous) presence throughout the history of Indian cinema.[151]

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[150] Ibid., (173).

[151] Some well-known snake movies include Nandlal Jaswantal's *Nagin* (1954), Raman B. Desai's *Naag Mani* (1957), Rajkumar Kohli's *Nagin* (1976), Harmesh Malhotra's *Nagina* (1986), its sequel *Nigahen* (1989) , Tahir Hussain's *Tum mere ho* (1990), Raj Kumar Kohli's *Jaani Dushman: Ek Anokhi Kahani* (2002) and Jennifer Chambers Lynch's *Hisss* (2010). This list does not include snake movies made in other languages such as Kannada, Tamil Telugu or Punjabi. Examples of the latter include T.S Nagabharana's Kannada language film *Nagamadala* (1996) and a Punjabi film by Deepa Mehta who uses the same myth for her social themed film *Videsh (*2008) aka *Heaven on Earth*.

Certain fixed components are present in almost all snake films, for example the myth of the *Ichhadhari* snake who changes into human form, the killing of humans by a snake man or woman, the sound of *Been* which is a musical instrument used by snake charmers that fascinates snakes, the strong love relationship between the two snakes, also certain visual characteristics, such as the reptilian eye colour of the snake creatures, and the performance of a snake-like dance. There have been some plot variations for example in *Naagin* (1976) and in *Hisss* where a female snake takes revenge for the killing of her lover, or in the 2002 film *Jaani Dushman* where the partner of the snake is reborn in human form and so the snake comes into human form to meet his love. In the case of *Nagina*, a snake woman falls in love with a man and so changes to human form to marry him and spend the rest of her life with him.

Leo Braudy and Marshall Cohen, in their book *Film Theory and Criticism* note two characteristics of genre films. The first one is their filmic past – each genre develops over a time span of many years. The second characteristic is the connection between a genre film and its viewers.[152] A similar phenomenon can be witnessed in comparing *Hisss* and *Nagina.* Both films have their filmic past and both films include elements with which the audience can identify.

Building on existing aesthetic and genre conventions, *Hisss* tries to meet the expectations of its contemporary viewers. This shift is particularly visible in the audio-visual components of the film. For example, in *Hisss*, worshippers are dressed

[152] Braudy and Cohen, *Film Theory and Criticism*, p.658.

in orange clothes, according to the established iconography of the subgenre. Yet the temples depicted come across as modern, airy and light unlike the temples in *Nagina,* which are cast in full darkness and smoke. *Hisss* relies heavily on computer graphics and provides a number of unusual techniques, such as point-of-view shots as seen through snake eyes (see Figure 3).

Nagina builds on the conventions of Indian cinema of the 1980s where the hero and heroine are united at the end, whereas *Hisss* concludes with the death of the main protagonist as well as the male snake lover.

Hisss meets most of the genre characteristics of snake films in terms of its plot, characters, settings, iconography, form and most importantly what the audience expect from a snake film. Unlike *Nagina,* the idea of producing a snake movie by a Hollywood director is itself one of the most interesting aspects of the film. The time period is important in order to contextualise this film, particularly when there is an on-going debate about new Indian cinema becoming more global. As in other genres, this globalisation process is evident in *Hisss*. The opening sequence of the film marks a linkage between past and present with a narration on the myth of *Manidhari* snakes and the way in which greedy humans have been struggling to obtain the *Naagmani* from as early as 2300 B.C. In *Hisss,* George, an American who is suffering from third stage cancer has come to India to obtain the *Naagmani* so that he can cure his illness and become immortal.

Both films feature a snake woman as the central character but *Hisss* expands on the classical narrative with the introduction of a police officer who does not believe in the myth of snakes. It is worth mentioning that crime narratives are very successful

in Indian cinema and using a police character in a snake film can be seen to reflect this commercial phenomenon. Moreover, unlike *Nagina*, the snake woman in *Hisss* is presented as a feminist who helps women to fight against evil men but this does not prevent her from killing any women helping men in their evil deeds. Instances include one sequence where the snake woman kills a rapist and his female helper, or another sequence where she kills a man who is beating his wife. More importantly the snake woman in *Hisss* does not appear to follow any traditional social or moral obligation, in comparison with *Nagina* in which the snake woman has to fulfil certain family norms and cultural values by being a good wife and a good daughter-in-law. Conversely, the snake woman in *Hisss* is depicted as both more realistic and as more 'snake-like'.

Manjunath Pendakur has argued that myths and sexuality are two integral components of Snake Movies as a sub-genre.[153] As I have mentioned previously, in the traditional legends the snake is able to capture the image of its human killer (see Figure 3). This myth is directly incorporated into *Hisss*. *Hisss* also includes a sex sequence between the snake woman and her lover who is a snake and also shows the naked snake woman climbing on the pole in another sequence which is an unsually graphic sex scene.

[153] Pendakur, *Indian Popular Cinmea: Industry, Ideology, and Consciousness*, p.175.

Figure 3: POV Shot of the Snake Woman in *Hisss*

The two films under discussion are noteworthy in their representation of religion. In *Nagina* there are no references to any religion other than Hinduism. There is not much on-screen visibility of other gods and goddesses besides the mythical snake creatures. In contrast, *Hisss* includes regular references to other gods in the Hindu religion and also depicts the snake as a god, and gives it prominence over the others (See Figure 4).

Figure 4: Hindu god *Ginesha* in soft focus.

In this frame the picture of the Hindu god *Ginesha* is in soft focus while the snake god is at the forefront. At the same time, the film also features a mix of Christians,

Muslims and Hindu characters equally believing in the snake god. In one sequence, the snake woman wears a black cloak and a veil although she is nude underneath. In another sequence, she helps a Christian woman who starts worshipping her image along with Jesus. The film shows people worshipping the snake god and requesting him to give them children. Infertility is associated with a lack of belief in the old myths, for example, the regular miscarriages of a police officer's wife are linked to the fact that her husband does not believe in myths and the snake god. Converted by the end of the film, he becomes a believer and is rewarded by becoming a father for the first time.

The snake woman is accorded the status of a goddess in *Hisss* whereas this status was less evident in *Nagina* or most of the other snake films. In this respect *Hisss* is more faithful to the conventions of the mythological genre. In one sequence, the snake woman appears inside a temple where worshippers recognize her status as a goddess and start bowing in front of her. She then gives her blessings to the devotees.

Songs are an integral component of all Bollywood genres and are of equal importance in *Nagina* and *Hisss.* One of the main characteristics of songs in Indian cinema is that they advance the narrative components of the film and they have the same role in *Nagina.* In contrast, the songs in *Hisss* do not add much to the plot of the film but use Hindi and English lyrics to increase its global appeal, for example, one of the songs uses the lyrics *'I got that poison, I am the Naagin'.*

I mentioned previously that one of the distinctive cinematic features of *Hisss* is its use of computer graphics. In previous snake films the transformation of snakes into human form and vice versa was achieved by fades or dissolves whereas *Hisss* uses a physical mechanical model of snakes to create horror effects in the film (see Figure 5).

Figure 5: Snake Woman turns into a snake

It is also important in this context to mention the selection of stars for the film. The part of the police officer is played by Irrfan Ali Khan, who is known for portraying mysterious roles, while the snake woman is played by Malika Shirawat who is famous for her seductive on-screen appearances. She is also famous for her roles in *Item songs*[154]. This helps the audience to expect the film to include a combination of snake myths, mystery and sexually explicit material.

[154] Item songs are dance sequences showing a woman dancing in revealing dress and using provocative body moves. These songs usually do not have much relationship with the storyline.

In my case study of *Hisss*, I have presented an overview of the genre of snake movies and how this genre has progressed over the past few decades. I have also presented the reason for the neglect of these genres. Returning to the questions posed at the beginning of this chapter, it is now possible to state that the genre of snake films has adopted new conventions and new narratives and thus now has academic appeal. Although there are similarities in both films, *Hisss* modifies the content. It extends the mythology to include religion, where devotees worship the snake-woman, geographical boundaries from rural areas to urban and from Bollywood to Hollywood, religious boundaries from Hinduism to Christianity and Islam, and genre boundaries from mythological to Horror films. It also attempts to attract those audiences who may not be familiar with this interesting genre by adding some popular trends in Bollywood such as sexuality.

Despite all these changes it is interesting to note that *Hisss* did not prove to be a commercial success.[155] Arguably this failure can be attributed to the loosely structured plot, some redundant characters and the way its characters are developed in the film. However, I would like to reiterate my previous argument that it is mainly because mythological films in India have lost their commercial appeal. Despite its use of some songs, provocative dances and mythological references, *Hisss* did not attract an audience. Bollywood filmmakers realised that mythological films lacked appeal in the late 1980s when Bollywood took a major shift from its set formula and

[155] See *Despite the Gods* (dir. Penny Vozniak, 2012) to find more information on the reasons for its failure.

started making family and diaspora films. Other reasons for this shift included reaching the huge South Asian diaspora market.

Rise of the Masala Genre

As discussed in Chapter 1, genres, on one hand, gain their strength by repeating formulae with some variation in each new film of the genre and on the other hand. Contrary to this, they also face criticism for 'lack' of any original ideas and thus rely on the previously used/tested formulae. These debates of originality versus formulaic has been central to genre debates. The genre hybridity supporters argue that these cinematic contents cannot be original as each 'original' always has another original. The same debates continues when genres are studied in Bollywood context as it has a long term tendency of adopting previously tested formulae. One of the most popular formulae of Bollywood in the 20th century included raising a problem and then the rest of the film revolved around its resolution using various set conventions. This resolution in Bollywood was usually based on some set formulae for example, lost and found, rich boy falls in love with poor girl or vice versa, a love triangle (two male friends fall in love with one girl and one has to make a sacrifice and vice versa), a good or bad police officer fights against criminals to bring 'justice', friendship and above all use of the masala technique in which various cinematic 'ingredients' are mixed together in one film.

Of all the Bollywood formulae, the *masala* technique has been one of the most dominant and has been repeated so often that it has now become the 'global

stereotype of Hindi cinema'.[156] There is, of course, more to *masala* than its literal meaning (a mix of spices) which is often used as an explanation in academic literature. I have previously discussed[157] that there is a difference between *masala* as a term and masala as a genre. I suggest that Masala as a genre involve both industrial as well as a theoretical explanations. In the following section, I will present a theoretical and historical explanation of the Masala genre, its commercial appeal and how the specific structure of this filmmaking process attracts the audience by presenting a case of one of the highest grossing films *Dabangg* (dir. Abhinav Kashyap, 2010). This will be continuation of my previous argument in which I discussed the failure of the old formulae of Bollywood in the case of *Hisss*.

Some stars such as Salman Khan and Akshay Kumar have become famous amongst their audiences for their regular appearances in Masala films. Audiences already know that the films of Khan and Kumar will provide them all the above-mentioned Masala ingredients and hence the film will be good value for money. They do not just want to see a film full of action sequences but also want to see their favourite heroine dancing and singing and also a film which makes them laugh, all for the price of one ticket. Leo Braudy has argued that a genre needs to come up with some variation in its set conventions to be able to continue.[158] Masala, as a genre, also uses

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[156] Tejaswini Ganti, *Bollywood: A Guidebook to Popular Hindi Cinema*, 2nd edn (Routledge, 2013), p. 140.

[157] See Chapter 1: , pp-34-35.

[158] Braudy and Cohen, *Film Theory and Criticism.*

a similar pattern of bringing variation to its set conventions. These variations are usually based on the proportion in which these ingredients are mixed together. It is also evident that Masala films usually fail if there is no variation. The failures of *Dabangg 2* (dir. Arbaaz Khan, 2012) and *Himmatwala* (dir. Sajid Khan, 2013) are evidence of this phenomenon.

The success of the Masala genre can be explained by its association with the feelings and emotions of its audiences and the way it stimulates those feelings. Carl Plantinga and Greg M. Smith note that the 'movie theatre occupies a central place, as one of the predominant spaces where societies gather to express and experience feelings'.[159] This association of art, audience and their emotions is not new and can be traced back to Plato and Aristotle. Aristotle 'described tragedy as arousing beneficial and pleasurable emotions'.[160] Plantinga and Smith continue by quoting another debate in which emotions are divided into two; those emotions which are associated with day-to-day life and 'aesthetic emotions' which are linked to any work of art. They cite Clive Bell who claims that one cannot experience 'aesthetic emotions' in real life events, but instead 'you'll know it when you see it'.[161]

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[159] Carl Plantinga and Greg M. Smith, 'Introduction', in *Passionate Views: Film, Cognition, and Emotion,* ed. by Greg M. Smith Carl Plantinga, (Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999) (p. 1).

[160] Ibid., (4).

[161] Ibid., (5).

In the Indian context, the history of this correlation between art and emotions, as Jennifer Takhar notes[162], goes back to an ancient (200BC) Sanskrit text called *Natyasastra* (science of dramatics).[163] This text focuses on *rasa* and *bhavas*. The term *bhava* literally means emotions and *rasa* means 'flavours' or feelings.[164] Anjum Sibia and Girishwar Misra note that, 'Rasa is a refined mental state to which the dancer/poet and spectator get transported. It is a meta-emotion—a sui generic form of consciousness'.[165] Anand Paranjpe has presented a detailed overview of this rasa theory.[166] In summary, there are eight moods (*rasas)* and eight common emotions (*bhavas*) which corresponds to those moods. These moods (*rasas*) include: Love (*Shringar*), the comic (*Hasya)*, pathos (*Karuna*), the furious (*Raudra*), the heroic (*Vira*), horror (Bhayanaka), the odious (Bibhasta) and the marvellous (*Adbhuta*). Their corresponding respective emotions (*bhavas*) include: erotic (*rati*), mirth (*hasa*), sorrow (*soka*), anger (*Krodha*), energy (*utsaha*), fear (*bhaya)*, disgust (*jugupsa*) and astonishment (*vismaya*). Paranjpe note that, these emotions 'appear repeatedly, last longer, and dominate the "minor" emotions if they were to appear in experience at

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[162] Jennifer Takhar, 'The "Masala" Film Recipe', *The Postcolonial Web*, 2001 <http://www.postcolonialweb.org/pakistan/literature/rushdie/takhar20.html> [accessed 17 January 2013].

[163] Anand C. Paranjpe, *Self and Identity in Modern Psychology and Indian Thought* (London: Kulwer Academic Publisher, 2002).

[164] Ganti, *Bollywood: A Guidebook to Popular Hindi Cinema*, p.142.

[165] Anjum Sibia and Girishwar Misra, 'Understanding Emotion', in *Handbook of Psychology in India*, ed. by Girishwar Misra, (Oxford University Press, 2011) (p. 290).

[166] Paranjpe, *Self and Identity in Modern Psychology and Indian Thought*.

the same time'.[167] The first systematic effort to compose these moods was made by Bharata who assigned these emotional values to musical notes and melodic patterns.[168] These rasas, however, have also been used for expression in paintings, sculptures and poetics. Tejaswini Ganti locates these rasa moods in the Masala genre.[169] She notes that according to *Natyashastra,* audiences seek pleasure through their emotional involvement. Thus when audience experience any art form, it stimulates their emotions.

To explain this further, I shall discuss a recent Masala film, *Dabangg* (2010) which was released in the same year as *Hisss*. While the mythological film was a box office and critical failure, the Masala film proved to be a blockbuster and set commercial records. Significantly, *Dabangg* included most of the *rasas* mentioned above. This discussion will further understanding of how this genre has become so popular and thus dominant in Indian cinema.

Dabangg **as a Masala Film**

Dabangg adapted various visual and narrative elements mostly from pre-existing formulae and the set traditions of Bollywood. The film tells the story of a corrupt and *Dabangg* (brave) police officer who calls himself 'Robin Hood' Pandey. It starts by showing a conflict between two children who are stepbrothers; *Chulbul Pandey*

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[167] Ibid.

[168] Sibia and Misra, 'Understanding Emotion', (p.289).

[169] Ganti, *Bollywood: A Guidebook to Popular Hindi Cinema*.

(Salman Khan) and *Makhi (*Arbaz Khan). The conversation indicates that Makhi does not consider Pandey his brother and thus has the right to own all the property of his father. From this beginning until the end, the film provides various forms of 'entertainment' involving corrupt police officers, corrupt politicians, family relationships and family politics, and personal interests. At the end, the family bond is re-established, the antagonist dies and both Pandey and Makhi accept each other as brothers.

It is obvious from the plot that the story of *Dabangg* is not only predictable but that it is also based on one of the most recycled formulae of Bollywood in which the story revolves around two step brothers and family conflicts. Despite its typical story and familiar formula, *Dabangg* turned out to be the highest grossing film of 2010. Avijit Ghosh in his review *Decoding Dabangg* in *Times of India* has presented an excellent analysis of the factors which made the film a huge success. He argues that Bollywood, since the 1990s, has made a significant shift from its traditional rural audience to the urban class and diaspora community abroad. Referring to this shift, he notes that,

> cinema halls, once a democratic platform of sharing for different classes, became social ghettos of the moneyed. This, with the rise of the dollar-dripping NRI sector as an important market, created a tectonic shift in Bollywood content. Pretty, young directors made pretty, urban-centric, feel-good movies for pretty girls to watch with their prettier boyfriends. The

> underprivileged and everything that was construed as uncomfortable to this audience's tastes were effaced from celluloid.[170]

In that scenario, *Dabangg* has tried to reclaim that 'lost world' of those who belong to the underprivileged class in new Bollywood cinema, which has become a cinema of elites. He points out various instances when *Dabangg* shows those elements which have become obsolete in new Bollywood. For instance,

> the film manages to recreate mofussil Uttar Pradesh both in sight and soul, even though the movie was shot elsewhere. The champakal (handpump), the chakki [Grinding Stone] and the thresher - now forgotten by mainstream Bollywood, form part of the movie's landscape. The extras dancing on the streets amidst shops of ittar [natural perfume oil], surma [eye cosmetic] and bangles look like genuine small-town boys and girls. … When did you last see a hero in a mainstream Bollywood film drinking from a water tap, dressed in a lungi-ganjee[171]? To a substantial audience section, the movie evokes something barely remembered.[172]

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[170] Avijit Ghosh, *Decoding Dabangg*, 2010, Bennett, Coleman & Co. Ltd, Available: <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/Decoding-Dabangg/articleshow/21578001.cms>, [accessed July 2013]

[171] A long piece of cloth worn as a skirt by men in South Asian region.

[172] Avijit Ghosh, *Decoding Dabangg*, 2010, Bennett, Coleman & Co. Ltd, Available: <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/Decoding-Dabangg/articleshow/21578001.cms>, [accessed July 2013]

Beside this 'newness' of mise-en-scène, Salman Khan's role as *Pandey Jee* is another important factor which has contributed to the film's success. But I would argue that the success of the film is mainly due to the fact that *Dabangg* has attempted to fill the gap which the other mainstream films have created with their focus on the multiplexes and urban middle class.

Rasas in *Dabangg*

The following section is an attempt to explore various *rasas* present in *Dabangg* and how the film used them to evoke audience's emotions. It is worth mentioning that *Dabangg* uses seven out of eight *rasas*. Each of these, as mentioned earlier, evokes a specific emotion, for instance the first rasa *Shringar* (love) focuses on erotic experiences. The film's protagonist Chulbul Pandey falls in love with a potter woman Rajjo (Sonakshi Sinha) who is not willing to marry him because of her alcoholic father. Pandey keeps making efforts to win her heart, which she keeps rejecting. However, at the end she agrees to marry Pandey. The film uses the convention of *Item Song* which directly links to the 'erotic' aspect of Rasa theory. The visual codes and the narrative are attempts to eroticize the feelings of the audiences that can also be witnessed in the lyrics of the song:

> *Munni was mortified, darling, just for you, Munni's cheeks are red, eyes are intoxicating and gait's bewitching*
>
> *You're intoxicating like a bottle of alcohol, make me feel young again, your lips are luscious and eyes are bewitching.*

Figure 6: Image from the *Item Song* of *Dabangg*

Comedy, which is one of the integral parts of every Masala film, is extensively used in *Dabangg* from the beginning until the end. This corresponds to the second rasa called *Hasya*, which is related to mirth and laughter. The name of the protagonist (played by Bollywood superstar Salman Khan) as *Chulbul Pandey* is meant to make everyone laugh. Pandey always keeps his glasses on his back collar so that, 'he can see in both directions' (See Figure 7). He robs from the robbers and then keeps the money for himself. He raids the party organized by the antagonist but instead of arresting the antagonist, he starts dancing with all of his police staff. At the end of the song, he gives the villain a bag to fill with money which he must send to him every month to save him from the 'crimes' which Chulbul Pandey commits himself.

Figure 7: Chulbul Pandey hanging sunglasses on his collar

Dabangg does not only depend on laughter but it goes on to choose the rasa of *Karuna* which is related to sorrows and sad emotions evoked by tragedy. The film adds two major tragic moments in the film, firstly when the antagonist brutally kills Chulbul Pandey's mother who suffers from asthma by covering her face with a pillow. The second tragic occurrence comes when the father of Rajjo commits suicide so that his daughter can marry Pandey. In addition to the erotic and comedy sequences, *Dabangg* choses a fourth rasa, *Raudra,* which represents fury and anger. The film shows many intense anger scenes. For example, Pandey beats his brother Makhi when Makhi beats one of his employees. It becomes even more intense in the last fight sequence of the film in which Chulbul Pandey kills the antagonist by filling his mouth with the smoke of a tractor silencer and not letting him breathe (See Figure 8).

Figure 8: Final fight sequence in *Dabangg*

The scene repeatedly shows a flashback of how the same antagonist killed Pandey's mother by not letting her breathe or let her use the inhaler while she was having an asthma attack. At the same time, the screen colour changes to red (see Figure 9), signalling Chulbul Pandey's fury and his shirt tears apart as his body starts expanding in size like the Hulk because of his anger. It is worth mentioning that each rasa has its own specific colour associated with it and red is the colour of *Raudra*, the rasa representing fury.

Figure 9: The screen colour turns red as a symbol of fury

Anger and fury are represented by various heroic acts carried out by Chulbul Pandey. The fifth rasa related to the film is *Vira*, which represents heroic characteristics. The film's title represents one of the heroic characteristics of the hero, in that he is a fearless (dabangg) person who is neither afraid of criminals nor of his senior officials and does whatever he wishes to do. In all the fight sequences, Chulbul Pandey not only remains undefeated but we also see him unperturbed by any of the problems or attempts made against him. He goes into the gangster's home alone while his police officers dare not enter. He fights against dozens of gangsters and kills all of them singlehandedly. There are three main fight sequences; all include the use of every kind of weapon by the antagonists to kill Chulbul Pandey but the hero always wins. What is also interesting is how Chulbul Pandey kills criminals in the fight sequences, which Avijit Ghosh has termed 'the most original action scenes in Mumbai

cinema'.[173] They create a sense of wonder amongst audiences, which adds to the overall attraction of the film, and covers the sixth rasa of *Adbhuta*. We then see the seventh rasa of *Bibhasta* in terms of the use of *disgust* in the film. This can be seen from one of the most popular dialogues of *Dabangg* which is a good example of the use of the *disgust and pathetic* rasas. Chulbul Pandey often threatens his enemies by saying, *'*I will fill you with so many holes, that you'll get confused which hole you should use to breathe and which one to fart*.'*

This use of feelings and emotions, as explained in rasa theory, is an excellent way of understanding the Masala genre. Rasa theory provides a helpful basis for understanding this unique genre. Having most of these *rasas* (feelings/moods) and *Bhavas* (emotions) such as love, fury, heroism, disgust, tragedy, laughter and wonder in one film makes it 'paisa-wasool'[174] and thus popular among audiences who want to get all those feelings in one film.

There appears to be a direct relationship between multiplexes and the popularity of the Masala genre as both started in the post 1990s. Indian cinema, as mentioned earlier, not only distanced itself from the working class in terms of its content but also in terms of its accessibility due to high ticket prices. It is, thus, understandable

[173] Avijit Ghosh, *Decoding Dabangg*, 2010, Bennett, Coleman & Co. Ltd, Available: <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/Decoding-Dabangg/articleshow/21578001.cms>, [accessed July 2013].

[174] 'Worth the money'.

that Masala films provide audiences with a sense of satisfaction that their money has been well spent as one film provides them with many types of entertainment.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented a summary of the historical and contextual accounts of Indian cinema from its silent era until the present. Within this history, I have particularly focused on individuals who have contributed to Indian cinema as well as on the emergence of some of the pioneering genres such as mythological, stunt and social genres. I also presented the case of adaptation process started in India. I have argued that there has been one dominant genre in Bollywood in each phase of its development, as discussed by Ashish Rajadhyaksha, but that this did not remain fixed and new genres kept taking over. Genres which once were the founding genres of Bollywood have now lost their popularity due to the changing nature of the cinema, and new genres have found their space in Bollywood cinema. Among them, Masala is the most popular genre. To support this argument, I have presented two case studies.

In the first case study, I have attempted to show the changing nature of the mythological genre and its failure to attract audiences. For my second case study, I discussed the film *Dabangg.* Both films were released in 2010, but where *Dabangg* was a huge success, *Hisss* was a failure. This represents not only the changing nature of the expectations of audiences but also how cinema is continuously evolving and taking into account what audiences want and expect from Bollywood in that particular region and time. It also indicates the popularity of the Masala genre in Indian cinema. I have attempted to prove that the Masala genre should not be studied

in terms of its iconography because of its hybrid nature. Thus, it is more appropriate to define the Masala genre by its use of rasas and bhavas in the films. The more a film depends on these rasas and bhavas the closer it is to the Masala genre.

Chapter 3: Horror

> *The history of the horror film is essentially a history of anxiety in the twentieth century. In the way that fairy tales, folk tales, and gothic romances articulated the fears of the 'old' world, the contemporary horror film has defined and illustrated the phobias of a 'new' world characterised by a rationale of industrial, technological and economic determinism.*[175]

This chapter aims to explore the syntactic elements of horror genre by discussing the current status of contemporary horror films in Bollywood[176] and the way that New Horror[177] emerged in the post-2000s within the Indian context. This analysis of the syntactic element is one of the requirements of Altman's model which suggests to analyse both semantic and syntactic elements of the genre.

One of the major differences between semantic and syntactic elements of a genre is that semantic elements have little explanatory power, whereas the explanation of syntactic elements can be expanded and interpreted in multiple ways depending on who is interpreting them. This becomes even more challenging while studying horror

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[175] Paul Wells, *The Horror Genre: From Beelzebub to Blair Witch* (London: Wallflower 2000), p. 3.

[176] Some online media has referred horror films of Bollywood as Bolly-horror; however, I prefer to use it as Bollywood Horror.

[177] Sangita Gopal, 'Fearful Habitations: Upward Mobility and the Horror Genre', in *Conjugations: Marriage and Form in New Bollywood Cinema*, (Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press, 2011).

genre in Bollywood which takes its sources from Hindu epics and other art forms. It is not possible to cover every aspect of the contextual account of the horror genre. Therefore, in this chapter, I will limit myself to historical context, narrative structure, characters, religion and politics. From genre theoretical perspective, I will also discuss the genre hybridity thesis and its relevance with the horror genre.

The limited available literature has, to some extent, studied the genre from the perspectives of its historical development[178], its ideological dimension[179], the 'monster' of Bollywood[180], the use of intertextuality[181], and realism in horror[182] to which I will refer later in this chapter. What is missing in these studies is a broader understanding of *how* horror has incorporated these individual elements to form a holistic narrative structure. I will address issues not examined in previous studies, such as why and how Bollywood horror films attract audiences, the role of religion and how it influences the representation of the monster in these films, and how

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[178] Pete Tombs, 'The Beast from Bollywood: A History of the Indian Horror Film', in *Fear Without Frontiers: Horror Cinema Across the Globe,* ed. by Steven Jay Schneider, (Surrey, UK: FAB Press, 2003).

[179] Meraj Ahmed Mubarki, 'Mapping the Hindi Horror Genre: Ghosts in the Service of Ideology', *History and Sociology of South Asia,* 7 (2013).

[180] Usha Iyer, 'Nevla as Dracula: Figurations of the Tantric as Monster in the Hindi Horror Film', in *Figurations in Indian Film,* ed. by Meheli Sen and Anustup Basu, (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

[181] Maheli Sen, 'Haunted *Havelis* and Hapless Heroes: Gender, Genre, and the Hindi Gothic Film', in *Figurations in Indian Film,* ed. by Meheli Sen and Anustup Basu, (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

[182] Valentina Vitali, 'The Evil: Realism and Scopophilia in the Horror Films of the Ramsay Brothers', in *Beyond the Boundaries of Bollywood: The Many Forms of Hindi Cinema,* ed. by Rachel Dwyer and Jerry Pinto, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011).

contemporary horror films differ from their predecessors, if at all. I intend to examine these issues for the purpose of developing a deeper understanding of the horror genre, particularly its narrative structure. This chapter only covers the syntactic elements of Altman's model which will then be further expanded in Chapter 4 in which my focus of analysis will be on the semantic elements of horror genre.

Studying horror genre in Bollywood allows an understanding of the anxieties, fears and fantasies of Indian society and how horror films address these. These fears and anxieties, as Paul Wells has argued in the quote above, relate to the 'fear of "old" world' and/or the 'fear of "new" world'. These fears may also relate to the binary opposition of religion or sacred versus secular, or India versus the rest of the world, where followers and believers of Hindutva (what I consider to be a religiously motivated form of nationalism), feel *threatened*. This context also enables us to understand popular beliefs such as the acceptability of the existence of God and other supernatural forces within the socio-political and cultural boundaries of Indian society.

This chapter is based on the premise that the horror genre in its current form is an indigenous genre that, despite borrowing narrative and visual conventions from the West, continues to develop as a mainly indigenous genre. It exists, as Meraj Mubarki argues, at the 'intersections of myths, ideology and dominant socio-religious

thoughts'.[183] The narratives in Bollywood horror are driven by elements of revenge and/or objects of desire within the parameters of good versus bad; morality versus psychology, religious versus secular, and/or religious versus political. Moreover, the 'monster' in these films is either repressed or often 'struggles for recognition'[184] and thus fights against those who challenge his/her very existence. In this context, it is the non-believers[185] who often threaten the 'normality' and not the monster, as the latter is part of the normality. According to Robin Wood, normality is understood as the 'conformity to the dominant social norms'.[186]

Horror and science fiction are both fictional genres, but what makes horror different from science fiction is the intention of horror to evoke emotion. Stephen King explains this intention in his book *Danse Macabre*,

> I recognize terror as the finest emotion … so I will try to terrorize the reader. But if I find I cannot terrify him/her, I will try to horrify; and if I find I cannot horrify, I'll go for the gross-out.[187]

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[183] Mubarki, 'Mapping the Hindi Horror Genre: Ghosts in the Service of Ideology', (p. 39).

[184] Robin Wood, 'The American Nightmare: Horror in the 70s', in *Horror, The Film Reader*, ed. by Mark Jancovich, (London and New York: Routledge 2002) (p. 31).

[185] In this particular scenario, I use the term 'believer' not only to refer to those who believe in God or gods but also to those who believe in ghosts, spirits and other supernatural forces.

[186] Wood, 'The American Nightmare: Horror in the 70s', (p.31).

[187] Stephen King, *Danse Macabre* (New York: Gallery Books, 2010), pp. 25-26.

King's intentions for horror texts include both realistic horror and fictional horror. They also include psychological and visual dimensions involved in the process of creating horror directly related to what he refers to as the 'finest emotion'. Horror depends on the unknown which one cannot see or comprehend by using any rational approach or method. In that scenario, Glenn D. Walters defines horror as 'a fictional product designed to evoke terror through the implied presence of supernatural or grossly abnormal forces'.[188] For Walters, those films claiming to be the realistic horror are fictional too even if they take their inspiration from real life events. This process of terrifying audiences through dependence on the unknown and its presentation through audio-visual and other narrative techniques opens up a wide arena for scholars to discuss and argue.

The Appeal of Horror

The academic discourse on horror can broadly be categorised into subjective and objective explanations of the genre.

> The objectivists generally aspire towards a totalizing description of the genre usually based in the formulation of clearly defined categories of iconography, content, or themes. In contrast, the subjectivists usually prefer a looser

[188] Glenn D. Walters, 'Understanding the Popular Appeal of Horror Cinema: An Integrated-Interactive Model', *Journal of Media Psychology*, 9 (2004), (p. 1).

> definition of formal elements and, instead, focus on the genre's less tangible emotional effects.[189]

The subjectivist approach, as David J. Russell puts it, focuses on the emotional responses of audiences and is limited in scope. As emotional responses to any horror film change with the change of spatial and temporal boundaries, something that some audiences find horrifying may be funny for others. On the other hand, objectivists attempt to expand the genre boundaries by focusing more on the film texts instead of the emotions that they create. Russell criticises this approach because of the continuously changing nature of the genre as each genre adds to the existing conventions. In that case, an objectivist approach not only fails to address thematic overlapping but it also fails to anticipate potential variations. He then offers a solution that addresses the weaknesses of subjectivist and objectivist approaches by presenting the following definition of horror:

> The basic definition of any horror film may be centred on its monster character, and the conflict arising in the fantastical and unreal monster's relationship with normality – as represented through a pseudo-ontic space constructed through filmic realism – provides the necessary basic terms for its (filmic) existence.[190]

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[189] David J. Russell, 'Monster Roundup: Reintegrating the Horror Genre', in *Refiguring American Film Genres: History and Theory,* ed. by Nick Browne, (University of California Press, 1998) (p. 234).

[190] Ibid., (252).

Indeed, the monster is one of the main elements of the horror genre. However, I agree with Noël Carroll that it is not just the monster that is the main source of gratification, but instead the 'whole narrative structure' that is based upon curiosity and fascination. The curiosity, in this context, is 'the desire to know at least the outcome of the interaction of the forces made salient in the plot'[191] whereas the fascination addresses the desire to see those elements that 'transgress standing categories of thought'.[192] Thus, this complete package of horror not only fulfils the curiosity but also provides fascination in an accumulative form that attracts audiences and provides them both pleasure and gratification. Carroll argues that the process of seeking pleasure is more cognitive in nature,[193] and suggests that curiosity is an important part of other genres too. However, there are different types of curiosity – 'it is one thing to be curious about the unknown but natural, and another thing to be curious about the impossible. And it is the latter form of curiosity in which horror fictions typically traffic'.[194]

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[191] Noël Carroll, 'Why horror? ', in *Horror, The Film Reader,* ed. by Mark Jancovich, (London and New York: Routledge 2002) (p. 35).

[192] Ibid., (39).

[193] Ibid., (36).

[194] Ibid., (37-38).

Horror's Specificity

Andrew Tudor argues that one should be more specific while studying the horror genre. He agrees with Carroll's approach of using a non-psychoanalytic method to understand the horror genre and its attractions. However, he tends to limit analysis within spatio-temporal boundaries. He suggests that,

> If we really are to understand horror's appeal, and hence its social and cultural significance, we need to set aside the traditionally loaded ways in which 'why horror?' has been asked. For the question should not be 'why horror?' at all. It should be, rather, why do *these* people like *this* horror in *this* place at *this* particular time?[195]

Tudor's argument is helpful in many ways, particularly, when the academic discourse on the horror genre has been mainly focused on Hollywood. Following Tudor's approach, we are free to explore the genre from many different international perspectives, for example, it can be applied to Japanese horror (J-horror), Hong Kong horror, the African genre or Bollywood horror. Almost all genres have their own specific aesthetic and narrative techniques which change because of specific social

[195] Andrew Tudor, 'Why horror? The Peculiar Pleasures of a Popular Genre', in *Horror, The Film Reader,* ed. by Mark Jancovich, (London and New York: Routledge 2002) (p. 54).

and cultural contexts. For example, in the Japanese context, horror is often referred as *J-horror.*[196]

> J-horror films concentrate on the low-key production of atmospheric and psychological fear, rather than graphic gore, capitalizing on urban legends proliferated through mass media and popular culture…. The central aesthetics of the J-horror discourse is best described as the "uncanny," that is, the feelings of dread and horror aroused by what is known of familiar.… J-Horror films draw on the media saturated environment in contemporary Japan in order to activate the uncanny, making supernatural apparitions through technologies of mechanical reproduction and electronic communications in the living room.[197]

Mitsuyo Wada-Marciano argues that Japanese filmmakers did not attempt at aiming films at the international market and those that reached other countries were *anime* (animated films) and select art films. Wada-Marciano suggests that Japanese filmmakers assumed that Japanese films were popular within their domestic markets and thus resisted Hollywood dominance because of their cultural specificity. Wada-Marciano claims that 'Japanese cinema has never been a "global cinema" except for

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[196] 'Group of relatively low-budget horror films made in Japan during the late 1990s.' See Chika Kinoshita, 'The Mummy Complex: Kurosawa Kiyoshi's Loft and J-horror', in *Horror to the Extreme: Changing Boundaries in Asian Cinema,* ed. by Jinhee Choi and Mitsuyo Wada-Marciano, (2009) (p. 104).

[197] Ibid., (104-06).

anime (Japanese animation) and some *auteur* films circulated via various international film festivals'.[198] It was for the same reasons that they did not attempt to exhibit these films on the international market. However, the popularity of J-horror has changed this assumption.[199]

Bollywood Horror – An Historical Overview

As in the case of Japanese cinema, Bollywood horror has had a limited presence internationally and mainly relied on domestic audiences until 2000. Not only have the commercial markets ignored Bollywood horror but until recently, academic literature was sparse on the topic. Schneider and Williams' *Horror International,* published in 2005, starts by acknowledging that,

> Until fairly recently, analysis of the horror genre tended to concentrate on entries from the Western world, whether the American horror film, British examples such as Hammer horror, or the Italian *giallo* tradition of Mario Bava and Dario Argento.[200]

However, despite presenting several case studies of the horror films from Italy, Germany, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, Hong Kong, Spain, Romania,

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[198] Mitsuyo Wada-Marciano, 'J-horror', in *Horror to the Extreme: Changing Boundaries in Asian Cinema,* ed. by Jinhee Choi and Mitsuyo Wada-Marciano, (2009) (p. 28).

[199] Ibid., (27-28).

[200] Steven Jay Schneider and Tony Williams, 'Introduction', in *Horror International,* ed. by Steven Jay Schneider and Tony Williams, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2005).

Canada, Egypt, Scandinavia, Belgium and Russia, the book fails to include any example from Bollywood. It is important to note that this comes at a point when horror in Bollywood emerged as a transnational genre and was no longer limited to its domestic audience.

The new horror genre went through a vigorous process of change and evolution before it became acceptable to Indian audiences, but is now an integral part of mainstream Indian cinema. This transition of the horror genre from the past to the present can be divided into three phases. Firstly, the era between the 1930s and the 1960s, when horror had an intermittent presence. In this phase, about one or two films on average were produced each year. In almost all cases filmmakers who made horror films in that era only attempted it once or twice.[201] Secondly, the era between the 1970s and the 1980s in which the Ramsay Brothers made an unprecedented number of horror films, and third the era from the 1990s until the present in which filmmakers such as Ram Gopal Varma, Mahesh Bhatt and Vikram Bhatt among others have started making horror films more regularly.

Phase One – (1930s - 1960s)

In its first phase (1930s-1960s), Bollywood mainly produced mythological, devotional and religious films. Horror was less visible throughout this phase as no

[201] See Appendix B

more than 30 films were produced in that period.[202] Most of these films are lost and we know little about them except for their basic information. *Maut Ka Toofan* (*Storm of Death*, 1935*)* by Henry Dargwtich appears to be the first horror film in Bollywood. However, it is difficult to prove this due to insufficient evidence. The only information that we have about this film is that it was two and half hours long and that its cast included Knata Goswami, Zebunisa, Sultana and Gulzar[203], Chander and F. Bhutt. This was probably the only horror film that was made in the 1930s.[204] One of the most significant films of the 1940s was Kamal Amrohi's *Mahal* (*Mansion*, 1949) based on the idea of reincarnation, which is probably the first reincarnation film in Bollywood. Reincarnation later became one of the main conventions in the horror film. Another influential and commercially successful film based on reincarnation was Bimal Roy's *Madhumati* (1958). Apart from these few popular films, horror films produced in this period were mainly focused on the niche market. Besides the lack of financial and technical resources, another main reason for the lower number of horror productions was probably the so-called golden-era of Bollywood (1950s and 1960s), in which social genres and realism dominated. The decline of social films in the 1970s led to the emergence and popularity of other

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[202] See Appendix B

[203] Almost all the available sources on the internet confuse the actor Gulzar in this film with one of the most renowned poets and lyricists of Bollywood. This was clearly a different Gulzar who also worked in *Dr Madhrika* (1935), *Jawani* (1942) and *Lagna Bandhan* (1936). The poet Gulzar was born on 18th August 1936 a year later after the film was made.

[204] The other relevant films of that era include Master Bhagwan's *Bhedi Bungla* (*Mysterious Mansion*, 1949), Hemant Kumar's *Bees Saal Baad* (*20 Years Later*, 1962) and Mehmood Ali's *Kala Jadoo* (*Black Magic*, 1963).

genres including horror, although these have been overshadowed by 'indigenous genres' (mythological and social) of Bollywood.[205]

Phase Two – (1970s – 1980s)

The popularity of new genres in the 1970s marks the second phase of the development of the Horror genre. Pete Tombs and Kartik Nair[206] have presented a comprehensive historical account of the horror genre in this period that will be discussed in the following section, although, I have also identified some problems with Tombs' essay,[207] which is arguably the first attempt towards writing the history of the horror genre in Bollywood. I have attempted to rectify these errors in the current chapter. The credit for the production of horror films goes mainly to the Ramsay Brothers (sons of F.U. Ramsay) who can be considered as the pioneers of the horror genre in Bollywood. Their target markets were the 'hinterland of B-, C-, and D-centres, allowing them to escape the tyranny of the exhibition monopoly that

[205] Gopal, 'Fearful Habitations: Upward Mobility and the Horror Genre'.

[206] Kartik Nair, 'Taste, Taboo, Trash: The Story of the Ramsay Brothers', *Bioscope: South Asican Screen Studies*, 3 (2012).

[207] Names of some of the films are not spelled correctly and difficult to identify the actual film. For example, Ram Gopal Varma's film *Kaun?* (*Who,* 1999) is written as *Kauri*? (p.252), Ramsays' *Purana Mandir* (*Ancient Temple*) is written as *Purana Mandtr* (p.248) at one point and *Purana Mandlr* (p.247) at another. Similarly, Ramsays' another film *Tahkhana* (*Basement*) is written as *Tarkhana* (p.247). At another place, he refers to a 2001 film *Ah Kya Hoga (p. 252)* which I believe he is referring to Saawan Kumar Tak's *Ab kya hoga* (*What will happen now*, 1977) which is a thriller film and has Shatrughan Sinha as the main star. Moreover, Tombs did not mention the director's name of many of the films which makes it difficult for the reader to locate them. Some of the films, I believe, do not even exist.

had historically controlled more prestigious circuits'.[208] The beginning of the second phase of horror and the contribution by the Ramsay brothers can be attributed to a single film *Ek Nanhi Munni Ladki Thi* (*There was a young girl*, 1970), produced by F.U.Ramsay and directed by Vishram Bedekar. For Sangita Gopal this film is the 'single most important event in the history of Indian horror film'.[209] In one of the sequences, a thief enters a museum disguised in a costume which suggests a ghost-like character, which audiences appeared to be both thrilled and panicked to see. Kartik Nair, who interviewed the Ramsay brothers, writes that,

> the Ramsay boys observed the response [of the audiences while they were watching *Ek Nanhi Munni Ladki Thi]* and returned to tell their father: "*Public cheekhti hai*" (The public screams).[210]

Although, *Ek Nanhi Munni Ladki Thi* was not successful, the audience response was a revelation, and ultimately led them to make their first horror film *Do Gaz Zameen Ke Neechey* (*Beneath Two Yards of Soil*) in 1972, written by Kumar Ramsay (the eldest son of F.U.Ramsay) and directed by Tulsi Ramsay and Shyam Ramsay. This film was more realistic, adopting the same idea of a suggested monster from *Ek*

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[208] Nair, 'Taste, Taboo, Trash: The Story of the Ramsay Brothers', (p. 127).

[209] Gopal, 'Fearful Habitations: Upward Mobility and the Horror Genre', (p.94).

[210] Nair, 'Taste, Taboo, Trash: The Story of the Ramsay Brothers', (p. 125).

Nanhi Munni Ladki Thi, and successfully concealing the identity of the 'monster' until the final sequence.

Figure 10: Mama Jee feeling scared

Figure 11: Meena feeling scared after seeing Raj's ghost in *Do Gaz Zameen Ke Neechy*

It is later revealed that the main protagonist Rajvansh (Surendra Kumar) pretended to have been dead because of the poisonous injection by Anand (Imtiaz) - his wife Meena's (Pooja) lover - who along with Meena and her so-called uncle Mama Jee (Satyendra Kapoor) wanted to steal Raj's wealth. The film succeeded in making the audience believe that it was a ghost story in which Raj's ghost wanted to take revenge on Meena, Anand and Mama Jee. The film relied on the belief of the audience and the characters in the film that spirits of any innocent victim may come back and take the revenge. At the end, Raj appears in front of Meena, who has killed Anand. Raj then explains to her that all the 'supernatural' events they witnessed such as a fake ghost, fake blood, fake bullets in the gun and even the disappearance of the Raj's 'corpse' from the grave were all made up by Raj and his servants in order to punish her and Anand.

After the successful experiment of *Do Gaz Zameen Ke Neechey*, the Ramsay family continued to specialise in horror films. Each member of F.U Ramsay's family specialised in various film crafts. For instance, films were often directed by Tulsi Ramsay and Shyam Ramsay. Shyam Ramsay used to deal with actors while Tulsi focused on the technical aspects. Similarly, Kumar Ramsay took the responsibility of script writing and Kiran Ramsay and Gangu Ramsay showed their skills in sound and camera respectively.[211] The success of *Do Gaz Zameen Ke Neechey*, opened up the path for many new horror films. Although, Ramsay films have often been categorised by academics and the popular press as B-category films, some of their

[211] Tombs, 'The Beast from Bollywood: A History of the Indian Horror Film', (p.246).

films were actually as accomplished as one could expect from any other Bollywood film of the 1970s and 1980s. Some of these films include *Ghungroo ki Awaz* (*Sound of anklet*, 1981), *Purana Mandir* (*The Ancient Temple*, 1984), Veerana (*Desolation*, 1988) and *Bandh Darwaza* (*Closed Door*, 1990). All of their films were formulaic in nature and could be divided into two categories: horror and suggestive horror. For example, both *Purana Mandir* and *Bandh Darwaza*, rely on supernatural elements whereas *Ghungroo Ki Awaz* is based on their previously tested formula of suggestive horror as was used in *Ek Nannhi Munni Ladki* and *Do Gaz Zameen Ke Neechey*. Shyam Ramsay reused this formula in his independently directed film of 2003 *Dhund-The Fog,* which is again based on the idea of suggestive horror in which the monster is not real. There is a possibility that this formula was inspired by Henri-Georges Clouzot's classic horror film *Les Disboliques* (*The Devils/The Friends*, 1955), however, it is difficult to prove the relationship between the two. A blogger on the internet has summarised it as:

> [Ramsay films] are *fun* -- scary, silly, exuberant, atmospheric and *tuneful*, they pop with carnivalesque energy and a showman's give-the-people-what-they-want pride and confidence.[212]

[212] John Beifuss, *Scares, Songs, Dances and Death: The 'Bollywood Horror Collection'* on DVD, 2009, Available: <http://blogs.commercialappeal.com/the_bloodshot_eye/2009/03/scares-songs-dances-and-death-the-bollywood-horror-collection-on-dvd.html>, [accessed 15 July 2014].

Essentially, all these films are based on certain characteristics of the Masala formula that includes songs, dances, romance, comedy and the elements of horror as part of the narrative. The binary of good versus evil is the central characteristic of Ramsay films. Besides their use of local folklores, myths and other legends, the monsters in Ramsay films were inspired by other industries, mainly Hollywood. These films have played a significant role in Indian horror cinema, mainly because they not only set conventions of Bollywood horror cinema but their films have also helped to set audiences' expectations.

The cinema we see in the post-2000s is arguably a derivation of Ramsay films. Valentina Vitali writes in her essay that:

> [Ramsay] films never occupied the centre ground of cinema in India. Like much horror cinema elsewhere, they were cheaply produced films that circulated at the margins of the industry. [However]…nothing like them had been made before and nothing as ground-breaking was made after the Ramsay brothers.[213]

The Ramsay family no longer makes joint films; Shyam Ramsay and Tulsi Ramsay make independent films whilst the other brothers continue to assist them on an individual basis as in the case of *Dhund-The Fog* (2003) in which the cinematography was by Gangu Ramsay. It is appropriate to say that Indian academic

[213] Vitali, 'The Evil: Realism and Scopophilia in the Horror Films of the Ramsay Brothers', (p.78).

discourse on the horror genre cannot be completed without a discussion of the Ramsay brothers.

During this period of evolution of horror, some independent filmmakers also attempted to make horror films. The two significant names in this regard are Mohan Bhakri and Vinod Talwar. Both Bhakri and Talwar were inspired by the Ramsay films and their popularity. Bhakri always focused on a niche market. Before making horror films, he made two Punjabi language films *Jatti* (1980) and *Jatt Da Gandasa* (1982). His horror films[214] were somehow similar to those of the Ramsay brothers. Pete Tombs notes that sex and violence were the most dominant features of his films, as they were in the Ramsay films. [215]

Tombs is under the impression that due to the lack of funding and profits shrinking, the Ramsay brothers, Mohan Bhakri and Vinod Talwar gave up making horror films in the late 1980s.[216] However, that is not the case; Mohan Bhakri made another horror film in 2005, *Ab Tumhari Bari hai* (*It is your turn now*). Shyam Ramsay also continues to make films. His most recent film is *Neighbours* (2014) – a vampire story that seems to target a niche market. Although, Ramsay films have been very successful in attracting audiences to the horror genre, their inability to address the

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[214] Bakhri made about eight horror films: *Cheekh* (*Scream*, 1985), *Khooni Mahal* (*Murderous Mansion*, 1987), *Kabrastan* (*Graveyard*, 1988) and *Roohani Taaqat* (*Spiritual Power*, 1991) are some of his noteworthy films

[215] Tombs, 'The Beast from Bollywood: A History of the Indian Horror Film', (p.248).

[216] Ibid., (250-51).

changing social, political and industrial factors in India led to the decline of their dominance. Throughout their heyday, Ramsay films depended on their set Masala formulae without making any new or creative changes in terms of genre content or structure, which made audiences lose interest. These were external factors such as the economic liberalization policy of India which created new genres, particularly the diaspora films which became very popular in 1990s. This weakness of the Ramsay films created a gap which was filled by Ram Gopal Varma who attempted to distance horror genre from Masala.

Phase Three – Contemporary Horror

In its third phase, horror became one of the mainstream genres of Bollywood. A cinema that was producing an average of one film each year between the 1930s and the 1960s, produced at least ten horror films in 2010.[217] Ram Gopal Varma's *Raat* and Mahesh Bhatt's big budget werewolf themed film *Junoon* (*Obsession*) were released in 1992. Both films had unique characteristics that took horror cinema in a new direction towards what we now refer to as New Horror. *Junoon*, was a big budget film by a critically acclaimed director with a major cast of Rahul Roy and Mahesh Bhatt's daughter Pooja Bhatt. This was clearly an indication of the acceptance of horror films in the mainstream cinema. Unlike *Junoon*¸ *Raat*, was not a

[217] See Appendix B

hit. Explaining the contribution of this film to Indian cinema, Pete Tombs notes that *Raat* was

> criticised for its attempts to rewrite the rulebook on Indian horror movies. Songless, and featuring an abstract soundtrack of electronic noise, the film was a brave attempt to introduce a new style of filmmaking.[218]

This film paved the way for later horror films. Ram Gopal Varma and later on Vikram Bhatt have given a new boost to this genre, however, every year new filmmakers attempt to make horror films due to its increasing popularity, and about 30 directors have so far made horror films in Bollywood.[219]

It is worth mentioning that the horror genre is no longer limited to the cinema screens in India but that there are also very successful horror series on Indian TV channels. For instance, *Zee Horror Show* (1993-1998) by the Ramsay brothers and *Saturday Suspense* (1998-2000) by various producers and directors including Shyam Ramsay and *X-Zone* (1998-2002) were aired on Zee TV; *Aaahat* by B.P. Singh started in 1995 and continued until 2010 at Sony Entertainment and *Ssshhhh… Koi Hai* (2001-2004) by Abhimanyu Singh at Star Plus channel are some of the earlier attempts at the horror genre for TV channels. These days there are various new horror shows

[218] Tombs, 'The Beast from Bollywood: A History of the Indian Horror Film', pp.251-52).

[219] See Appendix B

regularly being aired on all entertainment channels.[220] This adds to the significance of horror among Bollywood genres.

Contrary to this popularity, New Horror in Bollywood is still suffering from academic neglect. Meraj Mubarki has pointed out that,

> Hindi cinema has been much subjected to academic insights in the last two decades by Ashish Rajadhyaksha, M. Madhav Prasad and Sumita Chakravarty amongst others. But Hindi horror cinema with its own aesthetics rituals and structural conventions, has escaped academic attention and needs to be studied in its own right.[221]

In what follows, I will examine the narrative structure of contemporary horror films, mainly focusing on Vikram Bhatt's *Raaz* (*Secret*, 2002). This film is part of a series of horror films, which was followed by the second film *Raaz: The Mystery Continues* (2009) directed by Mohit Suri, and then by a third film *Raaz 3: The Third Dimension* aka *Raaz 3D.* The fourth film of the series *Raaz 4* is due to be released in 2015.[222] *Raaz* is Bollywood's longest running horror franchise. *Raaz* is a family run series produced under the banner of Vishesh Films; a company owned by Mahesh Bhatt

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[220] Ringa Ringa Roses at Life OK channel, Fear Files at Zee TV, Bhoot Aaya (A Ghost Appeared) at Sony TV

[221] Mubarki, 'Mapping the Hindi Horror Genre: Ghosts in the Service of Ideology', (p. 40).

[222] *Emraan Hashmi to Star in Vikram Bhatt's Raaz 4*, 2014, India Today, Available: <http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/emraan-hashmi-vikram-bhatt-raaz-4/1/369543.html>, [accessed 10 July 2014].

and his younger brother Mukesh Bhatt. *Raaz* is one of the most commercially successful horror films of the post-2000s. It was the second highest grossing film of 2002 after Sanjay Leela Bhansali's mega budget film *Devdas*.[223]

Case Study

Raaz is the story of a couple, Sanjana and Aditya, who are struggling with their troubled relationship. Sanjana feels that she is not Aditya's priority anymore and he does not love her the way he used to in the beginning of their relationship. She feels alienated at his parties. These feelings grow to such an extent that she quarrels with him, drives the car home and has an accident. After the accident, Aditya, feeling sorry for his previous attitude, expresses his desire to forget the past and start the relationship afresh. He offers to take Sanjana to any place in the world where they can spend time together and strengthen their relationship. Sanjana suggests a place called Ooty which is where their relationship started.

After reaching Ooty, some unusual things happen around Sanjana such as objects falling without any external force, air blowing her hair and whispering sounds etc. Later on it is revealed that it is the spirit of a girl, Malini, who is trying to communicate with Sanjana. Malini had a relationship with Aditya when he used to attend to his business in Ooty. Aditya had kept this relationship secret from Sanjana.

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[223] Archit Mishra, *Bhatt Films: Box office Analysis*, 2013, Indicine.com, Available: <http://www.indicine.com/movies/bollywood/bhatt-films-box-office-analysis/>, [accessed 8 July 2014]

Malini who had an unstable personality fell in love with Aditya. Later on, when she discovers that Aditya is already married, she tries to force Aditya to leave Sanjana. Upon his refusal to leave his wife, Malini shoots herself with the intention that when Sanjana finds about her, she would then leave Aditya.

It is clear that as Malini could not get Aditya in her life she decided to separate Aditya from Sanjana so that they can be reunited in another life. Malini's spirit reveals the truth about her relationship to Sanjana after possessing her. When she finds out her husband's secret, Sanjana decides to leave him. At this point, a suspicious looking 'Professor' Agni Swaroop (Ashutosh Rana), who '*has great insight'* and '*can set right what is wrong',* advises Sanjana not to leave Aditya by reminding her that '*Sanjana is devoted to her husband and a woman who is devoted to her husband, acts as his shield. Even god is afraid to meddle with her husband's life whereas this is only an evil spirit'*.[224] In the remaining part of the film, there are several sequences in which Sanjana and Malini's spirit confront each other. As per the advice of Professor Agni Swaroop, Sanjana manages to burn the body of the dead Malini in order to get rid of her spirit. Sanjana then reunites with Aditya. The film concludes with a narration by Sanjana:

> To fall in love is easy, to live up to it is very difficult. Only after I had passed this test of love, did my married life really blossom. Only after travelling

[224] These quotes have been taken from film subtitles.

> through the depths of death could I reach the zenith of life, the zenith where I was blessed with the nectar of love forever.

Raaz is often referred to as a remake of Robert Zemeckis' *What Lies Beneath* (2000), which is 'almost a ghost story version'[225] of Adrian Lyne's *Fatal Attraction* (1987). In the case of *Raaz*, it certainly has a similar plotline to *What Lies Beneath* in which the wife discovers her husband's previous affair with a girl whose spirit, after her death, has started haunting her. Vikram Bhatt, the director of the film, has refused to acknowledge any similarity between *Raaz* and *What Lies Beneath*. However, in one of his press interviews, he stated that, 'if we must have Hollywood comparison then I'd say *Raaz* is more *Fatal Attraction* than *What Lies Beneath*'.[226] Besides the similarity in the plot, *Raaz*, depends more on a localised narrative structure. For instance, the characters use a lemon to establish the presence of the ghost or burn the body in order to save themselves from the spirit.

The narrative structure of *Raaz* can best be studied from the perspective of its hybrid nature. This hybridity relates to the duality of its plot, which can be divided into two parallel plots; plot one deals with the relationship between the couple, whereas plot two deals with the supernatural elements. The emphasis on family in plot one is

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[225] Richard Scheib, *What Lies Beneath*, 2000, Moria: Science Fiction, Horror and Fantasy Film Review, Available: <http://moria.co.nz/horror/what-lies-beneath-2000.htm>, [accessed.

[226] A *Green Signal to Go on*, 2002, The Hindu, Available: <http://www.thehindu.com/thehindu/fr/2002/04/12/stories/2002041201380700.htm>, [accessed 25 July 2014].

typically Indian and similar to the family genre of the 1990s. The film involves a love triangle which comprises of Malini's spirit, Aditya and his wife Sanjana. In the second plot, *Raaz* departs from the family genre and focuses on the horror story in which the spirit enters the couple's life in order to take revenge on Sanjana, who the spirit blames for her failure to win Aditya's love. Almost all horror films in Bollywood depend on this hybrid nature in which two parallel plots are adopted. They allow for some variety in the film following the pattern of Masala films, and this helps the filmmakers to target a wider audience.

The love triangle and rivalry between the two women for a single object of desire is similar to traditional Korean cinema from the 1960s and the 1970s. In the Korean films 'a threat to heterosexual union or family drives the narrative, triggering female rivalry and consequent death'.[227] This convention has changed in Korean cinema as the contemporary horror cinema focuses less on family relationships because of the changing values of the modern Korean society.[228] However, Bollywood continues to rely on family relationships and supernatural elements combined in order to advance a narrative logic, which is to establish the relationship between the real life event and the supernatural elements in the film. This convention of parallel plots in *Raaz* can be seen in other horror films, for instance in *Raaz: The Mystery Continues* aka *Raaz 2*

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[227] Jinhee Choi, 'A Cinema of Girlhood: *Sonyeo* Sensibility and the Decorative Impulse in the Korean Horror Cinema', in *Horror to the Extreme: Changing boundaries in Asian Cinema*, ed. by Jinhee Choi and Mitsuyo Wada-Marciano, (Hong Kong University Press, 2009) (p. 45).

[228] Ibid., (45-46).

(*Secret 2*, 2009), the rationalist plot deals with the life of Yash (Adhyayan Suman) and Nandita (Kangna Ranaut). In this plot, Yash is a reality show host, who attempts to unveil the Superstitions, Ghosts and Tantrics. He is shown as receiving an award for his courage when he exposes the fraudulent Tantrics. He presents a new house to Nandita as a gift. Their life appears to be peaceful until Prithvi (Emraan Hashmi) – a painter- appears in their life and then all their peace turns into chaos as Prithvi's paintings reveal future events. The two plots merge relatively quickly, and at the end of the film everything returns to normal after the culprits are exposed and punished.

The contemporary horror films of Bollywood, in almost all cases, balance rational and supernatural approaches and elements. In the rationalist plot various social, political, cultural and religious issues are addressed. These issues are then confronted and resolved by the supernatural plot in which the monster enters the rational space. Rationality usually fails here and often requires the help of those who believe in the supernatural. A conflict is created between the rational and the supernatural. At the end of the film, this conflict is either resolved or left unresolved for future films.

Sangita Gopal has argued that,

> new Horror is based on an individualistic psychology rather than folklore and group dynamics. It focuses on nuclear, middle-class couples rather than traditional extended families.[229]

While comparing Western horror films with Bollywood, she notes, 'Western (and classic Hindi) horror focuses on the monster, new Bollywood focuses exclusively on the protagonist-couple'.[230] I suggest that it is neither the couple nor the monster on which Bollywood horror focuses exclusively, instead, new horror films focus on narratives of revenge and/or an object of desire. Thus the couple or the monster in these films is just another device which helps to advance the wider narrative aims of revenge and desire. The genre continues to repeat this narrative structure in almost all horror films. Both revenge and/or the object of desire rely on the supernatural elements. The revenge may be taken by the natural monster and/or the supernatural monster by using their own physical strengths or by using supernatural abilities such as controlling of various objects and/or possessing different objects or human beings.

In *Raaz,* Aditya is the object of desire with whom the spirit wants to establish a relationship. The only reason she could not obtain him is because Aditya is married and does not want to leave his wife Sanjana. Malini commits suicide with the intention of breaking up the relationship between Aditya and Sanjana for her own desire. To fulfil this purpose, she returns as a spirit and starts devising a plot to create

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[229] Gopal, 'Fearful Habitations: Upward Mobility and the Horror Genre', (p.105).

[230] Ibid., (117).

this division. She is succeeding in her aim when Professor Agni Swaroop (Ashutosh Rana) comes to help Sanjana. After discovering the spirit's plan, Sanjana not only forgives her husband for cheating on her but also takes decisive steps by risking her life to protect her husband. The film attempts to represent an ideal Indian wife who can risk her life to protect her husband and save her *Suhaag* (marriage).

Another example of this object of desire, can be seen in Vikram Bhatt's film *Haunted* (2011). The film takes us back to 1936 as a music teacher Professor Iyer attempts to rape Meera (Tia Bajpai). Meera tries to protect herself by hitting her assailant with a candle-stick holder. The professor dies, however, subsequent upon his murder, a supernatural process is set in motion as his spirit returns to take revenge and fulfil the desire which he could not achieve in life. His spirit haunts Meera in the house and continues to rape her. Meera cannot find any other way to save herself from the molestation except by committing suicide. This does not end her ordeal as the professor's spirit continues to rape her spirit every night (a very unusual plot in any Bollywood film). This goes on for decades until Rehan (Mimoh Chakraborty) visits the old house to sell it. Rehan keeps hearing Meera's painful voice every now and then. Her spirit reveals her story to Rehan through various mediums. After discovering what happened to Meera, Rehan decides to intervene. The only way he can do this is to go back in time and stop Meera from killing the professor. Rehan manages to do so with the help of a mysterious man, who has remained unknown throughout the film with just a few references to suggest that he is a messenger from God and who appears to be a devout Muslim. I shall refer to him as *Baba Jee* in this text, and he possesses some supernatural powers. The story then continues as Rehan goes back in time and saves Meera from the professor. Here

Meera is the object of desire and revenge for the professor whereas for Rehan she is only an object of desire. Meera could also be considered as an object of desire for the audience.

Keeping up with the conventions of the genre, this revenge and desire narrative in *Raaz* involves several other processes, such as creating fear of the unknown and the use of supernatural forces in order to seek revenge and/or desire. Starting from its name *Raaz,* which literally means secret, the film manages to create the fear of unknown - something hidden of which the audiences and the characters in the film are not aware - which the film ultimately reveals. This secret potentially refers to two things. Firstly, the hidden secret of the heroine's husband's extra marital relationship[231] and secondly, it suggests to the audience the existence of supernatural forces around them – something which is unknown to them but exists.

The monster in these films can be an oppressor or even the oppressed as in the case of *Haunted* in which oppressor and oppressed are both spirits. In addition, the spirits or monsters can be either male or female. There are three conventional types of monster in Bollywood horror films: a typical monster, a hybrid monster and a human monster. Typical monsters do not belong to the human race. They are mostly invisible but believable because of the beliefs of the characters and audiences in religion, myths, legends and folklores. Hybrid monsters are human beings but become monsters with the help of supernatural powers such as black magic. This

[231] This plot is similar to Robert Zemeckis' film *What Lies Beneath* (2002).

type of monster can be both visible and invisible. Human monsters are neither supernatural nor do they use any supernatural powers, instead they have broken the social and cultural norms of society and thus go to extremes in order to achieve their revenge or fulfil their desires. They are physically present and can be seen by anyone; the first two types of monsters possess supernatural abilities such as the power of moving and controlling objects or possessing any human being.

In addition to the monster, narratives involve a second category of characters, who are in direct confrontation with the monsters. These characters may belong to either the category of believer or non-believer. It is worth mentioning that the believers believe in god, myths, folklores and legends. Non-believers are usually killed by the end of the film, while believers survive. None of the characters are capable of fighting the monster alone even if they are believers, and thus seek help. This help is then provided by *the helpers* – the third category of characters.

The *helpers* may be called a *Tantrik*, a *Priest*, a *Molvee* (a Muslim pious person), a *Peer* (A Muslim saint), a *Baba* (an old man) or even a *Professor* (someone who has knowledge of supernatural forces). These helpers usually belong to the real world. They possess knowledge and even powers that help the protagonist fight the monster or any other supernatural elements. *Helpers,* in almost all cases, are believers who believe in religion and myths. These characters often belong to the deprived, alienated and neglected part of society, and tend to live away from the normal society. A *helper* is called in when all other possible options in the fight against the evil fail. This *helper* may live or die at the end of the film after fulfilling their task of helping.

A good example of the strategies can be found in *Raaz* and *Raaz: The Mystery Continues.* In *Raaz,* Malini (Malini Sharma) believes that she has suffered because of Aditya's wife Sanjana and blames her for her death. She then wants to take revenge on Sanjana not because she would feel satisfied by the revenge but because as a result she could possibly obtain Aditya. In this process, the *helper* in the form of the professor comes to help Sanjana. In *Raaz 2*, the ghost or spirit appears to be good and wants to take the revenge on those who were involved in putting the toxins from the chemical factory into the lake where people come to take sacred baths. The spirit is that of Veer Pratap Singh (Jackie Shroff), who was a government officer and was killed when he was trying to expose the toxin issue. Here, Prithvi Singh (Emraan Hashmi) performs the role of the *helper* whose paintings predict the future. In this scenario, it is the human beings who are acting as the monsters; the spirit is there as someone challenging the monster, whereas a human with supernatural ability is there to help the spirit. This same formula of characters can be seen repeatedly in almost all horror films. For instance, in *Raaz* and *Shappit: The Cursed* (2010), there is a *helper* character called the professor, in *Ragini MMS 2* the *helper* comes in the form of a US doctor. As per the convention of the genre, this *helper* (even if she is a US doctor) not only believes in ghosts and spirits but is also familiar with *mantars*[232] that ultimately help them fight against the monster. Among these three major types of characters, there are other types of characters too such as maids, servants and gardeners.

[232] Magical verses

Throughout these films, the police and other security officials are not helpful in dealing with the monster. The police represents the state and its power, although we do not see them playing any significant role in saving the public from the monster. They either do not believe in the ghost, or if they do, then they seem to be as afraid as other characters in the film and thus they also depend on the *helper*. This suggests that contacting the police in any risky situation in which spirits and ghosts are involved is pointless. Thus, the victims will need to fight the battle alone. An example of this is the first sequence of *Raaz* in which the police find a possessed girl and take her to the hospital. The doctors seemingly fail to treat her and the police go to the *Professor* to seek his help. There are no police fights with the spirits as in the other genres, and also, the spirits do not attack the police officials but instead attempt to stay away from them as if they have a mutual agreement. This suggests the failure of the police and other authorities and thus religious policing is arranged.

Religion has been an integral part of Indian cinema since its inception. Most of the genres in Bollywood can be categorised on the basis of their religious and secular orientations. In horror films, the use of religion and secular references become more pronounced as it is probably the only genre that uses religious references in almost all of its films. From Kamal Amrohi's *Mahal* (*Mansion*, 1949) to the horror films of 2014, religion has provided a significant narrative undercurrent. Valentina Vitali has rightly argued that,

> unlike in mythological and devotional Indian cinema, in the Hindi horror film goddesses, demons, crucifixes, and curses are not the objective or end of narration, but rather the means to achieve sensational narrative effects,

> pretexts to stage moments of fear, suspense, and surprise.[233]

The use of religious elements and seeking help from them is not unknown in the horror genre. However, they have extra value when used in Bollywood films because, as will be discussed in following section, a large section of the population still believe in supernatural forces and that religion has the power to fight against them. In fact, the presence of supernatural elements is itself deeply rooted in the mythologies which are part of Hinduism. Even the term 'secular' has different meanings in an Indian context. Rachel Dwyer argues that the Indian film industry is secular in nature. However, the understanding of *secular* varies depending on socio-geographical and political boundaries and the meaning and understanding of secular is different in India from the way it is considered in the West:

> It rarely means the separation of the religious and the non-religious or 'equal disregards' for all religions, which can come close to meaning atheism, but it usually means 'equal regard for all religions'. This in turn usually means 'high regard' as religiosity is generally highly valued in India. It is the former pluralistic meaning that is used in the film industry where the world 'secular' is often employed to describe the industry itself or the films that it makes.[234]

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[233] Vitali, 'The Evil: Realism and Scopophilia in the Horror Films of the Ramsay Brothers', (p.79).

[234] Dwyer, *Filming the Gods*, p.133.

Dwyer has presented the case of the social genre and argues that social films use direct or indirect references to religion, however, it is not considered as 'the Hindu social' mainly because of the status of religion in Indian society. She argues that any reference to religion is nothing new for Indian audiences and is 'the standard default position' and thus often passes unnoticed. Dwyer rightly points out that the 'removal of these elements would make the Hindi film seem not only unrealistic but would also take away from its emotions, its spectacle and so on'.[235] In that case, religious references are not actually referring to religiosity, instead religion, particularly Hinduism, is more of a genre convention. Thus Hinduism is not merely about a religion as Dwyer argues:

> The facile expression that "Hinduism is not a religion but a way of life" is based on a misunderstanding of "religion" as only "belief" rather than also "culture" and "practice". Hinduism, a term which is many centuries younger than the religion it describes, refers to diverse, if not always contradictory, religious beliefs and practices. Some forms of Hinduism are centred on culture and on practice, where the world is sacred, while others are based on belief and devotion to a god or a higher principle, though still drawing on culture and practice.[236]

[235] Ibid.

[236] Ibid.

Thus, horror can be seen as a genre which has the ability to incorporate those folklores, legends, myths and religious elements. Keeping this scenario in mind, horror provides the audience with the opportunity to see what they believe in their day-to-day life. This establishes a connection between the film and the audience.

Horror, as stated previously, has derived these conventions from the mythological, religious and devotional genres, which is visible in the first wave of horror in the 1970s. Valentina Vitali has rightly noted with reference to Ramsay films that,

> Living corpses, graveyards, crosses, vampires, and stakes, haunted Islamicate mansions, tridents, shape-shifting females, angry, many-handed goddesses, and animated objects, all of which form the basic props of these films, were inspired largely by Christian ritual, unashamedly borrowed from the British Hammer films, while simultaneously drawing from Hindu myths and reproducing much of the iconography of Indian mythological and devotional cinema.[237]

Like the first wave of horror, contemporary horror films continue to rely on Hindu myths and folklores. For instance, monsters in the horror films, in almost all cases, stay away from modern life. Monsters seem to believe in religion and thus can be influenced by various religious elements such as use of Trishul[238] in Hinduism, the

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[237] Vitali, 'The Evil: Realism and Scopophilia in the Horror Films of the Ramsay Brothers', (p.78).

[238] The Hindu god Shiva's trident, which is considered sacred by followers of the Hindu religion.

cross and holy water in Christianity and the Quran in Islam. Similarly, some of the monsters live through some other object or living entity. Thus the monster cannot be killed until that other object or living being is killed, or in case of Dyan/Churail, her power is in her *Ghutthi* (entangled hair). To kill the *Churail*, her *Ghutthi* needs to be cut by an innocent. These conventions among others have been borrowed from the folklore.

One very striking example is the burning of the body of the spirit. According to Hinduism, a body is burnt after death and if this is not done, then there is the possibility that the spirit will go astray. In order to send lost spirits back to 'their' world, the body of the spirit must be found and burnt. This convention is used many times in horror films. In *Raaz* the only way to get rid of Malini's spirit and save the family is to find her body and burn it, which Sanjana successfully does and wins.

The common traits of the horror genre are to frighten, horrify or disgust. Added attractions for Indian audiences are the way the genre uses religion, myths, folklores and legends. In that case, it is not the *unknown* to which the audience feel attracted, instead, it is the *known* which attracts them more. It is these features of Bollywood horror that make it unique. Gordon Sinclair shared his personal experience of India in his book *Khyber Caravan* that,

> ghosts are no worry to the Indian. He is perfectly satisfied that he, his wife, his children and everyone he knows will one day die and come back to India

> as somebody or something else depending a lot on their own choice in the matter.[239]

A similar argument is offered by Pete Tombs who notes:

> Horror, for most Western audiences today, is very much something "out there", something alien and exotic. It touches on distant folk memories and stories that we only half-remember from childhood. In India, by contrast, it is much harder to exploit those kinds of images precisely because they aren't hidden or lost. They are still very much present in the public's mind as living, contemporary ideas.[240]

In almost all horror films it is the non-secular segment of society that wins over the evil and secular forces. Thus, the attraction of horror is dependent on how the narratives in the film are developed, and on the existence of secular and non-secular consciousness. These narratives depend on religious explanations and methods in order to deal with the supernatural. In order to understand this on-going conflict between secular and religious, one needs to understand the political, religious and cultural conflicts that have existed in wider Indian society since the Independence of India.

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[239] Gordon Sinclair, *Khyber Caravan* (Lahore, Pakistan: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2003), p. 233.

[240] Tombs, 'The Beast from Bollywood: A History of the Indian Horror Film', (p.253).

Since the 1940s, the Indian National Congress has been the dominant political party and has ruled India longer than any other political party. In the 1960s, India faced industrial problems because of the economic and administrative policies of the Congress government.[241] Valentina Vitali has presented a comprehensive account of the situation of this industrial crisis and by mapping the economic and political developments in India between the 1960s and the 1990s. She has demonstrated their impact on horror films, particularly those of the Ramsay brothers. To summarise Vitali's argument, the economic policies of Congress from Independence until the mid-1960s affected the working and lower middle-class of Indian society. This was due to the lack of developmental projects and weakening of the Planning Commission. Moreover, other significant events such as Nehru's death in 1964[242], the split of Congress in 1969 and finally the state of emergency imposed by Nehru's daughter Indira Gandhi in 1975 resulted in Congress losing the domination that it had maintained since Independence. The rise of Hindu nationalism was a reaction against Congress being the pluralistic secular political party, and its dominance throughout this phase. Michel Foucault has rightly noted that, 'where there is power, there is resistance'.[243]. Similarly, as Reza Aslan says, 'whenever people - for one reason or another – feel left behind in a progressive society, they will rebel and react against

[241] Vitali, 'The Evil: Realism and Scopophilia in the Horror Films of the Ramsay Brothers', (p.79).

[242] Vitali has noted Nehru's death in 1966 which is incorrect. Nehru passed away in 1964.

[243] Michel Foucault cited in Mubarki, 'Mapping the Hindi Horror Genre: Ghosts in the Service of Ideology', (p. 41).

it'.[244] Vitali notes that this 'series of events culminated into the ascendancy of Hinduism as a major ideological force and its institutionalization in the political sphere'[245] which continues to this day. Congress lost in the general elections in 1977 for the first time since Independence. As mentioned earlier, the horror genre gained significant popularity in the Indian market in two main phases. The first was the period of the Ramsay brothers in the 1970s and the second started in the late 1990s and reached a peak in the post-2000 era. Considering this backdrop of political scenarios, it is no surprise that the films of the Ramsay brothers – which relied heavily on religion, legends and myths – managed to attract large audiences.

The resistance to secularism in India has continued until the present, and became visible in the Indian general elections of 2014. In these elections, 537 million votes were cast with a total turnout of 66.38% of the Indian population. The Hindu nationalist Narendra Modi has been sworn in as the 15th prime minister of India after the unprecedented success of Bharatiya Janata Party's (BJP). The Times of India reports that it was the 'biggest-ever win posted by any party after the landslide win Congress achieved'[246] in 1984. The general election of 2014 in India is very

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[244] Kiran Nazish, *Reza Aslan: The Misunderstood Scholar*, 28th April 2014, The Dawn, Pakistan, Herald Publication (Pvt.) Ltd., Available: <http://www.dawn.com/news/1101928>, [accessed 28 May 2014].

[245] Vitali, 'The Evil: Realism and Scopophilia in the Horror Films of the Ramsay Brothers', (p.80).

[246] *Election Results 2014: India Places its Faith in Moditva,* 17 May 2014, Times of India Group, Bennett Coleman & Co. Ltd, Available: <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/home/news/Election-results-2014-India-places-its-faith-in-Moditva/articleshow/35224486.cms?>, [accessed 8 June 2014].

important for understanding the on-going change and the reactions of the public towards secularism and other liberal forces in India. There were other reasons[247] too, however, the nomination of Narendra Modi as a candidate for prime minister by the BJP did raise concerns amongst the secular community about the rising influence of Hindu nationalism in Indian politics. Just before the elections, several writers, filmmakers and politicians wrote an open letter[248] raising concerns about Modi's role as future prime minister of India. Modi's political training has taken shape under the umbrella of the Hindu revivalist group RSS. He joined RSS when he was ten years old. This RSS is now the affiliate party of BJP. Another indication of this rising influence is the representation of Muslims - the largest religious minority in India - which appear to have been marginalised. Among 482 candidates of BJP, 7 were Muslim, and they all lost in the general elections of 2014. This is the first time in India that the ruling party does not have any Muslim representation in the Lok Sabha.[249] This scenario clearly indicates the growing popularity of Hindu nationalism in India. This popularity has its impact on almost all aspects of Indian culture and society, and cinema is no exception. As is evident from the general elections of 2014,

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[247] Public anger against corruption and weak economy was another important factor that led the public to vote against Congress

[248] Imran Khan, and others, *If Modi is Elected, It Will Bode Ill for India's Future*, 10 April 2014, The Guardian, Available: <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/apr/10/if-modi-elected-india-future-gujarat>, [accessed 10 June 2014].

[249] Seema Chishti and Anubhuti Vishnoi, *BJP's Muslim Score: 7 of 482 Fielded, No Winners*, 19 May 2014, The Indian Express, Available: <http://indianexpress.com/article/india/politics/bjps-muslim-score-7-of-482-fielded-no-winners/>, [accessed 4 June 2014]

the majority of the Indian public is in favour of Hindu nationalism, which they believe is a better choice for them than a Congress. Meraj Mubarki rightly points out that:

> [The] pluralistic Nehruvian secularism embracing a range of political opinions, ranging from socialism and secularism to scientific rationalism and aligned against conservative Hindu orthodoxy, sought the submission of the sacred/spiritual to the secular/temporal. [250]

This attempt at submission is most visible in horror films which, as mentioned earlier, support the sacred/spiritual stance. It is for this reason that those who do not believe in the scared/spiritual are punished in horror films. Mubarki argues that,

> lying at the intersections of myths, ideology and dominant socio-religious thoughts, the Hindi horror genre reveals three major strands: the secular conscious, the traditional cultural and the Hindutva ideological, roughly corresponding to the way the nation has been imagined at different times in Post-Colonial India.[251]

The secular in the above quote refers to the respect of all religions, 'the traditional cultural' mainly focuses on the family relationships whereas Hindutva, as discussed earlier in detail, provide support for the legends, folklores and myths. These three

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[250] Mubarki, 'Mapping the Hindi Horror Genre: Ghosts in the Service of Ideology', (p. 41).

[251] Ibid., (39).

strands provide us the syntax under which Bollywood horror films are made as it is evident from various examples from *Raaz* discussed above.

In summary, this discussion suggests that the contemporary horror films in Bollywood not only adopt the ideas of revenge, injustice and punishment but the narratives of these films, in almost all cases, refer to the idea of conflict between believers and non-believers or as Mubarki notes between sacred/spiritual and secular/temporal.[252] These films not only address this but they also consciously differentiate the social classes, the rich and poor of the Indian society and male and female. The monster appears not just to take revenge but also to help believers to fight against the secular. In this respect, horror is the genre of the poor, the weak and the *believers*. The monster in these films often takes revenge on the oppressor, punishes those who do not believe and also seeks 'justice' by punishing those who have escaped unpunished. This process is supported by legends, myths and religious beliefs that are based on the concepts of reincarnation, the existence of the supernatural in the world, black magic, karma, straying spirits, the religious scripts and religious elements such as *Trishul* and holy water. Moreover, horror is the only genre of Bollywood which can still be categorised under the umbrella of indigenous and foundation genres in Bollywood - mythological, devotional and religious - which keep appearing in the horror films in one way or another.

[252] Ibid., (41).

Conclusion

In the discussion above, I have attempted to explore the syntax of the horror genre in its Indian variant. I have observed that the syntax of the horror genre is primarily based on the three factors: Firstly these are non-filmic elements such as religious beliefs and common knowledge of the public which influence the contents of the films. Horror films in Bollywood rely on religious beliefs, practices and common knowledge of the public. The horror genre will lose its strength if its audiences are not aware of these beliefs and practices. In case of *Raaz,* the reincarnation of the antagonist, the use of lemon to find the presence of a ghost, and the burning of the body of the ghost to release the spirit are a few examples of these beliefs.

The second source is cinematic elements presented in Bollywood specific style such as characters, plots and family relationships. These elements are modified in a way that they reflect dominant social, cultural and political understandings. They cannot create their intended meaning without adapting to specific social and cultural norms of Indian society. For instance, *Helpers* discussed in my case study of *Raaz* are characters from their real life who continue to play their role within the society as Tantrik, 'Professor', Peer and Sain Baba. The public believes that they have access to the supernatural and thus they can protect them from all their problems.

The third category belongs to the genre specific context. It covers the generic conventions and relationships of the horror genre with the previous films of the same industry as well as other industries. These include location, sets and the narrative.

Having understanding of these syntaxes not only adds to the meaning making process of the horror genre but it also provides strength to the genre for its further development.

Chapter 4: Remakes

In the preceding chapter, I have presented a contextual account of the horror genre. I analysed how new horror has become a mainstream genre in India. I presented its structure, various narrative elements as well as some background of how politics and Hindu nationalism play their role in shaping the horror genre. This discussion was based on an Indian specific context which did not include the role and contribution of some of the non-indigenous textual elements which have helped this genre to progress and establish in an Indian specific context. As I am seeking theoretical support from Rick Altman's model which advocates studying the 'multiple connections between semantics and syntax',[253] therefore, this chapter aims to expand further on horror genre by discussing remakes as the main source of semantic elements. It also aims to explore how remakes establish multiple connections between semantic and syntactic elements of the genre.

In 0I presented the historical context for genre cinema in Bollywood, which was established with the help of other art forms such as Parsi theatre and photography. Rashna Wadia Richard has argued that Bollywood films have been taking their cues from ancient religious texts, Sanskrit Drama, Parsi theatre and myths which are then intermingled with Hollywood. [254] However, this dependence on other art forms has

[253] Altman, 'A Semantic/Syntactic Approach to Film Genre', (p.36).

[254] Rashna Wadia Richards, '(Not) Kramer vs. Kumar: The Contemporary Bollywood Remake as Glocal Masala Film', *Quarterly Review of Film and Video*, 28 (2011), (p. 323).

gradually decreased in the age of globalization where there is easy access to all the art forms throughout the world. It is now a recognized phenomenon that many Bollywood films have been inspired not only by the regional cinema industries of India but also by Hollywood, Hong Kong and Korean cinema. This 'inspiration' and 'assimilation' may be used to make '*the [un]acknowledged, close remake'*[255] of the same film in Indian style such as Guddu Dhanoa's *Bichooo* (Scorpion) - a remake of Luc Besson's *Léon* (1994) or '*the unacknowledged, disguised remake'*[256] a film that has used various references from multiple sources for example Rakesh Roshan's *Koi…Mil Gaya* (2001).[257] The existing literature on remakes has explained some important aspects of the process of remaking in Bollywood. For example, Sheila J Nayar[258] and Tejaswini Ganti[259] have attempted to address the selection and rejection process for the foreign content which is appropriated by Bollywood cinema. Similarly, Rashna Wadia Richards has discussed cross-cultural makeovers in her

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[255] Harvey Roy Greenberg explains *acknowledged, close remake* as 'The original film is replicated with little or no change to narrative' cited in Constantine Verevis, *Film Remakes* (Edinburgh University Press, 2006), p. 9.

[256] Harvey Roy Greenberg explains *The unacknowledged, disguised remake* as 'Minor or major alterations (in character, time and settings but the audience is not informed of the original film version' cited in ibid.

[257] See Chapter 4:

[258] Sheila J. Nayar, 'The Values of Fantasy: Indian Popular Cinema through Western Scripts', *The Journal of Popular Culture,* 31 (2004).

[259] Tejaswini Ganti, '"And Yet My Heart Is Still Indian": The Bombay Film Industry and the (H) *Indianization of Hollywood*', in *Media Worlds: Anthropology on New Terrain,* ed. by Faye D. Ginsburg, Lila Abu-Lughod and Brian Larkin, (University of California Press, 2002).

study of remakes.[260] What is missing in the aforementioned and other related studies is information about the influence of these remakes on the genre cinema of Bollywood, particularly those genres which are arguably not indigenous genres such as horror and science fiction. Therefore, in this chapter, I argue that Bollywood remakes of Hollywood cinema in particular have strongly influenced the non-indigenous genres of contemporary Bollywood.[261]

The relationship between remakes and film genre(s) is evident as one finds many correspondences between the two terms; both genre and remakes are required to have a 'set of textual *structures',* both exist '*in excess* of a corpus of works' and both depend 'on the existence of audience activity'.[262] I would add that commercial motivation is another common element between the two. Considering these similarities, it becomes pertinent to explore the relationship between remakes and genre.

In 1993 ninety percent of Bollywood films were remakes of other Indian films or of Hong Kong and Hollywood films.[263] Considering the high frequency of remakes in Bollywood, it is necessary to explore their impact. As I previously discussed,

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[260] Richards, '(Not) Kramer vs. Kumar: The Contemporary Bollywood Remake as Glocal Masala Film'.

[261] The indigenous genres include mythological, devotional and Masala.

[262] Verevis, *Film Remakes*, p.2.

[263] Anupama Chandra cited in Nayar, 'The Values of Fantasy: Indian Popular Cinema through Western Scripts', (p. 74).

Bollywood often *Indianizes* a film when remaking its foreign content. In this current study, I will explore how this process of *Indianization* works, its role in genre formation and ultimately, I will challenge the use of the term. I will suggest that the process of remaking is one of the most important factors which has helped genres to become established in the post-2000s. Considering the relatively new status of science fiction and the limits of space and time, I have restricted my case study to the horror genre to support my argument.

The case study of *The Exorcist* and its Indian adaptation aims to demonstrate how Bollywood adopts conventions from other cinema industries and adapts them to fit local expectations. Considering *The Exorcist* as the original[264], I will compare it with the horror film *1920* by Vikram Bhatt. As has been noted by various scholars, *The Exorcist* is a significant film in the history of the horror genre for various reasons. For example, it is the first horror film which was nominated for an Oscar award and it is important because 'it drew the horror genre into mainstream commercial cinema and found a major audience which were not merely horror fans'.[265] Mark Kermode notes that,

> for the first time in mainstream movie, audiences witnessed the graphic desecration of everything that was considered wholesome and good about the

[264] *The Exorcist*, of course, is itself an adaptation of William Peter Blatty's novel.

[265] Wells, *The Horror Genre: From Beelzebub to Blair Witch*, p.84.

> fading American Dream – the home, the family, the church and, most shockingly, the child.[266]

While discussing some of the events in the film such as Regan - the protagonist - 'urinating on the floor, vomiting on the neighbourhood clergy, battering and humiliating her mother, lewdly abusing religious artefacts, [and] obscenities', Kermode points out the broader issues raised in the film. He notes that *The Exorcist* portrayed a recognisable tension based on the issues which 'deeply troubled the conservative elements of America' such as 'rebellious children, the breakdown of the family, the lack of respect for religious traditions, the destruction of the home'.[267] Moreover, 'it is in this tension between the progressive and the regressive, the divine and the depraved, the hidden and the apparent, that the power of *The Exorcist* lies'.[268] It is this tension that brings *The Exorcist* closer to the contemporary horror genre which depends on the binaries mentioned above. In this respect, analysing *1920* will help us to understand how one of the most successful horror film directors of Bollywood managed to establish his own specific brand of Bollywood genre while borrowing its conventions from a Hollywood classic. The results of this study cannot be applied to the entire industry, however, my intention is to draw attention to this

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[266] Mark Kermode, *The Exorcist*, ed. by Rob White, BFI Modern Classics, 2nd edn (London: British Film Institute, 2003), p. 9.

[267] Ibid.

[268] Ibid., (10).

important dimension of remakes in order to expand the understanding of the process of genre formation in Bollywood.

My analysis is based on the premise that contemporary Bollywood horror is in a transitional phase and a Bollywood specific mode of horror genre is continuing to be developed which can neither purely be considered as Bollywood horror nor can it be associated with any one particular industry. Instead, this genre should be considered as transnational, and as a genre which does not limit itself to taking inspiration from any specific industry or time period. In fact, Indian films from the 1970s still have the same value for Bollywood cinema as contemporary films. Thus, this cross cultural and transnational impact on the Bollywood genre will help us understand the broader process of genre making in Bollywood. Gopal observes that,

> horror is the only contemporary genre that predates liberalization. The other new forms that are emerging now – comedies like *Mujshe Shaadi Karogi?* (Will you marry me? David Dhawan, 2004), action films like *Dhoom* (Uproar, Sanjay Gadhvi, 2004), and science fiction works like *Koi ... Mil Gaya* (I found someone, Rakesh Roshan, 2003) – are new inventions that have devolved from *masala's* demise and do not have horror's extended genealogy.[269]

[269] Gopal, 'Fearful Habitations: Upward Mobility and the Horror Genre', (p.115).

I agree with Gopal's argument that science fiction, action and comedies are 'new inventions' and are not 'horror's extended genealogy'. However, I do not support her argument that these genres are the result of '*masala's* demise' for two reasons. Firstly, Masala as a genre continues to be popular today as I have previously discussed in the case of *Dabangg* in 0that *Dabangg* being a Masala genre is one of the highest grossing films of Bollywood until the present. Secondly, all these genres are established post-2000 which is the result of the industrial development as well as global media flows and not solely because of the '*masala's demise'.*

Remakes can arguably be divided into three main categories - Industrial, textual and critical.[270] The industrial category focuses on the commercial aspects; the textual category deals with genre, plot and structure whereas the third category deals with audiences' reception and recognition.[271] My intention in this chapter is to focus on the textual aspects of remakes in order to explore their influence on the genres.

There is a consensus among scholars that remakes are 'new versions of old movies'.[272] Lucy Mazdon notes that remakes are 'specifically those films based on an earlier screenplay [which] can be seen to cross both spatial (national) and

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[270] Verevis, *Film Remakes*.

[271] Ibid., (2).

[272] Thomas Leitch, 'Twice-Told Tales: Disavowal and the Rhetoric of the Remake', in *Dead ringers : The Remake in Theory and Practice,* ed. by Jennifer Forrest, (Sate University of New York Press, 2001) (p. 37).

temporal (historical) boundaries.'[273] Robert Stam suggests that remakes are treated as 'the infinite and open-ended possibilities generated by all the discursive practices of a [film] culture'.[274] These understandings of remakes are very common, however, disagreement often starts when discussing the criteria that ought to be used to determine whether a film should be considered a remake. Should it be film scholars, reviewers, the popular press or the audience who define which film is a remake?

There are continuous changes in the concepts related to adaptations and remakes. Lucy Mazdon has defined adaptations as 'those films based on the non-cinematic works'.[275] Thomas Leitch has a similar point of view, and notes that 'remakes necessarily entail adaptation to a new medium'.[276] However, the new approach towards adaptation is that these films do not necessarily have to be taken from a source in another medium, instead the term 'adaptation' can be used in those cases where the original source is also a film.[277] The only difference between a 'remake' and an 'adaptation' is whether the film acknowledges its original sources and whether it pays any copyright or legal fees. Adaptations always acknowledge the

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[273] Lucy Mazdon, *Encore Hollywood: Remaking French Cinema* (British Film Institute, 2000).

[274] Robert Stam cited in Verevis, *Film Remakes,* p.01.

[275] Mazdon, *Encore Hollywood: Remaking French Cinema*, p.2.

[276] Leitch, 'Twice-Told Tales: Disavowal and the Rhetoric of the Remake', (p.38).

[277] Wells, *The Horror Genre: From Beelzebub to Blair Witch*;ibid.;ibid.

original source and often pay fees. In this context, Thomas Leitch's definition seems appropriate:

> Every film adaptation is defined by its legally sanctioned use of material from an earlier model, whose adaptation rights the producers have customarily purchased… only remakes compete directly and often without legal or economic compensation with other versions of the same property. [278]

Leitch further argues that,

> remakes differ from other adaptations to a new medium and translations to a new language because of the triangular relationship they establish among themselves, the original film they remake, and the property on which both films are based. The nature of this triangular is most clearly indicated by the fact that producers of a remake typically pay no adaptation fees to the makers of the original film, but rather purchase adaptation rights from the authors of the property on which that film was based.[279]

This basic understanding of remakes provides a broader understanding of the remaking process, which clearly separates the original, the remake and the common factors. However, in order to understand the textual and cross-cultural makeovers, further in-depth analysis is required which should be based on a specific genre in a

[278] Leitch, 'Twice-Told Tales: Disavowal and the Rhetoric of the Remake', (p.38).

[279] Ibid., (39).

particular industry. Focusing on individual genres will help us to better understand the relationship between remaking and genre. This leads to my specific analysis of the Bollywood industry and the case of the horror genre.

In my current chapter, I will treat those films which contain obvious references to previous films which are noted in more than two reviews or other credible sources, as remakes.

Bollywood and Remakes

It is a known phenomenon that Bollywood often relies on foreign content for its films. Sheila Nayar notes that, 'almost all Bollywood films pilfer from Hollywood movies'.[280] She further argues that, 'Indeed, in all fairness, Indian popular cinema frequently steals from earlier versions of itself – snippets of tunes, rehashes of dances, names, entire plots'.[281] Thus, it is not the frequency with which Bollywood remakes films that is important, instead, it is the process which it adopts in remaking and the way in which it maintains its unique identity.

Neelam Sidhar, in one of the few studies[282] on Bollywood remakes, has provided a comprehensive explanation of why Indian filmmakers adopt foreign content. She

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[280] Nayar, 'The Values of Fantasy: Indian Popular Cinema through Western Scripts', (p. 74).

[281] Ibid.

[282] Other studies include those by Iain Robert Smith, Sheila J. Nayar, Rashna Wadia Richards and Tejaswini Ganti.

considers remaking as ‘a product and vehicle of modernisation, globalisation and global postmodernism’.[283] For her, accessibility and translation are two contributing factors which lead Indian filmmakers to choose foreign content. Her argument concerning accessibility is debatable as audiences’ access to foreign films in this age is unprecedented. However, I agree that remakes in an Indian context do help their audiences to interpret those films from an Indian perspective. These remakes actually fill the gap which the original films, particularly those from Hollywood cinema could not fill. Sidhar has presented four main motivations for this process. These are reverse-colonization, the postmodern impulse to find new ideas, resistance to Hollywood cinema and finally the desire to help audiences to access foreign content and translate it into Bollywoodized style.[284] Sangita Gopal tells us that Mohan Bakhri used to ask his assistants to watch Hollywood films to find ideas which could be recycled for his Bollywood films.[285] The same phenomenon continues in contemporary Bollywood.

In her PhD thesis Neelam Sidhar has considered contemporary Bollywood as a ‘special case of imitation in that it simultaneously imitates itself, its other, the

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[283] Neelam Sidhar Wright, '"Tom Cruise? Tarantino? E.T.? ...Indian!": Innovation Through Imitation in the Cross-cultural Bollywood Remake', in *Cultural Borrowings: Appropriation, Reworking, Transformation*, ed. by Ian Robert Smith (Scope: An Online Journal of Film and Television Studies, 2009).

[284] Ibid.

[285] Gopal, 'Fearful Habitations: Upward Mobility and the Horror Genre'.

familiar and the arbitrary.[286] This is best summarised by Rashna Wadia, who argues that,

> recent Bollywood remakes quote, borrow from, and transform a range of texts, neither fully rejecting "local" Hindi cinematic traditions nor wholly imitating dominant "global" Hollywood conventions.[287]

The appropriation of content, as Lucy Mazdon has rightly noted, is temporal (from one time period to another), spatial (from one location to another location) and cultural (from high culture to popular culture or vice versa).[288]

I intend to use symptomatic methodology in order to understand the role of remaking in genre formation. This methodology traditionally focuses on the changes and differences within the national context.[289] This approach, as Iain Robert Smith has rightly criticised, often misses the transnational dimension while mainly focusing on national traits.[290] I intend to use the same symptomatic methodology, however, my intention is not only to include national traits but also to acknowledge the

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[286] Wright, 'Bollywood Eclipsed: The Postmodern Aesthetics, Scholarly Appeal, And Remaking of Contemporary Popular Indian Cinema' (unpublished doctoral thesis), p. 135.

[287] Richards, '(Not) Kramer vs. Kumar: The Contemporary Bollywood Remake as Glocal Masala Film'.

[288] Mazdon, *Encore Hollywood: Remaking French Cinema*, p.3.

[289] Iain Robert Smith, '*Oldboy* goes to Bollywood: *Zinda* and the transnational appropriation of South Korean 'extreme' cinema', in *Korean Horror Cinema,* ed. by Alison Peirse and Daniel Martin, (Edinburgh University Press, 2013) (p. 189).

[290] Ibid., (189-90).

transnational dimension of the genre formation process. Considering the nature of the study, this methodology can be more helpful as having an exploration of the similarities and differences of cross-cultural remakes, one could easily analyse the contents which the cinema under study tends to adopt, ignore or replicate. Gopal refers to this as a process of 'Hollywoodization'. She argues that

> the remaking of horror and the introduction of genres like romantic comedies, action-adventure, and science fiction represent a process of "Hollywoodization" that makes Hindi cinema's taxonomy much more in tune with cinema elsewhere.[291]

As I have noted previously, the appropriation of foreign content in Bollywood is often referred to as *Indianization*. There is no hard and fast rule in contemporary India as to what characteristics make any content look Indian. Sheila J. Nayar has rightly questioned this notion of *Indianization* which continues to change with social, political and economic changes in India. She argues that,

> the very notion of *Indianess* thus finds itself in a constant state of transition, dually combating and appropriating outside forces- whether they be cultural or technologicla, political or economic – and simultaneously working both to

[291] Gopal, 'Fearful Habitations: Upward Mobility and the Horror Genre', (p.92).

retain and resist links to its traditional sense of self.[292]

Her argument is based on the understanding that modern India is neither against materialism as it used to be in the 1950s, nor does it have a strong resistance to anti-colonialism, as this has been replaced by nationalism in modern India.[293] As a result, drawing a line between Indianness and Westernization becomes complex. One possible solution is to replace the term *Indianization* with what Ashish Rajadhyaksha has termed '*Bollywoodization'.*[294] Thus, remaking in Bollywood cinema is not achieved through the process of *Indianization;* instead there is an attempt to Bollywoodize the contents which it borrows from other industries within India and/or abroad.

Case Study

My following case study centres on Vikram Bhatt's *1920* which I argue has a strong narrative affinity with *The Exorcist* (1973) and a visual affinity with Jan de Bont's *The Haunting* (1999). I intend to explore various visual and narrative themes of both Hollywood films and compare them to those of the contemporary horror genre in Bollywood, and my focus will be both on textual features in the films themselves, and in the iconography of some of the marketing material. My aim is to explore how

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[292] Nayar, 'The Values of Fantasy: Indian Popular Cinema through Western Scripts', pp. 76-77).

[293] Ibid., (77).

[294] Rajadhyaksha, 'The "Bollywoodization" of the Indian Cinema Cultural Nationalism in a Global Arena'.

a genre is constructed by combining various elements from previous Bollywood films, Hollywood films, and also from Indian legends and folklore. I do not intend to say that Bollywood horror is purely a product of influences from other cinema industries, but my premise is that the amalgamation of foreign content with indigenous content (cinematic, as well as Hindu mythologies, legends and folklores) is one of the main factors which has helped in the establishment of the horror genre. In order to achieve my aim, I will divide the remaining chapter into two segments. In the first segment, I will discuss the elements which *1920* shares with *The Exorcist* and *The Haunting* (1999) and in the second segment, I will focus on the how *1920* has distanced itself from both original sources and resembles any other Bollywood style film.

1920 is written and directed by Vikram Bhatt, whose trademark has been that most of his films are inspired by Hollywood films. For instance, *Ghulam (Slave*, 1998) is a remake of *On the Waterfront* (1954), *Kasoor* (2001) is a remake of *Jagged Edge (*1985*), Raaz* (2002) is a remake of *What Lies Beneath* (2000)[295], *Aetabaar* (2003) is a remake of *Fear* (1996), and *Speed* (2007) is a remake of *Cellular* (2004). All of these films are near-exact copies of their originals, however, Bhatt also tends to add certain themes, settings and characters from other films into the mix. I will present further examples of this appropriation later in this chapter. Studying Vikram Bhatt's filmmaking strategies can be of great help in understanding how various content

[295] See 0

from other industries is appropriated in a Bollywood context and how this is repeated in further films in order to form a specific brand of Bollywood horror.

To start with the similarities, comparing the posters of the three films helps us to understand aspects of mood and style as well as generic expectations. All three films' posters employ *chiaroscuro* contrasts between dark and light, which conveys. a symbolic meaning associated with fear and anxiety, particularly when there is something unknown and hidden in the dark. Moreover, light not only depicts hope but is also symbolically related to the sacred, as dark is to evil.

Figure 12: Poster of *1920*

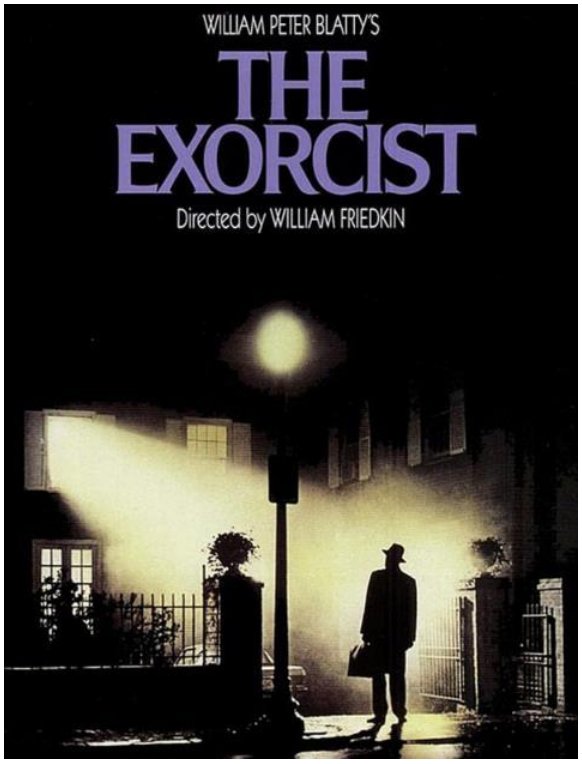

Figure 14: Poster of *The Exorcist*

Figure 13: Poster of *The Haunting*

Among all the elements in *The Exorcist* poster, there are three elements which need to be discussed. Firstly, half of the image is hidden in the dark and there are two main light sources - the window of the house and the lamp post. The second element is the open gate and the third is the presence of a mysterious character at the gate holding a bag, and wearing a hat with his head slightly tilted to the right.

The character's bag suggests that he has arrived fully prepared to face what is inside the room from where the light beam is emanating. However, the fact that he has stopped at the entrance and is looking at the window suggests fear and hesitation about whether he should go in and how he will deal with the unknown inside. This creates anxiety for us as the audience as at this point we are not aware of what is behind these windows. This is similar to the confrontation which we see during the film when Father Merrin and the devil confront each other in the same frame during his stay in Iraq (see Figure 15).

Figure 15: Suggestive image showing Father Merrin's direct confrontation with Pazuzu

The bold text title in the poster is purple, which suggests spirituality and awareness unlike the film's credit titles which are red, suggesting fear and horror. Moreover, in some variations of *The Exorcist* poster there is text which says, 'Something almost beyond comprehension is happening to a girl on this street, in this house … and a man has been sent for as a last resort. This man is the Exorcist'.

As with *The Exorcist,* dark and light are visible in poster for *The Haunting.* However, the characters in the film are shown in the poster unlike *The Exorcist* which only shows a mysterious silhouette standing at the gate. *The Haunting* poster also turns the house into a ghost-like figure with a blend of smoke and light in the background and three characters on top of it with their names written in red capitals. The other significant aspect in the title is the tagline *'SOME HOUSES ARE BORN BAD'.* This clearly tells the audience that the problem is with the house which is shown as a ghost suggesting that it is not a house but a ghost instead.

Looking at the *1920* poster, we can observe a similar black and white theme with dark shadows over the house, whilst dark clouds in the sky suggest that something awful is going to happen in the film. However, the tagline in the poster is what makes this poster different from both *The Exorcist* and *The Haunting*. It says, 'A Love Made in Heaven… A Revenge Born in Hell…'. Here *1920* focuses on its narrative, unlike *The Haunting* which focuses on the haunted house. *1920* is about love and revenge and the haunted house becomes of secondary importance. All three posters show a house where the latter's protected status as a home is being challenged. A house which should be a safe place, has become a place of fear and anxiety. From its poster publicity until its exhibition, *1920* takes its cues from *The Exorcist* and *The Haunting,* from the director's own film *Raaz,* as well as from Bollywood tested formulae. This supports my tripartite model presented earlier that any Bollywood genre film has three main sources: Bollywood industry, indigenous genres and foreign films.

The story of *1920*, as is evident from its title, starts in the year 1920 with a voiceover of the protagonist narrating his life story, and describing an event which will have an impact on his life. We see a horse-driven carriage approaching a manor house. An architect Mehta is on his way to the manor house in order to build a new house after demolishing the original. After nightfall, mysterious events start happening in the building which ultimately result in his death. The next part of the story is centred on the love affair of Arjun Singh (Rajneesh Duggal) – an architect by profession - and Lisa (Adah Sharma). Arjun is shown as a devotee of Hinduism unlike his family. In the introductory sequence, he is shown worshipping a Hindu god, whilst his family do not seem to care about religion. However, when it comes to the matter of his love

for Lisa, Arjun's family will not allow him to marry her because of her religion and also because of an 'evil' action committed by her mother, who was an Indian married to an English man.

Arjun's family attempts to burn Lisa alive in order to stop the marriage, not only because of what her mother did but also because her religion and her god is different from theirs. Arjun, in his attempt to protect Lisa, is beaten up by his family. Considering his religion as the root cause of the problem, Arjun chooses to be an atheist and decides to leave his family, taking Lisa with him. Despite the fact that Arjun is now an atheist, he allows Lisa to follow Christianity. The story further develops with the marriage of Arjun and Lisa. Later on, Arjun's company gets a contract to demolish an old manor house in Palanpur and build a hotel.[296] The company sends Arjun to work on the project, which is the same one that caused the death of Mehta. After Arjun and Lisa arrive at the manor house, several supernatural events happen in the house, but Lisa is the only one who experiences them. She hears different mysterious voices in the house including the screaming of an injured man, and some voices which whisper her name. These mysterious events increase until she is pulled into a dark room by an invisible force and then we see that Lisa has been possessed by an evil spirit.

The story progresses further as various medical treatments are offered to Lisa and efforts are made by the local priest to help her. All the efforts fail. It turns out that it

[296] A town shown to be in India. The actual location of the mansion is Allerton Castle in Yorkshire.

was Gayatri (Anjori Alagh) – another character in a flashback sequence - who has been reborn as Lisa. Gayatri (now Lisa) sacrificed her chastity in order to allow a traitor who was an Indian working as a British spy during the independence movement of 1857 to be captured. It was the spirit of that spy who wanted to take revenge on Gayatri for her 'deception'. The story ends with Arjun becoming a devotee of the Hindu religion as it was that *Hanuman*'s *Chalisa*[297] which ultimately helped Arjun to kill the evil spirit and release Lisa from his possession when all other methods of treatment such as medical help and exorcism had failed to cure her.

As we see in *The Exorcist*, scientific methods of treatment fail to work. Regan (the main protagonist who is possessed by the devil) had to go to hospital four times in order to diagnose the problem as well as undergoing hypnotism by a psychiatrist but all this was in vain. The medical board finally suggest that Chris – Regan's mother – should put her through an exorcism. Chris, who is a secular woman and does not believe in any such practice, gets angry and calls a priest a 'witch-doctor'. Regan's condition deteriorates and Chris finally decides to contact a local priest called Father Karras who also seems to have lost his faith (we see him express this in one of his meetings with a senior priest Father Tom). He asks for a reassignment because of his 'lack of faith'. This becomes clearer when Chris contacts Father Karras to conduct an exorcism on Regan and he responds that in order to do so, "I'd have to get them into a time machine and get them back to the 16th century." For him, exorcism is centuries old and does not have any place in modern society. However, it not only

[297] A devotional hymn addressing the Hindu god Hanuman.

shows Chris forcing Father Karras to request exorcism permission from the church but also clearly suggests that at the end of film Karras has started believing in the existence of evil and thus jumps from the window in order to save Regan's life. In the final sequence, when Regan and her mother Chris are moving to their new house, Father Dyer - a friend of Father Karras and Chris - meets them on the way. The camera first focuses on Regan's face and then we see a point of view shot in which Father Dyer's white collar comes into close-up. Upon seeing this Regan quickly gives him a kiss. This particular scene depicts her acceptance of priests as her saviours. As Noël Carroll has argued about horror in general,

> The horror story is driven explicitly by curiosity. It engages its audience by being involved in processes of disclosure, discovery, proof, explanation, hypothesis, and confirmation. Doubt, scepticism, and the fear that belief in the existence of the monster is a form of insanity are predictable foils to the revelation (to the audience or to the characters or both) of the existence of the monster.[298]

The narrative in *1920* is similar to *The Exorcist* because the characters who do not believe in religion and the existence of god or other supernatural forces start believing in them. Arjun who appears to be the only person worshipping a god loses his faith in religion. Similarly, a priest who is considered a representative of a religion expresses doubts in his own faith. In both cases, religious practice brings

[298] Carroll, 'Why horror? ', (p.35).

order to the disturbance or abnormality which occurred at the beginning of the film. In the case of *The Exorcist*, it is the exorcism, and in case of *1920*, it is the *Hanuman's Chalisa* which finally helps Lisa to escape from the possession.

Hinduism has a relatively superior position in Bollywood compared to any other religion and this is evident in *1920*. Despite the fact that Lisa is a Christian by faith, exorcism cannot help her as the evil spirit is stronger, and it is *Hanuman's Chalisa* which finally burns the spirit and frees Lisa.

The narrative in *1920* is rooted in a hierarchical framework of religious belief systems as opposed to secular perspectives. I have argued in the previous chapter that the horror genre in Bollywood not only depends on religious beliefs and nationalist ideology but is often related to the punishment of those who do not believe and the survival of those who believe in religion. But while there is a general preference for Hinduism, believers in Indian horror films may belong to any faith community and as mentioned in the previous chapter, all religions are respected in Bollywood.[299] It is the violation of religion and certain Indian traditions, legends or folklores which has an effect on the natural order. In *1920*¸violation of religion and the fact that Lisa is daughter of an English man disturb the normality in the film. According to this narrative, Lisa's illness is not a mental illness, but a result of her acts in a previous life, which is *Karma.* In order to deal with supernatural issues, similar supernatural

[299] Dwyer, *Filming the Gods*.

powers are required by a more powerful (in this case Hindu) god. As Noël Carroll points out:

> The real drama in a horror story resides in establishing the existence of the monster and in disclosing its horrific properties. Once this is established the monster, generally, has to be confronted, and the narrative is driven by the question of whether the creature can be destroyed. [300]

In Bollywood, in almost all cases, the creature is destroyed by the use of methods taken from mythology, folklore and religion. In *The Exorcist* Father Merrin unknowingly unleashes the devil in Iraq and upon seeing the stone of *Pazuzu*, he immediately decides to return to Washington. The film leaves it to the audience to interpret whether or not it is the same devil who nearly killed Father Merrin in Africa during an exorcism and whether the devil had followed Merrin to take revenge. The devil intentionally chooses a girl in the city where Merrin is the only person who has experience of exorcism and it is most likely that the Church will invite him to conduct the exorcism on Regan. This is also evident from Regan's voice recordings in which the demon takes the name of Merrin. The battle of good versus evil in *1920* is also based on revenge, although the revenge here is not directed at a priest or at religion but at a girl as an individual who has been reincarnated and reborn as Lisa. The ghost in *1920* stays in the manor house only to wait for Gayatri – the girl who

[300] Carroll, 'Why horror? ', (p.35).

had him killed in her previous life – to be reborn and return to that house. As Rachel Dwyer has noted:

> Indian cinema likes familiar stories and historical stories allow for ritualisation, repetition and overvaluation of the past. These historical stories suit the melodramatic mode of the Hindi cinema as they focus on crises and conflicts over power, legitimacy and identity through encounters with sickness and medicine, morality and the law, morals and religion in a way that stirs up emotions. The films focus on topics which are common to historical narratives of struggle, sacrifice, patriotism.[301]

The original and the remake both have three distinct sets of characters who have a direct relationship with the events in the story. Group A belong to the evil category, those who are posing a threat to normality (i.e. the devil), Group B are those who are resisting the threat and want to help the events to continue in their normal state, and Group C consists of those people who are affected by Group A. The relationship between the groups varies in both films. *The Exorcist* creates conflict between Group A and Group B, in other words between the devil and the priest. In contrast, in *1920* the conflict is between Group A and Group C. Bollywood Bollywoodizes content so that it fits better with their audiences' expections.

[301] Rachel Dwyer, 'Bollywood's India: Hindi Cinema as a Guide to Modern India', *Asian Affairs,* 41 (2010), (p. 387).

The motivation behind both films appears to be religious in nature and both use various audio-visual representations of the devil and other supernatural forces. The prologue of *The Exorcist* gives us a clearer picture of how William Friedkin uses visual imagery in order to establish the horrific elements of the genre. *The Exorcist* starts by showing imagery not only of the idol Pazuzu but it also depicts a direct confrontation between religion and the devil.

The film starts with the black and white logo of *Warner Bros. Pictures* which dissolves into the establishing shot of Chris's house with a focus on Regan's window. Half of the screen and the building is filled with darkness and there is one main light which is on in Regan's room. We then see that light in her room goes off and the camera pans into the street showing us glimpses of wind and the shaking branches of a tree. The camera further pans right to the high street where everything is normal; people are walking in the street and traffic is on the road and there are no apparent problems. This shot dissolves into a close-up of the face of Mary's statue while everything in the background is in soft focus. At this stage the non-diegetic sound starts getting louder and becomes eerie with a cut and then there are credits on the screen which are all red capitals with a black background. During the titles, the non-digetic sound fades away with the diegetic sound of *Adhaan*.

The next shot is black and white featuring a full moon on top of mountains. This moon and the sky turns red as the Adhaan continues. The next shots give us some idea of the location, where there are many labourers digging some land. Here Father Merrin finds a medal of St. Joseph which surprises him because of the presence of a

Christian medal at a pre-Christian site.[302] He then digs further to find 'a green stone amulet in the figure of the demon Pazuzu'.[303] Upon seeing both of these items Father Merrin shows signs of distress. The next scenes show us the same distress and we see Father Merrin looking at the medal and the demon Pazuzu until the local officer says, 'evil against evil' and in the next shot the wall clock immediately stops which Mark Kermode has described thus: 'the normal flow of the present has been interrupted by a force from the past'.[304] The officer then says to father Merrin, '*I wish you didn't have to go*'. Father Merrin responds, '*there is something I must do*'. Father Merrin then goes to another place where there is a statue of Pazuzu. A sudden shadow is directly cast over Father Merrin and the next shot shows us that the shadow was caused by the idol of Satan. Father Merrin then walks towards the idol. The eerie sound in the background starts getting louder as Father Merrin's anxiety increases. In the next shot, we see two fierce dogs fighting with each other. The sound of their fighting and the non-digetic eerie sound in the background adds to the supernatural feel of the scene. The camera then zooms in to show a close-up of Father Merrin's face and then with a jump cut, the camera slowly zooms in to show a close-up of the devil. This scene ends with the shot in which father Merrin and the devil are standing in the same frame facing each other. (see Figure 15)

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[302] Kermode, *The Exorcist*, p.24.

[303] Ibid.

[304] Ibid., (24-25).

This prologue is approximately ten minutes long and gives a clear indication of and concise summary of what audiences can expect from the rest of the film. The sequence comprises all the basic semantic elements without which the narrative would be less clear. For instance, showing Chris's house covered in darkness and the light in Regan's room being switched off while an eerie sound in the background suggests the presence of some evil forces. In the next shot the close-up of Mary's face establishes the relationship of evil with Christianity. The credit titles are all written in red capital letters with a black background representing fear and threat. The film then goes on to show us the source of the threat as Father Merrin finds the idol, and further elaborates the whole scenario when father Merrin stands opposite Pazuzu which suggests that the devil is directly challenging the priest. In the following sequences we will see the struggle between the two for superiority.

Let me now turn my attention to the prologue in *1920.* After initially displaying the production studios' credits, the opening shot depicts a forest with a small pathway through the middle which is accompanied by a voice-over narration in which the protagonist tells us about the event which is going to occur in the manor house. We then see from a low camera angle that a horse-drawn carriage is bringing Mehta to the manor house. In this sequence, we only see the unusual low camera angles and the isolated manor house in the middle of a forest. However, as the night passes supernatural events start occurring. These include the breaking and falling of different objects, the screaming of an injured person and then the death of Mehta when his feet get stuck in one of the steps of stairs and a glass door at the top of the stairs breaks and kills him. Unlike *The Exorcist*, the prologue in *1920* does not offer any religious references and the first ten minutes of the film only refer to the

presence of a ghost in the manor house. It is after those ten minutes that the references to religion start. Unlike the non-diegetic eerie sounds in *the Exorcist, 1920* chooses to play the voiceover of *Hanuman Chalisa* by Arjun while he is offering his *pooja* at dawn. The next two similar visual elements are an image of Baphomet which has been drawn in Father Thomas' room and then when the painting of Christ starts bleeding.

As I have mentioned earlier, *1920* is a not a direct remake of *The Exorcist* or even Jan de Bont's *The Haunting* (1999). Instead, it is a film which mixes influences from both of these originals and combines these with Bollywood conventions and some of the director's own stylistic characteristics. Owing to this mix of various elements in the two films, comparing the original and the remake shot by shot is not possible. However, to recall Thomas Leitch's argument, the original and the remake have a common characteristic or property. In this case, the common property is the use of religion as a method of survival from evil forces. In the following section, I will briefly present some similarities between *The Haunting* and *1920.*

After getting the contract, Arjun Singh and Lisa go to the Manor house to start working on the project. *1920* copies the visual appearance of *The Haunting.* As in the latter film, the manor house in *1920* is very isolated, especially in the evening as the caretaker does not stay overnight. Moreover, Bhatt chooses to use low lighting, a big staircase in the lobby, large doors with creaking sounds, white curtains, ghost-like figures hiding in the curtains, a mysterious room where the ghost is present, paintings which have a strong relationship with the narrative, long, dark corridors and finally the invisible ghost. These elements bear a striking resemblance to those in *The Haunting* (see Figure 17).

Visual Comparison Between *The Exorcist* and *1920*	
The Exorcist (1973)	***1920*** (2008)
	
	
	
	

Figure 16: Visual Comparison between *The Exorcist*

Visual Comparison Between *The Haunting* and *1920*	
The Haunting (1999)	***1920*** (2008)
	
	
	
	
	

Figure 17: Visual comparison between *The Haunting* and *1920*

Bhatt also makes use of low light settings inside the manor house in order to create atmosphere. As the film is set in 1920, we only see candles being used in the building.

Despite the similarities referred to above, the two films depict their attitude towards religion in a different manner. *The Haunting* features a lot of abusive language towards Jesus Christ and a desecration in the Church where the statue of Mary is attacked. This does not occur in *1920*, underscoring my argument made earlier that Bollywood films will modify the content of the original and adapt it for their own context – in this case by removing or toning down the blasphemous content of the original and replacing it with the acceptable norms of Bollywood. Although in *1920* there is a scene which shows a painting of Christ in a Church bleeding, this is framed as an expression of grief and pain instead of being a direct threat to the priest of Christ. This is what we term the *Bollywoodization* of the content in which all the religions are treated with respect. As I have quoted in the previous chapter with reference to Rachel Dwyer, being secular in Bollywood translates into equal respect for all religions. This *Bollywoodization* process is adopted at all stages of film production.

Figure 18: Christ's painting bleeding in *1920*

1920 also distances itself from *The Exorcist* in terms of the representation of the ghost. Instead of Pazuzu it chooses the figure of Baphomet. There could be various interpretations of this change – depending on the reader/viewer. While Pazuzu is a character from Mesopotamian mythology from the Babylonian era, Baphomet is an interesting choice because of his connotations in the histories of both Islam and Christianity. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, Baphomet is not only 'a form of the name Muhammad used by medieval writers', but it is also the 'alleged name of the idol which the Templars were accused of worshipping'.[305] Meanwhile, a contemporary understanding of Baphomet usually associates it with occultism and/or Satanism. There can be different interpretations of the selection of Baphomet as the ghost in *1920*. For instance, the history of Baphomet as described above is not very familiar to audiences on the sub-continent and thus the goat headed figure displayed on the wall would be merely a more frightening presence in terms of the genre's conventions. Similarly, being a symbol of Satanism, the film viewer might also interpret this image as the devil himself trying to convey the message to the priest. In the film, the priest's ancient book shows an image of Baphomet with a text which reads 'mors tua, vita mea' which translates as 'your death, my life'. Thus, the image of Baphomet serves the purpose of the presence of the supernatural but it also prefigures the fight between the devil and the priest and tells the audience that the

[305] 'Baphomet', OED: Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/15329?redirectedFrom=Baphomet#eid> [accessed 27 November 2014].

ghost in the film is not an ordinary ghost, but instead the devil himself who has come to fight.

Beside these textual quotations, what ultimately makes *1920* Bollywoodized is the use of the time-tested formulae of reincarnation, which has been repeated so many times that it is often referred to as yet another genre of Bollywood.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed how one of the contemporary horror films of Bollywood by one of the most successful directors of horror films has translated foreign influences in order to make an indigenous story which is neither fully Indian nor purely Hollywood.

It is evident that Vikram Bhatt's *1920* borrows certain narrative conventions from *The Exorcist* and the visual style from *The Haunting* while continuously Bollywoodizing these. Despite its use of previous formulae, such as the binaries of evil versus good, religion versus secular, past versus present, *1920* moved a step forward by using tertiary relationships such as older versus old versus new and Hindu versus Christian versus Atheist. Moreover, as argued in the previous chapter, the revenge plot is again one of the central elements in advancing the narrative. In its attempt to Bollywoodize, *1920* modifies the blasphemous content of *The Exorcist* so that the audience sees greater respect for Christianity. However, when Christianity is placed in a comparable situation with Hindutva, it is Hindutva that has the power to fight against the evil forces. Similarly, the film adds some extra elements of reincarnation and nationalism along with the song sequences.

Looking at the current remaking practices of Vikram Bhatt in contemporary Bollywood, or at the Ramsay brothers' classic horror for the Indian cinema and their close resemblances with *The Exorcist,* one could argue that beside various similarities in the 'original' films and the remakes, it is the resolution of the conflict which differentiates the original and the remake. *1920* achieves the same narrative conclusion as *The Exorcist* but against the backdrop of nationalism and Hindutva. Carolyn Jess-Cooke rightly argues that, 'recent Bollywood "remakes" do not so much remake or copy Hollywood, but are much more involved in processes of resistance, subversion and globalization'.[306] For Cooke, the remaking process in Bollywood is basically an attempt at 'localising cultural concerns within a global framework, or by signifying, rather than repeating, the global within the local'.[307]

[306] Carolyn Jess-Cooke, *Film Sequels: Theory and Practice from Hollywood to Bollywood* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 2009), p. 117.

[307] Ibid., (120).

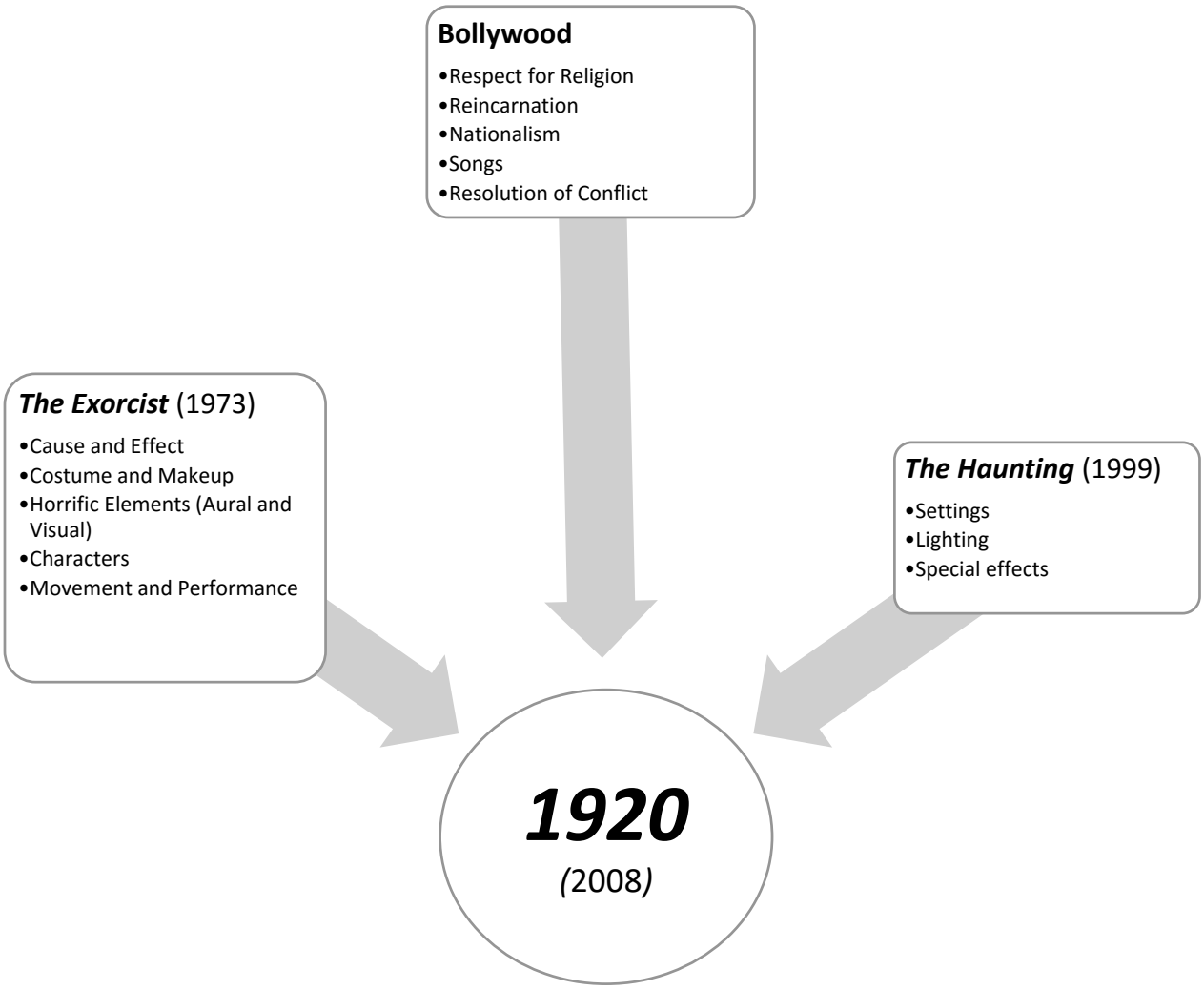

Figure 19: The triangular model for *1920*

Similarly, Rashna Wadia Richards terms Bollywood remakes as 'glocal masala'[308]. I agree with association of the term 'glocal' with these films for these genres not only represent the indigenous content of the film but at the same time they are part of the global family of horror as is evident from the above discussion. My only contention with Wadia's argument is with the use of the term 'Masala' for these films. Adding all these genre films into the pot of *Masala* will limit their scope for analysis. Thus, these films should be understood from the perspective of their own individual identity as Bollywood genres which dominantly use their own cultural and cinematic conventions which make these genres different from similar genres in other industries. I agree with Nayar's argument that,

> [the] finished products adapted from foreign works are less remakes than extracted skeletons: plot repositories, molded and shaped for a more sufficient and efficient cultural refilling. Even given the filmmakers' borrowing, stealing and blatant plagiarism, these finished products are indisputably Indian.[309]

Bollywood's genres maintain their identity as 'indisputably Indian' whilst continuously stealing, borrowing and plagiarising. It succeeds in maintaining this identity particularly because of the adaptation of those 'plagiarised' contents to

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[308] Richards, '(Not) Kramer vs. Kumar: The Contemporary Bollywood Remake as Glocal Masala Film'.

[309] Nayar, 'The Values of Fantasy: Indian Popular Cinema through Western Scripts', pp. 74-75).

culturally specific elements. At this point their textual meanings become more important over their linguistic meanings. Altman argues that,

> the distinction between the semantic and the syntactic, … corresponds to a distinction between the primary, linguistic elements of which all texts are made and the secondary, textual meanings that are sometimes constructed by virtue of the syntactic bonds established between primary elements.[310]

While Bollywood uses various primary and linguistic elements from other industries, it changes those contents so that textual meanings are established in a Bollywoodized style. Thus in case of the horror genre, Bollywood not only borrows 'the linguistic meaning of the monster as "threatening inhuman being," which reflects upon the semantic elements of the genre but, [it also develops] … new syntacticities, [which] generate an important new set of textual meanings' as discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis.[311]

[310] Altman, 'A Semantic/Syntactic Approach to Film Genre', pp.38-39).

[311] Ibid., (38).

Chapter 5: Science Fiction

This chapter aims to develop an understanding of the science fiction genre in contemporary Bollywood. Until recently, few examples of this genre were produced, however, since 2000, science fiction has emerged as one of the most popular genres in Bollywood and is no longer 'beyond the cultural references of Indian audiences'.[312] Jessica Langer and Dominic Alessio note that Indian Science Fiction is 'becoming a major powerhouse—and financial best bet—for Indian film studios, as well as a significant draw for both Indian and International audiences'.[313] It is, thus, important to explore how science fiction has established itself within the Indian film industry; which themes and conventions it has adopted; and why it has not been more popular previously. Can the Bollywood science fiction film be approached with the same expectations as a Hollywood science fiction film, or as examples from other contexts? The current chapter is an attempt to find an answer to these questions. To challenge the standard definitions of the science fiction genre, I will present a theoretically informed contextual account of this genre in Bollywood. In continuation of my previous approach, this chapter will also use Altman's model to explore the science fiction genre. After presenting a detailed contextual and historical account of science fiction in the first part, the remaining chapter will focus on the semantic elements and the way they are structured in the science fiction films. This part will

[312] Thomas, 'Indian Cinema: Pleasures and Popularity'.

[313] Langer and Alessio, 'Indian Science Fiction Cinema: An Overview', (p.57).

consist of textual analysis of Rakesh Roshan's *Krrish* series[314]particularly *KMG* which is the founding film of the series.

I mentioned in Chapter 1 that any genre is developed through two different methods: It either adopts previously tested syntactic elements while experimenting on new semantic elements, or it uses stable semantic elements in a new syntax.[315] I suggest that the science fiction genre, considering its relatively news status in Indian cinema, takes the second position in which new semantic elements are appropriated for an existing syntax. This syntax can be from its own genre traditions as well as from external sources such as culture and religion. As the science fiction film is mainly adopting the previous syntax with an appropriation of new semantic elements which are yet in an experimental phase, so the major part of the chapter will focus on these syntaxes.

Before I can discuss the semantic and syntactic elements of the genre, it is important to present a contextual account of the genre. Starting from the basic understanding and defining criteria of science fiction genre, I will present a theoretically informed discussion on narrative structure, role of religion, nationalism and politics in the science fiction genre.

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[314] Koi… Mil Gaya (I have found someone, 2003), Krrish (2006), Krrish 3 (2013)

[315] Altman, 'A Semantic/Syntactic Approach to Film Genre', (p.31).

Defining what Bollywood science fiction means and how it functions requires a specific theoretical framework. As with any other genres, there is no consensus on an exact definition of science fiction. Edward James and Farah Mendlesohn consider science fiction as a 'battleground between different groups of fans, and different groups of critics'.[316] Critics and theorists have adopted different methods in order to create a better understanding of the various concepts related to the genre. These methods often begin with a discussion of the paradox found in the term 'science fiction', which J.P. Telotte refers to as both 'fact and fabrication'.[317] Perry Nodelman presents a simple explanation of this:

> Science is a way of thinking about reality that takes its objectivity for granted. Fiction is a way of describing experience – for every fiction, a different way of seeing things, a different reality. … Science fiction pretends to take the objectivity of the world it describes for granted, yet clearly does not describe the objective world as we know it to be. It is "scientific," but clearly unrealistic.[318]

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[316] Edward James and Farah Mendlesohn, *The Cambridge Companion to Science Fiction* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 1.

[317] J. P. Telotte, *Science Fiction Film (Genres in American Cinema)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 3.

[318] Perry Nodelman, 'The Cognitive Estrangement of Darko Suvin', *Children's Literature Association Quarterly*, 5 (1981), (p. 24).

Nodelman points out that we often use the term 'realistic fiction' instead of 'reality fiction'. In a similar vein science fiction is a 'literature that seems real even though we know it's not real'.[319] This presentation of 'realistic fiction' is what distinguishes science fiction from other genres. In other words, science is related to the known world, something we can understand or believe and is possible, however, fiction relates to the unknown. I select Nodelman's argument because of the simplicity of its ideas. However, variations on this concept are available in the literature about the science fiction genre, for instance, Darko Suvin's much cited argument of cognitive estrangement. For Suvin, 'cognitive' refers to something that seems realistic and possible, and 'estrangement' is the process of distancing one from the known world. As Adam Roberts points out, Robert Scholes' concept of 'Structural Fabulation*'* is similar to Suvin's idea and is also a 're-duplication' of 'science fiction' in which 'fabulation' seems synonymous with 'fiction' in pretty much the same way that 'structural' is with science.[320] Roberts further states that the 'scientific'—cognitive, rational, categorical—approach to the issues of defining the genre has the upper hand in much critical discussion of SF'.[321] However, what makes Suvin's idea unique is his stance on the Novum. Suvin considers the Novum as the central element, which has *hegemonic* status throughout any science fiction text.[322] He defines Novum as

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[319] Ibid.

[320] Adam Roberts, *Science Fiction* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 11.

[321] Ibid.

[322] Darko Suvin, 'SF and the Novum', in *Metamorphoses of Science Fiction*, (London: Yale University Press, 1979) (p. 63).

any form of innovation, which is based on some scientific principles and can be 'cognitively validated'. For Suvin, the Novum is always unique and thus cannot be predicted. However, it is possible to anticipate the dimensions of the Novum, which he describes as follows:

> Quantitatively, the postulated innovation can be quite different degrees of magnitude, running from the minimum of one discrete new 'invention' (gadget, technique, phenomenon, relationship) to the maximum of a setting (spatiotemporal locus), agent (main character or characters), and/or relations basically new and unknown in the author's environment. Tangentially [it is] always bound to a particular time, place, and sociolinguistic norm, so that what would have been utopian or technological SF in given epoch is not necessarily such in another – except when read as a product of earlier history.[323]

Suvin argues that the Novum is 'so central and significant that it determines the whole narrative logic – or at least the overriding narrative logic – regardless of any impurities that might be present'.[324] Particularly this latter idea of the Novum could possibly be appropriated in the Bollywood context. However, as Christine Cornea rightly points out, Suvin's idea of cognitive estrangement has mainly focused on the scientific aspect of science fiction and does not leave much space for the element of

[323] Ibid., (64).

[324] Ibid., (70).

fantasy. She argues that science fiction is positioned between fantasy and reality.[325] Thus, it is a genre which not only offers the quality of 'cognitive estrangements' but also, to some extent, allows the elements of fantasy, and it is the inclusion of fantasy that allows Bollywood science fiction films to fit in. Fantasy relates to the argument of Tzvetan Todorov who locates science fiction in between the 'marvellous' and the 'uncanny'.[326] He defines the former as supernatural whereas the uncanny is associated with the unconscious mind. In this way, science fiction becomes a very broad genre and extends the boundaries discussed by Suvin, while allowing more space for those fantasy elements that can be logically justified.

Science fiction is often described by its nature and/or the function it performs. This exploration of the functions is usually associated with the horror genre. For example, as Barry Keith Grant suggests, horror films have a direct link with the emotions of the viewers, whereas science fiction deals with the cognitive function. Both genres often rely on a similar iconography and there are strong visual connections between the two. For Grant,

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[325] Christine Cornea, *Science Fiction Cinema: Between Fantasy and Reality* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p. 3.

[326] Tzvetan Todorov cited in ibid.

> the fundamental distinction between the two genres is one of attitude: a closed response in horror, an open one in science fiction. Horror seeks to elicit terror and fear of something unknown or unacknowledged.[327]

Grant argues that, 'Despite the narrative relation between horror and science fiction, the two genres offer experiences and pleasure strikingly different, in fact almost opposite, in nature'.[328] Similarly, critics have considered science fiction and fantasy to be different genres with their own agendas. Science fiction deals with 'alternative possibilities' whereas fantasy, as Grant differentiates by citing Lester del Rey, looks for 'alternative impossibilities'.[329] A very basic method of understanding the difference between the genres of fiction, fantasy and science fiction is offered by Robert M. Philmus, who notes that 'naturalistic fiction does not require scientific explanation, fantasy does not allow it, and SF both requires and allows it'.[330]

Besides these dimensions of the concept of genre, another interesting aspect that Ziauddin Sardar has discussed in *Aliens R Us* is the particular association of the

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[327] Barry Keith Grant, "Sensuous Elaboration': Reason and the Visible in the Science-Fiction Film', in *Alien Zone 2: The Spaces of Science Fiction Cinema,* ed. by Annette Kuhn, (Verso Books, 1999) (p. 17).

[328] Ibid.

[329] Ibid.

[330] Robert M Philmus cited in Darko Suvin, *Defined by a Hollow: Essays on Utopia, Science Fiction and Political Epistemology* (Verlag Peter, 2010), p. 70.

science fiction genre with Western civilization. While scrutinizing the 'science' and 'fiction' in the science fiction genre, he argues:

> The 'science' offered by science fiction is populist dissection of the psyche of Western civilisation, its history, preoccupations and project of future domination – past, present and future. Science fiction is a time machine that goes nowhere, for wherever its goes it materialises the same conjunctions of the space-time continuum: the conundrums of Western civilisation. …. As a genre it makes it harder to imagine other futures, futures not beholden to the complexes, neuroses and reflexes of Western civilisation as we know it.[331]

Sardar continues by stating that the,

> basic ingredients out of which science fiction has been fashioned exist everywhere, in different civilisations and cultures, in the past and the present. Yet science fiction, the genre as we know it, does not. Science fiction is a very particular possession of just one tradition – Western civilisation.[332]

His arguments are based on the idea that the 'science' in science fiction has its roots in the 'particular view' of science that 'places the genre in a process of historical transmission of ideas and narrative tradition that are particular to Western

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[331] Ziauddin Sardar, 'Introduction', in *Aliens R Us: The Other in Science Fiction Cinema,* ed. by Ziauddin Sardar and Sean Cubitt, (London: Pluto Press, 2002) (p. 1).

[332] Ibid., (2).

civilisation'.[333] Sardar's argument seems convincing, however, the problem is that he has limited this genre to the West and ignored different versions of this genre and its new dimensions in non-western countries. As I am going to demonstrate, in India this genre has adopted its own cultural, social, mythological and religious elements.

To conclude my preliminary discussion over various definitions of what science fiction entails, I take my cue from Vivien Sobchack, who suggests that different definitions are not 'incorrect' but 'inadequate'. Sobchack presents a comprehensive definition which allows for the inclusion of various significant elements such as myths and religion, and defines science fiction as:

> a film genre which emphasizes actual, extrapolative, or speculative science and the empirical method, interacting in a social context with the lesser emphasized, but still present, transcendentalism of magic and religion, in an attempt to reconcile man with the unknown.[334]

Sobchack's definition covers the broader elements often referred to by film critics in various debates such as the discussion of the actual and predictive functions of science and its theoretical and empirical dimensions. She also attempts to include the speculative function which Geoff King and Tanya Krzywinska discuss in their text

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[333] Ibid., (3).

[334] Vivian Sobchack, *Screening Space: The American Science Fiction Film*, 2nd edn (Rutgers University Press, 1997), p. 63.

on science fiction.[335] Moreover, Sobchack covers the social context and leaves space for myths, magic and religion. Sobchack's insistence on the place of myth and religion within science fiction has particular resonance in the case of Indian appropriations of the genre. However, the very claim to the existence of science fiction in Bollywood often faces resistance because of the presumed Masala nature of its genres. I have argued in previous chapters that Bollywood can be categorised into a single genre of 'Masala'. However, there are other genres including science fiction that need to be addressed separately.

Bollywood cinema has a tendency to be influenced by political, social and economic changes within India and at a global level which can be witnessed throughout the history of this cinema. For example, the so-called golden era of the1950s reflected the anxieties caused by postcolonialism and industrialization. Similarly, the angry young man era of the 1970s was a direct response to social injustice in India at that time.[336] In its recent past Bollywood has focused on multiplex audiences and has tended to ignore the rural class.[337] Similarly, the extraordinary growth of the technological sector in India, particularly information and communication technology, has influenced contemporary (post 2000) Bollywood films and

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[335] Geoff King and Tanya Krzywinska, *Science Fiction Cinema: From Outerspace to Cyberspace* (Surrey: Wallflower Publishing Limited, 2000).

[336] Ganti, *Bollywood: A Guidebook to Popular Hindi Cinema*, pp.32-33.

[337] Monika Mehta, 'Globalizing Bombay Cinema: Reproducing the Indian State and Family', in *Once Upon a Time in Bollywood,* ed. by Gurbir Jolly and Zenia Wadhwani, (Tsar Publications, 2007).

contributed to building certain expectations from Bollywood by its audience. This phenomenon has laid the foundations for the emergence and establishment of the science fiction genre.

Themes in Bollywood Science Fiction

There are few examples in the history of science fiction in Bollywood where scientific inventions have been used as the central focus of the narrative. In some cases, it is difficult to classify those films as science fiction. Among 'scientific' themes, invisibility and extra-terrestrials appear to be the most popular. *Mr X in Bombay* (dir. Shantilal Soni, 1964) and *Mr India* (dir. Shekhar Kapur, 1987) are two significant films[338] that are based on the central trope of invisibility. The plot of *Mr X in Bombay* revolves around a medicine that promises invisibility. As with all Bollywood films, *Mr X in Bombay* mixes song and dance, and examines family relationships and issues of social class. The film is based on four main characters - a scientist called Professor Mathur (Randhir), his daughter Shobha Mathur (Kum Kum), the poet and the singer Kavi Sudarshan (Kishore Kumar) and the protagonist Rajan (Madan Puri). The story, like many other Bollywood films of the period, ends with the punishment of the antagonist and the marriage of Kavi with Shobha. Throughout the film, audiences are made aware of Rajan's bad intentions and his desire to marry Shobha because of her wealth. However, with the help of the invisibility medicine, Kavi punishes the villain and earns the love of Shobha. This

[338] See Appendix C for a full list of Bollywood science fiction films.

narrative is also interspersed with many comedy sequences.

Mr India, which 'works almost as a cultural inversion of Steven Spielberg's 1980s film *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom*,'[339] proved to be one of the most successful films of Bollywood and has gained a cult status. This film is another important example of the use of the invisibility trope. However, unlike, *Mr X in Bombay*, the protagonist Arun Verma (Anil Kapoor) in *Mr India* uses a watch to disappear. As in *Mr X in Bombay,* the invisible man in *Mr India* is a kind and loving person who fights against evil forces. Both films use the initials of *Mr* in the title which follows the conventions of two films made before *Mr X in Bombay*. The other two films were made in 1938 and 1957 respectively.[340]

Bollywood, of course, is not a pioneer in using the trope of invisibility. In fact, starting from James Whale's *Invisible Man* (1933), there were many films made in Hollywood that were inspired by the H.G. Wells' original idea of invisibility. What is interesting in the Bollywood examples is the way in which the central theme of invisibility is appropriated. For example, the central character Kavi in *Mr X in Bombay* takes the medicines of invisibility as a suicide attempt because of his failure to win Shobha's love. Moreover, the central character is neither a scientist nor an

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[339] Wright, 'Bollywood Eclipsed: The Postmodern Aesthetics, Scholarly Appeal, And Remaking of Contemporary Popular Indian Cinema' (unpublished doctoral thesis), p. 126.

[340] See Appendix C

action hero, but an innocent poet and singer. This film also makes reference to flying cars but they are not used as the central plot device of the film.

The other important science fiction theme used in Bollywood is the extra-terrestrial. *Chand par Chadayee/Trip to the Moon* dir. by T.P. Sundaram (1967) was the first Bollywood film to depict Indians travelling to the moon. The film was released in 1967, two years before the first moon landing. The film concerns some aliens kidnapping Indian scientists who are planning a trip to the moon. The aliens feel threatened when they discover that humans are preparing rockets and atomic bombs that they believe will be used to invade their planet. Thus, they want humans to stop developing weapons of mass destruction. This basic narrative is inspired by *The Day the Earth Stood Still* directed by Robert Wise (1951). Captain Anand (Dara Singh) the main protagonist of the film continues his space mission, however, before he starts his space travel, he is kidnapped and brought to the moon. The story then involves action sequences with Captain Anand who appears to be unstoppable. He defeats the Barahatu (Anwar Hussain), the king of moon, and aims to marry Shimoga – the princess of moon. At the end of the film Anand and Shimoga unite which suggests peace between earth and the moon.

The above-mentioned films use a science fiction theme as their central element, which 'determine[s] the whole narrative logic'.[341] Although invisibility tools such as watches or medicine are not yet scientifically possible, as Barry Keith Grant has

[341] Suvin, 'SF and the Novum', (p.63).

suggested earlier, these elements still come under the category of 'alternative possibilities'[342] which can be 'logically validated'.[343] These films also indicate a clear consciousness about the use of scientific invention as a central element. As an example, in *Mr India* Professor Sinha (Ashok Kumar) is delivering a lecture, in which he says,

> science has progressed in leaps and bounds. It is wrong to assume that what is not true today will never be true. I am not going way back into the past. Just 100 or 150 years ago if somebody said, you would have iron ships that would fly in air, which will take you to different places in minutes people would brand him mad. But it happened and nobody is surprised to see them today. If someone told Akbar[344] about the telephone or radio, he wouldn't believe it. We are not willing to believe what we cannot see.

This represents a conscious attempt to convey a more realistic and acceptable scientific logic to audiences for 'unbelievable' inventions. This scientific logic is what brings these films closer to the genre of science fiction, which I will discuss with reference to some contemporary films later in this chapter. What is important here to note is the use of these themes and their popularity amongst audiences.

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[342] Grant, "Sensuous Elaboration': Reason and the Visible in the Science-Fiction Film', (p.17).

[343] Suvin, 'SF and the Novum', (p.63).

[344] Mughal Emperor of India in 16th century.

Bollywood has produced at least ten films that are based on the concept of invisibility.[345]

As discussed earlier, India has made significant progress in science and technology in recent years, and this has had a direct impact on the film industry and its audiences. The industry now has better technical facilities and its audiences now expect to see a science fiction film or a superhero film involving an Indian hero, made by an Indian filmmaker in an Indian city. The new technical skills and resources that Bollywood has today are particularly important for the genre of science fiction, which relies heavily on special effects. These factors have made it easier for filmmakers to continue investing in this genre. However, they still need to give these films an 'Indian Touch'.[346]

Any genre film in Bollywood usually follows two sets of conventions. Firstly, it meets the industrial criteria of Bollywood – to follow the set formulae of Bollywood. Secondly, it follows the conventions of a particular genre not only to fulfil its commercial purpose but also to mark its own individual identity. This is evident in almost any genre. In a recent Bollywood science fiction film *Ra.One* (2011), the major twist in the plot occurs in one of its most advertised and marketed songs *Chammak Challo*. The antagonist Ra.one kidnaps Prateek (Armaan Verma) during

[345] See Appendix C

[346] Shakuntala Rao, "'I Need an Indian Touch": Glocalization and Bollywood Films', *Journal of International & Intercultural Communication,* 3 (2010).

this song. Those familiar with Bollywood understand this narrative technique and also expect to see recurring Bollywood conventions. Similarly, the central character is reborn - another frequently used convention in Indian cinema. On the other hand, the same film uses various science fiction conventions such as cyborgs. This use of cinematic and filmic conventions complicates the filmmaking process for any Bollywood filmmaker. Arguably it is for this reason that most filmmakers opt to use the easiest form of filmmaking by using the Masala formula. In this way, filmmakers have greater flexibility in their choice of film content. This obviously has a commercial purpose which is to reach wider audiences and achieve more profit. Relative to this, probably all other genre films including science fiction could be considered as more difficult from a filmmaking perspective. This is one of the reasons that filmmakers have avoided these genres until recently.

Science fiction in its current form is the result of the efforts of Rakesh Roshan who is a pioneer in making contemporary science fiction films in Bollywood. In his previous work as a film director he focused on issues of class, wealth and social injustice.[347] His *Krrish* series, represents a new direction in Roshan's filmmaking and also marks the first science fiction film franchise in Indian cinema under the banner of FILMKRAFT Productions (India) Pvt. Ltd. All the films in this series have been

[347] Roshan started his profession as a filmmaker with *Khudgharz* (1987). Some of his significant films are *Kaho Naa… Pyaar Hai* (2000), *Koyla (1997), Karun Arjun (1995), Khoon Bhari Maang (1988).*

blockbusters, starting with *Koi… Mil Gaya* (*KMG*) in 2003, and continuing with (so far) two sequels *Krrish* (2006) and *Krrish* 3 (2013).

I have selected the *Krrish* series for closer analysis because, as Alessio and Langer note, the series started by announcing its first film *KMG* as the first science fiction film of Indian cinema.[348] Daniel Chandler suggests that contemporary theorists look at genre from the perspective of family resemblances or the 'psycholinguistic concept of protypicality'.[349] In a similar vein, the films in the *Krrish* series appear to be typical science fiction films which use scientific invention as one of the central elements of the narrative, however, they do it with the help of several elements from other genres and film industries.

Intertextuality has been discussed in great detail in previous research. For instance, Dominic Alessio and Jessica Langer have presented a detailed overview of the different textual elements which *KMG* has borrowed. They argue that these are not pure Bollywood films and that Hindi cinema is 'derivative and follows the US lead'.[350] They refer to various 'source' texts for the conventions in *KMG* that have direct connections with Hollywood films:

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[348] Jess-Cooke, *Film Sequels: Theory and Practice from Hollywood to Bollywood*, p.119.

[349] Chandler, *An Introduction to Genre Theory*, [accessed.

[350] Dominic Alessio and Jessica Langer, 'Nationalism and Postcolonialism in Indian Science Fiction: Bollywood's *Koi ... Mil Gaya* (2003)', *Journal of Contemporary Film*, 5 (2007).

> The opening credit sequence [in *KMG*] that recedes against a starry background and the appearance of *Jadoo* as a Yoda-like creature (*Star Wars* [Lucas 1977]); the sudden and dramatic computer contact with alien beings (Contact [Zemeckis 1997]); the musical method of communication with the aliens as well as the appearance and lights of their spacecraft (*Close Encounters of the Third Kind* [Spielberg 1977]); the short, friendly and cute alien that is befriended by local children and hunted by the government (*E.T.: The Extraterrestrial* [Spielberg 1982]); the skateboard/scooter chase scenes (*Back to the Future* [Zemeckis 1985]); a gravity-defying basketball game (*Flubber* [Mayfield 1997]); a plot about a young man whose IQ is increased to that of a genius (*Charly* [Nelson 1968]); the arrival of a huge alien mothership and its impact upon the surrounding clouds (*Independence Day* [Emmerich 1994]); and the government's shadowy interest in aliens (*The X-Files*[1993–2002]).[351]

To further support their claim, they refer to some of the scenes in *KMG*, which they argue, have also been borrowed from Hollywood 'source' texts such as the:

> Disco-dancing contest (*Saturday Night Fever* [Badham 1977]); a multi-helicopter military sequence filmed against a sunrise (*Apocalypse Now* [Coppola 1979]); and even the segment in which Rohit, physically augmented by *Jadoo*'s telepathic powers, goes into a military base and rescues his friend

[351] Ibid., (221).

> from imprisonment (*Rambo: First Blood II* [Cosmatos 1985]). All these borrowings make ironic the title sequence of this film about extraterrestrials, which states that 'any resemblance to characters elsewhere is purely coincidental'.[352]

Alessio and Langer cover most of the possible similarities in this text. However, viewers may find many other references in the three films, depending on their socio-cultural background.

It is not unusual in any Bollywood film to find some elements that are similar to Hollywood films or films from any other cinema industry. This phenomenon has continued in the other two films of the series. *Krrish 3* has even more obvious references to Hollywood films, particularly the *X-Men* series. I do not intend to engage in that discussion as I have previously argued that it is more important to take a broader view of the film. The arguments of Alessio and Langer and their evidence in support of those arguments might make the reader think that these films should look more like Hollywood than Bollywood as a result of the borrowing of themes, iconography and other narrative elements. However, that is not the case. All three films in the series, as will be evident in the following section, clearly indicate their links to Bollywood cinema and these can be identified by merely looking at the posters for the films.

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[352] Ibid.

Apart from the issue of similarities, it is arguably more important to see how various 'foreign' elements are appropriated in the Bollywood context. Alessio and Langer discuss Bollywood cinema in a way which is often resisted by other scholars such as Ravi Vasudevan, Ashis Nandy, Geeta Kapur, Ashish Rajadhyaksha and Madhava Prasad, who have consistently argued that 'Indian cinema needs to be studied and examined very seriously'.[353] Alessio and Langer seem to be missing the point when they label *KMG* as a 'musical'[354] in the first paragraph of their introduction. Later on, they consider this film to be science fiction, which is contradictory to their notion of 'musical'.

Rosie Thomas, Amit Rai[355], Ravinder Kaur[356] and Iain Robert Smith offer another way of looking at the question of transnational transfers by suggesting that Bollywood borrows various elements from other industries, while retaining its own unique style. Rosie Thomas notes that,

> There has been both inspiration and assimilation from Hollywood and elsewhere, but thematically and structurally, Indian cinema has remained

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[353] Wimal Dissanayake, 'Rethinking Indian Popular Cinema', in *Rethinking Third Cinema,* ed. by Anthony R. Guneratne and Wimal Dissanayake, (London: Routledge, 2003) (p. 203).

[354] Alessio and Langer, 'Nationalism and Postcolonialism in Indian Science Fiction: Bollywood's *Koi ... Mil Gaya* (2003)', (p. 217).

[355] Amit Rai, 'An American Raj in Filmistan: Images of Elvis in Indian Films', *Screen,* 35 (1994).

[356] Ravinder Kaur, 'Viewing the West through Bollywood: A celluloid Occident in the making', *Contemporary South Asia,* 11 (2010).

remarkably distinctive.[357]

Keeping in view this argument, one example from *Krrish 3* is useful here. Kaal in *Krrish 3* names his mutants as *Manwar*. This idea seems to have been adopted from the American TV series *Manimal* (1980s) in which the lead character Professor Jonathan Chase (Simon MacCorkindale) had the ability to assume the form of animals. Similarly, the term *manwar,* which appears to be the combination of *man* and the Urdu/Hindi word *Janwar* (animal)[358] seems appropriate for mutants who have the ability to adopt the shape of any particular animal. Manwars are also shown differently from *manimals* as each mutant in *Krrish 3* only possesses the characteristics of one animal unlike the character of Dr Jonathan Chase who was able to change into different animals or even birds.

Iain Robert Smith in his PhD thesis argues that 'Bollywood cinema is far from simply being imitative of Hollywood as the syncretic tradition of popular Hindi cinema actually draws from a range of eclectic sources and influences'[359] such as Hindu mythologies and other forms of art. Smith has also studied *KMG* in his thesis and so his analysis is directly relevant to my research. He does not agree with Alessio and Langer that Bollywood is a Hollywood 'derivative'. Instead, he views

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[357] Thomas, 'Indian Cinema: Pleasures and Popularity', (p. 116).

[358] Manwar could also be a possible combination of 'Manaav' and 'Janwar'. 'Manav' is a Sanskrit word which means 'man' whereas 'Janwar' is translated as 'animal'.

[359] Smith, 'The Hollywood Meme: Transnational Appropriation of U.S. Film and Television' (unpublished doctoral thesis), p. 150.

KMG from a Bollywood perspective. He notes that *KMG* is 'a form of transnational appropriation' which 'creates a complex form of intertextuality in which elements of Western iconography are combined and hybridised with elements of Hindu mythology'.[360] This process of indigenisation is what makes Bollywood different from any other cinema industry including Hollywood if seen from a broader perspective.

As Shakuntala Rao argues, besides the fact that these films are influenced by the global flow of media content, it is important for these films to use the 'Indian touch' in order to become popular amongst Indian audiences.[361] She notes that,

> audience responses to the use of English, and to Western clothing, music styles, and settings range from anxiety to pleasure and vary from subject to subject, but audience members expressed an almost universal expectation that Bollywood films contain traditional clothing and music, that they retain the emphasis on familial emotion, and that they reinforce "Indian" values.[362]

From another perspective, the borrowing from other industries and their appropriation in a Bollywood context could also be considered as an attempt to resist Hollywood domination. C. Jess-Cooke argues that:

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[360] Ibid., (168).

[361] Rao, '"I Need an Indian Touch": Glocalization and Bollywood Films', pp. 1-2).

[362] Ibid., (1).

> The formulations of repetition and difference in recent Bollywood cinema can be understood in this regard not so much as copying Hollywood but as creating points of distinction and comparison to position Bollywood as both a 'local' cinema, or one that continues to refract Indian identities and cultural values, at the same time as it translates easily to audiences around the globe.[363]

Alessio and Langer note that *Koi Mil Gaya* "can be read as a postcolonial SF text in the sense that it contests colonialist, orientalist assumptions about the 'backwardness' of the colonies".[364] This is also reflected in an interview with Hrithik Roshan - the protagonist in three films and also the director's son in the Times of India. He asserts that:

> Comparisons are good. At least we have a film of a genre that can be compared in terms of special effect, superhero genre which until now is nonexistent. So comparisons are always good. People are curious to know what India is making. As Indians, this is our first home-grown superhero, VFX effect, musical extravaganza film. … We are feeling proud that we came up with this film. I am happy that my father took this decision to make this film Indianised by having Indian technicians. Nobody had enough faith

[363] Jess-Cooke, *Film Sequels: Theory and Practice from Hollywood to Bollywood*, p.118.

[364] Alessio and Langer, 'Nationalism and Postcolonialism in Indian Science Fiction: Bollywood's *Koi ... Mil Gaya* (2003)', (p. 227).

in them, my father gave them an opportunity and after this the world will open up for them.[365]

It is worth mentioning that the so-called first feature film of Indian cinema *Raja Harishchandra* also had the same motivation, as cited earlier in chapter two when D.G. Phalke says, 'could we, the sons of India, ever be able to see Indian images on the screen?'.[366] Thus, in this case, these films are showing images of Indian superheros saving the world. The desire to produce an *Indianised* science fiction film is one of the main motivations behind the production of these films. This is also reflected in the content of these films.

Apart from processes of *Indianization*, the *Krrish* series also demonstrates an awareness of the knowledge and understanding of its audiences regarding science fiction. Thus, we see a direct or indirect explanation of every basic idea or term used in the film to make it easier for audiences to understand the ideas and generic conventions used. For instance, *KMG* starts with a definition of the term 'galaxy', an explanation of where the earth stands within the galaxy and the possibilities for the existence of any other creatures. It then gradually continues borrowing familiar elements from religion and also from other cinema industries, which make it easier for its audience to comprehend and understand the film. For example, Dr Mehra tells

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[365] *Hrithik Not Bothered by the Comparisons Between 'Krrish 3' and 'X-Men'*, The Times of India, October 23, 2013, accessed January 20, 2014, http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2013-10-23/news-interviews/43324025_1_hrithik-roshan-superhero-krrish-rakesh-roshan.

[366] D.G. Phalke cited in Ganti, *Bollywood: A Guidebook to Popular Hindi Cinema*, p.9.

the scientists in the space centre about the response from the extra-terrestrial after he has used different variations of the word *OM*. A Canadian scientist then asks, 'What is the word "OM"?' Dr Mehra then explains it to her and also to the audiences of the film thus, 'OM is a Hindu religious word which has all the vibrations of the universe'.

The success of the *Krrish* series depends on the inclusion of the Bollywood tradition of songs and dance sequences. Bollywood science fiction adopts the same narrative tools and one sees an alien dancing and singing in *KMG*. Considering the role of songs in the narrative development, the following section will give an account of the songs and how they advance the narrative in *KMG*.

KMG has six songs in total and they are all interconnected and advance the narrative of the film. These songs can be divided equally into two categories. Among the six songs, three songs refer to the extra-terrestrial theme, whereas the other three are based on the love relationship between Rohit and Nisha. The first song, *These birds*[367] is motivational and is intended to create an emotional relationship between Rohit and the audience. In the preceding sequence, Rohit –who is mentally disabled - manages to give correct answers to questions in class after failing on several previous occasions. This creates feelings of happiness and hope that Rohit has started improving. This leads to the sequence in which Rohit and his friends join in singing

[367] Lyrics in Roman Urdu: *Inn Panchiyon*

and dancing. The song emphasises this hope and predicts the future of Rohit. They sing:

> Anything is possible, anything can happen; we aren't so naïve You will see, there will come a day, a day like that will surely come When everyone in the world will want to shake hands with me, Happiness will embrace you, Life will change some day the skies will bow at your feet and there will be no one like you around.[368]

These lyrics not only relate to Rohit `and his life events but there is a clear prediction of some impossible events in the near future in the film. The second song, *I'm breaking free*[369] focuses on the relationship between Rohit and Nisha. This song suggests the beginning of the relationship, and uses one of the most common conventions in Bollywood songs, the rain. Audiences are very familiar with this convention and thus clearly understand that Rohit and Nisha have started developing feelings of love for one another. The third song, the most popular and the title song of the film, 'Koi Mil Gaya' [I have found someone] appears just after Rohit uses his father's computer to send sound signals to extra-terrestrials. This song suggests that Rohit and Nisha will be life partners. However, the preceding sequence of signalling to the extra-terrestrials and then the immediate start of the song 'we have found

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[368] Lyrics in Roman Urdu: Kuch bhi ho sakta hai, kuch bhi hojayega, hum itne nahen nadan, dekhte jao tum aisa bhi aik din, aik din toh zaroor aayega, hum se iss dunya main aik din har koi jab hath milaye ga. Galey se laga legee tum ko khushi, badal jayegee aik din zindagi. Yeh qadmon main jhuk jayega aasman, tum jaisa koi bhi na hoga yahan.

[369] Lyrics in Roman Urdu: Idher chala main udher chala

someone' connotes that an extra-terrestrial has been found which might cause the audience to expect the arrival of the alien.

The fourth song is about the alien character *Jadoo* who takes part in the singing and dancing. Rohit, his friends and *Jadoo* sing, *'the earth and the skies, the rose and the rose gardens, the hills and the winds are meeting today. This is magic'*.[370] As before, this song uses both connotation and annotations. It suggests that two worlds are joining together and the wonder that we (as audience) are seeing is *Jadoo*, which is the name of the alien and literally means 'magic'. It attempts to provide two possible interpretations for its audiences; for those who believe in science, it is an alien and for those audiences who have a firm belief in myths and religion, it is magic, even the alien himself sings 'it's magic'.

This magic continues in the fifth song as well. In this song and dance sequence, Rohit demonstrates that besides his physical and mental recovery, he has also become a good dancer, which is a required skill for any Bollywood hero. Rohit thus meets the criteria. In the following sequence he plays a basketball match in which Rohit and his children's team win the match against adults. The final song, *"Hai lah"* is based around the relationship of Rohit and Nisha and indicates their union.

[370] Lyrics in Roman Urdu: Aaj dharti se gagan ka, pholoon se chaman ka, ghataon ka pawan se horaha Millan, Jadoo

Following the tradition from *KMG, Krrish* uses four songs in the film, but excludes the fifth song from the released film. Unlike *KMG,* all the songs in *Krrish* focus solely on the relationship of the characters except the fifth song. However, there is the addition of a signature tune which is played on several occasions in the film when *Krrish* is on a mission.

The convention of advancing the narrative through songs continues in *Krrish 3,* however, this film reduces the number of songs to 3, excluding a fourth song from the film before its release. Among the three songs, only one song refers to the superheroic characteristics of Krishna. Contrary to the approach used in the previous two films, religious references have also been reduced. However, the songs demonstrate more of an inclination towards religion. The second song in *Krrish* 3 '*God, Allah and Bhagwan'* is basically referring to three main religions. According to the dominant understanding of these names, God refers to Christianity, Allah refers to Islam and Bhagwan to the Hindu religion. This song suggests that *Krrish* in this film is actually sent by the God (no matter how you name the God) and is the hero for all the religions, despite the fact that his name refers to the Hindu lord Krishna. The filmmaker has attempted to make a connection between *Krrish* and the followers of other religions. They sing,

> *God, Allah and Bhagwan created a man, who has come on this earth to execute his plan. He is a friend's friend, a best friend. The evil ones fear his very name.*[371]

Within this song we see a public ceremony in which a statue of Krishna is erected and the public dance and sing around his statue whilst children wear his costume. Moreover, there are a few gestures within this song which suggest that the public are actually worshipping *Krishna.* It becomes apparent that Krishna is turning into a god-like (or divine) figure for the public.

At this point, there are two important aspects that need to be discussed. Firstly religion, which has been an important narrative component throughout this series and secondly the way the star persona of Hrithik Roshan has been developed and the way that this depends on religion.

Religion and science are interwoven in the series. This can be seen from the physical appearance of the alien. Alessio and Langer refer to the work of *KMG's* special effects director James Colmer, noting that,

[371] Lyrics in Roman Urdu: God, Allah our Bhagwan ne banaya ikk insaan, aaya zameen pe ley keh who ooper wale ka ferman, who doston ka hai dost, yaron ka hai yar, jiss ka naam sun ke kanpey har shaitan

> Jadoo's pale blue skin and golden robes were intended to be symbolic of Lord Krishna while his visage comprised a subtle reference to Ganesh without the trunk.[372]

A simple interpretation of the way the story is developed in all three films from a religious perspective could be that; in *KMG*, Rohit prays to the Hindu lord Krishna for his help because of his inadequacy to lead a normal life and continues to seek his help on several occasions; the god then sends the alien. The alien himself is dependent on the sunlight. The sun is called *Surya* in Hinduism, a Sanskrit word which literally means supreme light, and is worshipped by many followers of the Hindu religion. In this case, arguably the alien *Jadoo* can also be considered as one of the devotees of the Hindu god Surya. The story takes another turn when Rohit's son is born and named Krishna. Here again, the relationship between the Hindu lord Krishna, the alien and Rohit's son is established. The choice of the name Krishna for Rohit's son also suggests the arrival of the Hindu lord Krishna in the form of the child. This refers to reincarnation, a tradition that has been represented in Indian cinema since its birth. These hints clearly tell the audience what to expect next from the film. At this stage, Krishna is not just a filmic hero but for the followers of Hindu religion, Krishna is basically the lord Krishna in human form and thus any action that he takes does not necessarily require a scientific reason.

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[372] Alessio and Langer, 'Nationalism and Postcolonialism in Indian Science Fiction: Bollywood's *Koi ... Mil Gaya* (2003)', (p. 222).

These films have consciously attempted to build Hrithik Roshan into a star persona, but this did not start with the *Krrish* series. In fact, this journey started long ago with his roles in various past films. These roles vary in every film from negative to positive. To quote a few, Hrithik performed the role of a terrorist in *Fiza* (2000), a sensitive loving family man in *Yaadein* (2001), an uncatchable thief in *Dhoom 2* (2006) who later turns out to be a good man, an emperor in *Jodhaa Akbar* (2008), a revenger in *Agneepath* (2012), and finally a superhero in *Krrish*.[373] The heroic adventures were fully supported in the series by the use of special and visual effects. It is probably for this reason that the audiences have accepted Hrithik Roshan as a superhero.

Another reason for this acceptance is the collective view of India by its audience. Their perception of India as a backward country has changed. It has become more acceptable to consider the possibility of an Indian superhero, especially when India has emerged as one of the global economic powers, and has recently sent a mission to Mars. These developments have helped Indian audiences to think highly of their country. It would have been a failed attempt had anyone tried to make a science fiction film based on the idea of an Indian superhero saving the world as in *Krrish 3* before these changes.

[373] Nandana Bose, 'From Superman to Shahenshah: Stardom and the Transnational Corporeality of Hrithik Roshan', in *Figurations in Indian Film*, ed. by Meheli Sen and Anustup Basu, (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) (p. 162).

The *Krrish* series has spent big budgets on its special effects in an attempt to make these films look more realistic. Although Roshan sought help from renowned designer and visual artist James Colmer for the concept and design of *Jadoo* and Marc Kolbe and Craig A. Mumma's services for the visual effects in *Krrish*, he decided to have the special effects for *Krrish 3* created entirely in India by Indian technicians.[374] Each of the films in the *Krrish* series uses better special effects than its predecessor, bringing their use to a new level in *Krrish 3*, which relies heavily on computer-generated imagery (CGI). Shahrukh Khan's Red Chillies Entertainment and Pixion Studios in India created the special effects in *Krrish 3*. According to the Keiten Yadav, the Chief Operating Officer of Visual Effects (VFX) at Red Chillies, the Krrish series used more than 50 sequences that were based on CGI and VFX[375] and this accounted for more than 80 percent of the film.[376]

Narrative in the *Krrish* series also depends on binary oppositions, which is one of the main characteristics of Bollywood cinema more generally. Filmmakers often use simple narratives based on good and bad, urban versus rural, moral versus

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[374] Dayne Cowan who has previously worked for Batman Begins (2005), Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix (2007) and Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince (2009), supervised the special effects

[375] Keiten Yadav cited in Deebarshree Mohante, *For That Special Effect,* Available: <http://www.dailypioneer.com/sunday-edition/sunday-pioneer/backpack/for-that-special-effect.html>, [accessed 05 January 2014]

[376] Harry Hingorani (VFX Supervisor) cited in Deebarshree Mohante, *For That Special Effect,* Available: <http://www.dailypioneer.com/sunday-edition/sunday-pioneer/backpack/for-that-special-effect.html>, [accessed 05 January 2014]

psychological and science versus religion. This simplistic nature is the beauty of these films and makes it easier for the audience to understand the plots and their development and to predict the ending of the film. For example, in most cases, good will defeat evil, morality will defeat the psychological needs, rural will be better than urban and science will often be dependent on religion.

In this series Roshan has tried to maintain this use of binary opposition. For example, Krishna is shown as an innocent person in *Krrish* who lives in a village and trusts everyone. Life appears to be full of happiness and peace until Priya comes to his village as a tourist. The city girl who is actually of Indian descent and lives in Singapore easily tricks Krishna. Priya tries to use Krishna's hidden identity in order to secure her job for a TV channel. As expected, this materialistic desire evolves into a love story later in the film and ends with Krishna and Priya being united. This depiction and association of cleverness and cunningness with Priya is actually the reflection of those fears and anxieties associated with the urban life. Similarly, in *Krrish 3*, Rohit, who is the father of Krishna (protagonist) and also the biological father of Kaal (antagonist), wishes to sacrifice his life in order to save his good son who will later kill the evil son Kaal. This scene also reminds us of a similar plot sequence from *Deewar* (*Wall*, 1975) - one of the most referenced films in Bollywood cinema. In *Deewar*, the mother has to choose between her sons. This good versus bad feature can also be seen from the iconography in the film.

In the final sequence of *Krrish 3*, Kaal's blood is shown as black unlike Krrish's blood which is red. This black colour suggests darkness and negative forces. Use of this iconography based on the very simple narrative of black and white not only

helps audiences to understand what is happening on the screen but also helps to build their expectations about what is going to happen next. Interestingly, these films keep reminding their audience of this. As in the last sequence of *Krrish 3,* Krrish says, '*no matter how powerful evil is, good will always triumph over it*'.

Another major characteristic is the appeal to nationalism throughout the series. Alessio and Langer raise some interesting points regarding the relationship of *KMG* with 'extreme nationalism' in India. Analysing *KMG* as a 'postcolonial SF text', they pose the question that,

> if *Koi* […*Mil Gaya*] represents a postcolonial challenge to Hollywood, given the controversy over religious extremism in India and Hindu nationalist attempts at forcing cultural assimilation, this begs the question as to whether Hindu nationalist monoculturalism actually confronts Hollywood only to replace it with another form of 'colonialism', one just as dangerous as the first?[377]

To support their argument they present examples from *KMG* where religious references are used, some of which I have partially discussed earlier in this chapter, such as the Rohit's prayers from Hindu lord Krishna or the aesthetic presentation of

[377] Alessio and Langer, 'Nationalism and Postcolonialism in Indian Science Fiction: Bollywood's *Koi ... Mil Gaya* (2003)', (p. 222).

the alien *Jadoo* and his assimilation with *Krishna* again. They express their concerns that *KMG* seems to have:

> aligned itself both formally and ideologically with extremist Hindu nationalism, combining formal elements from Hollywood science fiction and from Hindu religious iconography to reinscribe rather than subvert the cultural hegemony associated with colonialism.[378]

While I agree that *KMG* presents many scenes which support Alessio and Langer's argument, it is worth pointing out that the next two films in the series distance themselves from extreme nationalism – at least to some extent. For example, in *Krrish 3*, it is an Indian scientist who makes the antidote to Kaal's virus whereas the rest of the world seems to have failed to find a cure. Similarly, the antagonist in *Krrish* is an Indian who is introduced as the 'chairman of the world's biggest IT Company' which makes a profit of 400 million dollars. The difference here is that *KMG* focused more on Hindu Nationalism whereas *Krrish* and *Krrish 3* seem to incline towards Indian Nationalism which refers to a broader audience and not just the followers of Hinduism.

Apart from these contextual elements, science fiction, as mentioned earlier, also relies on different sets of semantic features which are yet in a phase of experimentation. This can be seen in all three films of the series which use varied

[378] Ibid., (226).

forms of semantic elements. It starts with *KMG* which is the first big budget Bollywood film showing aliens coming to earth in a spaceship. [379] Although a spaceship is considered as 'one of the most potential icons of SF cinema'[380], its mere presence does not make any film fit the genre of science fiction. Sobchack rightly argues that images of a spaceship alone do not infer that the film belongs to the genre of science fiction, but these images combined with several other elements might.[381] *KMG*, thus combines spaceship (see Figure 20) with three other types of semantic elements including transmission of wireless signals to space, an alien and religious iconography. *KMG* wraps these semantic elements under the wider cultural and social contexts. In extension of this iconography used in *KMG*, *Krrish* goes a step further by adding some new science fiction images along with the spaceship and the alien. In this film we see a computer that can see the future, with a retina, heart and finger scan to login to futuristic computer and anti-gravity machines (see Figure 21).

As mentioned earlier, semantic elements are part of the experimentation process of finding the stable set of semantic elements for a Bollywood specific science fiction genre and thus it is understandable that they are changing with every new film of the genre. This can be seen in *Krrish* 3 which involves genetic engineering and some new iconography which arguably extends science fiction to fantasy and horror

[379] The previous films which used the concept of extra-terrestrials were low budget B category films.

[380] Sobchack, *Screening Space: The American Science Fiction Film*, p.68.

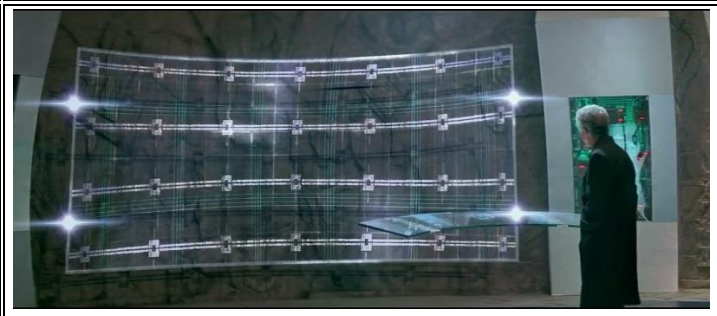
[381] Ibid., (68-69).

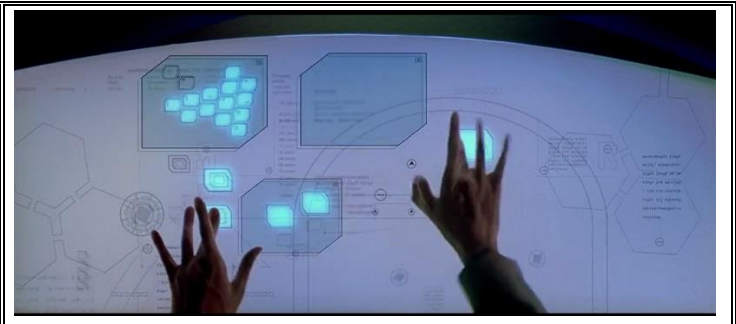
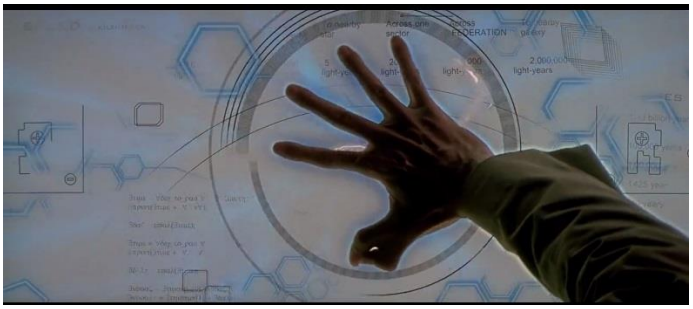
genres. As per the tradition of its previous two films, the alien, the spaceship, religious imagery are being repeated with the addition of some new scientific inventions such as use of a pen which uses light energy to create life in the dead, or use of animal genes to create mutants which have hybrid qualities of humans and animals. In the following section, I present a comparison of visual imagery of all three films of the series:

Semantic elements in KMG	
Rohit Mehra worshipping the god.	
Spaceship arriving on earth.	
Public observing the spaceship.	

Jadoo – the alien, hiding in the jungle.	
Friendship between Rohit Mehra and Jadoo starts.	
Spaceship arriving to take Jadoo back.	
Spaceship landing on earth.	
Aliens coming out of Spaceship.	

Figure 20: Semantic elements in *KMG*

Semantic elements in Krrish	
Recap of Spaceship emerging on earth.	
Recap: Aliens coming out of spaceship to take Jadoo back.	
A futuristic looking lab.	
Initiating futuristic computer.	
Futuristic Computer screen.	

Futuristic Computer log in process.	
Retina scan initialization.	
Processing Retina scan.	
Retina Scan Authenticated.	
Rotating the time clock to the future.	

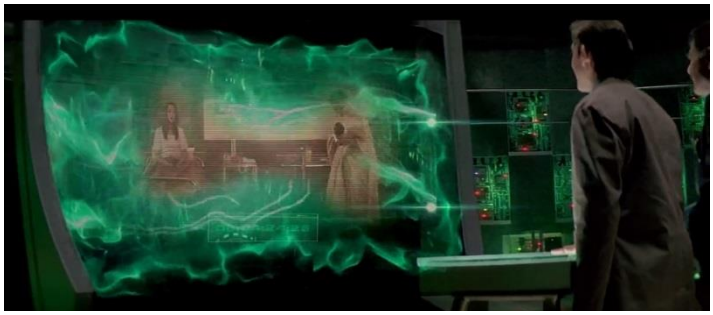
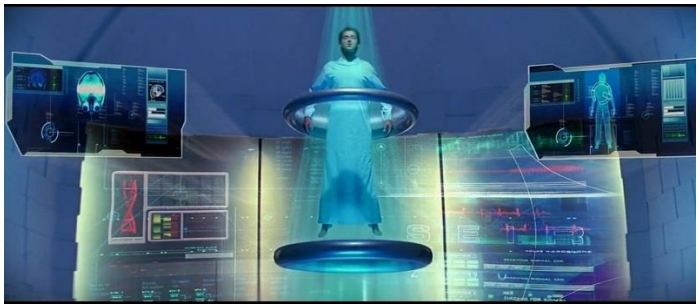
Computer showing the future.	
Rohit Mehra seeing his wife, new born son and his mother in the future.	
Anti-gravity prison cell	

Figure 21: Semantic elements in *Krrish*

Semantic elements in Krrish 3

Rohit Mehra worshipping the god.	
Krrish spraying the antidote on the city.	
Antidote clouds on the city.	
Mehra's invented pen initiating the energy transfer process.	
Rohit Mehra experimenting his invention.	

A dead plant is turning green by using Mehra's pen which is taking energy from sun.	
Kaal's Laboratory	
Internal structure of Kaal's laboratory.	
Manwar's birth.	
Krrish helping the passenger flight landing.	

Krrish lifting the plane.	
Rohit Mehra using his device energy to reincarnate Krrish.	

Figure 22: Semantic elements in *Krrish 3*

Figure 20, 21 and 22 demonstrate different types of semantic elements used in the *Krrish* series. These images support my original argument that Bollywood cinema is using Bollywood specified context along with the borrowed semantic elements. All these elements shown in these tables are 'typical' elements of a science fiction genre which present believable phenomena which are impossible to achieve but can be explained through scientific logic.

From these semantic elements, it is also evident that Roshan has repeatedly attempted to indigenise the genre by modifying foreign content as well as adding some of the traditional Bollywood iconography such as use of religion. This religious iconography not only helps to advance the narrative but it also works as an identity of Bollywood cinema as well as the filmmaker himself who used the religious imagery in all three films of the series.

Apart from using traditional conventions, Roshan also used an additional commercial factor by integrating product placement into its narrative. These product placements, as will be discussed in the following section, can work as semantic as well as syntactic elements at the same time depending on our understanding of the specific cultural and social contexts. Although, *Krrish* series uses various products, I have selected only two examples to demonstrate this strategy of integration: firstly, commercial promotions for Cadbury's Bournvita are included in all of the films from *KMG* to *Krrish 3* (2003 – 2013).[382] When Rohit is asked by Nisha's parents on his first visit to their home what he would like to drink Rohit replies that he would like to have Bournvita, stressing that, 'Bournvita is a must for strength and vigour. Look at me, I am in the seventh, but I am the tallest in my class, thanks to Bournvita'. After hearing that Nisha's parents have run out of Bournvita, Rohit admonishes them, 'You must have Bournvita at home! You must drink it every day'. Throughout the three films, there are several instances where Bournvita is prominently placed in the centre of the frame and audiences are repeatedly shown Rohit and Krishna

[382] See Figure 23, 24 and 25.

drinking it. The images below illustrate the film's use of product placement:

Figure 23: Sonia Mehra preparing Bournvita drink for Rohit in *KMG*

Figure 24: Sonia Mehra offering Bournvita to her grandson Krishna in *Krrish*

Figure 25: Bournvita in *Krrish 3*

The second example is the use of *Hero Honda*. *KMG* attempts to resolve the conflict between Rohit and Raj's gang through a basketball match. The match is called The Hero Honda. As per Bollywood convention, Rohit and his child friends win the cup with the help of Jadoo and also a *Hero Honda* bike after a 'great' struggle. Apart from these two examples, there are several other product placements throughout the films. These products include Samsung, Nescafe, Lays chips and Coca Cola. Even the alien in the film happen to drink Coca Cola. Roshan's use of these products do not just take up the screen space and may have become an integral part of the way films like this are financed, but their inclusion in the narrative is becoming a convention of the genre itself- considering their use in all three films of the series. What is important to note here is the fact that all these products are Western products being promoted in an Indian film as part of its conventions. On one level, this phenomenon reflects the growing consumer market in India for multinational companies such as Nestle, Coca Cola and Samsung but on the other hand it also

reflects upon the changing nature of the new Bollywood which has a historical context of *swadeshi movement*. In fact, as discussed in Chapter 2, Bollywood's existence is rooted in the *swadeshi* movement and anticolonial sentiments. New Bollywood, by contrast, seems to have surpassed that phase and is now more commercially and globally oriented, in the sense that foreign products have become part of its structure.

Figure 26: Jadoo drinking Coca Cola in *KMG*

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have observed that the *Krrish* series, on one hand, marks the emergence of a new genre in Bollywood and represents a bold step by its maker. On the other hand, we also found that these films rely on time-tested formulae as syntax for these films. This syntax is then appropriated to an indigenous style with an amalgamation of borrowed semantic elements. In all three films there are textual references taken from Hollywood cinema, however, all of these have been adapted to

the Bollywood style. We also found that the series gradually decreased the religious references and moved towards more scientific and spectacular contents. It is precisely the same approach that Bollywood cinema has employed since its beginning, with the first films being based on mythologies and then expanding to devotional and then social genres. Moreover, Hindu nationalism which is dominant in *KMG* shifts to Indian nationalism in *Krrish 3,* which appears to be more secular.

We also see that aliens are not the main threat to this world. Instead it is the humans who are the threat. The aliens shown in *KMG* are 'good' and want to help humanity instead of posing a threat. The alien in *KMG* is shown as an innocent, helpful, loving and emotional being.

In popular debate between the place of emotion and logic in the science fiction genre, logic does not seem to be much in evidence. These are emotions that get higher place in Bollywood. For example, when Rohit's mother tells *Jadoo* to leave the earth as he is not safe, *Jadoo* refuses to leave, saying *"Jadoo nahen jayega*" (translated as *Jadoo* will not leave). *Jadoo* is shown to have tears in his eyes and there is very sad diegetic music in the background which focuses the audience on the emotional situation. *Jadoo* does not want to go because of this emotional relationship with Rohit and his friends, although logic suggests that he should act differently. These are some of the time-tested formulae of Bollywood that have been successful and thus associated with the alien in *KMG.*

It is clear that the science fiction genre is continuously evolving and Roshan is experimenting and testing the boundaries and limitations of the genre particularly in terms of semantic elements of the genre. Moreover, after setting the foundation of all

the ‘unrealistic’ elements in religion and science in *KMG*, Roshan continued to extend and overlap the genre boundaries. For instance, in *Krrish 3*, the science fiction genre appears to be using similar iconography to the horror and fantasy genres.

One of the big achievements of the *Krrish* series is the creation of a Bollywood superhero who can fight mutants and who is not harmed by deadly viruses. He can stop trains and help passenger flights land safely besides other heroic tasks.

To conclude this chapter, I would like to take my cue from Rachel Dwyer and Divia Patel who argue that globalization and the information flow have been key factors in shaping the visual culture of Hindi films.[383] This is exactly what is now shaping the genre of science fiction, which has clearly adopted its visual conventions from other cinema industries while maintaining its indigenous style. What is important here is to see how these global aesthetics are being transformed into a local Indian style of filmmaking.

[383] Dwyer and Patel, *Cinema India: The Visual Culture of Hindi Film*.

Conclusion

‘The present-day Indian commercial film is the end result of a lengthy process of imitation, adaptation, and indigenization’.[384]

This conclusion will present the summary of this thesis. Starting from the restatement of the aims of this study, I will outline the main argument, summary of analysis of data, and the outcome of the analysis. It will also present the limitations of this research, suggestions for further research and the contribution of this study to the existing body of knowledge.

Each chapter in this thesis is an independent entity with its own set of research questions, supporting the broader aims of the thesis. The three main chapters address distinct but interrelated issues in order to create a broader understanding of the contemporary genre cinema of Bollywood. Despite its increasing popularity in the past two decades, this cinema has received little scholarly attention. This research started from the premise that Bollywood has shifted away from its traditional formulae, resulting in the emergence/popularity of certain genres; some of which were previously considered as ‘outside the cultural reference’[385] of Bollywood audiences such as science fiction. Due to this shift in Bollywood, two sets of genres

[384] Mira Reym Binford, 'Innovation and Imitation in the Contemporary Indian Cinema', in *Cinema and Cultural Identity: Reflections on Films From Japan, India, and China,* ed. by Wimal Dissanayake, (Lanham, London: University Press of America, 1988) (p. 78).

[385] Thomas, 'Indian Cinema: Pleasures and Popularity', (p. 121).

have emerged as mainstream genres, whilst the founding mythological genre has lost its popularity. The first set consists of those genres which are unique to Bollywood such as the Masala genre. The second set consists of those genres which belong to the global family of genres which Bollywood has adapted for its audience, including horror and science fiction. I have combined both sets of genres in this thesis in order to expand the existing understanding of the genre cinema of contemporary Bollywood.

One of the key challenges that I had in the beginning of this thesis was to find the right theoretical framework to understand genre cinema in Bollywood. There were three issues involved in it. Firstly, Bollywood does not quite fit the Western specific understanding of genre due to its specific visual and narrative traditions. Secondly, Bollywood has significantly adapted and appropriated foreign content into its films involving various transcinematic shifts into its genres. Thirdly, none of the Bollywood genres can be fitted into the purity thesis of the genre which limits any genre into a more static boundary. In order to deal with these challenges, beside the genre hybridity thesis and transnational approach to genre, I also adopted Rick Altman's model of semantic and syntactic elements to expand the understanding of the genre formation process. This model suggests that for any genre to be established, it either has to adopt previously tested semantic elements and then use a new structure or adopt a previously tested structure and then incorporate new semantic elements. In my study of horror and science fiction genre, I observed that unlike my previous understanding, these are not only the semantic elements which both genres borrow from foreign industries instead, the syntax of these films is also adapted from other industries. In the case of horror, Bollywood has adopts the

previously set structure of horror films, legends and folklores and combined it with new semantic elements from other cinema industries. However, this is not the case for science fiction which I suggest, is in an experimental, transitional phase. Each film from this genre has so far adopted a new structure and some new semantic elements. However, with the passage of time, the genre will establish its own set of semantic elements or a Bollywood specific structure which will then develop as part of the genre evolution process.

In 0, I discussed how genre films have been present in Bollywood since the 1920s, and have continued to develop until the present. I have shown how the contemporary genre cinema of Bollywood has progressed since 2000 as a result of a very visible shift in its appeal from domestic audiences to wider global audiences. Due to this change, horror and science fiction, which I consider as non-indigenous genres of Bollywood, gained significant attention from filmmakers as well as audiences because of their global appeal. I have also shown that Bollywood horror and science fiction genres are neither purely indigenous nor directly imitate genres from any other industry. Instead, it is more appropriate to call them glocal genres as they repeatedly adopt conventions from the global family of genres while still maintaining their individual identity as Bollywood films.

Chapter 2 discussed the case studies of *Hisss* – a contemporary mythological film, and *Dabangg* - a contemporary Masala film. Despite its extensive use of traditional visual and narrative conventions of the genre, *Hisss* failed to attract audiences and was a commercial failure. Unlike mythological films, Masala films have become one of the most successful genres of all time. This reflects not only the changing

expectations of the audiences but also suggests that those genres which were once the most popular need to evolve with the time or they will not fit in the new Bollywood.

I established that the notion of *Masala* cannot be used as a general term for all Bollywood films, and that it is just one of the most popular genres of contemporary Bollywood. However, in order to understand the formation of the Masala genre, it is important to distinguish between Masala and hybrid genres, which I argue, are two different modes of presentation. The major difference between the two is the greater dependency of the Masala genre on human emotions and feelings. Thus, any of the films in the Masala genre can also be classified as being hybrid films but not all hybrid films are Masala films. Moreover, to understand this Bollywood specific mode of presentation, I have discussed the rasa theory, which relates art forms to human emotions such as love, fury, comedy and disgust.

As shown in Chapter 2, Masala films are unique to Bollywood, but cannot be counted as Bollywood cinema's only genre. Chapters Three, Four and Five have examined how these non-indigenous genres are formed and how they differ from the indigenous genres of Bollywood. Although my focus has been on the horror genre, I have also presented a case study of science fiction films because of their close relationship with the horror genre and because of their recent popularity with audiences.

As the investigation in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 demonstrated, the horror genre follows the traditional formulae of revenge and punishment, however, the real conflict in these films is between religious and secular with some brief glimpses of the binaries of rich and poor and gender issues. Moreover, the difference between

contemporary horror and classic horror in Bollywood lies in their presentation of binaries. Unlike classic horror, contemporary films do not limit the binaries to old versus new. Instead, these films have extended their boundaries from binary to tertiary relationships. These now focus on the issues of older versus old versus new or in case of religion it is not just between Hinduism and Christianity or Hinduism versus Islam, instead it links all three together in its presentation religion. Furthermore, the analysis also suggests that the horror genre has the ability to amalgamate the contents of classical Bollywood with those of new Bollywood while maintaining its popularity and attraction to the audience.

The science fiction genre uses a similar model, adapting the foreign contents. Similar to horror, science fiction heavily depends on Hindu mythologies, religion and most importantly issues of nationalism which can be considered as the most distinctive features of the science fiction genre in Bollywood cinema. In terms of its commercial success, we have observed that the science fiction genre has huge appeal evident from the unprecedented success of the *Krrish* series. Nevertheless, in Bollywood more filmmakers need to invest in the genre for it to be fully shaped as a Bollywood science fiction genre. Unlike horror, science fiction is still in the transition phase.

Based on the summary above, we can conclude that horror and science fiction films use a set structure while adopting semantic elements from Hollywood and other cinema industries. This, however, is different in the case of Masala which does not rely on the non-Indian cinema industries particularly in terms of its structure. On the basis of my analysis of the above-mentioned three genres, I challenged the notion of

Indianization. I suggest that science fiction and horror go through a process which Ashish Rajadhyaksha terms as the process of 'Bollywoodization'[386].

The genre cinema of Bollywood is unique: its conventions and iconography are in a continuous state of transition. I have shown that, although globalization and information flow have significantly influenced the genre cinema of Bollywood, it continues to rely on indigenous narrative conventions. The visual style, however, is influenced by other cinema industries particularly Hollywood.

Furthermore, there are two different schools of thought. The first considers all Bollywood films as part of the Masala film industry while the second school of thought differentiates Bollywood in terms of its production of different categories of genres. I am confident that this thesis bridges the gap between both schools of thought and reformulates the understanding of what a Masala genre is and how the horror and science fiction genres are developing in the contemporary genre cinema of Bollywood. I have also presented lists of science fiction and horror films made until 2014.[387] These lists may help future studies of the horror and science fiction.

Although this thesis has mainly focused on the Masala, Horror and Science Fiction genres, I am confident that the similar genre model could be applied to other

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[386] Rajadhyaksha, 'The "Bollywoodization" of the Indian Cinema Cultural Nationalism in a Global Arena'.

[387] See Appendix B and C

indigenous and non-indigenous genres of Bollywood such as action, historical and family films.

I have pointed out various gaps in the existing literature about Bollywood film genres as they arise in the thesis, but it may be useful to present a summary of them at this point. The genre discourse on Bollywood has retained its focus on few genres such as mythological and social films while ignoring some important genres mainly science fiction and horror. But it also has not yet explored sufficiently the structural elements of any of these genres. Almost all the studies on the genre cinema in Bollywood revolves around the thematic, historical, and social elements of these genres. Considering the relatively new status of science fiction, it is understandable that there are few studies available on this genre, however, we see the same limited information on horror as well which has a long history in Bollywood. Moreover, beside the fact that there is a large amount of academic literature on Bollywood as well as literature on film genres in general, there is not a single theory that can work as a starting point for anyone studying Bollywood genres. In the absence of any Bollywood specific theoretical framework on film genres, students of genre studies often find it difficult to analyse any Bollywood film by mainly relying on the western dominated genre discourse as it does not fully address the hybrid and culturally specific genres of Bollywood.

In my thesis, I only focused on the case studies of horror and science fiction in the post-2000 era due to the limitation of time and space. Moreover, within these genres my analysis was primarily based on the socio-historic and structural elements of these genres. I used Altman's model of semantic and syntactic elements in order to

understand and differentiate the contextual accounts of science fiction and horror as well as the visual imagery used in these films. I found that both horror and science fiction in the Bollywood film do not fully adopt a Bollywood context. Instead, they not only appropriate the semantic elements into a Bollywood style but also they modify the context as well in order to conform to their dominant genre conventions adopted internationally.

Although, this has helped to understand the narrative structures of science fiction and horror, however, this does not fully reflect the genre cinema of Bollywood which includes other genres too.

In my thesis, I selected *Dabangg* as a Masala film, *Raaz* for the horror genre and the *Krrish* series for science fiction. Of course, there are many other films which belong to these genres and have not been part of this study. For instance, in the horror genre, Ram Gopal Varma's *Phoonk* (*Puff*, 2008), for science fiction Anubhav Sinha's *Ra.One* (2011) and for Masala Sajid Nadiadwala's *Kick* (2014) are other important examples. Moreover, while my thesis has prioritised primarily narrative elements, other areas such as a greater focus on *mise-en-scène* could be incorporated in future studies.

I do not claim to have exhaustively explored Masala, horror and science fiction but I do believe that my thesis will add to the existing discussion on the genre cinema in contemporary Bollywood.

Appendix A: Segmentations

Segmentation of *KMG*

C.	Credits	
1.	**Sonia Mehra's Voice-over**	a. Sonia suggests the possibility of extra-terrestrials existing in the universe. b. Sonia introduces Dr Mehra whose aim in life is to examine extra-terrestrials.
2.	**Dr Mehra's Home Laboratory**	a. Dr Mehra receives a signal from the extra-terrestrials in response to an 'OM' sound signal.
3.	**Space Research Centre Canada**	a. Dr Mehra is humiliated by other scientists who do not believe that Mehra has discovered extra-terrestrials. b. Dr Mehra dies in a car accident on the way back after spotting the UFO.
4.	**Doctor's Clinic**	a. The doctor tells Sonia Mehra that Rohit's abnormal growth is the result of a head injury sustained in the car accident
5.	**Mehra House**	a. Rohit refuses to attend school after he finds out that he failed an exam again because of his mental disability.
6.	**Rohit's School**	a. Considering Rohit's disability, the school Principal allows Rohit to be promoted to the next class at his mother's request.
7.	**The Bridge**	a. Rohit and his friends run away from Raj's gang who try to beat them.

8.	**Market**	a. On behalf of Nisha and because of their personal enmity, Raj and his gang beat Rohit, break his scooter and humiliate him in public. b. Nisha finds out that Raj is abnormal and thus feels sympathy for him. Later on she befriends Rohit.
9.	**Store Room**	a. Whilst playing on the computer, Rohit and Nisha unknowingly send an 'OM' signal to extra-terrestrials.
10.	**Basketball court**	a. Raj and his gang beat Rohit again as he finds out that Rohit loves Nisha.
11.	**Rohit's room**	a. Rohit prays to god to help him for he is weak.
12.	**Mehra House**	a. A second communication takes place between Rohit and extra-terrestrials. b. An alien arrives and attempts to communicate with Rohit while whistling the same 'OM' sound. c. Police start searching for the alien, but Rohit and Nisha meet the alien (*Jadoo*) first and hide him in the storeroom.
13.	**Store Room**	a. Rohit is heart-broken after hearing that Raj is going to marry Nisha. b. Mrs Mehra tells Rohit that he is physically a grown-up but his mind is like a child and blames the spaceship for his disability and his father Dr Mehra's death in the car accident. c. The alien hears this story and thus heals Rohit.
14.	**The Bridge**	a. Rohit's young friends run from Raj and his gang to protect the alien. b. The alien falls in the jungle when a police constable sees him and reports it to the police force. c. Rohit takes alien in a bag but encounters Raj and his gang on the way. d. The police chase Rohit.

15.	**Mehra House**	a. Mrs Mehra suggests that Rohit sends the alien back to space. b. Rohit sends 'OM' signals to call the spaceship. c. Police arrive at Rohit's house, beat Rohit and capture the alien.
16.	**Cargo Area/ Forest**	a. Rohit and his friends help the alien to escape from the police and to board the spaceship. b. Rohit loses all his powers as the alien leaves.
17.	**Street**	a. Considering Rohit weak, Raj attacks him again. b. The alien spaceship appears briefly and Rohit gets all his powers back. c. Raj and his gang run away and Rohit and Nisha are united.
E.	**End credits**	

Segmentation of *Krrish*

1.	**Mrs Mehra's House**	a. Mrs Mehra finds Krishna's drawings of his parents Rohit and Nisha.
2.	**School**	a. Rohit undergoes an IQ test. b. Upon seeing Krishna's extra-ordinary qualities, Mrs Mehra takes him away and decides to live in a far flung area in order to hide his extra-ordinary powers.
C.	**Credits**	
3.	**New Home**	a. Krishna, like his father, is isolated from his peers because of his superhuman abilities. b. Krishna's superhuman abilities are introduced - he can run faster than a horse, climbs trees faster than monkeys and can jump from high trees and mountains.
4.	**School**	a. Vikram Sinha (security officer of Dr Arya) asks the principal about the location of Krishna.
5.	**New Home/Mountains**	a. Krishna saves Priya when she loses control of her parachute. b. Krishna falls in love with Priya but she leaves for Singapore. c. Priya calls Krishna and pretends that she loves him to make him come to Singapore. d. Sonia Mehra refuses to permit Krishna to go to Singapore. e. Sonia Mehra tells the story of the arrival of the spaceship, *Jadoo* and how Dr Arya - the Chairman of 'world's biggest IT Company', invited Rohit – Krishna's father to Singapore.
6.	**Flashback 1**	a. Dr Arya asks Rohit to build a computer that could see the future.

		b. Rohit builds the computer but finds out about the evil plans of Dr Arya and tells Sonia Mehra that he is coming back. c. A fire erupts in Dr Arya's lab which kills Rohit.
7.	**Singapore**	a. Dr Arya visits his lab where his computer to foresee the future is ready. b. Krishna arrives at the airport and proposes to Priya.
8.	**Circus**	a. Fire erupts in the circus. b. Krishna wears a mask and saves adults and children from the fire. c. Krishna's heroic act is recorded live on TV Channels. d. Krishna is masked and says that his name is Krrish.
9.	**Priya's room and Recording Studio**	a. Priya finds out Krishna's identity as Krrish from her video recording of the circus fire. b. Krishna finds out Priya's lie which she had told him when she invited him to come to Singapore.
10.	**Hotel Room**	a. Krishna and Priya have argument over each other's lies.
11.	**Flashback 2**	a. Krrish tells Priya the life story of his father and leaves.
12.	**Dr Arya's Ceremony**	a. Dr Arya's security officer Vikram Sinha meets Priya.
13.	**Airport and Hotel Room**	a. Vikram Sinha reveals to Krishna that Rohit Mehra is alive. b. Sinha tells the story of what happened in Dr Arya's lab when Rohit invented the computer.
14.	**Flashback 3**	a. Rohit and Vikram Sinha see the future on Rohit's invented computer. b. They find out that Dr Arya is going to Kill Rohit. c. Rohit destroys the computer.

		d. Dr Arya puts Rohit Mehra into hibernation.
15.	**Dr Arya's Island**	a. Dr Arya rebuilds the computer and sees Krishna coming to kill him. b. Krishna reaches Dr Arya's island. c. Dr Arya takes Rohit and Priya hostage to save himself from Krrish. d. Krrish kills Dr Arya and saves Rohit.
16.	**Sonia Mehra's home**	a. Krishna comes back with Rohit and Priya. b. Sonia Mehra meets her lost son. c. The family are united.
17.	**Mehra's Lab**	a. Rohit sends signals to Jadoo and thanks him.
E.	**End credits**	

Segmentation of *Krrish 3*

C.	Credits	
1.	**Voice Over Narration (Amitabh Bachchan)**	a. Recap of *KMG* and *Krrish.*
2.	**Kaal's Laboratory**	a. Kaal succeeds in making the virus to destroy the world.
3.	**Rohit's Lab**	a. Rohit makes an unsuccessful attempt to invent a pen which could give a new life to dead elements through light.
4.	**Security Office**	a. Krrish and Kripal Sharma receive job termination letters. b. Krrish watches the news of a landing gear failure on a passenger plane.
5.	**Flight Emergency Landing**	a. Krrish chases the flight and stands on its tyres to hold the plane in order for it to make a safe landing.
6.	**Indian Research Centre (IRC)**	a. Rohit finds out about a virus outbreak in Namibia. b. WHO regional director Dr Shetty calls Rohit for help with a cure for the virus.
7.	**Kaal's Laboratory**	a. Kaal creates a new manwar – Striker. b. Kaal's attempt to find a match for his bone marrow fails. He needs this bone marrow to treat his paralysed body.
8.	**Rohit's Laboratory**	a. Rohit finds out that the virus is not natural, but has been created by someone. b. Rohit is told that the virus antidote has been found by Kaal's pharmaceuticals.
9.	**Club Orchid**	a. Krrish receives a surprise birthday party.

		b. Priya tells Krrish that she is expecting a baby.
10.	**Kaal's Laboratory**	a. Kaya asks questions about Kaal's past.
11.	**Flashback 2**	a. Kaal as a young boy is questioning his father for having extra-ordinary powers. b. Kaal kills his father.
12.	**Kaal's laboratory**	a. Kaal decides to spread the virus in India because a 'million gods rule over India'.
13.	**Train Station**	a. The virus is spread through air and water by Kaal's manwars
14.	**Indian Research centre**	a. Rohit finds out that it is the same virus which was spread in Namibia. b. Rohit tests the virus on Krishna and finds out that an antidote can be made from Krishna's blood. c. The antidote is spread into the air and the virus loses its impact.
15.	**Kaal's Laboratory**	a. Kaya tells Kaal that the virus is no longer effective in India. b. Kaal finds out that Krishna and Kaal have the same DNA.
16.	**Indian Research Centre**	a. IRC is burnt by Kaal's Manwars.
17.	**Krrish's Home**	a. Manwars attempt to kidnap Rohit Mehra. b. Krrish intervenes and captures one of the manwars. c. Priya gets injured and appears to miscarry the baby.
18.	**Hospital**	a. Kaya kidnaps Priya and turns into Priya. b. Krishna kills Striker.

19	**Mehra's house**	a. Kaya develops feelings of love for Krishna and performs a monologue describing the conflict in her mind.
20	**Singapore**	a. Rohit Mehra reaches Singapore. b. Rohit tells Krrish that he has found answers to all the mysteries.
21	**Mehra's House**	a. Krrish finds out that the Priya in her house is actually Kaya. b. Kaya comes back to her real identity and tells Krishna that Priya and the baby are safe.
22	**Kaal's Laboratory**	a. Kaal kidnaps Rohit Mehra and asks him for the secret of the antidote.
23	**Flashback 3**	a. Dr Arya is conducting an experiment on Rohit Mehra. b. Dr Arya creates a child by using Rohit's DNA.
24	**Kaal's Laboratory**	a. Kaya helps Krishna to reach Kaal's laboratory. b. With the help of Rohit Mehra's blood, Kaal's body recovers. c. Kaal and Krrish have a fight in which Krishna dies. d. Rohit uses his pen to bring life to Krishna but this kills Rohit due to the large amount of energy released in the process.
25	**City**	a. Krrish kills Kaal by using the energy emitted from his father's invented pen.
26	**Hospital**	a. Priya gives birth to a baby boy who is shown to be even faster than Krrish.
E.	**End Credits**	

Segmentation of *1920*

C.	Credits
1.	Architect Mehta comes to the Manor house and is killed by the ghost.
2.	Arjun's family disapprove of Arjun and Lisa's love affair because of Lisa's Christian faith and because she is the daughter of an English man.
3.	Arjun becomes an atheist and leaves his family.
4.	Arjun and Lisa get married and arrive at the manor house where Lisa experiences supernatural events.
5.	There is a conflict between the doctor and the priest. The doctor rejects the claims of Father Thomas that Lisa is possessed.
6.	The doctor gives up after he is humiliated in front of all of his staff when Lisa tells his hidden secrets.
7.	Father Thomas comes in again in an attempt to save Lisa's life.
8.	In a flashback sequence, we find that it is Gayatri who has been reborn as Lisa. Lisa as Gayatri in her previous life had a British spy killed and it is his spirit who wants to take revenge on her.
9.	Father Thomas conducts an exorcism and ends up being killed by the devil.
10.	Arjun cannot find any other way of helping Lisa except reading out *Hanuman's Chalisa* aloud which immediately starts hurting the evil spirit.
11.	The spirit gets killed because of *Hanuman's Chalisa* and Lisa recovers. The house is no longer haunted and everything returns to normal with Arjun and Lisa being united again.
E.	End Credits

Segmentation of *The Exorcist*

C.	Credits
1.	Father Merrin finds the head of the demon Pazuzu in Northern Iraq.
2.	Chris hears some rattling in the attic.
3.	Father Karras expresses his lack of faith to Father Tom.
4.	A desecration of Mary's statue occurs in the Church.
5.	Regan shows symptoms of double personality and thus goes through various medical examinations.
6.	Regan's condition becomes worse, she starts speaking like a demon, her eye colour turns white, and she becomes a completely different person.
7.	Burke – Chris's friend and a film director – is found dead and the cause of death is found to be falling from Regan's window.
8.	The medical board suggests that Chris conducts an exorcism on Regan.
9.	Chris persuades Father Karras to conduct an exorcism on Regan.
10.	Father Karras and Father Merrin conduct the exorcism.
11.	Both Father Karras and Father Merrin die during the exorcism whereas Regan is saved as the demon possesses Father Karras who then jumps from the window to save Regan's life.
E.	End Credits

Appendix B : List of Horror Films

Year	**Name**	**English Translation** (If Applicable)	**Director**
1935	*Maut Ka Toofan*	*Storm of Death*	Henry Dargwtich
1949	*Mahal*	*Mansion*	Kamal Amrohi
1949	*Bhedi Bungla*	*House of Mystery*	Master Bhagwan
1950	*Aadhi Raat*	*Midnight*	S.K.Ohja
1958	*Madhumati*	-	Bimal Roy
1962	*Bees Saal Baad*	*20 years later*	Biren Nag
1962	*Tower House*	-	Nisar Ahmad Ansari
1963	*Kala Jadoo*	*Black Magic*	Mehmood Ali
1963	*Pataal Nagri*	*Underground World*	Raj Kumar
1964	*Kohra*	*Fog*	Biren Nag
1964	*Woh Kaun Thi?*	*Who Was She*	Raj Khosla
1965	*Bhoot Bungla*	*Haunted House*	Mehmood
1965	*Gumnaam*	*the nameless*	Raja Nawathey
1965	*Aadhi Raat Ke Baad*	*After Midnight*	Nanabhai Bhatt
1967	*Anita*	-	Raj Khosla
1969	*Anmol Moti*	*Precious Pearl*	S.D. Narang
1970	*Ek Nanhi Munni Ladkhi Thi*	*There Was a Young Girl*	Vishram Bedekar
1972	*Do Gaz Zameen Ke Neechey*	*Beneath Two Years of Soil*	Shyam Ramsay, Tulsi Ramsay
1976	*Nagin*	*Female Snake*	Raj Kumar Kohli
1977	*Jadu Tona*	*Black Magic*	Ravikant Nagaich
1978	*Darwaza*	*Door*	Shyam Ramsay, Tulsi Ramsay

Year	Name	English Translation (If Applicable)	Director
1979	*Jaani Dushman*	*Life's enemy*	Raj Kumar Kohli
1979	*Aur Kaun*	*Who Else?*	Shyam Ramsay, Tulsi Ramsay
1979	*Shaitan Mujrim*	*Satanic Criminal*	Nazar Khan
1980	*Geharayee*	*Depth*	Vikas Disai, Aruna Raje
1980	*Phir Wohi Raat*	*That Night Again*	Danny Denzongpa
1980	*Andhera*	*Darkness*	Shyam Ramsay, Tulsi Ramsay
1980	*Guest House*	-	Shyam Ramsay, Tulsi Ramsay
1980	*Saboot*	*Proof*	Shyam Ramsay, Tulsi Ramsay
1980	*Red Rose*	-	Bharathi Raja
1981	*Dahshat*	*Terror*	Shyam Ramsay, Tulsi Ramsay
1981	*Ghungroo ki Awaaz*	*Sound of Anklets*	Shyam Ramsay, Tulsi Ramsay
1981	*Sannata*	*Silence*	Shyam Ramsay, Tulsi Ramsay
1981	*Hotel*	-	Shyam Ramsay, Tulsi Ramsay
1981	*Mangalsutra*	-	B Vijay
1982	*Maut Ka Saya*	*Shadow of Death*	Tulsi Ramsay
1984	*Purana Mandir*	*The Ancient Temple*	Shyam Ramsay, Tulsi Ramsay
1984	*Pyasa Shaitan*	*Thirsty Devil*	Joginder
1985	*3D Saamri*	-	Shyam Ramsay, Tulsi Ramsay
1985	*Cheekh*	*Scream*	Mohan Bhakhri
1986	*Tahkhana*	*Basement*	Shyam Ramsay, Tulsi Ramsay
1986	*Om*	-	Shyam Ramsay, Tulsi Ramsay
1987	*Dak Bangla*	*Rest House*	Keshu Ramsay
1987	*Raat Ke Andhere Mein*	*In the Dark of Night*	Vinod Talwar

Year	**Name**	**English Translation** (If Applicable)	**Director**
1987	*Khooni Mahal*	*Murderous Mansion*	Mohan Bhakhri
1987	*Khooni Darinda*	*Murderous Beast*	Nazar Khan
1988	*Bees Saal Baad*	*20 years later*	Rajkumar Kohli
1988	*Veerana*	*Vengeance of the Vampire*	Shyam Ramsay
1988	*Kabrastan*	*Graveyard*	Mohan Bhakhri
1988	*Pyaasi Atma*	*Thirsty Spirit*	A K Misra
1988	*Who Phir Aayegi*	*She Will Return*	B. R. Ishara
1989	*Purani Haveli*	*Ancient Mansion*	Shyam Ramsay, Tulsi Ramsay
1989	*Sau Saal Baad*	*After 100 Years*	Mohan Bhakhri
1989	*Khooni Murdaa*	*Murderous*	Mohan Bhakhri
1989	*Wohi Bhayanak Raat*	*That Frightful Night Again*	Vinod Talwar
1990	*Shaitani Ilaaka*	*Devil's Domain*	Kiran Ramsay
1990	*Bandh Darwaza*	*The Closed Door*	Shyam Ramsay, Tulsi Ramsay
1990	*Amavas Ki Raat*	*New Moon Night*	Mohan Bhakhri
1990	*Pyasa Darinda*	*Thirsty Beast*	Asha Khan
1991	*100 Days*	-	Partho Ghosh
1991	*Khooni Raat*	*Murderous Night*	Salim Hyder
1991	*Aakhri Cheekh*	*Last Scream*	Kiran Ramsay
1991	*Hatyarin*	*Murderous Woman*	Vinod Talwar
1991	*Roohani Taaqat*	*Spiritual Power*	Mohan Bhakhri
1991	*Khooni Panja*	*Murderous Clutch*	Vinod Talwar
1992	*Raat*	*Night*	Ram Gopal Varma

Year	**Name**	**English Translation** (If Applicable)	**Director**
1992	*Junoon*	*Obsession*	Mahesh Bhatt
1992	*Insaan Bana Shaitan*	*Man Became Devil*	Mohan Bhakhri
1993	*Mahakaal*	*The Monster*	Shyam Ramsay, Tulsi Ramsay
1998	*The Eyes*	-	George Kithu
1998	*Maut*	*Death*	Jeetu
1999	*Shaitan Tantric*	*Satanic Tantric*	Wajid Sheikh
1999	*Khooni Ilaaka: The Prohibited Area*	*Murderous Territory: The Prohibited Area*	Jitendra Chawda
1999	*Kaun?*	*Who?*	Ram Gopal Varma
1999	*Chudail No. 1*	*Witch No. 1*	R Kumar
1999	*Murda Ghar*	*Charnel House*	Kishan Shah
1999	*Qissa Maut Ka*	*Story of Death*	Beypore Mani
2001	*Khooni Tantrik*	*Murderous Tantric*	Teerat Singh
2001	*Aks*	*Reflection*	Rakeysh Omprakash Mehra
2001	*Dafan*	*Burry*	Jitendra Chawda
2001	*Ab kya hoga*	*What will happen now?*	Saawan Kumar Tak
2002	*Raaz*	*Secret*	Vikram Bhatt
2003	*Hawa*	*Air*	Guddu Dhanoa
2003	*Bhoot*	*Ghost*	Ram Gopal Varma
2003	*Darna Mana Hai*	*It is Prohibited to Fear*	Ram Gopal Varma
2003	*Sssshhh*	-	Pawan Kaul
2003	*Dhund: The Fog*	-	Shyam Ramsay
2004	*Vaastu Shastra*	-	Saurab Narang
2005	*Kaal*	*Apocalypse*	Soham Shah

Year	**Name**	**English Translation** (If Applicable)	**Director**
2005	*Naina*	*Eyes*	Shripal Morakhia
2006	*Darna Zaroori Hai*	*It is Must to Scare*	Ram Gopal Varma
2006	*Ho Sakta Hai*	*It is Possible*	Wilson Louis
2007	*Darling*	-	Ram Gopal Varma
2007	*Ghutan*	*Suffocation*	Shyam Ramsay
2007	*Gauri: The Unborn*	-	Aku Akbar
2008	*1920*	-	Vikram Bhatt
2008	*Phoonk*	*Puff*	Ram Gopal Varma
2009	*Raaz: The Mystery Continues*	*Secret: The Mystery Continues*	Mohit Suri
2009	*13B*	-	Vikram Kumar
2009	*Agyaat*	*Unknown / Noumenon*	Ram Gopal Varma
2010	*Phoonk 2*	*Puff 2*	Ram Gopal Varma
2010	*Fired*	-	Sajit Warrier
2010	*Click*	-	Sangeeth Sivan
2010	*Rokkk*	-	Rajesh Ranshinge
2010	*Shaapit: The Cursed*	-	Vikram Bhatt
2010	*Help*	-	Rajeev Virani
2010	*Bachao - Inside Bhoot Hai*	*Help- There is Ghost Inside*	Shyam Ramsay
2010	*Hisss*	-	Jennifer Chambers
2010	*Kaaloo*	-	Wilson Louis
2010	*Mallika*	-	Wilson Louis
2011	*Ragini MMS*	-	Pawan Kripalani

Year	**Name**	**English Translation** (If Applicable)	**Director**
2011	*Haunted - 3D*	-	Vikram Bhatt
2011	*Warning*	-	Karan Razdan
2012	*Raaz 3: The Third Dimension*	-	Vikram Bhatt
2012	*Bhoot Returns*	*Ghost Reutrns*	Ram Gopal Varma
2012	*1920: Evil Returns*	-	Bhushan Patel
2013	*Ek Thi Daayan*	*There was a Daayan*	Kannan Lyer
2013	*Aatma*	*Spirit*	Suparn Verma
2013	*Rise of the Zombie*	-	Devaki Singh, Luke Kenny
2013	*Horror Story*	-	Ayush Raina
2013	*Warning*	-	Gurmeet Singh
2014	*Ragini MMS 2*	-	Bhushan Patel
2014	*Darr @ the mall*	*Fear @ the Mall*	Pawan Kripalani
2014	*Neighbours*	-	Shyam Ramsay

Appendix C : List of Science Fiction Films

Sr.	Name	Year	Director	Producer	Central Ideal
1	*Mr X*	1938	Dwarka Khosla	Prakash Pictures	Invisibility
2	*Mr X*	1957	Nanabhai Bhatt	G.P.Sippy	Invisibility
3	*Rocket Girl*	1962	Nanabhai Bhatt	Films Sansar	Extra-Terrestrial
4	*Miss Chaalbaaz*	1961	Pyarelal	Hind Pictures	N.A
5	*Mr.X In Bombay*	1964	Shantilal Soni	C.M. Thakkar	Invisibility
6	*Aadhi Raat Ke Baad*	1965	Nanabhai Bhatt	T. C. Dewan	Invisibility
7	*Chand Par Chadayee*	1967	T.P.Sundaram	Balakishan Mouj	Extra-Terrestrial
8	*Wahan Ke Log*	1967	Nisar Ahmad Ansari	K.B. Pathak	Extra-Terrestrial
9	*Elaan*	1971	K.Ramanlal	F.C. Mehra	Invisibility
10	*Mr. India*	1987	Shekhar Kapoor	Boney Kapoor	Invisibility
11	*Ek Aadmi*	1988	Khwaja Ahmed Abbas	Khwaja Ahmad	Invisibility
12	*Mr X*	1987	Khwaja Ahmed Abbas	N.A	Invisibility
13	*Professor Ki Padosan*	1993	Shantilal Soni	Kant Kumar	Invisibility
14	*Koi... Mil Gaya*	2003	Rakesh Roshan	Rakesh Roshan	Extra-Terrestrial
15	*Gayab (invisible)*	2004	Prawal Raman	Ram Gopal Varma	Invisibility
16	*Jaane Hoga Kya*	2006	Glen Barretto and Ankush Mohla	Alok Shrivastava	Human cloning
17	*Krrish*	2006	Rakesh Roshan	Rakesh Roshan	Computer invention to look at the future
18	*Love Story 2050*	2008	Harry Baweja	Pami Baweja	Time Travel in the future
19	*Aa Dekhen Zara*	2009	Jahangir Surti	Vikram Rajani	A special camera invention which
20	*Prince (2010 film)*	2010	Kookie V. Gulati	Renu Taurani	Computer chip invention to erase the
21	*Ra.One*	2011	Anubhav Sinha	Gauri Khan	A gaming hero and villain come out of
22	*Krrish 3*	2013	Rakesh Roshan	Rakesh Roshan	Use of chemical weapons, telekinetic

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