Phantasm in Lime: The Permeating 'Modernity' in Manganiyar Community of Rajasthan

KODAI KONISHI

INTRODUCTION

The 'changes' that the nation states are going through have been the main subject of contemporary South Asian studies, especially after the economic liberalization in India since the 1990s. Nonetheless, the internal examination of transformation in cultural domains, by macroscopic and context-sensitive analysis, is yet to be done substantially. In the wave of commercialization and 'medialization', which denotes the qualitative change of people's action and recognition through maldistribution of media, cultural contents seems to have become subjects for consumption. However, in what context? Which actors are concerned? And what is the direction of transfiguration? Needless to quote Hall's prominent insight, that the culture is 'social practices' and the sites of struggle (Hall 1981: 59-61), if we think of culture as mere leisure of entertainment for consumption, we misunderstand the quality of modernity (Gokulsing and Dissanayake 2009: 5). The 'change' of cultural contents can be seen as a continuous process of struggle played by multiple actors, which results from the accumulation of competitive interpretations and representations; the process of which itself connotes the asymmetric power structure. Through revealing the mechanism of such process, I try in this essay to grasp one of the core natures of the change that I would like to present as the permeation of 'modernity'.

Besides, the worldview presented by the term 'globalization' tends to express the discontinuity between before and after the economic liberalization; nonetheless, it is actually the continuity that matters.[1] I have been working to grasp the chronological as well as spacious context of the change with microscopic and bottom up view, concentrating on the life of the people of performing arts. Through investigation of the experiences of performers and audiences in rural India, I found that the focal issue is not the short-term economical growth and changes, but the expression of continuity by insisting on 'tradition' and 'authenticity'. The important issue for the performing-arts people is how they could collect

the 'original' elements and claim the continuity from the imagined 'root' of the community, in spite of the 'changes' occurring in many aspects: style, staging, repertories, contents, devices for output, and even the instruments. Here we can find their constant negotiation with time and space to construct their authenticity. In other words, they have been living under the long-term force of reflexivity, which denotes the continuous pressure to define over 'what we/they are' and 'where we/they came from' (Giddens and Pierson 1998: 113-16).

For this reason, I suggest adopting the phrase, 'permeating modernity', instead of 'globalization', in discussing the performing arts in the rural areas of India, which emphasizes the process of change in contents, forms, and expressions, through the continuous competition over what is the 'locale' and 'time' of the tradition. By adopting the concept of modernity, it will become possible to emphasize the continuity over different phases of transformation that has occurred in the musician community, and the sequence of their reflexive arguments.[2] However, most importantly, we need to assess the nature of the transformation itself, which is embedded in social and historical context. It should be basically accepted that the macroscopic comprehension of gaining reflexive mode of cognition would be, to some extent, applicable to the situation of modernizing India. On the other hand, we must enter into the matrix of the constructed social environment, which has been accumulated culturally, politically and historically. Hence, the process of modernity must have multiple natures. The way of modernization is 'not a set of fixed patterns of structural changes' (Preyer 2007: 8-9), rather, it creates an arena against the homogenizing and hegemonic assumptions of the Western programme of modernity; in fact, even such 'Western' models were formed 'in different periods of their development, giving rise to multiple institutional and ideological patterns' (Eisenstadt 2000: 1-2).

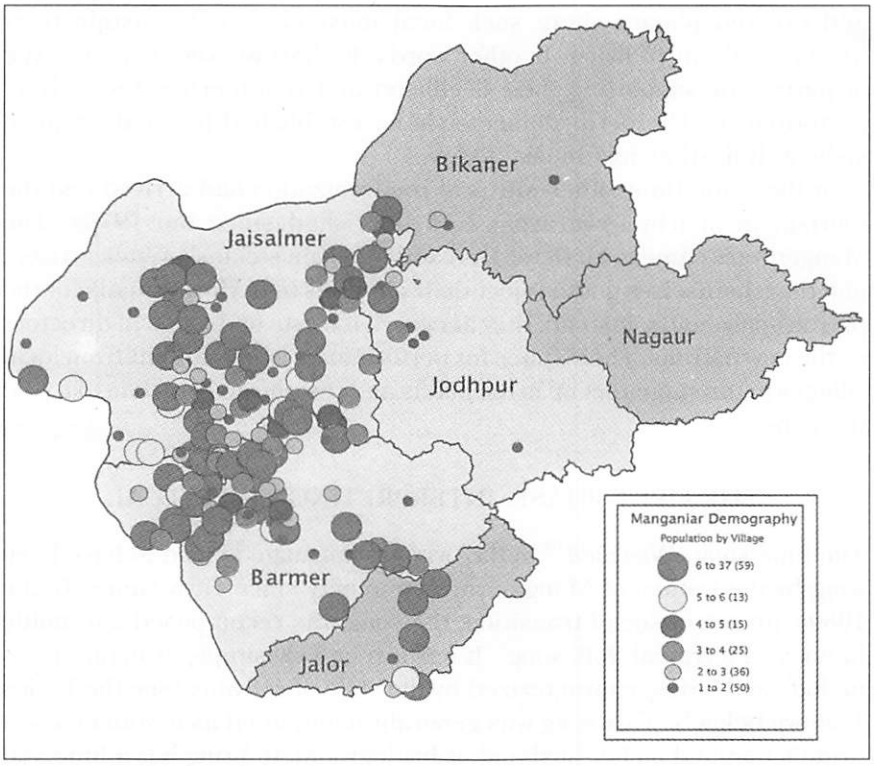
Therefore, this essay attempts to show one kind of modernity in marginalized India, a constructed arena through interpretations over authenticity and locality. I trace the chronological variations of a cultural content, namely a famous song sung by Manganiyars, a Muslim musician community living in Thar Desert spread beyond Rajasthan state. This particular song, namely 'the song of lime', has acquired global fame, since it was sung in a mega-hit Hindi film *Hum Dil De Chuke Sanam*. It has also become a typical desert 'folk song' along with the worldwide recognition that the desert musicians enjoy. Yet it is considered that it was originally sung in ritual settings, such as marriage celebrations, by the women of Manganiyar. Through examining the transition of this 'lime song', from women's ritualistic repertoire to a famous *filmi* song as well as a typical 'folk song' of musician communities, I attempt to grasp the nature of modernity in peripheral India, especially in the domain of performing arts.

MANGANIYARS AND THE PERMEATION OF MODERNITY

The Manganiyars, the Muslim musician community which lies scattered around Thar Desert of north-west India (see Figure 1) have been experiencing unprecedented transformation of their lifestyle, social order and environment, especially in the past four decades. Though they are Muslims, they are given a place in the caste-oriented society as *kamīn* or *kisbī*. They have been engaged in ritual services for their Hindu patrons such as the Rajput royals. The main opportunities for their offerings of services as well as earnings are: birth ceremonies, complex rituals of wedding celebration, and festivals of local deities. With musical instruments such as barrel drum *'dholak'*, small reed organ *'harmonium'*, and bowed chordophones *'kamāychā'*, they play and sing to entertain the patrons. Thus they have lived near the patron households, waiting for the chance to provide the ritual services.

After the colonization of north-western India by the British Empire, the cities of the Rajputs lost their significance as centre of trade between the

FIG. 1. MANGANIYAR VILLAGES AND THEIR NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS



Source: Newman et al. 2006: 165.

west and the east. The base of trade shifted to the cities in bay coasts, such as Calcutta (Kolkata) and Bombay (Mumbai), by the end of the nineteenth century; which caused the collapse of royal (Rajput)-centric as well as trade-centric society. This situation, along with the penetration of the monetary economy, weakened the ties between patrons and clients, including those between the royal families and the musician communities. The new social relationship based on capital and economical values started. Today, we still are able to find 'traditional' musicians on the occasions of marriage ceremony of the patron households; however, these occasions are limited to very rural areas, or some places of traditionalists in urban areas. The gradual transition of the social structure made these musician communities to find other callings such as labourers in agricultural and pastoral domain, or find stable modern jobs by receiving higher education.

The situation surrounding Manganiyar people changed when their performing arts gained attention as 'Rajasthan folk music' promoted by a famous folklorist-cum-ethnomusicologist in Jodhpur, the late Komal Kothari. He started recording the songs of Manganiyar in 1969. His activity was not limited to mere academic research and preservation of the local culture; but he and his research institution Rupayan Sansthan supported and created places where such local musicians could sustain their 'traditional' way of living. In other words, Kothari worked as a new type of patron, by supporting their livelihood and reorganizing the style of performance. The performance style he established forms the typical style of 'Rajasthan folk music' today.

At the same time, other waves of modernization had arrived and the tourism in nearby town areas had flourished since the 1970s. The Manganiyars came to be viewed as exotic 'folk musicians' or 'folk artists', and they themselves got to reject their old roles to perform rituals for the patron households. Instead, they accepted tourists and musical directors as the new patrons. Their space for performance began to shift from local villages to the stages set up in the hotels and restaurants in urban touristic domains.

THE FIRST PHASE: INTERPRETING THE RITUAL

The lime song, *'Nimbūḍā'*[3] in the original language is said to have been sung by the women of Manganiyar community since early times. In the 1980s, an era of social transition, the song was recomposed and made famous as a typical 'folk song'. It has a relatively simple structure in its melody and lyrics, characterized by the style of refrains (see the Lyrics 1 shown below[4]). This song was generally understood as a woman's or a bride's demand on her husband or bridegroom, to bring her a lime and several other things, including orange juice. This song is said to have

been sung in marriage ceremonies, when the bridegroom's party has reached the place of the bride; then the musicians staying with the bride's kin should sing this song. A few informants related in interviews that this song is about playful negotiations between the kin of the bride and the bridegroom, urging the new husband to bring the rare and expensive, thus unobtainable, fruit, to test the depth of the bridegroom's love.

The significance of the lime fruit is unclear. In this song, which is no longer sung in ritual occasions nowadays, the lime and the juice of orange are juxtaposed in the refraining stanzas. In the case of the juice of orange, several informants told that it is used to dress up the bride with the perfume of citrus flavour. There must have been some symbolism of lime in the rituals,[5] but I could only get obscure accounts, such as the expensiveness and the difficulty to obtain the fruit. The meaning might have been simply hidden or untold. In any case, it is now interpreted that the lime was considered rare and thus fascinating, along with the 'bangle of the king' that appears in the subsequent lines.

The women of Manganiyar may not necessarily be the holder of 'real tradition' kept among them secretly; such judgement will be another subject. However, the position where they are placed in this modernizing world is controversial. As Komal Kothari narrates, when the singers began to work as professional musicians, the opportunities to sing and play music were limited to men, and women could sing only in ritual situations. The permeation of modernity allowed the men of the musician community to get various ways of earning money and connect to the wider public space, while it made the women of Manganiyar to be suppressed in domestic and ritual scenes in the name of '*purdah*', a religious and social

LYRICS 1. *NIMBŪḌĀ* SONG COLLECTED FROM MANGANIYAR WOMEN IN HARWA VILLAGE IN BARMER DISTRICT, RAJASTHAN (RECORDED ON 16 MARCH 2012), TRANSLATED BY THE AUTHOR.

nimbūḍā' the lāo re ransīlā hame nāringī ro tel re
My dear, bring me a lime, and some juice of orange too.
nimbūḍā' re the to lāvorede ransīlā lāe nāringī ro tel ḍo
My dear, bring me a lime, and some juice of orange too.
are lāe do lāe do re māre uttare manḍe rā bālmā
Hey, bring me, bring me. Give me an answer from your heart, my love.
nāringī ro tel ḍo lāe de lāe de lāe do re
Bring me, bring me some juice of orange.
Chūḍī ghar re hālo bīnā rānal chūḍlā the lāe do
Go to Churi's house, bring me the bangle of King Bina.
Chūḍī ghar hālo re rāṇsīlā chūḍlā re seb re
Go to Churi's house, bring me the bangle and apple.
nāringīdī ro tel re nimbūḍā' the to lāvo bānāsā nāringīḍī ro tel re
Bring me the juice of orange and lime, with the son of your sister

practice of female seclusion. This kind of 'exclusion' of women from professional singing is a 'recent, post-independence phenomenon' (Kothari 1994: 224-7). This separation of domains between men and women, 'outer' and 'inner', might have resulted in the deprivation of the women's ability to interpret and declare the meaning of the song.

THE SECOND PHASE: MAKING A 'FOLK MUSIC'

When this ritualistic song was made into a famous repertoire of professional musicians on stage, it had to undergo some transformation in its meaning and structure. It was from the late 1970s that this Musician community gained recognition in the society, while the tourism grew in nearby cities. The first opportunity of transforming the song was made by one talented Manganiyar singer, Gazi Khan. Born and brought up in a small desert village in Barmer District in Thar Desert, he learnt the very song from his mother. He arranged and recomposed it with quicker tempos, and reinterpreted the meanings by adding new stanzas to this old song, which had been embedded in wider social context. The couplet, *'dūhā'* or *'dohā'*, was added to the beginning of the song, adapting to another common style of 'folk songs' in this area. This couplet takes the form of a dialogue between a man and a woman, adding the feeling of man's side to the originally female-sided song (see Lyrics 2).

LYRICS 2. DŪHĀ OR DOHĀ (COUPLET) OF *NIMBŪḌĀ*: SUNG BY GAZI KHAN IN HARWA VILLAGE IN BARMER DISTRICT, RAJASTHAN (RECORDED ON 24 MARCH 2012), TRANSLATED BY THE AUTHOR.

<Duha (Couplet) 1 >
mālī thāre mon ek nipje nimbū dāḍam dākh
Mali (Gardener caste), in your field, there are limes, pomegranate, and grapes.
bin pāke ras nā milte
If not ripened, you cannot get the taste.
pithā theḍī dhīraj rakh bāgī jāyjon bālmon
My dear, wait a little while, and go to the fruit field.
mahāre nimbū rāe jodocār
Please get four limes,
āvta lāejo cunrī mahārī gānrī ro shringār
And on the way home, bring a scarf to decorate me.

< Duha (Couplet) 2>
naen tum hī bure ho... naenā naenā naenā...
Your eyes, how naughty you are, your eyes, eyes...
tumse burā nā koī ho
There's nothing as naughty as you.
āp hī prīt ko āg lagā ke phir āp kā hī baete ro
My love for you burns my heart. I cannot stop crying.

Although the changes made in the form of the song are obvious, the musician claims its cultural authenticity. When I interviewed Gazi Khan in 2011, he asserted that he did not change the song's 'traditional' meaning but just altered the style and *'avāj'*, the atmosphere of the song.[6] Here we can observe Gazi's claim on authenticity by insisting on the continuity of the meanings of the song. Nonetheless, the changes made are clear. By adding male's side in the second couplet, the voice that controls this song shifted to bilateral nature. Also by employing specific names, such as nearby cities, 'Jodhpur' and 'Jaisalmer', and the community of gardeners, the 'Mali' (see Lyrics 3), the lime or *nimbūḍā'* could no longer be an 'unobtainable fruit'; it has already become familiar and obtainable.

LYRICS 3. THE MAIN THEME OF *NIMBŪḌĀ*: SUNG BY GAZI KHAN IN HARWA VILLAGE IN BARMER DISTRICT, RAJASTHAN (RECORDED ON 24 MARCH 2012), TRANSLATED BY THE AUTHOR

nimbūḍā nimbūḍā' nimbūḍā' re chhoṭā chhoṭā kaccā kaccā nimbūḍā' lāe do
Lime, lime, lime...Bring me a small, small, unripe, unripe, lime.
mahāne lāe do lāe do
Bring it to me.
mahonrī sagī nananḍ rā vīrā mahāne nimbūḍā' lāe do
My real sister's brother-in-law, please bring me limes.
jodhone jodhone jodhone hālo hālo hālo lahrīyo lāe do
Go go go and bring me a scarf from Jodhpur city
mahāne lāe do lāe do mahonrī sagī nanand rā vīrā mahāne nimbūḍā' lāe do
My real sister's brother-in-law, please bring me limes.
jaesone jaesone jaesone hālo hālo pāyalon lāe do
Go, go and bring me foot rings from Jaisalmer city.
nimbūḍā' nimbūḍā' chhoṭā chhoṭā kaccā kaccā nimbūḍā' lāe do
Lime, Lime, Lime...Bring me a small small unripe unripe lime
mahāne lāe lāe do...
Please bring it to me...

Furthermore, the changes made in the song have altered the interpretation of the song by the listeners. The more famous this song got, the more people started to consider this song as implying man's sexual desire; the lime is not taken as a mere fruit, but as a symbol of the small breasts of girls. This 'miss-interpretation' was mainly owing to the adjectives put on the lime by Gazi Khan, namely *'kaccā kaccā, chhoṭā chhoṭā'*, which means 'unripe unripe, small small'. Actually, when the lime song began to be sung in public area around the 1980s, the word *'kaccā kaccā'* was sung as *'khaṭṭā khaṭṭā'*, meaning 'sour, sour'. One might find the conscious force towards conversion of the symbolism of the lime. This added connotation of unripe-ness seems to have caused the sexual turn of this song, now recognized as a song of rustic men's eroticism[7]. This

is also strengthened by the added couplets. The second line of the first couplet indicates that whatever the bride brings must be ripe.

This transformation of the meaning is largely due to the transition of the voice from women toward men. The eroticism attached to *Nimbūḍā'* might have been gradually prompted in the context of tourism and performative entertainment ruled by the male artists of the community.

Still, there are opinions against the eroticism of the song on the ground of tradition and authenticity. The famous player of *khartāl*, a special musical instrument of Manganiyar community using four chips of wood, asserted as below:

Nimbūḍā was originally the song of pure love, conveyed from a wife to her husband. The reason why the wife tells the husband to bring *nimbū* is that she is trying to tell him of her pregnancy indirectly. She is ashamed to tell the truth straightly. A lady would need some sour things when they are pregnant. That's why she needs lime. But Gazi changed the meaning of this song completely. This song is transformed to an erotic song that denotes the desire of a man who has sexual desire for girls like lime. Who can sing this song in front of patrons? It will be rude, anyway. (From interview of IK, Manganiyar of Jaisalmer, 14th September 2011)

This informant insisted on the domain of 'pure love', which allegedly was the original connotation of the song and hence was acceptable even at the place of patron households. While he thus claims for authenticity in relation to patronage and the 'traditional' way of life, the ritualistic connotation is ignored. The ways of interpretation seems always to be selective in nature. Here we can see the various ways of negotiation to declare the authenticity, which itself is a 'truth' of the past for each actor, showing the positionality of each. In this case, the nucleus of IK's concern seems to be a system of patronage that has been gradually eroded by 'touristic manner', which he blames on another occasion.

As Gazi Khan acquired his fame in 'Rajasthan folk music' and his fame reached global extent, *Nimbūḍā* gained much more recognition as a typical folk song after late 1980s, carrying the newer interpretation of the song. During the 'Indian festival' in 1988, Gazi Khan visited Japan and recorded *Nimbūḍā* with several other musicians from Langa community. This recorded song was titled *'nibro'*, and inserted as the last song of an audio CD, named *Roaming Art of Rajasthan* by King Records. In the explanation of the song in this CD, lime (lemon) was again associated with girls before maturity, along with the lively atmosphere of marriage celebrations.

Look at that girl, with small breasts, looks like sour sour lemon. That unripe lemon is to be growing to become a flower. The bridegroom brought many gifts from everywhere...

This is a celebration song sung by ladies sitting around the innocent bride, praising her youthfulness. The brightness of Rajasthan region is sprinkled over

in this song. (Liner note of '*nibro*' in audio CD 'Roaming art of Rajasthan', King Record, 1991)

Here, the innocence of the bride is emphasized by the use of 'lemon', the symbol of unripe-ness and youthfulness. When I interviewed this writer, he told me that the source of this liner note was the account of Komal Kothari himself. The oral transmission and the documentation of its meaning in international field made this song's interpretation fixed in global scene, though the effect is limited in Japan.

THE THIRD PHASE: TO MASS CONSUMPTION

The third phase of the change in this song has occurred when it was chosen as a main featured song of the Bollywood film, *Hum Dil De Chuke Sanam*, directed by Sanjay Leela Bhansali in 1999. The music director, Ismail Durbar, chose this famous 'folk song' from Manganiyar community's 'common' repertories, and transformed it into a '*filmī* song' to portray the beauty of the heroine and to fit the atmosphere of the desert location. Besides, the lyricist of the song is Mehboob Kotwal, who also has been working with the renowned composer A.R. Rahman, and is famous for several works in the album *Vande Mataram* (1997, Columbia Records) which was aimed to instill a sense of patriotism and national unity into the people of India, thus we could consider the lyricist as a person with nationalistic sense.

In the song sequence of '*Nimbooda Nimbooda Nimbooda*', a charming but tomboyish girl sings and dances with a lime on her hand, fascinating the boy on the occasion of marriage arrangement. Here, one may be able to say that the 'original' context remains; but that is not the end of the story.

In this phase, although the base structure of the song was not transformed so radically, the meaning was decontextualized again in another way. A new phrase was added between the refraining parts (see Lyrics 4), where the new interpretation was formulated. The song's main theme got transformed to a naive love affair between a young man and a woman, by denoting the exchanging of glances and their struggle. In this theme, lime plays the role of a magical fruit to avoid the greedy evil eye, appropriating the 'traditional' Indian magico-religious practice '*nazar baṭṭu*'. It is a rite for avoiding the evil eye of others, hanging lime and green chilli at the entrance of the house. Here occurred the deprivation of the context of a very local ritualistic meeting of a husband and a wife, transforming the song into a rather universalistic nature of love affair, which easily could be sympathized by the general audiences. On the other hand, this composition also recalls the nationalistic framework, identifying the originally-local and simple 'lime' with a nationwide ritual of evil eye. Thus, this *filmī* song's commercial success largely owes to the techniques

LYRICS 4. THE INSERTED PART OF 'NIMBOODA NIMBOODA NIMBOODA' SONG: IN HINDI FILM *HUM DIL DE CHUKE SANAM* (1999), TRANSLATED BY THE AUTHOR

<The main theme>
are lāy do lāy do lāy do.. nimbū lāy do
Oh, bring, bring it to me.. bring me a lime
jā khet se hariyāla nimbūḍā' lāy do nimbūḍā' lāy do..
Go to the field and bring me a green lime.. Bring me a lime

<The inserted part>
dīvānon kī burī nazar se bacnā ho to sun lo
If you are running away from love-crazy people, listen to me;
are khaṭṭho khaṭṭho nimbū tez chhurī se sar pe kātho
Cut the sour sour lime into two with a sharpened knife,
phir chhothā chhothā nimbūḍā' kyā jādū karegā dekho
Then see what kind of magic the small lime will use.
ki burī nazar vah khaṭṭhī hoegī
That evil eye will be getting sour,
phir cauraste pe vah utar giregī
And will be separated and dropped in the corner
to lāy do lāy do lāy do..
Then bring it, bring it to me

to connect the universalistic sense with a national code that Indian audiences could comfortably appreciate.

Furthermore, in order to appeal to national audiences, culturally specific words are crossed out from the song. For example, the former version of the song includes the cognomens of husband, such as '*rasīlā*' (sweet thing), or '*sagī nanand rā vīrā*' (real sister's brother-in-law)', and the name of existent cities such as 'Jodhpur' and 'Jaisalmer'. However, all these are absent in the *filmī* version. This operation might have been necessary for the film-makers, so that this story is situated in an imaginary place, somewhere in the desert, and played by imaginary characters who try to grasp true love through the sequence of the movie. In other words, this song was decontextualized by deleting proper nouns, which would have been obstructions for establishing the imagined 'locality'.

Over this *filmī* song's success, negative responses have been arising from the Rajasthani musician community. Gazi Khan himself claimed, 'My song was stolen' by the film industry. He considers that the people who had stolen 'his song' made millions, but he had never been compensated. Even after a famous movie star Salman Khan, who played the hero in the very film, allegedly apologized to him for using his song, his feelings in this matter did not change. This way of thinking that the song belongs to a particular individual is equally perpetrated in media such as newspapers.

Ismail Durbar not only had the impunity to call Gazi Khan's 40-year old creation

his own, but the traditional singer has to now pay royalty if he has to sing it in Mumbai! Such blatant appropriation is not difficult, because most of these folk musicians are unaware of intellectual property rights. Hindi film music, on the other hand, gets registered with the Indian Performing Rights Society, which protects film music composer's rights (Article from *The Hindu*, 'Mera nimbuda chori ho gaya', 6 October 2003).

Regarding this issue, Rupayan Sansthan, a centre for folklore studies in Rajasthan established by Komal Kothari, accused the film industry of not compensating the 'community' from which they have exploited the local folk's intellectual property. Kothari insisted that the situation in which folksongs are placed have changed, and thus we need to treat it as belonging to particular 'cultural regions' and 'cultural groups'. In the same essay that he introduces the case of 'pirate picking' of the lime song, he insisted as below:

Who owns folk music? The answer is that it belongs to different cultural regions, cultural groups, and small ethnic identities; to the people who know it well, where it comes from and who has composed it. It is true that no individual can have legal right to such cultural expressions but the given group or region has its own right. If India, as a nation, can claim *neem*, *haldi* and *basmati* as its right, why can't the smaller regional cultures demand the same right (Kothari 2004: 6-7).

Though here we can see the confrontation over who owns the song and holds the right, there is still another opinion. Mr. AK, while he himself belongs to the first generation of Manganiyar performing in the global scenes, claimed that Gazi's '*Nimbūḍā*' is not 'real', as it is 'originally' a ladies' song. The song was 'broken' by Gazi. About the song used in film, he says the following,

It is true that film industry used the nimbooda song, but they only diverted some part of the song. If they have said like 'We want to use the song, please permit to use' to our community, there weren't any problem at all. I also was involved in the dispute that Komal Kothari had started, but the film company apologized to us already. It is all finished story. (From interview of AK, Manganiyar of Jaisalmer, 17 September 2011)

From his point of view, the problem is not about lying over who has the right to the song, but the authenticity of the song which was restored to the ladies of the community. Besides, his position as a 'big man' of Manganiyar community might have made him think as a mediator of the dispute.

CONCLUSION

Through tracing the transformation of the lime song, we could see the power structure of interpretation and representation over a cultural content. In other words, here we see the arena battled by multiple actors claiming over the authenticity. These actors are multi-layered and have

different backgrounds to interpret the song. Therefore, in the first place, we must be sensitive about the authenticity and aestheticism of locality, which has been constructed through a long period of accumulation of interpretations, involving myriad subjects each having their own positionality, context and power. There, the process itself is important than merely grasping the synchronic representation of the cultural contents. The ritualistic song sung by Manganiyar women transferred to a folk song sung by professional singers to entertain tourists and foreigners, and finally became a pop song inserted in a mega-hit film. This process can be called 'de-contextualization' or 'de-territorialization', as used in the domain of modernity studies. It may also be interpreted as a process of exploitation of local intellectual property from women to men, or from local community to urban industrial world through commercialization.

On the other hand, however, this phenomenon shows a process of the creation of competitive spaces over the cultural reality. In this sense, the cultural changes that occurred here is not a single track in such 'de-something' theory, in other words, a discontinuous process that the word 'globalization' connotes, but a multi-lineal and continuous process, stimulated by the power game of reinterpretation and representation caused by the continuous force of reflexivity. Exploitation, invention, recreation, and reinterpretation; these are the concepts that we might employ in evaluating the transformation of cultural contents. Nevertheless, the importance lies in what context these are evaluated, what kind of background the actors have for claiming, how much each actor has power, and finally, who will accept or consume them. In the process of so-called modernity, the cultural contents have become fragmented pieces of claiming and commercializing sphere, creating arenas for locality.

The particular way of transformation that the lime song traced is paralleled with what the musician community has experienced in the past few centuries. The gradual collapse of their relationship with the patrons: the introduction to the market economy through the infiltration of tourism: the coming of the new means of livelihood: the adoption of new technology for performance: the unavoidable wave of consumerization of the local art forms; these are a part of what people of Manganiyar have been exposed to since the colonial period. Thanks to the de-contextualization and the vagueness or oblivion of its original symbolism, the meanings and context it must have had, the lime has lost any particular authority to decide its 'real' meaning; it became a medium that any actors could express their contentions through re-interpretation. The entire semiotics attached to this citrus, are showing each actor's strategy of claiming the ontology of their life, authenticity of the community, beauty of the locales, the background of a story, or fascination to attract the audiences. Here, the lime is not a mere fruit but a phantasm silhouetting the desire and

appetite of various people living in this time of maturing or ripening modernity.

Yet, we must not forget the asymmetric power of interpretation and representation, which is characterized as a nested structure; such as women's ritual – men-centric musician community – national industry – global mode of consumption. Also, it tends to be exploitational and exclusionary toward others. The more the process of permeation of modernity accelerates, the more the arenas for locality will become visible and get stiffer, hence this process of 'change' taking on more complex aspects.

NOTES

1. The word 'globalization' as a technical term has another problematic connotation as well. As it is convenient to refer to the vague atmosphere of the coming up of the 'shining India', supported by economical growth as a whole, the advocates of the term put various connotations into the word. The word has been conveniently used to support a 'narrow business-centric view' (Rizvi 2007: 754). Also, Nagar has pointed out that the tide of global studies in India after 2000 is colored by 'post-1989 hegemony of neoliberal discourses' (Nagar et al. 2002: 258).
2. Thus the word 'modernity' used in this essay approximates the connotation of 'high/late modernity' (Giddens 1990) or 'liquid modernity' (Bauman 2000), which equally denote the continuous process and unavoidable force of reflexivity that people have been imposed.
3. The word *'nimbū'* or its plural form *'nimbūḍā'* is often translated as *lemon*, but in this essay I standardized to translate it as *lime*. As a convention, the translation *'lemon'* is not so wrong, though the fact that in north-western India no *lemon (citrus limonia)* has been cultivated shows us the word *lime (citrus aurantifolia)* will be fitting to interpret the citrus depicted in the song.
4. The song is sung in Marwari language, which is spoken in the desert area of north-western Rajasthan. Though it is a spoken language and has no scripts, here the description is based on the transliteration method of Devanagari script.
5. Though it might be quite vague situational evidence, there are some hints to comprehend the symbolism of lime in the ritual situation. There is evidence that lime or lemon were sculpted in the ancient 'sati stones', which can be found around western India. Weinberger-Thomas described that this sculpted lime 'symbolizes the auspicious and fruitful side of sacrifice', and 'the idea of "fruit" is intimately connected to the notion of karma: acts ripen like fruit, and it is the fruit of their acts that people reap in their successive rebirths' (Weinberger-Thomas 2000: 77). Here we can assume that the symbolism of lime has some relevance to the ripeness of life. In connection with the marriage ceremony, though it is the case of Karnataka, Chidanandamurti pointed out as below;

   > The lemon fruit (*nimbe*) motif, which we see in *mastī* (goddess of *satī*) sculptures, has so far evaded satisfactory explanation. In classics like Sivatatva-cintamani, there are clear references to the bridegroom holding a lemon fruit in his right hand. It is very clear that the fruit had a special significance in marriage ceremonies. That the *mastīs* used to carry the fruit in their hands.... (Chidanandamurti 1982: 128)

> Ritualistically, the lemon is not listed among auspicious things like the coconut, betel leaves, or rice. Though we cannot list it as inauspicious either, its function on formal occasion is more in the nature of evil-remover. (ibid.: 129)

Here we can find the complexity in of interpretation of lime, even in academic domain, in relation with its auspiciousness and ripeness.

6. However, from a musicological point of view, the song composed by Gazi has several new characteristics; repetitions of specific words such as *nimbūḍā'-nimbūḍā'-nimbūḍā'*, *chhoṭā-chhoṭā kaccā-kaccā*, or *jodhne-jhodhne-jodhne*, and the set of words punctuating the rhythm pattern of local *tāla Kalwara* (eight beat), which is said to have similar rhythmic trait as *tāla Kaharwa* in north Indian classical music theory. Also, along with its quicker tempo, Gazi added the possibility of improvisation to the song by comprehending the repetitive use of the onomatopoeic sound pattern between the stanzas.
7. In this essay I tried to reveal the erotic connotation attached to the song, and reduced it to men's desire, however, there are several indications that women's roles in marriage ceremonies include erotic elements. Yagi, examining songs and dances in a village in northern India (U.P.), pointed out that abuse songs and erotic dances occupy an important position in the complex scenery of marriage rituals, and connected them to the desired auspiciousness and energy of the universe, *śakti* (Yagi 2008). There are further necessities for locating lime as well as women's roles in a wider context of marriage rituals.

REFERENCES

Appadurai, Arjun, 1996, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Bauman, Zygmunt, 2000, *Liquid Modernity*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bharucha, Rustom, 2003, *Rajasthan: An Oral History -Conversation with Komal Kothari*, Delhi: Penguin Books India.

Chaudhuri, Shubha, 2009, 'The Princess of the Musicians: Rani Bhatiyani and the Manganiyars of Western Rajasthan', in Richard K. Wolf (ed.), *Theorizing the Local: Music, Practice, and Experience in South Asia and Beyond*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Chidanandamurti, M., 1982, 'Two Masti Temples in Karnataka', in Gunther-Dietz Sontheimer (ed.), *Memorial Stones: A Study of their Origin, Significance and Variety*, Institute of Indian Art History, Karnataka University.

Cohen, R. and P. Kennedy, 2000, *Global Sociology*, Hampshire: Palgrave Publishers.

Eisenstadt, S.N., 2000, 'Multiple Modernities', in *Daedalus*, 129, 1, Research Library Core.

Giddens, A., 1990, *The Consequences of Modernity*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Giddens, A. and C. Pierson, 1998, *Conversation with Anthony Giddens: Making Sense of Modernity*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gokulsing, K.M. and W. Dissanayake, 2009, *Popular Culture in a Globalised India*, London and Yew York: Routledge.

Gupta, D., 2000, *Interrogating Caste: Understanding Hierarchy and Difference in Indian Society*, Delhi: Penguin Books India.

Hall, Stuart, 1980, 'Cultural Studies: Two Paradigms', *Media, Culture and Society*, vol. 2.

Kothari, K., 1994, 'Musicians for the People: The Manganiyars of Western Rajasthan', in K. Schomer (ed.), *The Idea of Rajasthan*, Delhi: Manohar.

———, 2004, 'Copyright of Folk and Indigenous Art Forms: Need for Accountability', *Indian Folklore* 3 (3-16).

Lovell, N., 1998, 'Introduction', in N. Lovell (ed.), *Locality and Belonging*, London: Routledge.

Mathur, U.B., 1986, *Folkways of Rajasthan*, Jaipur: Jaipur Printers.

Nagar, R., V. Lawson, L. MacDowell and S. Hanson, 2002, 'Locating Globalization: Feminist (Re)readings of the Subjects and Spaces of Globalization', *Economic Geography*, vol. 78, no. 3 (Clark University).

Newman, D. and S. Chaudhuri, 2006, *Bards, Ballads and Boundaries*, Oxford: Seagull Books.

Pande, A., 1999, *Folk Music and Musical Instruments of Punjab: From Mustard Fields to Disco Lights*, New Jersey: Grantha Corporation.

Preyer, Gerhard, 2007, 'The Paradigm of Multiple Modernities', *Proto Sociology*, vol. 24 (An International Journal of Interdisciplinary Research).

Probyn, Elspeth, 1990, 'Travels in the Postmodern: Making Sense of the Local', in Linda J. Nicholson (ed.), *Feminism/Postmodernism*, New York: Routledge.

Rizvi, Gowher, 2007, 'Emergent India: Globalization, Democracy, and Social Justice', *International Journal* 62-4 (Canadian International Council).

Singh, Yogendra, 2000, *Culture Change in India: Identity and Globalization*, Jaipur: Rawat.

Verma, V., 1988, *The Living Music of Rajasthan*, Delhi: Controller of Publication.

Weinberger-Thomas, C., 2000, *Ashes of Immortality: Widow Burning in India*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Yagi, Yuko, 2008, 'Women, Abuse Songs and Erotic Dances: Marriage Ceremonies in Northern India', *Senri Ethnological Studies*, 71.