

# The Transformation of Sarod Gharana : Transmitting Musical Property in Hindustani Music

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## The Transformation of *Sarod Gharānā*: Transmitting Musical Property in Hindustani Music

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### North Indian Classical Music and *Gharānā*

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.<sup>1)</sup>



Plate 1-1 Afghan *rabāb* and *sarod* (front view)

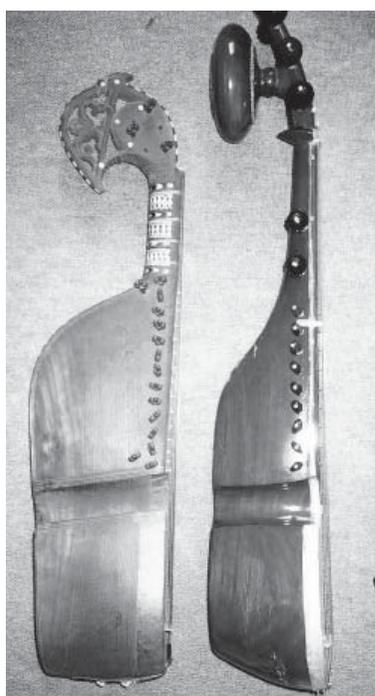


Plate 1-2 Afghan *rabāb* and *sarod* (side view)

This essay explores the *gharānā* of *sarod*<sup>2)</sup> (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*.<sup>3)</sup> 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.<sup>4)</sup>

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.<sup>5)</sup>

The former is relevant to genealogical legitimacy (*vamsha paramparā*) and the latter to the master-disciple relationship (*guru-śishya 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) *ganḍābandh*.

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 talīm* 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 *ganḍābandh talīm* was meant for those whom the teacher had accepted as his pupils through a formal ceremony (*ganḍābandhan*). 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 *ganḍābandh*. Of course, it was not easy to enter a *gharānā* and become a disciple with the status of *ganḍābandhan*. 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 *ghanḍābandha-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,<sup>6</sup> 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 (Seniās) are the descendants of Miyan Tansen (d. 1586)<sup>7)</sup> 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 Seni *gharānā* is used for the group that includes disciples who do not have a blood relationship with the Seniyās. The Seniyās developed *dhrupad*<sup>8)</sup> 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 *tōḍa*.

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*,<sup>9)</sup> 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*<sup>10)</sup> vocal music and *surbahār*, *surśringār*, *sitār* and *sarod* as instrumental music.<sup>11)</sup> 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 talīm* 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 Rajiputs 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-*bīnkar*, Naubat Khan (Hindu name: Mishri Singh), who married Tansen's daughter Saraswati, was originally a Rajiput. 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<sup>12)</sup> custom is prevalent, actual practice varies from place to place and from family to family.<sup>13)</sup> Though there is no specific caste system among Indian Muslims, they usually marry within their *bhāṭ-bānd* or

*birādarī*,<sup>14)</sup> a kind of homogeneous marriage circle based on descent, occupation and status.<sup>15)</sup> 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.<sup>16)</sup> 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<sup>17)</sup> race, i.e. Bangash<sup>18)</sup> Pathan<sup>19)</sup> 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 (*gharānedār*) 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 *sarodiyās*, 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.<sup>20)</sup>

Our ancestors came to India along with the army of Babur. They were quite respected and were called “*Mīr Jung*.” During the reign of Shahjahan, they were given *jāgīrs* as prizes. Where ever the Pathans lived, the *sarodiyās* 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 *Mīr* 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 *nagaḍas*, where the *rabāb* was played either by *sufi fakirs* or *mīrāsīs* of Afghanistan.” It can therefore be said that the *sarodiyās* belonged to the *Mīrs* of the early medieval period.

On one hand, the *sarodiyās* 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 (*jāgīrs*) 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 *sarodiyā* families were either horse traders or army musicians.<sup>21)</sup>

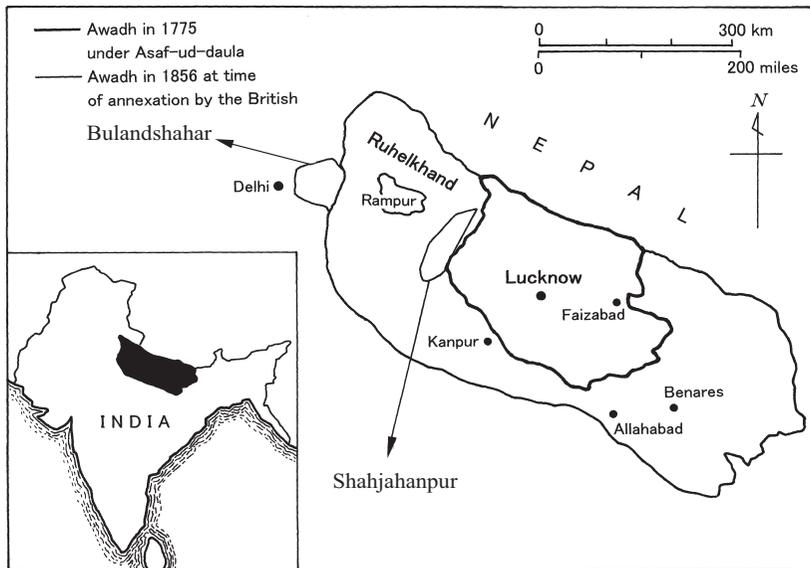
Irfan Khan (b. 1954), younger son of Umar Khan, comments on the origin of the three *gharānās* as follows.

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 Shahjahanpur *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, Awadh and their surroundings (see map). Shahjahanpur belonged to Rohilkhand and Lucknow was the royal city of Awadh.

### **Shahjahanpur *Gharānā***

Shahjahanpur is located about 160 km northwest of Lucknow. Shahjahanpur was established in 1647 by the Pathan governor, Bahadur Khan Rohilla,<sup>22)</sup> 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



**Map** Awadh in 1775 and 1856. Based on Kippen (1988).

*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 Shahjahanpur *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.<sup>23)</sup> It may be said, however, that they lived somewhere between the end of the 18th century and the late 19th century.

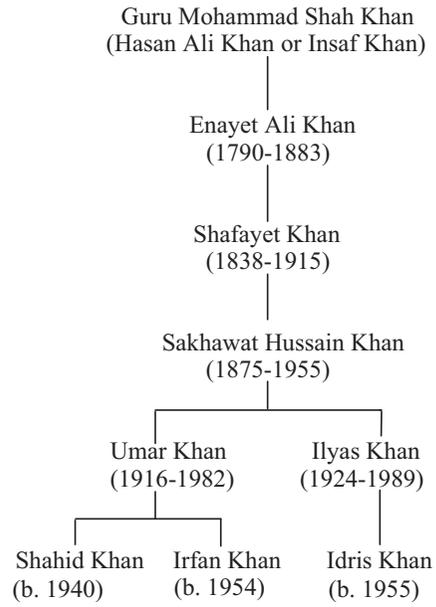
Of those four families, the direct descendants of Sinzai claimed to have established the Shahjahanpur *gharānā* and the disciples of Jalalnagar claimed to have established the Jalalnagar *gharānā*. There are no musicians who are direct descendants in the Jalalnagar *gharānā*. It is believed that the 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.<sup>24)</sup> He does, however, emphasize his ancestor's relationship with the Rewa and Gwalior courts, which were ruled by Hindu Rajas (Malhotra 1973).<sup>25)</sup> 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*.<sup>26)</sup> 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).<sup>27)</sup> He became a disciple of Kasim Ali Khan of Seniyā, and was an Indian *rabāb* player. Kasim Ali was a court musician of the Bhawal 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).

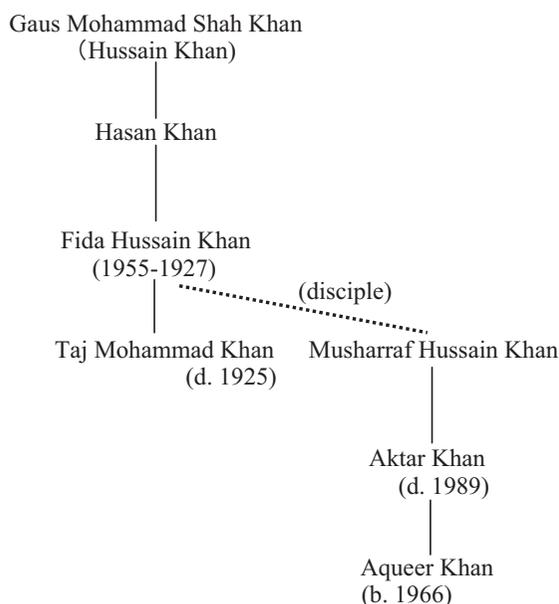
**Table 1** Shahjahanpur *Gharānā* (Sinzai)**Plate 2** Sakhawat H.Khan (right)

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-bīnkar gharānā*. In addition to his own *gharānā*'s performance skill, Ilyas Khan acquired the *ālāp* and *gat* technique of *bīkar-bāj*.<sup>28</sup> 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-bīnkar* (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.<sup>29</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup>

**Table 2** Shahjahanpur *Gharārā* (Jalalnagar)





**Plate 3** Fida Hussain Khan

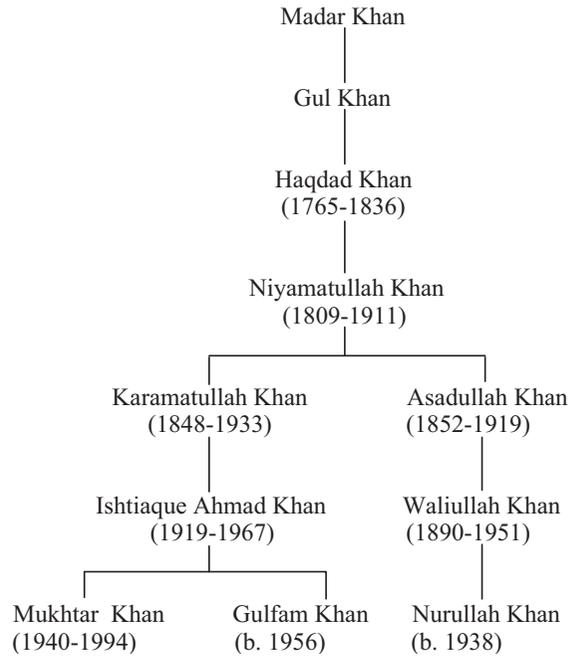
### Lucknow *Gharānā*

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 Bulandshahar, 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 Karamatullah 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)



**Plate 4** Karamatullah Khan

wealthy Hindu students and also wrote a book titled “Secret of Miracles or Blessed Melodies” (*Isrār-i karāmat 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 *sarodiyā*, 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, *rabābi*. 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, Sakhawat Khan etc. Karamatullah Khan’s son was Ishtiyaque Ahmad Khan (1919-1967). He was also a very famous *sarodiyā*, 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....

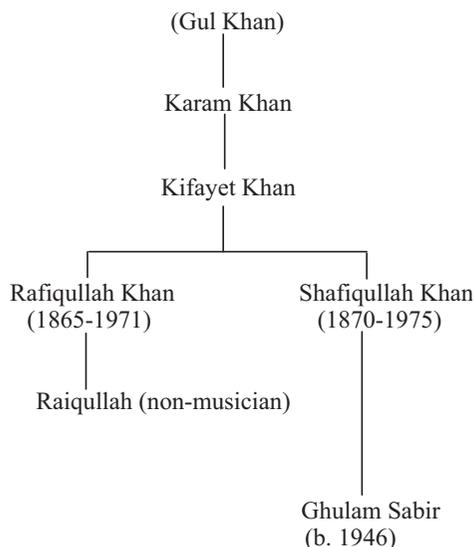
Haqdad Khan’s brother Karam Khan was a very good *sarodiyā*. He was in the court of Alwar. His son Kifayat Khan, had two sons, named Shafiqullah Khan (famous *sitar* player) and Rafiqullah Khan (famous Harmonium player). Shafiqullah Khan has a son who plays *sarod*, his name is Ghulam Sabir (Aqueer Khan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

As described above, there were two lineages of *sarodiyās* 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 *Sarodiyā* to Sarodist**

As the form of war changed, the role of the *sarodiyā* as *Mīr* 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.

**Table 4** Lucknow Sarod *Gharānā* (Dholpur)

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 *rāgas*. 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 “*sūr*” 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.

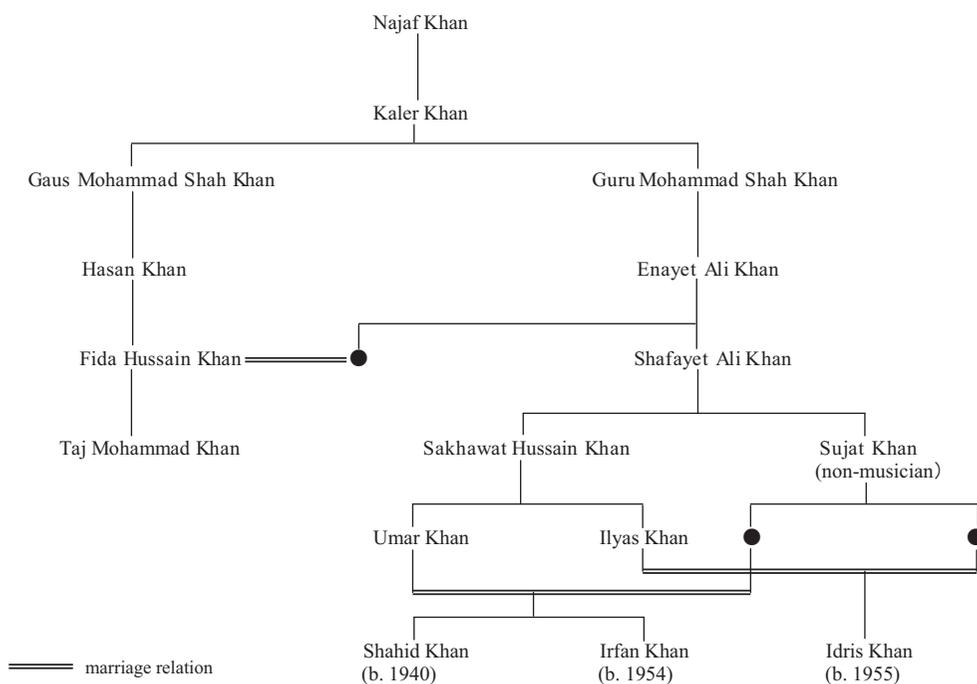
The *sarod gharānās* of Shahjahanpur and Lucknow met and developed marriage relations. This was a period of agitation, a time when Islam and Hindu kingships were collapsing and India was preparing to become independent from British rule.

### 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 5 Shahjahanpur Gharānā



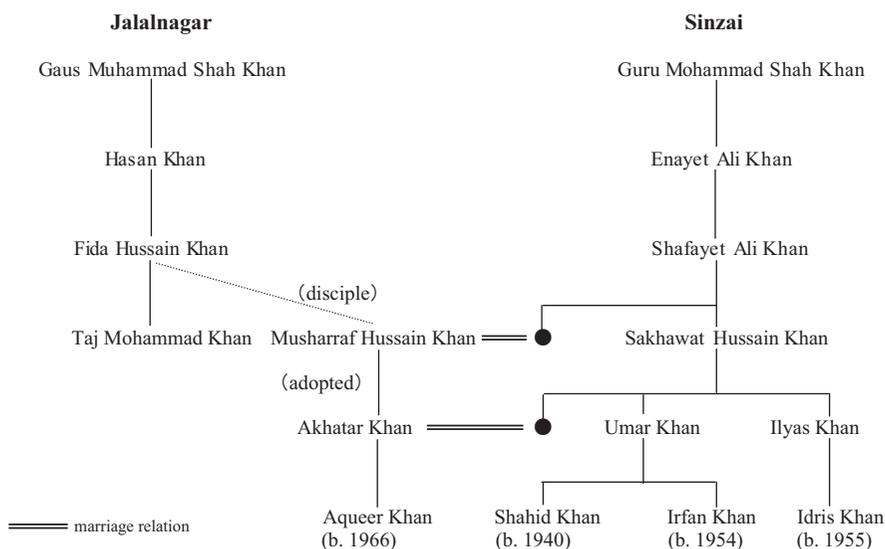
younger brother. This is a patrilateral parallel-cousin marriage (PPCM).

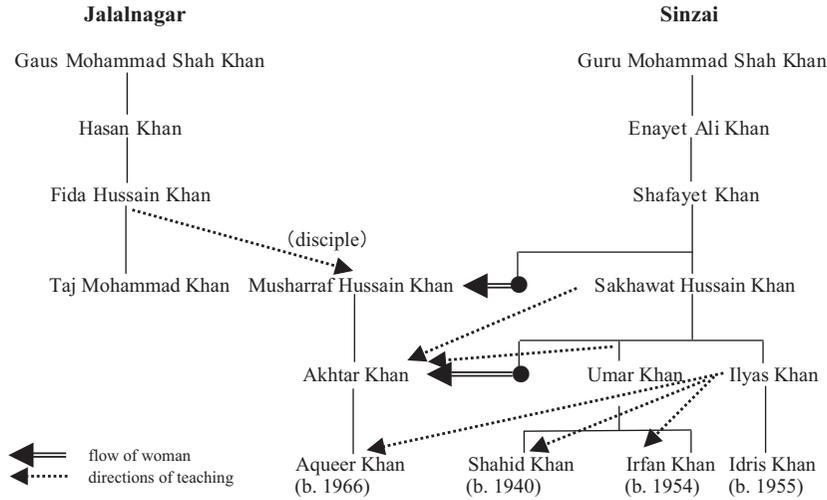
Fida Hussain of Jalalnagar married Enayet Ali’s daughter from the Sinzai group (Miner 1997: 141). If we believe that Enayet Ali’s father and Fida Hussain’s grandfather were brothers, it was a PPCM. The disciple of Fida Hussain, Musharraf Hussain married the daughter of Shafayet Ali, but did not have children.<sup>31)</sup> He therefore adopted three sons of Musawwar Khan, his younger brother, and taught them *sitār* (Aqueer n.d.). One of the three sons, Akhtar 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 *śishya*, 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-śishya* 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 *ganḍa* (thread) with his father. Instead he tied a *ganḍa* with his uncle Ilyas Khan.<sup>32)</sup> It seems that beside the blood relationship of father and son or grandfather and grandson, the *guru-śishya* relationship by tying a *ganḍa* was quite popular.

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

**Table 6** Marriage relationship between Sinzai and Jalalnagar (disciple line)



**Table 7** Marriage relationship and *guru-shisya* relationship in Shahjahanpur *Ghrānā*

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).

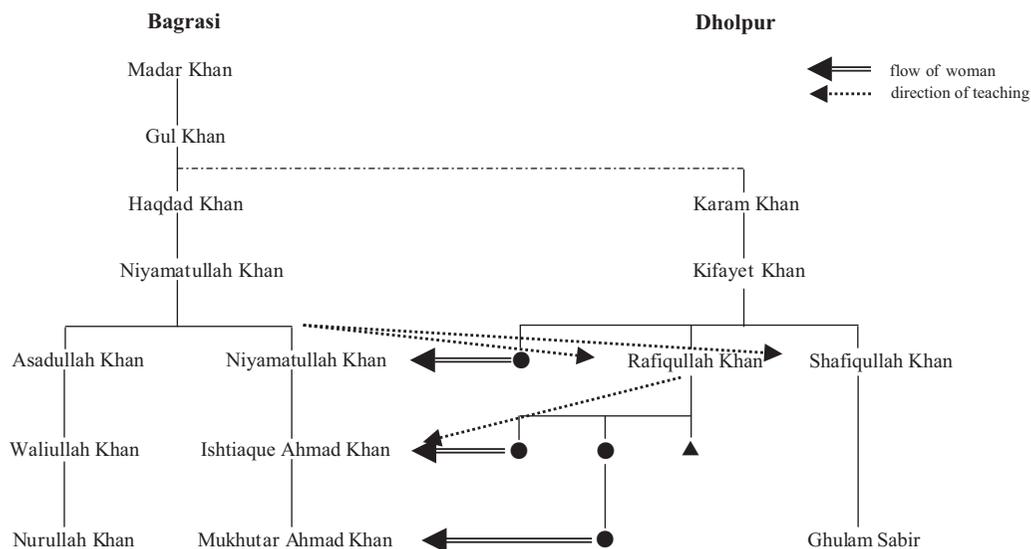
If we consider the two groups of Sinzai and Jalalnagar as a whole, we find that there is a correlation between the direction of brides going from one family to another and the musical property being gifted. In this case, the brides and the musical property go from Sinzai to Jalalnagar.

### 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 (*khāndān*) of *khālīfā*.<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup>

Niyamatullah Khan of Bagrasi married twice.<sup>35</sup> 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



**Table 9** Marriage relationship and *Guru-shishya* relationship in Lucknow Sarod *Gharānā*

*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-śishya* 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*.<sup>38)</sup>

### 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, Sakhawat Hussain, married the daughter of Asadullah Khan, who was the son of Niyamatullah Khan. At the same time, the brother of Sakhawat Hussain married the sister of Sakhawat Hussain's wife.<sup>39)</sup> As a result of these matrilateral cross-cousin marriages, the girls of Lucknow went to Shahjahanpur (Table 10).

The *guru-śishya* 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 Sakhawat 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).



According to Irfan Mohammad Khan, the music of Lucknow came into Shahjahanpur through matrilineal cross cousin marriages over two successive generations.<sup>40)</sup> 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 *bandīsh* from the Lucknow *gharānā* along with the brides; thus, the *bandīsh* 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 *bandīsh* from Lucknow they started using only two fingers (the index and middle fingers). It seems that in order to master the *bandīsh*, 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, patrilineal parallel-cousin marriages were frequently seen within the *gharānās* itself, and matrilineal 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.<sup>41)</sup> The children of Nurullah Khan<sup>42)</sup> and Ghulam Sabir<sup>43)</sup> 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.<sup>44)</sup> 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* (rhythmical 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.<sup>45)</sup> 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.<sup>46)</sup> Until recently, it was customarily forbidden to teach music to girls in the family (see Tamori 2000).<sup>47)</sup> 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.<sup>48)</sup>

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.<sup>49)</sup> 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), patrilineal parallel-cousin marriage and hypergamy as an important index of political status and in making

political alliances (Ahmed 1980: 243). 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 patrilineal parallel-cousin marriage during the formation period of *sarod gharānās*, whereas marriages between two different *gharānās* were often in the form of matrilineal cross-cousin marriage.

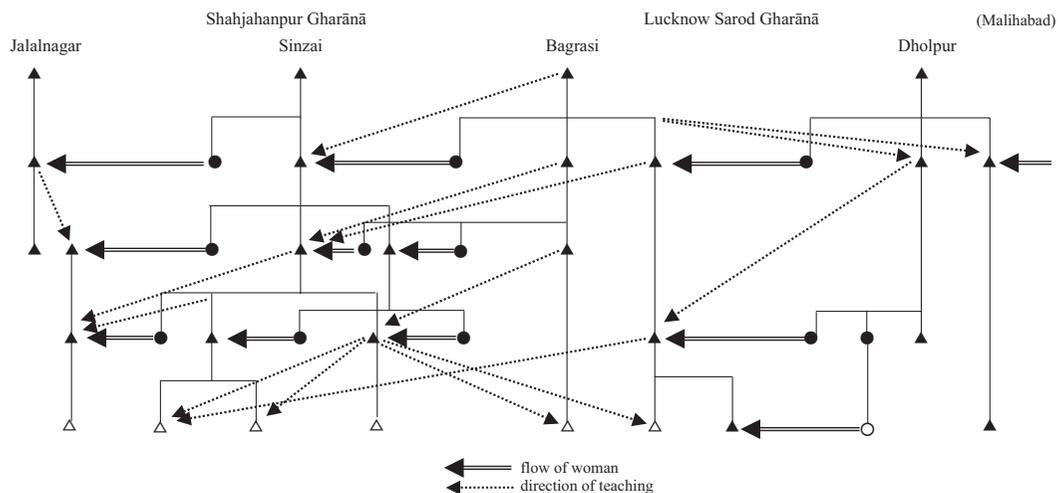
Matrilineal cross-cousin marriage between two different *gharānās* is a marriage system that is not an annexation of different groups but which makes possible a much wider social union. This kind of wider social union is not found in the male-centered genealogical system. In this case, the girls of one 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 patrilineal parallel-cousin marriage and matrilineal 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.

**Table 12** Correlation between marriage relationship and *Guru-shisya* relationship



These departments of music started teaching the theory of music, including the history of Indian music, and also started notating various *bandīsh* 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.<sup>50</sup> I would also like to explore the relationships between changes in the socio-economic environment and the strategies adopted by musicians.

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## 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.
- 5) For a discussion on the definition of *gharānā* and its applicable category, see Deshpande (1973), Kippen (1988: 63-85), Neuman (1978; 1990: 145-67), Owens (1983), and Tamori (1997).
- 6) See Roy Choudhry (n.d.) and Dhar (1989) on *Seniyā* 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).
- 8) See Shrivastava (1980) and Prajnanananda (1981, chapter 11) on the history of *dhrupad*.
- 9) Washifuddin Dagar (b. 1967), who belongs to one of the oldest families of *dhrupad*, commented: “We learn or teach *bandīsh* in the last step” (personal communication, January 2003, Delhi).
- 10) See Prajnanananda (1981: chapter 11) and Deshpande (1973) on the *khvāl*.
- 11) *Surbahār* is a larger, lower-pitched version of the *sitār*. It is mainly employed for the slow-tempo musical elaborations known as *ālāp*. *Sursringār* 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 dose 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 *bhāṅṅ-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 *bhāṅṅ-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 *bhāṅṅ-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, Bhatta (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).
- 18) See Ahmed (1980) on the clans and lineages of Pathans, including the Bangash clan in Pakistan.
- 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.
- 28) The *guru* of Yusuf Ali Khan belonged to the Kalpi *gharānā*, a direct disciple-line of Bahadur Khan Seniyā.
- 29) Irfan Mohammad Khan, interview, Calcutta, July, 1998.
- 30) A self-introduction from a pamphlet by Aqueer Khan.
- 31) Irfan Mohammad Khan, interview, Calcutta, July, 1998.
- 32) Irfan Mohammad Khan, interview, Calcutta, July, 1999.
- 33) See Kippen (1988: 53) on *khalīfā*: “The highest social rank is accorded the head of the *gharānā*, known as the *khalīfā*, who will normally be the oldest performing authority on the *gharānā*’s repertoire and style.” See also Neuman (1990: 263, n8).
- 34) Ghulam Sabir, interview, New Delhi, January 1999.
- 35) These comments based on an interview with Gulfam Ahmad Khan, Delhi, August 1998.
- 36) Ghulam Sabir, interview, New Delhi, January 1999.
- 37) Wife of Ghulam Sabir, interview, UP, December 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.
- 42) Nurullah Khan, interview, Calcutta, December 1998.
- 43) Ghulam Sabir, interview, New Delhi, January 1999.
- 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.
- 46) Irfan Mohammad Khan, interview, Calcutta, December 1997.
- 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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