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Senri Ethnological Studies

Volume 71

Page range: 169-202

Year: 2008-03-31

URL: http://doi.org/10.15021/00002617
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Owing to its historical process and musical features, Indian classical music is divided into two styles: South Indian classical (Karnataka) music and North Indian classical (Hindustani) music. The main difference between the two is that the former style has strong Hindu characteristics whereas the latter, influenced by Islamic music during the medieval period, shows a strong tendency toward improvisation. The social organization of Hindustani music is characterized by the gharānā, a musical community that consists of the master-disciple institution as well as its musical style and knowledge.¹

Plate 1-1  Afghan rabāb and sarod (front view)  Plate 1-2  Afghan rabāb and sarod (side view)
This essay explores the *gharānā* of *sarod* (Plate 1), one of the representative musical instruments in Hindustani music, from the perspective of social anthropology. Musical property, as the source of stylized playing tradition, must have been passed down from father to son, master to disciple for at least three successive generations before the *gharānā*’s credentials can be established. In this paper, the period from the mid-19th century (during the British colonial period) and the modern period from India’s Independence until today are defined as the formation and post-formation periods of *gharānās* respectively.

Earlier studies of *gharānās* focused on its musical style and musico-aesthetics. Their scope then broadened to explore the socio-cultural and historical background of music as ethno-musicological study. This expanded further to focus on the relationship between the musicians and their surrounding social environment, that is, socio-anthropological study (Erdman 1978, 1985; Neuman 1978, 1990 [1980]; Owens 1983). Erdman has pointed out the importance of the patron-musician relationship in the development and expansion of the *gharānā* system of musical specialization (1978). She describes the social organization of performing artists in Jaipur in the 19th century (1978, 1985).

Neuman, who studied the social world of musicians in Delhi, asserts that *gharānās* as we know them now did not appear before the mid-19th century, and the term itself probably did not gain currency until the beginning of the 20th century (1978: 187). He suggests that the formation of *gharānās* as social units has been the result of: (a) the hierarchical distinction between soloists (*Kalāwants*) and accompanists (*Mīrāsīs*); (b) the migration of rural *Mīrāsīs* to the cities and their transformation from folk to classical musicians; and (c) social changes in Indian society since the mid-19th century (1978, 1990 [1980]).

Neuman also interpreted the reason why the core family of a *gharānā* was almost always Muslims, as “cousin marriage of any type of Hindus in North India is strictly prohibited, whereas among Muslims it is allowed: indeed, among Muslim musicians, it is the preferred form of marriage, and it is stated by them to be an explicit strategy by which musical knowledge is kept within the family. It would appear, from an outsider’s vantage point, that such intermarriage has been an important way in which *gharānās* have maintained the integrity of their musical styles” (Neuman 1978: 197). In the Muslim world of musicians, cousin marriage was a strategy to keep musical knowledge within the family.

Owens has studied the Dagar *gharānā* of *dhruPAD*, which is the most ancient authentic classical music style. She comments that musical knowledge, which was not handed over to outsiders, was “the exclusive property of the lineage” (1983: 162). She attempts to illustrate the content of musical knowledge and its transmission from the viewpoint of continuity and change following Independence. The exclusive knowledge of music that is kept secret from outsiders and handed over only after marriage in the form of a gift exchange can be called “musical property.”

These studies threw light on how *gharānā* possessing musical property underwent development and changes over the passage of time. However, it does not reveal how the *gharānās* were formed through the combination of marriage relationships and master-disciple relationships, and also how their musical properties were maintained and transmitted.
This paper will first describe the content of secret knowledge in music and musical property, and then deal with the system of its hereditary transfer. It will examine the origin and lineage of the gharānās of sarod. Lastly, it will clarify how musical property was transmitted by the combination of cousin-marriage and the master-disciple relationship during the formation period. No such correlation, however, has been found in the post-formation period. This transformation of social relationships corresponds to the changes in the larger socio-cultural system in modern India, and affects the transmission of musical property and the vicissitudes of gharānās.

Gharānā and Musical Property

Hierarchy of Musical Knowledge and its Form of Transfer

It is not an exaggeration to say that the ultimate aim of Indian classical music is its delineation of rāga.3) Hindustani rāga is not only a mode of coherent melody (musical theory), but each rāga has regulations specifying its particular time and season, suitable emotion (rasa) and power of expression (prakṛtī). In performance, the personal understanding, imagination, expression and technique of the performer are of course important, but a musician never fails to stress the importance of the authority and authenticity of his gharānā.

Deshpande, a scholar of khayāl in Hindustani music, goes to the extent of saying, “In fact the terms ‘classical Hindustani music’ and ‘gharānā music’ are synonymous” (1973: 3). A musical performance is an improvisation on a particular rāga. In order to learn this improvisation, one has to belong to a gharānā. One should bear in mind that the technique of improvisation within the frame of the same rāga differs from gharānā to gharānā. It is not sufficient simply to belong to a gharānā; the musician must develop an intimate and total relationship with his guru by serving him. It is therefore only by developing a total relationship with the guru that the disciple inherits the secret musical knowledge. The process of refining one’s musical skills under a particular gharānā helps establish the identity of a musician. At the same time, while a musician endeavors to establish himself and his reputation, he also contributes to enriching his gharānā. He slowly learns the secret knowledge of his own gharānā and with the passage of time becomes able to create more, which he passes on in turn to his own disciples.4)

A possible definition of a gharānā of vocal or instrumental music or dance states that it consists of:
1) a lineage of at least three successive generations that have produced distinguished or famous musicians; and
2) a school that has followed and transmitted a common musical style.5)

The former is relevant to genealogical legitimacy (vamsa paramparā) and the latter to the master-disciple relationship (guru-sishya paramparā). When a musician talks about “our gharānā” (hamarā gharānā), he either emphasizes his lineage or his school tradition. A professional Muslim musician usually stresses his lineage, whereas a professional Hindu musician (who usually learned from Muslims or from a school/college teacher) talks about his guru or school. There are two main features to a gharānā. The first is the vertical or
patrilineal relationship (khāndān) whereby the particular secrets of technique and final wisdom of a gharānā are handed over from father to son. The second, horizontal relationship, in which a guru hands over his repertory and technique to his disciples, can be described as more liberal because the disciple may be an outsider rather than a family member. When a musician talks about his gharānā, he wants the listener to understand that he has accumulated the wisdom of (a) ancient Indian music (rāgas), and (b) court music of the medieval period. In other words, a gharānā means a pure tradition (shuddha paramparā) and the musician is staking a claim to be a successor of authenticity.

Owens comments that “the gharānā can expand to include the families of the disciples as well…, but relatively few such students become real successors to the tradition” and that “Sometimes this is because non-family members have been excluded from certain knowledge which is at the heart of the tradition” (1983: 161). She called such secrecy of musical knowledge “the exclusive property of the lineage” (ibid.: 162).

Thakur Jaidev Singh, a famous patron and scholar of Indian classical music, describes three types of teaching as follows.

The teacher usually did not impart the secrets of his art to everybody. His pupils consisted of three categories:
1) khāsul-khās;
2) khās;
3) gandābandh.

The khāsul-khās teaching, in which the teacher imparted all his knowledge without concealing anything, was meant only for the sons of the teacher. The khās talim or teaching was meant only for very closely related pupils. In this the teacher did not impart all his knowledge. He imparted only about three-fourth of his art, one-fourth being reserved for his sons. The gandābandh talim was meant for those whom the teacher had accepted as his pupils through a formal ceremony (gandābandhan). In this, the teacher imparted only about fifty percent of what he knew. (Nayar 1989: 40)

But there were still many differences in the teaching of each gandābandh. Of course, it was not easy to enter a gharānā and become a disciple with the status of gandābandhan. Before the 20th century, only patrons could reach the status of khās, except for family members of gharānā. It was almost impossible for those who were neither family members nor patrons to learn the music of a gharānā. For example, the difficulty faced by a commoner in becoming a ghanābandha-śishya and then attaining the category of khās is depicted in the biography of Allauddin Khan (see, for example, Bhattacharya 1979; McNeil 1992: 274-85). “Certain knowledge which is at the heart of the tradition” (Owens 1983: 161) may be nothing but the secret knowledge that was imparted to khāsul khās. In order to explain the content of such secret knowledge, one has to understand first the Seniyās,6) who were the musical authority on Hindustani classical music from the 16th century and were the foundation of modern gharānās, and secondly, the performance structure of rāga.
Musical Authority and Secret Knowledge

Seniyās (Senīs) are the descendants of Miyan Tansen (d. 1586) who was one of the nine jewels (nav ratna) in the court of Akbar (reigned 1556-1605), the third Mughal Emperor. Akbar inducted various musicians from all over India, Iran and Central Asia to his court, and Tansen was their leader. In this paper, the term Seniyā refers to the direct descendants of Tansen, and Senī gharānā is used for the group that includes disciples who do not have a blood relationship with the Seniyās. The Seniyās developed dhrupad which were originally hymns sung in the temples to praise the gods, as court music. At the same time the Seniyās specialized in bīn (vīnā) and Indian rabāb in instrumental music. The lineage of Tansen that specializes in bīn is called Seni-bīnkar and the lineage specializing in Indian rabāb is known as Seni-rabābiyā. In vocal music the words express the meaning, whereas in instrumental music the expression relies on the structure of the instrument and its playing technique.

Rāga music consists of two parts: the ālāp, which does not have a rhythmic cycle; and the gat in instrumental music, which is performed and improvised with a rhythmic cycle played by an accompanying percussionist. In ālāp, the special features of a rāga are shown step by step. In a gat, the composition (bandīsh) remains at the core; improvisation is seen in forms such as tān and tōda.

The dhrupad style (ang) in the instrumental music of bīn and Indian rabāb was developed by the Seniyās. The method of developing a rāga in instrumental music was secret knowledge, kept strictly within the Seniyās. Bandīsh in a gat is a condensed form of aesthetic beauty with a set of rules for each rāga. The maestro who sought for perfection in rāga developed his own bandīsh, and his descendants kept it as a “sacred treasure” (Nayar 1989: 80) within their own gharānā as musical property, which was later gifted through marriage.

The Seniyās, who developed dhrupad as vocal music and bīn and rabāb as instrumental music, did not teach these to outsiders. Instead they taught them khayāl vocal music and surbahār, surśringār, sitār and sarod as instrumental music. The ālāp and the bandīsh are very important in dhrupad vocal music and in dhrupad-ang instrumental music. On the other hand, the scope of ālāp and bandīsh is minimized in khayāl-ang, with extra scope provided for improvisation.

Salamat Hussain Khan, a disciple of the Seniyā, has commented: “…there are things that are not taught to students outside the family. There are some particular exercises for practice (riyāz) which are never taught to everyone” (in Brihaspati 1966: 517; see also Owens 1983: 161).

The practice method, which shapes the style of performance, was also the secret practical knowledge of the gharānā. Sayyad Ibne Ali described the transmission of musical property in the following terms.

Once Wazir Khan Sahib was in the imāmbārā, I asked him to swear by touching the flag of the sacred place not to keep back any knowledge. He did it on my request; henceforth he taught me horī and dhrupad. I put his teaching in writing. He declared that this teaching was meant for me and his sons; if nobody puts these notes to use I was asked to burn these notes. I passed on his knowledge to his descendants. (Owens 1983: 161)
Wazir Khan (1860-1926) of Seniyā, shocked by his talented son’s death, decided to impart khās talim to only a few senior disciples (McNeil 1992: 276). Thus, should a guru have no son or suitable successor, or have lost his son, he sometimes used to teach multilateral cousins or senior disciples from outside of the family as his adopted sons. Practically, as mentioned later, the origin and development of gharānās depended on the talented senior disciple of Seniyā.

Transmission of Musical Property and Marriage Relationship

The majority of musicians who performed and transmitted Hindustani classical music before Independence were Muslims. Most of them, however, were the descendants of Brahmins or Rajputs who converted to Islam during the Mughal Empire. It is well known that the founder of Seni gharānā was Tansen, who was originally a Brahmin named Ramtannu Pandey. The founder of Seni-bāīnkar, Naubat Khan (Hindu name: Mishri Singh), who married Tansen’s daughter Saraswati, was originally a Rajput. In order to maintain and continue the rendering of sacred rāga music they had inherited from their ancestors, these musicians converted into Islam. They performed in the court of the Mughals and were patronized by them. According to Bhattacharya, all their descendants for about 300 years, from Naubat Khan to Wazir Khan, maintained their Hindu names in addition to their Muslim names (1979: 226).

In order to establish themselves in the court of Mughals as accomplished musicians, immigrants from Iran and Afghanistan had to learn rāga music from the Seniyās. All the founders of each gharānā of vocal khayāl music and instrumental sitār and sarod have learnt Hindustani rāga music from the Seniyās. In other words, the roots of each gharānā may be found in the Seniyās. If three successive generations following a soloist succeeded in maintaining and transmitting musical property, they were regarded as a gharānā.

As already mentioned above, it was the core lineage in the male line that maintained and managed musical property. On the other hand, there was another important female role that did not surface in the core lineage. This was the marriage relationship, which played a vital role in the formation of gharānās.

The marriage system has strongly influenced the making of gharānās. Before taking up the case of sarod gharānās, an overview of marriage systems and gift-exchange systems amongst the Muslims of India is in order. Owens says, “Women of the family line of these patrilineally organized gharānās have of course been family members but not gharānā members in the sense that they have not been professional musicians” (1983: 160). When a musician receives his wife from a family, however, he also receives the musical property of that family. As a result, this not only enables him to develop his own musical skills and knowledge, but also brings new blood into the gharānā as a community of practice. The gift of musical property along with the women adds variety to the existing musical property.

Barring certain exceptions, a Muslim can marry any relative of his lineage. In marriage, gift-exchange is limited to a mahr that goes from the boy’s family to the girl’s family. However, in the case of Indian Muslims, although the dowry custom is prevalent, actual practice varies from place to place and from family to family. Though there is no specific caste system among Indian Muslims, they usually marry within their bḥāʾī-bānd or
birādarī, a kind of homogeneous marriage circle based on descent, occupation and status. Indian Muslims are mainly converted Hindus. Even after their conversion they continue practicing the Hindu custom of dowry (Faridi and Siddiqi 1992).

As yet there has been no systematic research on marriage relationships among Indian Muslim musicians. From the limited available literature and interviews with musicians, cases have come to light in which musical property was gifted as a woman’s marriage dowry. When Mishri Singh married the daughter of Tansen (Saraswati), he is inferred to have received from Tansen 200 dhurpads as dowry (Singh 1995: 181). These dhurpads were the best compositions (bandīsh) of Tansen. Further, the descendants of Tansen are said to have passed on Tansen’s “book” of compositions as dowry. It was important that daughters did not marry outsiders (Neuman 1978: 218, n24). An “outsider” means a man who is other than a close relative, but in a wider sense is within the birādarī and in a narrow sense has practiced cousin marriage.

The Origin and Lineage of Sarod Gharānā

Four Gharānās of Sarod

Four sarod gharānās have existed to date, according to their descendants. The names of the founders are given in brackets. The gharānās given below are self-styled (self-proclaimed) by their descendants, who claim that their ancestors were either the court musicians of a particular court or lived in that city. There are, however, other opinions (gharānā names) about them too.

a) Shahjahanpur gharānā (Enayet Ali Khan)
b) Lucknow gharānā (Niyamatullah Khan)
c) Gwalior gharānā (Ghulam Ali Khan)
d) Maihar gharānā (Allauddinn Khan)

The core lineage (family) of the first three gharānās (a, b, c) are all Muslim families who claim to be of Ashraf’s race, i.e. Bangash Pathan of Afghanistan. The founder of the last Maihar gharānā declared that his ancestor was a Hindu Brahmin. The descendants of the Lucknow and Shahjahanpur gharānās claim that their ancestors converted Afghan rabāb into sarod, while the descendants of Maihar gharānā explain that their ancestor re-modified the initial sarod into a more sophisticated version.

The living successors (ghanānedār) of these four gharānās (as of January 2001) are as follows (*indicates sitār player).

a) Irfan Muhammad Khan (b. 1954), Shahid Khan (b. 1940), Idris Khan* (b. 1955), Aqueer Khan* (b. 1966)
b) Gulfam Ahmed Khan (b. 1956), Nurullah Khan* (b. 1938), Ghulam Sabir (b. 1948)
c) Amjad Ali Khan (b. 1945), Rahmat Ali Khan (b. 1940)
d) Ali Akbar Khan (b. 1922)

Famous non-family living musicians of the Gwalior gharānā include Buddadev Das Gupta (b. 1938), Kalyan Mukherjea (b. 1948), and Narendra Nath Dhar (b. 1955). The representative non-family musician of the Maihar gharānā is Ravi Shankar (b. 1920).
This paper focuses on two of the four gharānās, the Shahjahanpur gharānā and the Lucknow gharānā. (The two later combined to form the Lucknow-Shahjahanpur gharānā of those whose ancestors came from Afghanistan to India.) It further discusses their marriage relationships, master-disciple systems, and transformations. This paper also takes up another Pathan sarodiyā, the Gwalior gharānā, in the section on Shahjahanpur gharānā, because of the relationships that exist between them.

In this paper, I use the term sarodiyā not as a general occupation (Sarodist or Sarod player), but as socio-historical concept referring to a military musician “caste.”

History and Oral Tradition of Pathan Sarodiyā

Bahlul Lodi established the Pathan dynasty in North India. He was the governor of the Punjab during the Sayyid dynasty (1414-1450). Lodi dethroned the Prime Minister of the Sayyid dynasty in 1451 and declared himself the first Sultan of the Lodi dynasty (1451-1526). He forged a good relationship with the Rajputs, but the next Sultan and his son could not maintain this relationship, and became their enemies. This was one of the factors why the Lodi dynasty could not endure in India. Taking advantage of this confused situation, Babur of Kabul invaded India and overthrew the Lodi dynasty.

Babur (reigned 1526-30) became the first emperor of the Mughal dynasty, but he reigned for only a short period and died in Agra. Humayun (reigned 1530-1540, 1555-1556), his son, succeeded him but due to the internal rivalry amongst his brothers, he was defeated by Sher Shah Sur and had to escape to Persia. Sher Shah (reigned 1540-1545) established the second Pathan dynasty, the Sur dynasty (1540-53), in Delhi. He belonged to the third generation of Pathans who came to India from Afghanistan. Sher Shah’s grandfather was a horse trader in Afghanistan. However, he did not do well. As a result, he moved into North India and served under the regional governor of the Lodi dynasty. His grandson Sher Shah began serving as an aide to the regional governor, and owing to his intelligence and capabilities he became the ruler of north India. Sher Shah died an early and unexpected death, and the Sur dynasty met its untimely end.

According to the sarodiās, their ancestors arrived in India during this era of conflict. Umar Khan of the Shahjahanpur gharānā described his ancestors in the following manner.

Along with Babur’s army, came some Afghans, who used to walk ahead of the army, playing army-music. They were called “Mīrs”. They used to play Rabab and Duff. They played and sang the songs of battle and bravery. “Mīrs” had a respectable place in army. Humayun was defeated by Sher Shah and went to Iran. At that time some of the “Mīrs” went with him, while some remained in India, as Sher Shah himself was an Afghan. He gave many jāgīrs to “Mīrs”. “Mīrs” also lived in the areas where Pathan families were living. (Umar Khan 1976: 95)

Aqueer Khan who belongs to another family of the Shahjahanpur gharānā, describes his roots according to what he has heard from his grandfather, father, and other relatives.
Our ancestors came to India along with the army of Babur. They were quite respected and were called “Mir Jung.” During the reign of Shahjahan, they were given jāgirs as prizes. Where ever the Pathans lived, the sarodiyaś also came and settled over there. Their main places were Bulandshahar (U.P.), Farukhabad, Kayam ganj, Ramur, Shahjahanpur and Jalalabad. (Aqueer Khan n.d.)

Aqueer Khan and his ancestors also claim that their roots are in the Mir who came from Afghanistan with Babur’s army. According to them, the Mīrs were warriors who led the army playing rabāb and raised the morale of the troops, thus being first warriors and then musicians. This explanation indicates that they perhaps wanted to emphasize the difference between the mīrāsīs who belonged to the rural-folk-musician caste, and the Mīrs.

Gulfam Ahmad of the Lucknow gharānā (n.d.) explains, “Sarod and rabāb have been existing together for centuries. Though their shapes they resemble each other but are two different instruments. Sarod was played in the battle field along with drums and nagadas, where the rabāb was played either by sufi fakirs or mīrāsīs of Afghanistan.” It can therefore be said that the sarodiyaś belonged to the Mīrs of the early medieval period.

On one hand, the sarodiyaś claim that their settlement in India dates back to the period of Sher Shah. Their direct ancestors settled in India during or after Shahjahan’s reign when they were allotted grants (jāgirs) in lieu of salary. Their duties included breeding and keeping horses and rendering support for the army in times of war. Horse trading and breeding was a common profession in Pathan society during the medieval period. Sher Shah’s grandfather, for example, was a horse trader in Afghanistan. This could have been the reason that sarodiyaś families were either horse traders or army musicians.²¹)

Irfan Khan (b. 1954), younger son of Umar Khan, comments on the origin of the three gharānās as follows.

During the early part of the 18th century three Afghans belonging to the Bangash clan came to India, they were Najaf Ali Khan, Madar Khan and Md. Hashmi Khan. Najaf Ali Khan and Md. Hashmi Khan were horse traders and Madar Khan held a commission in the cavalry i.e. he was a “risaldār”. Since they were Pathans they naturally settled in Rohilkhand, a region in Awadh where Pathans held sway. (Irfan Muhammad Khan 1991: 43)

In this connection, Najaf Ali Khan is the ancestor of the Shajahanpur gharānā, Madar Khan is the ancestor of the Lucknow (Bulandshahar) gharānā, and Muhammad Hasimi Khan is the ancestor of the Gwalior gharānā. The home provinces of Pathans in India were Rohilkhand, Awad and their surroundings (see map). Shajahanpur belonged to Rohilkhand and Lucknow was the royal city of Awadh.

_**Shajahanpur Gharānā**_

Shajahanpur is located about 160 km northwest of Lucknow. Shajahanpur was established in 1647 by the Pathan governor, Bahadur Khan Rohilla,²²) during the reign of Shahjahan (reigned 1628-58). According to Kolff, who investigated the ethno-history of the sipāhi market in North India, “Bahadur Khan Rohilla, then Abdullah Khan’s successor as
jāgīrdār of Kalpi and Kanauj, brought a caravan of 9,000 Afghans to populate all ‘52 mohallas’ of the newly founded city of Shahjahanpur” (1990: 13). A mohalla is a bounded area or neighborhood in which people of similar professions or families lived together. In the words of Vatuk, “The mohalla is more than a defined geographical space; it is social space” (1972: 149).

Out of the 52 mohallas, sarodiyā families lived in 11. This fact substantiates the oral tradition of the Shahjahapur gharānā, “There were 11 mohallas of sarodiyās in Shahjahanpur. However, only four gharānās became famous” (Aqueer Khan n.d.). The names of those gharānās might have derived from the mohallas.

1) Sinzai
2) Jalalnagar
3) Par
4) Bijilipura

The ancestors of each of these gharānās are as follows.

1) Gul Muhammad Shah Khan (Hasan Ali Khan)
2) Gaus Muhammad Shah Khan (Hussain Ali Khan)
3) Ghulam Ali Khan
4) Murad Ali Khan
It is not clear whether the ancestors of each gharānā were contemporary with each other. It may be said, however, that they lived somewhere between the end of the 18th century and the late 19th century.

Of those four families, the direct descendants of Sinzai claimed to have established the Shahjahanpur gharānā and the disciples of Jalalnagar claimed to have established the Jalalnagar gharānā. There are no musicians who are direct descendants in the Jalalnagar gharānā. It is believed that the ancestors of the Sinzai and Jalalnagar gharānās, Guru Muhammad Shah and Gaus Muhammad Shah, came from the same lineage (khāndān). The Shahjahanpur gharānā is a single entity, but in detailed terms it is divided into two groups: the Sinzai group and the Jalalnagar group.

According to the oral tradition of the Jalalnagar group, Ghulam Ali of Par was related to the court of Farrukhabad, which is very close to Shahjahanpur. Murad Ali of Bijilipura was related to the court of Darbhanga in Bihar. Farrukhabad was established in 1714 by Muhammad Khan Bangash, leading an army of 12,000 Pathans, who fought for Farrukhsiyar (reigned 1713-1719). Mohammad Khan was the chief of Bangash Pathans, who ruled over Kayamganji.

Amjad Ali Khan of the Gwalior gharānā asserts that he comes from the Bangash Pathan clan of Afghanistan, and may be a descendant of this Ghulam Ali. He does not say anything about his ancestor’s relationship with the court of Shahjahanpur or Farrukhabad. He does, however, emphasize his ancestor’s relationship with the Rewa and Gwalior courts, which were ruled by Hindu Rajas (Malhotra 1973). He claims himself to be from Gwalior. Ghulam Ali and Murad Ali are believed to have been either father and son or brothers, but nothing has been said about their relationship in the oral tradition of the Jalalnagar group. Moreover, there is hardly any accurate information about the Gwalior gharānā of sarodiyās. This paper will not therefore treat the lineage of Ghulam Ali and Murad Ali as part of the Shahjahanpur gharānā.

The founder of the Sinzai group (Table 1) was Enayet Ali Khan (1790-1883), who was the son of Gul Mohammad Shah Khan (Hasan Ali Khan or Insaf Khan). He became a disciple of Kasim Ali Khan of Seniyā, and was an Indian rabāb player. Kasim Ali was a court musician of the Bhaval district in Dhaka, where Enayet Ali also became a court musician. He was the first ever Indian musician to go to England to play sarod, and played during Queen Victoria’s coronation ceremony (Umar Khan 1976: 95). His son, Shafayet Ali Khan (1838-1915), was a famous sarodiyā who worked in Azamgarh and Junagarh.

It was Sakhawat Hussain Khan (1875-1955), the son of Shafayet Ali Khan, who made this gharānā famous (Plate 2). In the 3rd All India Music Conference held in Varanasi (1919), he had the honor of being included among some of the outstanding sarodiyās of the time, such as Fida Hussain Khan and Karamatullah Khan. After listening to his performance, Bhatkhande decided to recruit Sakhawat Hussain as a professor of sitār and sarod at Marris College (later Bhatkhande Music College), founded in 1926. From 1935 to 1937, Sakhawat Hussain took a break to become the chief musician of Madam Menaka’s dance troupe. He toured Europe repeatedly with Menaka and her troupe. He won medals when he played at the World Olympics held in Berlin, and also gave sarod recitals for Hitler, Stalin and Mussolini (Chaubey 1958b; Misra 1985).
Table 1  Shahjahanpur Gharānā (Sinzai)

Guru Mohammad Shah Khan  
(Hasan Ali Khan or Insaf Khan)

Enayet Ali Khan  
(1790-1883)

Shafayet Khan  
(1838-1915)

Sakhawat Hussain Khan  
(1875-1955)

Umar Khan  
(1916-1982)

Ilyas Khan  
(1924-1989)

Shahid Khan  
(b. 1940)

Irfan Khan  
(b. 1954)

Idris Khan  
(b. 1955)

Plate 2  Sakhawat H.Khan (right)
His sons were Umar Khan (1916-1982) and Ilyas Khan (1924-1989). Umar Khan became a renowned sarodiyā and music scholar, and settled in Calcutta. Ilyas Khan, professor of sitār in Bhatkhande Music College in Lucknow, became a disciple of Yusuf Ali Khan. Although his father Sakhawat Hussain gave initial training to Ilyas Khan, he thought so highly of his close friend Yusuf Ali that he insisted on his sons receiving most of their talīm from him (Misra 1985: 35). Yusuf Ali was a disciple of the Seni-bīṅkar gharānā. In addition to his own gharānā’s performance skill, Ilyas Khan acquired the ālāp and gat technique of bikar-bāj. 28) In consequence, many gharānedār musicians of the Lucknow-Shahjahanpur gharānā learned music from Ilyas Khan.

It was Fida Hussain Khan (1855-1927), who made this gharānā famous (Table 2; Plate 3). He became a disciple of Amir Khan Seniya (father of Wazir Khan), who belonged to the Seni-bīṅkar (Roy Choudhury n.d.: 33). Fida Hussain participated in the second and third All India Music Conferences in Delhi (1918) and Varanasi (1919) respectively. He won the gold medal and was highly esteemed. It is said that he was the ideal sarod player for Hafiz Ali Khan of the Gwalior gharānā and Allauddin Khan of the Maihar gharānā (Chaubey 1958a: 24). He was deprived of his beloved son, Taj Muhammad Khan, as successor.

The senior disciple of Fida Hussain, Musharraf Hussain Khan, did not have children. 29) He therefore adopted three sons of his younger brother Musawwar Khan and taught them sitār (Aqueer Khan n.d.). One of these three adopted sons was Akhtar Khan (d. 1989), and his son’s name in the Jalalnagar gharānā is Aqueer Khan. 30)

Table 2  Shahjahanpur Gaharārā (Jalarnagar)

Gaus Mohammad Shah Khan  
(Hussain Khan)

Hasan Khan

Fida Hussain Khan  
(1955-1927)

Taj Mohammad Khan  
(d. 1925)

Musharraf Hussain Khan

Aktar Khan  
(d. 1989)

Aqueer Khan  
(b. 1966)
Lucknow Gharānā

Lucknow is now the capital of Uttar Pradesh (U.P.), and was the site of the royal court of the Awadh dynasty (1720-1856). Lucknow became the musical center of North India after the decline of the Mughal Empire. The name of the Lucknow gharānā dates back to the distinguished activity of Niyamatullah Khan (1809-1911) in the royal court of Wajid Ali Shah (reigned 1847-1856), last nawab of the Awadh dynasty. Niyamatullah became a disciple of Basat Khan Seniyā, who was the music guru of Wajid Ali, and moved to Calcutta with Basat Khan followed by Wajid Ali. His home province in India, however, was Baglasi in Bulandshanar, which is located between Delhi and Rohilkhand. Umar Khan described this gharānā as follows.

An independent sarod line based in Bulandshahar was one that produced the two famous sarod players Niyamatullah Khan and Kharamatullah Khan in the late 19th and early 20th century. The originators of this line were again Afghans who had come to India as soldiers and musicians in early Mughal times. One of them, Gul Khan (1728-1779), was a trader who supplied horses to the army. He was presented a property grant in Bulandshahar. (Miner 1992: 141)

Historically the Lucknow gharānā was known as the Bulandshahar gharānā (Table 3). It was Karamatullan Khan (1848-1933) and Asadullah Khan (1852-1919), sons of Niyamatullah, who made this gharānā famous. Karamatullah Khan (Plate 4) taught many
Table 3  Lucknow Sarod Gharānā (Bagrasi)

- Madar Khan
- Gul Khan
- Haqdad Khan (1765-1836)
- Niyamatullah Khan (1809-1911)
  - Karamatullah Khan (1848-1933)
  - Asadullah Khan (1852-1919)
    - Ishtiaque Ahmad Khan (1919-1967)
    - Waliullah Khan (1890-1951)
      - Mukhtar Khan (1940-1994)
      - Gulfam Khan (b. 1956)
      - Nurullah Khan (b. 1938)
wealthy Hindu students and also wrote a book titled “Secret of Miracles or Blessed Melodies” (Isrā’i karāmāt urf naghmāt-i na’mat) (1908). His younger brother Asadullah Khan was known as Professor Kaukab and taught music at a private school in Calcutta (cf. Sharar 1994 [1975]: 137-141). He is believed to have introduced the sarod to Bengal. Both brothers went to Paris with Motilal Nehru. They were the first Indian musicians to visit France (Umar Khan 1978).

The oral history of this gharānā has been recorded in the following terms.

The famous sarodiyyā, Haqdad Khan Saheb (1765-1836: son of Gul Khan), was in the army and belonged to Bagrasi in the Bulandshahar district. His eldest son was Sarkar Niyamatullah Khan who was a very famous in playing sarod, and had learnt from the grand son of Tansen, Basat Khan Sahib, rabāhi. Niyamatullah Khan was educated very widely on Indian Music by Basat Khan. Niyamatullah Khan served in the court of Badshah Wajid Ali Shah of Lucknow and later went to Nepal. His two sons became very famous in playing sarod. His elder son was Karamatullah Khan, who lived in Allahabad and Calcutta. He had several talented good disciples namely - Baran Seel, Kali Pal, Taru Bose, Motilal Banaras-wale, Sakhowat Khan etc. Karamatullah Khan’s son was Ishtiyaque Ahmad Khan (1919-1967). He was also a very famous sarodiyyā, but died at a young age. He was working at the Delhi Radio Station. Ishtiyaque Ahmad Khan’s son is Mukhtiyar Khan (1941-1994). He also played sarod and served at the Delhi Radio Station. The younger brother of Karamatullah Khan was Asadullah Khan Kaukab. Asadullah Khan was a well known respected Pandit of sarod. He had 3 sons: Waliullah Khan....

Haqdad Khan’s brother Karam Khan was a very good sarodiyyā. He was in the court of Alwar. His son Kifayat Khan, had two sons, named Shafiqullah Khan (famous sitār player) and Rafiqullah Khan (famous Harmonium player). Shafiqullah Khan has a son who plays sarod, his name is Ghulam Sabir (Aqueer Khan n.d.).

As described above, there were two lineages of sarodiyyās in Lucknow (Bulandshahar): Haqdad Khan and his younger brother, Karam Khan (Table 4). The family of Karam Khan served the court of Alwar near Jaipur, but their homeland was Dholpur (Dhaulpur) near Agra. The Lucknow gharānā is a single entity, in detailed terms it is divided into two groups: the Bagrasi group (lineage from Haqdad Khan to Gulfam Ahmad) and the Dholpur group (lineage from Karam Khan to Ghulam Sabir).

**From Sarodiyyā to Sarodist**

As the form of war changed, the role of the sarodiyyā as Mir declined. Their main income was from jāgīrs, horse breeding and trading. One of them started learning Indian classical music directly from a Seniyā in the 19th century.

Haqdad Khan, father of Niyamatullah Khan who was the founder of the Lucknow gharānā, was not a professional musician but a soldier-musician. Niyamatullah Khan also spent his youth as a horse trader. The playing of Afghan rabāb was only a hobby or side business for them at this time. The story of Niyamatullah’s turning point is described as follows.
Amongst others Rajab Khan was a famous Sarod Player who also happened to be the Father-in-Law of the legendary Sarod player Sarkar Niyamatullah Khan. Sarkar Niyamatullah Khan used to trade horses and elephants from India to Arabs. His father-in-law Rajab Khan once told him “How can a trader of horses understand and appreciate music when he is always immense in the stench and odor of horses.” These words changed Niyamatullah Khan’s entire life. He took it as a challenge and vowed that he would return home only after achieving his goal of becoming a famous musician. He joined the court of Nawab Wajid Ali Shah and became a disciple of Basat Khan who was a descendant of Tansen. Niyamatullah Khan offered one lakh silver coins to his Guru and started learning Hindustani ragas. He was an ardent and devoted disciple. During his training he took his guru’s permission to alter the design of Sarod because it was not possible to do “sūt” and “mīnd” work on Sarod. His guru Basat Khan gave him permission to change the existing form of sarod. Niyamatullah Khan took his sarod to an ironsmith and asked him to change the center wooden main body and put iron plate in its place. He got iron, brass and bronze strings attached to his sarod. This fully changed the sound and lent depth to the music. He intensively practiced on the new sarod.

His guru was greatly pleased and asked Niyamatullah Khan to play sarod in a function organized in the court of Wajid Ali Shah. Nawab was extremely impressed by his sarod playing and conferred upon him the title of “Sarkar.” (Gulfam Ahmad Khan n.d.)

According to descendants of Pathan sarodiyās, their origin is attributed to Mīrs from Afghanistan who came to India during the reign of Babur (reigned 1526-30). On the other hand, the memory of their direct ancestors goes only as far as Shahjahan or Aurangzeb. It was in the 19th century that the founder of their gharānā learnt rāga music from a Seniyā.
In terms of three successive generations, the definition of a *gharānā*, it may be presumed that the *gharānā* was formed during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. With the formation of the *gharānā*, these *sarodiyās* as a caste started becoming *sarod* musicians, Sarodists. This period overlaps the period of the British Empire.

The Mughal Empire and Awadh dynasty collapsed and the musicians had to migrate to Bengal in east India, Rajasthan in west India and Rampur, center of Rohelkhand, in search of patrons who would love and appreciate their music. The nawab of Rampur had cordial relations with the British. The development of the railway in the mid-19th century made their movement to different places much easier.

The *sarod gharānās* of Shahjahanpur and Lucknow met and developed marriage relations. This was a period of agitation, a time when Islam and Hindu kingships were collapsing and India was preparing to become independent from British rule.

### Social Relationship of *Sarod Gharānā* during the Formation Period

#### Shahjahanpur *Gharānā*

As mentioned earlier, there were at least two groups of *sarodiyās* in the Shahjahanpur *gharānā*: Sinzai and Jalalnagar. The marriage relationships of the Sinzai group will be examined first (Table 5). The two sons of Sakhawat Hussain married two daughters of his

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5</th>
<th>Shahjahanpur <em>Gharānā</em></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Najaf Khan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaler Khan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaus Mohammad Shah Khan</td>
<td>Guru Mohammad Shah Khan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasan Khan</td>
<td>Enayet Ali Khan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fida Hussain Khan</td>
<td>Shafayet Ali Khan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taj Mohammad Khan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sakhawat Hussain Khan</td>
<td>Sujat Khan (non-musician)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umar Khan</td>
<td>Ilyas Khan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shahid Khan (b. 1940)</td>
<td>Irfan Khan (b. 1954)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idris Khan (b. 1955)</td>
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*marriage relation*
younger brother. This is a patrilateral parallel-cousin marriage (PPCM).

Fida Hussain of Jalalnagar married Enayet Ali’s daughter from the Sinzai group (Miner 1997: 141). If we believe that Enayet Ali’s father and Fida Hussain’s grandfather were brothers, it was a PPCM. The disciple of Fida Hussain, Musharraf Hussain married the daughter of Shafayet Ali, but did not have children. He therefore adopted three sons of Musawwar Khan, his younger brother, and taught them sitār (Aqueer n.d.). One of the three sons, Akhatar Khan (d. 1989), took Sakhawat Hussain’s daughter as his bride. Matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (MCCM) came into existence with this phenomenon where the sons and disciples of the Jalalnagar group took their wives from the Sinzai group (Table 6). In other words Jalalnagar become a wife-taker (WT) and Sinzai a wife-giver (WG). MCCM (mother’s brother’s daughter: MBD) is a marriage to strengthen the relations between guru and sishya, where the guru takes his disciple nephew as his son-in-law, by giving his daughter as a bride.

Let us now examine the guru-sishya relationship. In both Sinzai and Jalalnagar, the guru was primarily the father or grandfather, and secondly the brother of the father or grandfather. In other words, the disciple was a son, a grandson or a nephew. So it is clear that the musical knowledge of the gharānā was kept within the patrilineal family. Irfan Khan of Sinzai, however, did not tie a ganda (thread) with his father. Instead he tied a ganda with his uncle Ilyas Khan. It seems that beside the blood relationship of father and son or grandfather and grandson, the guru-sishya relationship by tying a ganda was quite popular.

Next, let us look at the guru-sishya relationship between the Sinzai group and the disciple line of the Jalalnagar group within Shahjahanpur (Table 7). Akhatar Khan of disciple line of Jalalnagar learnt sitār from his mother’s two elder brothers, Umar Khan and Ilyas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jalalnagar</th>
<th>Sinzai</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gaus Muhammad Shah Khan</td>
<td>Guru Mohammad Shah Khan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasan Khan</td>
<td>Enayet Ali Khan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fida Hussain Khan</td>
<td>Shafayet Ali Khan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taj Mohammad Khan</td>
<td>Sakhawat Hussain Khan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musharraf Hussain Khan</td>
<td>(adopted)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akhatar Khan</td>
<td>Umar Khan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ilyas Khan</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b. 1966)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Shahid Khan</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Irfan Khan</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Idris Khan</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 Marriage relationship between Sinzai and Jalalnagar (disciple line)
Khan of Sinzai, after the death of his adopted father and guru Musharraf Hussain. Aqueer Khan, the son of Akhtar Khan, also learnt sitār from Ilyas Khan. Hence Sinzai (WG) became the guru line of Jalalnagar (WT).

If we consider the two groups of Sinzai and Jalalnagar as a whole, we find that there is a correlation between the direction of brides going from one family to another and the musical property being gifted. In this case, the brides and the musical property go from Sinzai to Jalalnagar.

**Lucknow Gharānā**

As far as it is known, there were also two groups in the Lucknow gharānā: Bagrasi and Dholpur. According to the oral tradition of the Bagrasi group, their ancestor Madar Khan (1704-1752) or his son Gul Khan (1728-1779) came from Afghanistan to North India (Tables 3 and 4). As described above, the Afghan families who migrated to India were either traders or performed odd jobs for the military. Niyamatullah Khan (1809-1911), who himself was a horse trader, started learning sarod from Basat Khan of Seniyā and became the founder of the Lucknow gharānā. The Bagrasi group is therefore deemed to be the lineage (khāndan) of khalifā.³³ On the other hand Ghulam Sabir, a descendant of Dholpur, says that they were related to Bagrasi through female connections (“silsila chaltā rahā”). He does not remember clearly, however, whether or not his great-grandfather Karam Khan (1787-1850) and Niyamatullah Khan’s father were brothers.³⁴

Niyamatullah Khan of Bagrasi married twice.³⁵ Karamatullah was born from his first wife and Asadullah from his second. Karamatullah married thrice. His first wife was from the Dholpur group (M1), and his second was from a Sayyad family which was in charge of a mosque in Delhi. The third wife of Karamatullah Khan was a female musician from
Allahabad (the marriage was performed in nikah style). Ishtiyaque Ahmad (1919-1967), who was the son of the second wife, married the daughter of Rafiquallah (1865-1970) from the Dholpur group (M2). Their son Mukhtar Ahmad (1941-1994) took the daughter of his mother’s younger sister as his bride (M3).

This is how the Bagrasi group and Dholpur group were related to each other through marriage for at least three successive generations (Table 8). These marriages were matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (M2) and matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage (M3). If the Bagrasi and Dholpur groups both had the same ancestor (Aqueer Khan n.d.; Mukhopadhyay 1977; Miner 1993: 140-1), then M1, M2 and M3 are secondary patrilateral parallel-cousin marriages (cf. Murphy and Kasden 1959). The important factor here is that the girls from the Dholpur group (śishya lineage) moved to the Bagrasi group (guru lineage). In other words, the WG is the disciple line and the WT is the master line.

Let us examine the guru-śishya relationship. Rafiquallah (harmonium) and Shafiquallah (sitār), brothers from the Dholpur group, learnt rāga music from Karamatullah of Bagrasi. This means that the direction in which brides went from one family to another was opposite to the direction in which musical property flowed (Table 9). On the other hand, Ishtiaque Ahmad who lost his father during his childhood, learnt music from his maternal uncle Rafiquallah, who was the disciple of his own father, Karamatullah.

Now, where did the Dholpur group get the brides from? According to Ghulam Sabir, the family of his mother was the sarodiyā of Malihabad, which is situated between Lucknow and Shahjahanpur.36) Ghulam Sabir’s wife says, “My husband’s family is a khāndāni sarodiyā, whereas my family is Mīrāsī gharānā, specializing in harmonium and tabla.”37) A khāndāni sarodiyā means a soloist from a sarod gharānā and Mīrāsī means an accompanist. In light of this, we can presume that there were more than the four famous

![Table 8](image-url)
sarod gharānās mentioned earlier.

The Seniyās in the center were surrounded by soloist (Kalāwant) gharānās who obtained their knowledge from Seniyās. Then on the periphery were the accompanist (Mīrāsī) gharānās who were related to the soloist gharānās through marriage or guru-shishya relationships, which at times were formal or informal. In other words, Seniyās formed a nucleus surrounded by different gharānās, which in turn were surrounded by Mīrāsīs and obscure gharānās.38)

**Relationship between Shahjahanpur and Lucknow Gharānās**

Although Shahjahanpur and Lucknow are two different gharānās, the descendants of both claim that they are in fact one gharānā (see, for example, Irfan Muhammad Khan 1991: 43; Misra 1985: 34; Miner 1993: 140-141). In their introductory pamphlets, they include the names of musicians of each other’s lineage. The reason is that Niyamatullah Khan, founder of the Lucknow gharānā, and Enayet Ali Khan, the founder of the Shahjahanpur gharānā, became intimate friends, after which Niyamatullah’s daughter married Enayet Ali’s son, Shafayet Ali Khan. Shafayet Ali’s son, Sakhowat Hussain, married the daughter of Asadullah Khan, who was the son of Niyamatullah Khan. At the same time, the brother of Sakhowat Hussain married the sister of Sakhowat Hussain’s wife.39) As a result of these matrilateral cross-cousin marriages, the girls of Lucknow went to Shahjahanpur (Table 10).

The guru-shishya relationship between Lucknow (L) and Shahjahanpur (S) is as follows. Looking at the flow of tracking, i.e. from Niyamatullah (L) to Shafayet Ali (S), from Karamatullah and Asadullah (L) to Sakhowat Hussain (S), one finds that the Lucknow gharānā is the guru of the Shahjahanpur gharānā. In other words, musical property was gifted to Shahjahanpur by Lucknow (Table 11).
Table 10  Marriage relationship between Shahjahanpur and Lucknow Gharānā

Shahjahanpur Gharānā
- Guru Mohammad Shah Khan
  - Enayet Ali Khan
  - Shafayet Khan
    - Sakhawat Hussain Khan
      - Umar Khan
      - Shahid Khan (b.1940)
      - Irfan Khan (b.1954)
  - Ilyas Khan

Lucknow Sarod Gharānā
- Haqdad Khan
  - Asadullah Khan
    - Waliullah Khan
  - Karamatullah Khan
  - Niyamatullah Khan
  - Ishtiaque Ahmad Khan
  - Nurullah Khan (b.1938)
  - Mukhtar Khan (1941-1994)
  - Gulfam Khan (b. 1956)

Table 11  Marriage relationship and Guru-shisya Relationship between Shahjahanpur and Lucknow

Shahjahanpur Gharānā (Sinzai)
- Guru Mohammad Shah Khan
  - Enayet Ali Khan
  - Shafayet Khan
    - Sakhawat Hussain Khan
      - Umar Khan
      - Shahid Khan (b.1940)
      - Irfan Khan (b.1954)
  - Ilyas Khan

Lucknow Sarod Gharānā (Bagrasi)
- Haqdad Khan
  - Asadullah Khan
    - Waliullah Khan
  - Karamatullah Khan
  - Niyamatullah Khan
  - Ishtiaque Ahmad Khan
  - Nurullah Khan (b.1938)
  - Mukhtar Khan (1941-1994)
  - Gulfam Khan (b. 1956)

- flow of woman
- direction of teaching
According to Irfan Mohammad Khan, the music of Lucknow came into Shahjahanpur through matrilineal cross cousin marriages over two successive generations. He further says that the dowry came from wife-giver to wife-taker in India, a practice that was contrary to the customs of the Pathans in Afghanistan. Shahjahanpur acquired various kinds of bandish from the Lucknow gharānā along with the brides; thus, the bandish were the main properties of the sarod gharānā. According to him, Shahjahanpur musicians used three fingers (the index, middle and ring fingers) of their left hands to press on the strings while playing sarod, but after learning bandish from Lucknow they started using only two fingers (the index and middle fingers). It seems that in order to master the bandish, the musicians of Shahjahanpur gharānā had to learn Lucknow’s fingering and practice methods at the same time.

Irfan argues that the Pathan custom of mahr changed to the dowry custom in the following way. According to him, many Hindus who converted to Islam could not do away with their custom of dowry. This meant that over the course of time the Pathans also naturally acquired the habit of dowry.

Transformation of Gharānā in the Post-formation Period

In the formation period, patrilateral parallel-cousin marriages were frequently seen within the gharānās itself, and matrilateral cross-cousin marriage took place between different gharānās. The same phenomenon was seen in the Lucknow and Shahjahanpur gharānās as well. After Independence, however, such marriages did not take place (after the partition of India and Pakistan). The contemporary descendants of gharānās started taking their brides from families of non-musicians; polygamy is also rarely practiced now. The changes in the marriage relationship and birādarī influenced the development of gharānās and the training of successors. This was also related to social structures and the politico-economical environment: for example, the transformation of the patron-client relationship, the development of mass media, and the emergence of music school education. This especially affected their economic life. It was a time when, the majority of professional musicians converted from Islam to Hinduism and Indian classical music started being identified as the national music of India.

If we take the Lucknow-Shahjahanpur gharānā as an example, its descendants do not necessarily depend on music to earn their livelihood. Shahid Khan has one son and three daughters, but none of them are musicians. The children of Nurullah Khan and Ghulam Sabir gave up pursuing music half way. Whatever their talents or preferences, it could have been a risky proposition for them to pursue only music without attending school.

The earlier musicians could concentrate solely on their music as they were blessed with patrons who would provide them with economic support. A musician of considerable standard would take over the position of his father or brother, and with the support of his family network he would also acquire a new patron. The patrons of today, however, are the unspecified majority who sit in a big hall and watch the musician performing on the stage. Apart from his own particular gharānā, the success of a musician does not depend on a sole patron, but on the art of attracting a general audience. He has both to bring out the specific techniques of his gharānā along with his personal skills of improvisation, and also to
arrange his music according to the taste of the audience. Many of the musicians who make a living from their concerts and recordings have assimilated new styles such as gayaki-ang (vocal style) and sawāl-jawāb (rhythmic competition/dialogue) with tabla in their music. Such new styles of performance in foreign countries by prominent Indian musicians have also influenced the classical instrumental music of India.

Apart from these performing musicians described above, the most stable profession for a musician is either to work with radio/TV stations or to become a teacher at a music school. In order to become a music teacher in a college or university, one has to have high qualifications. The Muslim hereditary musicians only practiced music without going to school for an education. Most of them also had no knowledge or interest in the theory of music. The sons and daughters of upper-caste Hindus learnt classical music in music school, from a teacher rather than following the guru-śishya relationship, because they regarded classical music as their cultural education. The reason that the majority of music teachers today are Hindu is related to these factors.

Irfan Khan, who is one of the main sources of information for this paper, is the only musician of the Lucknow-Shahjahanpur gharānā with a master’s degree in music. As he has no male child, he has decided to teach sitār and sarod to his two young daughters. Until recently, it was customarily forbidden to teach music to girls in the family (see Tamori 2000). It was the practice in gharānās that only the male children would carry on the art of music, but this has diminished over the last 50 years. As a result, some renowned female sarod players have emerged on the scene.

We may have seen the end of the era in which a female child of a gharānā could not become a musician herself, but served only as a medium to transfer musical property either inside or outside the gharānā in the form of dowry. As far as I know, the son of Gulfam Ahmad of the Lucknow-Shahjahanpur gharānā is the only one of the younger generation who continues practicing sarod to become a professional musician.

Conclusion

The ancestors of the Lucknow and Shahjahanpur gharānās came from Afghanistan in the 18th century and settled in North India. Their main income was from jāgīrs, horse breeding and trading. One of them started learning Indian classical music directly from a Seniyā in the 19th century. He accumulated a part of the musical knowledge of rāga and started performing in the courts of Rajas and Nawabs.

He eventually became the founder of his own gharānā. It may be said that the secret musical knowledge that was transmitted successively for three generations ultimately became an intangible asset that took the place of their physical property such as land and horses. In this paper I have described the correlation between the marriage relationship and guru-śishya relationship connected with the management and transmission of musical property.

The main features of the marriage system in Pathan families of East Afghanistan and West Pakistan were clan endogamy (marriage within clan or lineage), patrilateral parallel-cousin marriage and hypergamy as an important index of political status and in making
This type of marriage system had two features. First, they could keep their land within their own family/lineage/clan. Second, even within groups descended from the same father, they were of unequal social status, which affected or regulated the price of mahr.

The system of dowry developed in Hindu society due to hypergamy. In the upper classes of Hindu society in North India, caste endogamy, clan (gōtra) exogamy and hypergamy were observed. The WT has a higher social status in society than the WG. As a result the lower-status WG has to offer dowry to the higher-status WT (cf. Srinivas 1989). It is said that Indian Muslims also have a tendency toward hypergamy and gift-exchange similar to offering dowry. In marriages, musical property was also exchanged in the same way as dowry. This principle did not apply, however, if the disciple was a WT and the guru is a WG.

As Neuman describes, it seems that the core families of gharānās were almost always Muslim and cousin marriage system played a strategic role in keeping musical property strictly within the family. As I pointed out at the beginning of this paper, however, it does not reveal how the gharānās were formed through a combination of marriage and guru-śishya relationships, and also how their musical property was maintained and transmitted.

In this paper, I have tried to show that marriages within the same gharānā had a tendency toward patrilateral parallel-cousin marriage during the formation period of sarod gharānās, whereas marriages between two different gharānās were often in the form of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage.

Matrilateral cross-cousin marriage between two different gharānās is a marriage system that is not an annexation of different groups but which makes possible a much wider social union. This kind of wider social union is not found in the male-centered genealogical system. In this case, the girls of one family are wedded to another fixed family and hence the musical property also travels in a similar direction, i.e. from the girl’s to the boy’s family (Table 12). This is how the transmission of musical property became possible through the correlation between cross-cousin marriage and guru-śishya paramaparā.

These systems of patrilateral parallel-cousin marriage and matrilateral cross-cousin marriage are no longer practiced in the post-formation period (after the India-Pakistan partition). This change in the marriage system influenced the guru-śishya relationship in a positive manner, as the guru started imparting secret musical knowledge to his disciple more liberally. As a result, musical property that until then had been secretly guarded within the lineage became available to a deserving disciple.

This transformation of gharānās from the formation to the post-formation period is also related to the wider socio-historical backdrop, including the following factors.

1) The change in patron-client relationship, i.e. change in audience from royal courts to general public.

2) The emergence of All India Music Conferences, where musicians of different gharānās performed on the same platform.

3) The development of mass media, such as radio, TV and recordings.

4) The growth and expansion of the music school education system i.e. establishment of departments of music in various colleges, universities and independent schools of music.
These departments of music started teaching the theory of music, including the history of Indian music, and also started notating various *bandish* in the Indian system as well as simple patterns of improvisation and variation.

All these features were interlinked, meaning that the secret techniques and knowledge that had been guarded for generations now became available to music students and connoisseurs. Furthermore, the knowledge and skills of one *gharānā* could easily be acquired by other *gharānās*.

The globalization of Hindustani music became possible as some renowned musicians started performing abroad. This globalization has influenced both the socio-economic position of *gharānedār* musicians and their identity. Future research on the change of musical community should be carried out. I would also like to explore the relationships between changes in the socio-economic environment and the strategies adopted by musicians.

**Acknowledgments**

The present paper contains part of the results of my fieldwork in India (1998-99), carried out with the financial support of the Japan Science Foundation. I offer my sincere thanks to Dr. Manjushree Chauhan (Center of Japanese Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi) for extending help during my research since 1994. I offer my heartfelt gratitude to my *guru* in *sarod*, Prof. Klyan Mukherhea, and all the other musicians whom I interviewed and consulted in India, especially Irfan Muhammad Khan and Gulfam Ahmad Khan.
Notes
1) The word *gharānā* has evolved from the Sanskrit word *griha* (home, family), from which the Hindi word *ghar* (home, family) seems to have been derived (cf. Dhar 1989: 6).
2) This fretless, waisted instrument made out a single block of wood, 1.2-1.5m in length is similar to the Afghan *rabāb* (see Plate 1). The round end (20-30 cm in diameter) is covered with parchment, at the center of which is the bridge. From the bridge end the instrument tapers toward the neck. The middle portion of the hollow body is covered with a highly polished metal sheet to form the fingerboard. Six to eight playing strings (four main strings) are supported by nine to twelve sympathetic strings, all of metal (cf. Ranade 1990: 115). For more information on *sarod*, see Tamori (1995).
3) See Jairazbhoy (1995 [1971]) for an analysis of Hindustani music and *rāga*.
4) I owe the concept of “community of practice” to Lave and Wenger [1991], who propose that learning is a process of participation in communities of practice participation that is at first legitimately peripheral but that increases gradually in engagement and complexity.
6) See Roy Choudhry (n.d.) and Dhar (1989) on Seniya and Seni *gharānā*.
7) Contradictory viewpoints have been advanced regarding the birth year of Tansen; various dates have been put forward that range between 1492 and 1531, a span of nearly four decades (Dhar 1989: 19).
9) Washifuddin Dagar (b. 1967), who belongs to one of the oldest families of dhrupad, commented: “We learn or teach bandish in the last step” (personal communication, January 2003, Delhi).
10) See Pranjanananda (1981: chapter 11) and Deshpande (1973) on the khyāl.
11) *Surbahār* is a larger, lower-pitched version of the sitār. It is mainly employed for the slow-tempo musical elaborations known as ālāp. *Surśringār* is a larger, bass version of the sarod. It is mainly employed for the middle-tempo musical elaborations known as ālāp-jhor.
12) For general features of dowry in South Asia, see Tambiah (1973).
13) For discussions of caste among Indian Muslims, see Ansari (1960), Ahmad (1973, 1976), and Faridi and Siddiq (1992).
14) See Alavi (1972: 26) for discussion of Muslim “caste” and *birādarī*: “It creates a social organization which is locally cohesive, but spatially fragmented. All *birādarīs* in the endogamous system have *zāt* names. Such names are used locally, as surnames, to identify the *birādarīs*, but the existence of *zāt* names does not signify the existence of caste in the contemporary.” See also Ahmad (1973: 159-65; 1976: 321).
15) See Ahmad (1976: 326) on *birādarī* and *bhāt*-bānd: “The term *birādarī* is usually employed for those castes which have occupational name and generally possess a formal caste organization in the form of a caste panchāyat (council). On the other hand, the term *bhāt*-bānd is normally used to designate the households belonging to castes which lack a formal caste organization centering round a caste panchāyat and whose names indicate social origin rather than occupation. … Furthermore, the terms *bhāt*-bānd or *birādarī* and *zāt* are employed differently. The former is used by a person while referring to the households belonging to his own caste. While referring to the households belonging to a caste other than his own, he uses the term *zāt.*”
16) Gharānās that have no living musician-successor were excluded from this paper. For example, there is no consideration of the Rampur sarod gharānā to which Chunnu Khan and his cousin Ahmad Ali Khan, who was the guru of Allauddhin Khan of the Maihar gharānā, belonged.

17) Regarding the structure of Muslim society, Bhatti (1973: 92) states, “The entire Muslim society is divided into two major sections, the Ashrafs and the non-Ashrafs. The Ashraf castes are: the Sayyads, the Sheikhs, The Mughals, and the Pathans. All four castes claim higher status than non-Ashraf castes by virtue of their foreign descent. The non-Ashraf castes are all alleged to be converts from Hinduism.” For the caste of Muslim musicians and the problems of its categorization, see Tamori (2000).


19) I shall use the term Pathan to refer to those who live in India and speak Urdu/Hindu instead of the Pukhtun or Pashtun in Afghanistan and North-west Pakistan, though the word “Pathan” does not exist among Pukhto speakers and the Pukhtuns; it is an Anglo-Indian corruption.

20) This document is a Hindi manuscript (no page number) that was written by Aqueer Khan, who heard from his father and relatives.

21) Rose (1911: 107) offered a comment on mīrāsīs: “The mīrāsī or dum of Dera Ghazi Khan (North Pakistan) used to keep horse-stallions for breeding and he still does in the Bozdar hills.”

22) The word Rohilla is of Pathan origin, meaning “hillman.”

23) It may be the same as the person in parentheses.

24) See also Chaubey (1958a: 23) on the relation between Ghulam Ali and Farrukhabad.

25) About the origin of this gharānā, Amjad Ali Khan and Malhotra (1973: 18) state, “When the mutiny of Lucknow took place, Ghulam Ali Khan moved northwestwards to yet another state, that of the Sindias of Gwalior and was soon appointed court musician to the Maharaja. The Maharaja of Gwalior gave Ghulam Ali Khan a house to live in one of the suburbs called Jivaji Ganji, which house we inherited over the years and still possess.”

26) For more information on Ghulam Ali and his gharānā, see Chaubey (1958a), Imam (1959), Miner (1997: 123-4, 135, 140), and Roy Chowdhury (1929: 48-9).

27) Umar Khan (1978) gave his name as Insaf Khan, while his son Irfan Mohammad Khan (1991) identified him as Hasan Khan.


30) A self-introduction from a pamphlet by Aqueer Khan.


33) See Kippen (1988: 53) on khalīfa: “The highest social rank is accorded the head of the gharānā, known as the khalīfa, who will normally be the oldest performing authority on the gharānā’s repertoire and style.” See also Neuman (1990: 263, n8).


35) These comments based on an interview with Gulam Ahmad Khan, Delhi, August 1998.


38) In the Imperial Census, srodiyās were assigned to the same category as mīrāsīs (e.g. Blunt 1969:
205; Rose 1911: 118-9). For the problem of categorization and the treatment of Muslims, see Fujii (1993) and Tamori (2000).

39) However, Sakhawat’s brother was not a musician.

40) These comments are based on an interview with Irfan Mohammad Khan, Calcutta, December 1997.

41) Shahid Khan, interview, Lucknow, August 1997.


44) For more information on the relationship between kingship and musician (patron-client relationship), see Erdman (1978, 1985).

45) See Tamori (2001) for an analysis of the social world of Indian musicians and its changes after Independence.


47) An exception was the case of Annapuruna Devi, who was taught music (surbahār) by her father Allauddin Khan.

48) Famous female sarod players include Sharan Rani, Shri Gangli, and Zarin Dharwala.

49) This does not deny the possibility of future inter-marriage.

50) I owe this insight to William Hanks who states, “the larger community of practitioners reproduces itself through the formation of apprentices, yet it would presumably be transformed as well” (1991: 16).

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