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Socio-Musical Mobility Among South Asian Clarinet Players

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The clarinet is one of the most widely dispersed and deeply indigenized foreign instruments in South Asia.¹ Sometime after the beginning of the eighteenth century, early clarinets arrived in the musical baggage of the British merchants and soldiers who were gradually usurping control over large areas of the subcontinent. Very little is known of the instrument's early years in South Asia, and literally nothing is known about any indigenous performers before the nineteenth century. After 1800, however, glimpses of clarinet performance and clarinet players started to appear in the written and oral histories of the region. The instrument was enthusiastically received, for example, by the Maharajah Sarabhoj-ji II of Thanjavur (Tanjore) (1798-1832); it became part of his court orchestra and was regularly used to accompany dance (Seetha 1981). Imam, in his mid-nineteenth century study of classical musicians in Lucknow, includes among the instrumentalists a *shabanāī* player who doubled on clarinet (Neuman 1980:89).

The oral history of the clarinet in South Asia is no more complete than these fragmentary written records. Ram Chandra Patel, a respected musician/teacher/composer of Jaipur, suggests that there was a "Khansaheb," whose name is now lost, playing classical clarinet in late nineteenth century or early twentieth century Lucknow. This may perhaps have been a descendant or relative of the musician referred to by Imam. One family in Mumbai (Bombay) which still owns and manages a wind band in that city (The Noor Mohamed Band), claims that their ancestors were playing clarinet for weddings in Mumbai by the 1850s.² A similar claim is made by a family associated with wind bands in Chennai (Madras). Aside from these extreme instances, however, most oral histories of the clarinet begin around the turn of the century or later. I will have more to say about some of the more important historical musicians below.

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Colonialism, Pollution, and Prestige

In Europe, bands composed of pairs of oboes, clarinets, bassoons, and horns (the ensemble known as *harmoniemusik*) are the first widely known ensembles to have regularly included clarinets. These bands performed civil, concert, and military functions by the mid-eighteenth century; they are the most likely the medium through which the clarinet made its initial impact on the music culture of South Asia.

As part of British music culture, the clarinet represents the subcontinent's colonial past; its presence in the military bands of India and Pakistan in the late twentieth century emphasizes those countries' ongoing acceptance of the British model, at least within the military context. The symbolic importance of musical instruments has been emphasized by Richard Leppert, who notes that in the development of British music culture in colonial India "political empire is mirrored by the empire of culture" (1987:104). Thus the clarinet's inescapable colonial origins are the beginning of the ambiguity and confusion that surround the socio-musical identities of those modern South Asians who play this instrument. But, as we will see, this is far from being the only factor that contributes to the difficulties some Indian and Pakistani clarinetists have experienced in their musical careers.

In addition to the clarinet's colonial symbolism, other indigenously generated symbolic references contribute significantly to the imprecise and often problematic identities of South Asian clarinetists. Hinduism's ideas about ritual pollution add to the negative aspects of clarinet performance (as they do for double-reed *shahanāī*). Among other things, pollution stems from contact with excretions of the body—in this case one's saliva, an inevitable part reed instrument playing. Excessive contact with products of dead animals (such as skin drumheads) is also polluting. Consequently, in traditional Hindu culture, low- or outcaste groups are often associated with the wind and percussion instruments of processional music. Theoretically, the pollution resulting from performance on *shahanāī* or clarinet will not significantly affect individuals whose status is already extremely low. The word *caste* is used broadly here to identify large social groups who share a common region of origin (if not residence), occupation, cultural features, and ranking in the social hierarchy. Dom and Shilpkar, for example, are two large castes at the very bottom of the Hindu social hierarchy, each with many regional and occupational sub-castes (Singh 1995). Some sub-castes of these groups have hereditary associations with (among other things) performance on drums and other polluting instruments such as *shahanāī* and (more recently) clarinet. Although the word *caste* is most properly used in reference to Hindus, Muslim South Asians organize themselves into similar social groups, sometimes using the word *jāt* (or *zāt*, in its Urdu form)

to describe the phenomenon. Once again, it is the low-status Muslim groups, such as Rāin and Dhamāmī, who perform processional music in some parts of South Asia.

The colonial and traditionally negative associations that the clarinet thus engenders in South Asia make it an instrument of inherently low socio-musical prestige. Prestige is manifested through such things as the respect accorded to a musician by his or her social and musical peers, how one is addressed (titles such as Master, Pandit, and Ustad all indicate respect for musicians), the types of careers one can expect for one's offspring, the types of work that one is offered (venues, media, ensembles, and so on), and the financial compensation one receives.

Ensembles and Repertoires

The first clarinet to arrive in South Asia was the five-key instrument found in the *harmoniemusik*; this model was being produced in England by around 1770. Some local musicians may well have acquired these early instruments; but the clarinet that the majority of South Asian musicians adopted, and that modern clarinetists on the subcontinent still play, was the thirteen- and sometimes fourteen-key Müller clarinet (also called the "simple system" or "Albert" clarinet). This instrument was being produced in some quantity by 1820 at the latest. In comparison to the modern Klosé-*Buffet* model, or "Boehm system" seventeen-key clarinet (on which metal rings surround all of the instrument's tone-holes, making pitch alteration more difficult), the Müller clarinet offers the advantages of a relatively ring-less fingering system that is more flexible and readily amenable to the bendings and slurrings of pitch that are vital parts of South Asian performance practice.³

Some early South Asian clarinetists learned their trade in military bands; an excellent early example is provided by the famous clarinetist/bandmaster Jehanghir Khan (1802-1916), who in the early nineteenth century learned clarinet from another Indian military bandmaster, Lakshman Singh. A European band repertoire (mostly military marches and popular European dance melodies) thus forms one historical layer of the clarinet repertoire. In addition to the military musicians, enterprising private individuals seem to have begun playing clarinet as rapidly as instruments became available. Many modern clarinetists are descendants of families hereditarily connected to *shahanāi* and processional music performance, whose ancestors converted, so to speak, to clarinet. The early 1800s seem to mark the beginning of these conversions (which are still taking place), although as I have noted, the first fairly reliable accounts of indigenously motivated clarinet performance in the northern area of the subcontinent are from around 1850.

When hereditary families of shahanāī players started converting to the new instrument, they brought with them their traditional shahanāī repertoire of wedding songs, folk melodies, and light classical *rāga*-based compositions, along with tunes from the various popular music-dramas of what was then northern and central India (such as *svāng*, *nāutankī*, and Parsi music theater). In the first decades of the twentieth century, if not before, some clarinetists began performing the classical solo instrumental *khyāl*-style and *gat-tōra* repertoire on their instruments. Finally, since the 1930s a widely appealing music, generated by the Indian film-music industries (*filmī gīt*), has become the most recent layer of the clarinet repertoire.

Thus, in contemporary Pakistan and India clarinetists play everything from prestigious classical and improvisational *rāga*-based music, to the significantly less prestigious but still traditional songs of folk and popular music and music-theater, to the melodies of Indian film music, which are definitely not prestigious, and perhaps not traditional either. These different repertoires are often associated with distinct types of ensembles and performance contexts, which offer differing degrees of social and musical rewards. However, the strong connection between wind instruments and processional music (in both European and South Asian cultures) and the pattern of shahanāī-to-clarinet conversion that I have mentioned here have both ensured that the vast majority of clarinetists perform in the ensembles that accompany wedding processions. In the twentieth century this has almost invariably meant performance in wedding bands, which are made up of various combinations of European wind instruments, such as trumpet, clarinet, euphonium, and so on, and percussion.⁴ Especially since the 1930s, these bands have increasingly dominated the processional music trade in South Asia.

Even discounting the potential pollution caused by their wind instruments, wedding bandsmen are still very far down the socio-musical ladder. This is an outcome of the low performance standards that often prevail in wedding bands, the European origins of their instruments, the lack of an attentive or appreciative audience for wedding band performances, and the film music repertoire that dominates their tradition. More fundamentally, when an Indian wedding procession reaches its destination, the celebrants enter the house or grounds where the wedding will take place (which, by definition, is an auspicious space), leaving the band outside. The band is explicitly and physically distanced from the people and the event whose happiness they have been celebrating. The world of the bandsmen (including clarinetists) is therefore the world of the public street, which, as Nita Kumar points out, is considerably less respectable in modern India than the private inner world of the home (1988). Bandsmen are socially disadvantaged, then, by both their performance media and their profession.

Playing film songs on the street is an activity that carries relatively few social or musical rewards, especially compared to the solo performance of a classical *rāga* in a concert or on the radio. Nevertheless, despite the obvious drawbacks to band performance for those who have aspirations to other musical and social identities, most clarinetists in the twentieth century have had to rely on performance in wedding bands for at least part of their livelihoods or for at least part of their careers. To some clarinetists, however, circumstance and/or talent have offered the possibility of wider and better options in the performance of classical or light classical music. Those who are able to perform classical or light classical music as well as processional music, and who can participate in ensembles of both European and South Asian origin, may have one foot on each end of the socio-musical prestige spectrum, or they may stand precariously at some point between the extremes. Because of their instrument's ambiguous identity and uncertain reputation, clarinetists are capable of occupying both high and low status places in the world of South Asian music. This article is concerned with the multiple careers paths made possible because of the clarinet's classical music performance capabilities, and with the patterns of professional activity found in the careers of some of the subcontinent's better known clarinetists as they negotiate those possible pathways. I will examine the variable nature of clarinetists' musical identities in South Asia and focus on the negotiations which some clarinetists engage in as they seek to improve their social and musical standing.

Some Important Clarinetists of Contemporary South Asia and the Worlds They Inhabit

The musicians whose lives form the majority of the biographical data for this study are shown in Figure 1. Because social and musical circumstances are at the heart of my argument, musicians from the far south of India who perform Karnatak music, and who participate in a very different musical situation with a distinct repertoire, are neither listed here nor considered. Also, after the partition of the subcontinent in 1947 Pakistani musicians were subject to different socio-economic and cultural factors than their Indian colleagues. The careers of the two Pakistani musicians listed here, Nazir Hussain Sohni and Alamghir Khan, were well established prior to 1947 (for that matter, Alamghir lived in Amritsar until that time); they therefore shared more similarities of music culture with their contemporaries further east than did those who came after them in independent Pakistan.

The musicians in Figure 1 are listed in chronological order according to their date of birth. The incorporation of information about the fathers

Figure 1. Biographical data on thirteen South Asian clarinetists

1. Nazir Hussain Sohni (Lahore, 1907-76)			
	Father	Subject	Son(s)
Performance medium	not musical	clarinet	clarinet
Musical worlds		classical/bands	bands/classical
Source of training	Babu Muhammad'din, Tawakkal Hussain		
2. Alamghir Khan (Amritsar, 1909-Lahore, 1960)			
	Father	Subject	Son(s)
Performance medium	clarinet	clarinet	clarinet/shahanai
Musical worlds	bands(3)	classical/bands	classical
Source of training	Abdul Ghani, Bhai Lal Muhammad, and Baskar Rao Bhakle (vocal)		
3. Mohd. Gucchan (Rampur, 1910-86)			
	Father	Subject	Son(s)
Performance medium	not musical	clarinet	clarinet, flute, saxophone
Musical worlds		classical/band	band
Source of training	Junda Ustad, Mustaq Hussain Khan (vocal)		
4. Baba Hussain Nadaf (Northern Karnataka State, 1923)			
	Father	Subject	Son(s)
Performance medium	laborer, grandfather-tassa drum	clarinet	sitar
Musical worlds	traditional	classical/band	classical
Source of training	Vitelparwar Jhumkandi		
5. Mahbood Hussain (Binayudi, 1924-Lucknow, circa 1992)			
	Father	Subject	Son(s)
Performance medium	clarinet, saxophone	clarinet	no son
Musical worlds	band	classical	
Source of training	Maksood Hussain (elder brother), Zakir Hussain (sarangi), Alamghir Kahn		
6. Mohd. Safi (Varanasi, circa 1928)			
	Father	Subject	Son(s)
Performance medium	shahanai	clarinet	trumpet
Musical worlds	traditional/bands	bands/classical	bands
Source of training	Allauddin Khan (sarod)		
7. Mohd. Usman Master (Jodhpur, 1930)			
	Father	Subject	Son(s)
Performance medium	clarinet	clarinet	clarinet
Musical worlds	bands	bands/classical	bands
Source of training	father-in-law, Pandit Hukam Dass (vocal)		

Figure 1. Continued.

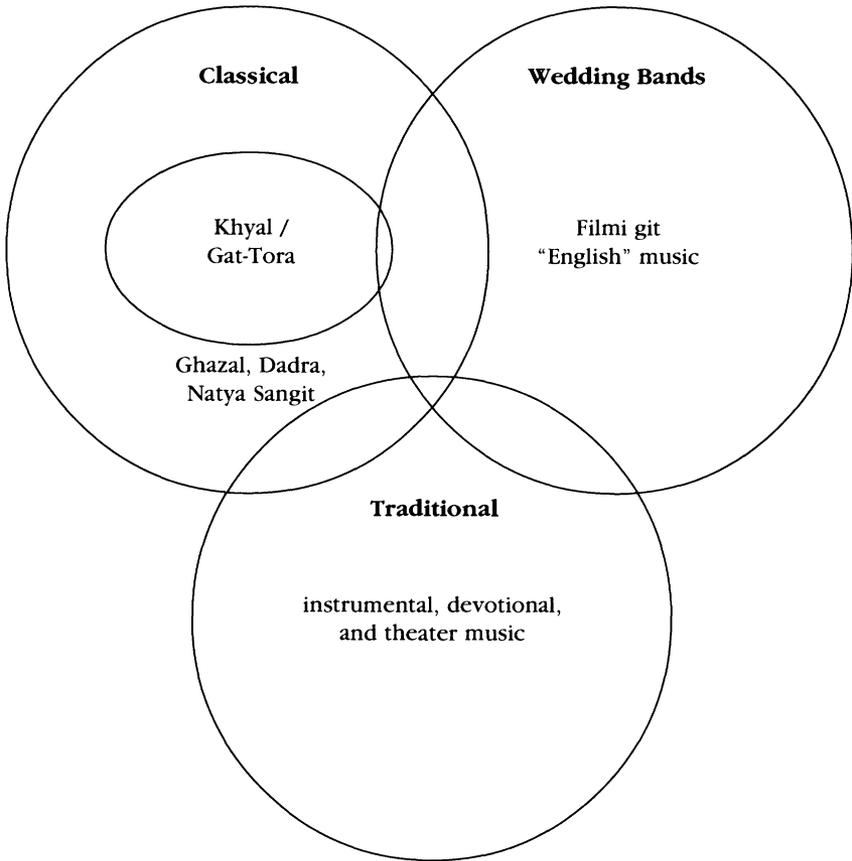
	8. M. V. Sholapurkar (Pune, 1931)		
	Father	Subject	Son(s)
Performance medium	not musical	clarinet	saxophone
Musical worlds		classical/bands	bands
Source of training	Nagesh Khalikar (vocal), Bismillah Khan (shahanai)		
	9. Tukaram Jadhav (Hidebenur, 1933)		
	Father	Subject	Son(s)
Performance medium	shahanai	shahanai/clarinet	keyboard/ management
Musical worlds	traditional	bands/traditional/ classical	bands
Source of training	Bhojappa		
	10. Darshan Singh Gill (Punjab State, 1935–New Delhi, 1990)		
	Father	Subject	Son(s)
Performance medium	clarinet	clarinet	clarinet/composer
Musical worlds	bands	classical	classical
Source of training	Jiwanlal Mathu-ji (vocal), Chirag Ali (?)		
	11. Dilan Khan (Jaunpur, circa 1935)		
	Father	Subject	Son(s)
Performance medium	shahanai	clarinet/shahanai	clarinet/ management
Musical worlds	traditional/classical	band/classical	band
Source of training	Salam Master		
	12. Nabi Jaan (Rampur, 1948)		
	Father	Subject	Son(s)
Performance medium	bugle	clarinet	tailors
Musical worlds		classical	
Source of training	Mohd. Guchchan		
	13. Narasimhalu Vadvati (Northern Karnataka State, 1942)		
	Father	Subject	Son(s)
Performance medium	tabla/ grandfather-shahanai	clarinet	tabla
Musical worlds	classical/traditional	classical/ traditional/bands	classical
Source of training	Venkatappa, Siddarama Jambaldine (vocal)		

and sons of these subjects is an attempt to address the matter of musical and social change across generations. Also shown are the musicians from whom these clarinetists acquired their musical training. Except where the subject's father was not a professional musician, it is assumed that all these individuals learned at least the rudiments of music and of clarinet playing from their fathers. It is further assumed that the musicians listed as sources of training were clarinet players. The exceptions are indicated by the parenthetical inclusion of the alternative performance medium. It should be obvious that Figure 1 does not identify all the clarinetists in northern India and Pakistan. I selected these individuals over a period of five years through a process that, first of all, looked for evidence that the musician considered himself to be part of the world of classical music.

Three Musical Worlds

For the purposes of analysis, I have hypothesized three distinct musical worlds within South Asian music that are especially important for clarinetists. Each possesses its own ideal repertoire, ideal model of performance practice, and level of socio-musical status and prestige. These are: (1) the classical world which itself contains both an inner core comprised of *khyāl* or *gat-tōṛa* performance with great emphasis on *rāga*-based improvisation, and a larger outer layer in which *thumrī*, *ghazal*, and other less rigorously *rāga*-based but still improvisational musics such as *dādra*, or even the composed Marathi *natya sangīt*, are prominent; (2) what I shall call the traditional world of *shahanāī* repertoires and ensembles, in which wedding or other folk songs, *dhuns*, *bhajans*, and other widely dispersed or popular melodies—most of which involve some level of improvisation of a more generically modal nature, only vaguely related to the rules of *rāga* (cf. Thompson 1995), are performed in processional and festival (not seated-listening or other more prestigious) contexts; and (3) the world of wedding bands and circus bands, with a repertoire consisting largely of *filmī gīt* and “English music,” marches, waltzes, and British or American popular songs. The classical world primarily occupies performance contexts in which seated listening is the norm, such as concerts, although light classical music also serves as background music in prestigious contexts, such as hotels, private parties, or dinners. The musics that I identify as belonging to the traditional and band worlds, however, occupy lower status contexts in which musical quality (as the classical world understands it) and attentive listening are increasingly less important. These worlds are not exhaustive; but they do account for the majority of clarinet players, especially outside the military context. As Figure 2 suggests, the worlds are not to be understood as possessing impermeable membranes: there are overlapping areas of professional activity, repertoire, performance practice, and performance context.

Figure 2. Three hypothetical musical worlds in which South Asian clarinetists participate



As stated above, the musicians shown in Figure 1 all made some claim to membership in the world of classical music. In considering which subjects should be discussed here, personal assertions, recordings, publicity material, information from other musicians, performances, and demonstrations specifically for my benefit were all taken into account. The second important criterion was peer recommendation. In my discussions with Indian and Pakistani clarinetists, I routinely asked for information about other skilled or renowned clarinetists, without specifying style or repertoire. Although I will not limit my comments exclusively to the names on this list, these musicians represent almost all of the clarinetists who are known to their peers as performers of stature, and about whom sufficient information is available for a study of their careers.

Like the model in Figure 2, most clarinetists' professional careers show a mingling of various musical worlds. In fact, it might well be said that clarinetists of necessity inhabit those places where different musical worlds collide (this suggestion will be developed below). The patterns of overlap that are most relevant to this study occur in the careers of some clarinetists who have achieved mastery over two (rarely three) distinct repertoires and performance practices, normally in different performance settings. Although career overlap between the traditional and band worlds does occur, I suggest that this phenomenon is in decline. In northern India and Pakistan more and more traditional musicians are becoming bandsmen; the performance contexts, musicians, patrons, and repertoire of the traditional world are increasingly overpowered by, or subsumed within, the world of wedding bands. On the other hand, for some clarinet players the classical-band overlap remains an important avenue along which they may seek to augment their income and socio-musical status through performances of classical music. In the majority of careers, activity in the classical world—or at least attempts at such activity—represents an intentional endeavor by a band clarinetist to reposition himself, temporarily or permanently, in the more prestigious classical world.

Essentially there are two major types of dilemmas that arise in any attempted shift from the band world to the world of classical music. First, the aspiring classical musician must have grounds on which to assert his new identity; this involves gaining access to new musical styles, repertoires, and performance venues. Second, he must acquire a new source of patronage to make the transition economically viable. In order to achieve either or both of these goals, clarinetists are frequently obliged to alter their patterns of both social and musical behavior.

An additional problem unique to clarinetists attempting to establish themselves as classical musicians is the very nature of their instrument. Nabi Jaan, Dilan Khan, and Darshan Singh all pointed out the technical difficulties involved in classical performance on the clarinet, largely resulting from the presence of keys and the instrument's fingering system. The metal key-work also emphasizes the blatantly non-indigenous nature of the instrument. Mahbood Hussain stated that the clarinet is discriminated against in the classical world: "they do not think it can play classical music; they never think about it" (personal communication, 1988). It is probably true that clarinetists must struggle harder in order to gain access to classical performance contexts when compared to those who perform on traditional Indian instruments, or even on some other Western instruments, such as violin, guitar, or harmonium.

This last point requires further consideration. In classical South Asia, plucked lutes—not wind instruments, and most emphatically not reed in-

struments—occupy pride of instrumental place. Some Indian classical guitar players, for example, have modeled their music and approach on the traditional fretted Indian lutes, especially the *vichitra vīna*. In doing so, they have attached themselves to a firmly established instrument and repertoire of high classical status. The only common reed instrument in north India, the double reed shahanāī, occupies a newly achieved and still rather marginal place in the classical world. Its association with low-caste performers is far from forgotten. Nevertheless, some of the clarinetists shown in Figure 1, or their fathers, were initially shahanāī players; and for some musicians the ability to play shahanāī or an association with that instrument (which, whatever its caste associations, is at least South Asian) was an avenue towards participation in the classical performance world.

In spite of the potential problems involved in transforming themselves into classical musicians, many clarinetists seem to have considered the effort worth the rewards. However taxing the life of a classical musician may be, the purely physical challenges of wedding band performance are far greater: band clarinetists may need to play for hours at a time while processing down Indian streets, and they must compete sonically with the louder trumpets and euphoniums, and often with amplified singers or electronic keyboards as well. In addition, the financial rewards for classical musicians (assuming the musician has acquired reliable sources of patronage) are at least marginally better. Those clarinetists who have successfully asserted their classical status invariably live in better surroundings and in greater comfort than do those who have not. Concert or tuition fees, the possibilities of commercial recordings, and the regular All India Radio salary that some receive far surpass the income that might be earned by wedding band performance, especially since the vast majority of wedding band work is seasonal. Finally, the musical and social prestige engendered by classical performance are far greater than the levels of social respect generated by the repetitive work and low caste associations of the wedding bands.

Socio-Musical Mobility in Individual Careers

There are four broad patterns of career development among clarinetists: (1) those who claim no personal experience in wedding bands, and who have performed classical music exclusively; (2) those who began their careers as bandmen, but managed to transform themselves into classical musicians; (3) those who began similarly, and clearly made the attempt at transformation, but who either remained in or returned to the world of wedding bands; and (4) those who have managed to inhabit both the classical and band worlds simultaneously. I wish to examine the implications

of these careers for broader ideas about socio-musical mobility in societies which are, themselves, undergoing considerable social and cultural change. Although it is not possible to pursue this matter at any length in this brief examination, I hope at least to highlight the conceivable existence of a process similar to that suggested by T. O. Ranger in his study of East African *beni ngoma* (albeit in a distinctive “colonial situation”): “data on the origins, development, and diffusion of certain elements in the popular culture” may possibly “throw light on some of the realities of the ‘colonial situation’” (1975:2). The results of my study describe the incorporation of a colonial instrument into the classical and popular music systems of India and Pakistan, and they at least hint at the variety of ways that emerging post-colonial musical cultures negotiate the redefinition or reconstruction of their identities.

Figure 3 organizes the clarinetists in this study into four categories based on the career patterns suggested above; each pattern offers different perspectives on the task of creating or maintaining a classical career on the clarinet. The two columns on the left identify those musicians who have achieved a permanent place in the classical world and can consequently be considered as a group. The distinction between these columns is based on the statements made by Nabi Jaan, Darshan Singh, and Mahbood Hussain that they have had no association with the band world in their professional careers. In many other respects, the six demonstrate similar circumstances and experiences. All of these men, with the exception of Wadvati, were the sons of bandsmen; all received their initial training on clarinet from bandsmen. After this early training, Singh, Solapurkar, Hussain, and Wadvati intentionally sought out classical musicians whom they now identify as their gurus. Nabi Jaan and Hussain Nadaf both identify as their gurus men who were primarily bandsmen, although both Muhammad Gucchan and Vitelparwar Jhumkandi had reputations in the band world for their classical knowledge and skills. The source of Jhumkandi’s classical knowledge is unknown; but Gucchan was a student of Ustad Mustaq Hussain Khan (1880–1963), a *khyāl* vocalist at the Rampur court, and probably the most famous name in Figure 1. Consequently, although they are one generation removed from direct instruction from purely classical mu-

Figure 3. Subject clarinetists organized on the basis of four career patterns

1. Classical only	2. Band→Classical	3. Band→Classical→Band	4. Classical and Band
Nabi Jaan Darshan Singh Gill Mahbood Hussain	Baba Hussain Nadaf M. V. Solapurkar Narasimhalu Wadvati	Mohd. Safi Mohd. Usman Tukaram Jadhav Mohd. Gucchan	Nazir Hussain Sohni Alamghir Khan Dilan Khan

sicians, both Hussain Nadaf and Nabi Jaan do have connections to classical music and performance practice.

Status by Association. Changing one's perceived status by means of an association with recognized classical musicians is the primary method employed by clarinetists who seek to validate their classical credentials. The normal method is to find a classical musician who will accept the unusual instrumentalist as a student, thus resolving the serious problem of access to repertoire and performance practice techniques. The levels of success achieved through this strategy of status-through-association vary. In addition to the general variables of personal circumstances, caste, and hereditary music connections, more process-specific factors—such as the classical stature of the person with whom they associate, the actual intensity and duration of the *tālīm* (training) received, the level of public recognition which that association enjoys, and the manner in which the clarinetist makes use of that association—all play a role in determining the outcome of the strategy. The various choices of guru made by these clarinetists and their utilization of any prestigious associations resulting from those choices are therefore worthy of additional scrutiny.

In seeking a classical music guru, most clarinetists have chosen vocalists who perform *khyāl*. Many clarinetists who have learned from vocalists (and even some who have not) are careful to point out that their music belongs to the *gayakī ang*, or vocal style of instrumental performance. Vocal performance is the most prestigious medium in Indian classical music, and *khyāl* is one of the most prestigious vocal forms in north India and Pakistan. By associating themselves socially (through teachers and sometimes through claims to *gharāna* affiliation) and musically (through performance practice) with *khyāl*, these musicians enhance their potential classical reputations, even with a non-traditional instrument. Narasimhalu Wadvati, for example, makes a point of explaining that in his lessons with Siddarama Jambaldine, his guru, he never played the clarinet (although he was already a clarinet player by that time), but learned by singing. He then adapted that singing style to his instrument. Wadvati's publicity material engages in a careful negotiation of the various layers of meaning attached to the clarinet: "Clarionet (sic) which is usually associated with Band Ensemble, has, in the hands of Sri Wadvati, attained a solo Hindustani concert instrument status. His disquisition keeps close to vocal style and is reminiscent of Shahanāī in its nuances, which is indeed a remarkable feature of his playing."

Wadvati, Darshan Singh, Hussain Nadaf, and M. V. Solapurkar all play a short *ālāp* followed by a *gat* in *vilambit ektāl*, the stereotypical *khyāl* vocal performance structure. Nabi Jaan frequently plays a longer *ālāp* than the others. He has developed a performance style that depends heavily on

the clarinet's trill keys for the production of *gamak* and other ornaments, and makes the most of these techniques in the *ālāp* portion of his performances. Thus Singh, Solapurkar, and Wadvati, as well as Nabi Jaan in an indirect fashion, all benefited from instruction in the *khyāl* vocal style. Mahbood Hussain, who like Nabi Jaan studied with the clarinetist student of a *khyāl* vocalist, employed a noteworthy variation on the status-by-association method as well: he is credited with being one of the accompanists for the great ghazal singer, Begum Akhtar. In addition to his classical associations based on *tālīm*, Hussain constructed a performance-based association that, because of the stature of the artist he was accompanying, stood him in good stead. M. V. Solapurkar engaged in the creation of similar associations through his *jugalbandī* (duet) performances with *shahanāī* players. Pictures and references to these performances are found in Solapurkar's publicity brochure.

I have noted that the practice of altering one's perceived socio-musical status by means of association with clearly classical musicians is not consistently successful. The intensity of the connection between clarinetist student and classical teacher naturally affects how much is actually transmitted; this in turn determines what one plays and how much one can transmit to others. In conjunction with the clarinetist's utilization of any resulting bond, the strength of the teacher-student relationship also may impinge upon the student's access to classical performance venues and new sources of patronage, the keys to re-location to the world of classical music. A clarinetist who can gain access to performance venues and the accompanying sources of patronage can usually maintain himself and his family as a classical, rather than band, musician. Thus, the distinction that separates the musicians in Columns 1 and 2 from those in Column 3 is not necessarily the latter's complete lack of any connection to the classical world, but the strength of that connection and/or their manner of employing it. In fact, three of the four musicians listed in Column 3—Muhammad Safi, Muhammad Usman, and Muhammad Gucchan—also claim a relationship with a particular classical artist. In this context, one may profitably compare the careers of Muhammad Safi and M. V. Solapurkar.

Safi was born into a family of Muslim musicians who have played wedding and processional music on a variety of instruments (including *dbol*, *shahanāī*, and bagpipe) for at least six generations. By the time of his birth, they were gradually transforming themselves into wind bandmen. Safi's own early career was quite promising. He secured a position in the Royal band of the last reigning Maharaja of Banaras, where he also gained some classical music knowledge. Safi later sought out the famous Ustad Allauddin Khan of Maihar (1881-1972), a classical musician of almost mythic stature, to learn more and solidify his status as a classical musician. Khan performed

on a number of instruments (most commonly *sarod*), but had also learned something of European music traditions and clarinet performance in his youth. This may have made him an especially attractive choice for a young clarinetist seeking classical training.

Safi claims to have been a member of Allauddin Khan's legendary Maihar Band, an ensemble grounded in the classical traditions but including European as well as Indian instruments. He was not able to establish a beneficial relationship with Allauddin Khan, however, nor could he spend enough time with Khan or the Band to acquire a firm grasp on the classical repertoire. When Safi ultimately returned from Maihar to Banaras he had some degree of classical knowledge and skill, but not enough to establish a musical or social identity distinct from that of his relatively low-caste wedding-band family.

Finding that he could not successfully assert his new identity as a classical musician, Safi returned to band performance, and attempted to use his connection to the classical world to improve his status in the band world. On the business card that Safi produced for his own band, the Bharat Band, the name "Ustad Allauddin Khan" is featured in larger type than any other information on the card except the band's name. Shown in Figure 4, Khan's name is on the upper right, next to the picture of Safi. Unfortunately, by positioning himself in the band world, Safi more or less invalidated the possible benefits accruing to him as a student (however marginal) of

Figure 4. Publicity card of the Bharat Band (Muhammad Safi, owner and bandmaster) showing Safi's picture with Ustad Allauddin Khan's name immediately to the right



स्थापित सन् १९५१ ई०

उस्ताद अलाउद्दिन खाँ
द्वारा प्रसंसित

भारत बैण्ड पार्टी

शादी विवाह अपने किसी
भी शुभ अवसर के
लिए एकबार अवश्य
परीक्षा कीजिए !

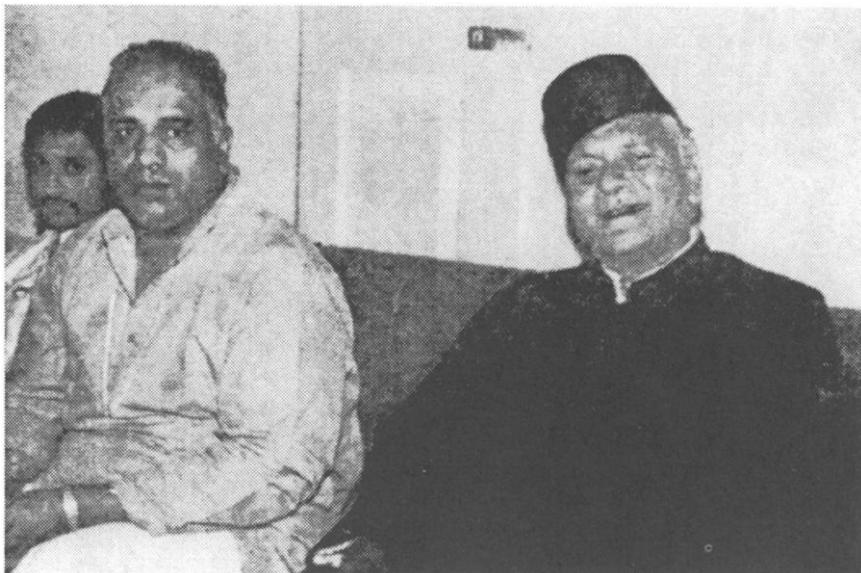
भारत बैण्ड पार्टी
पता —
मालिक- मास्टर सफी
सी. के. म. नं. ३६, ५०, चौक
(चित्रा सिनेमा के पीछे), वाराणसी

Allauddin Khan. The classical association was, in a sense, the wrong currency, a fact which Safi ultimately recognized; his most recent cards do not mention Allauddin Khan. Safi's experience with the process of status-by-association principle is in direct contrast with the same procedure applied by M. V. Solapurkar. Solapurkar was also in a better position to utilize his connection, and did so with perhaps greater understanding of the process.

M. V. Solapurkar began his musical career in the family band, playing clarinet; but in 1946 his family decided that he should learn classical music. After receiving considerable training from a vocalist (Solapurkar claims membership in the Gwalior gharāna) a series of coincidences brought him to the attention of Ustad Bismillah Khan, India's most famous shahanāī master. Ultimately Solapurkar became Bismillah Khan's disciple. Regardless of how much or how little he learned from his guru, Solapurkar had a famous and skilled wind-playing teacher whom he could imitate and who acknowledged him as a disciple.

Becoming a famous musician's disciple, after one has an established musical career, may primarily be a mark of social rather than musical change. Nevertheless, Bismillah Khan's name appears prominently in Solapurkar's biographical publicity brochure. A picture from the brochure (Figure 5) emphasizes Solapurkar's connection with India's most renowned classical reed player: We see the smiling Bismillah Khan (right) seated next

Figure 5. Photograph from M. V. Solapurkar's publicity brochure, showing Solapurkar (circa 1941–2) left, seated next to his new guru, Bismillah Khan



to his new disciple. Attaching himself to the shahanāī tradition, and to India's most famous exponent of that tradition, contributed significantly to Solapurkar's socio-musical credibility. Today, while his brothers, nephews, and son run the band business, Solapurkar earns his living from his classical programs.

The contrast between Safi's and Solapurkar's careers points, among other things, to a fundamental reality: The power of association-based change in a clarinetist's status may operate in both directions. While association with classical musicians and teachers may result in a positive alteration of public perceptions, a continued association with bandmen and band performance may have the opposite effect. This seems to have also been a factor in Muhammad Usman's ongoing occupation of a place in the band world, despite the tālīm he received from a khyāl vocalist. It must be noted that Pandit Hukam Dass's name and reputation are not well known in the general world of classical music; it may be that he had relatively little status to share with his student. Although Usman claims, and can demonstrate, classical knowledge, he never found a way to permanently distinguish himself from his wedding band origins. The careers of Muhammad Gucchan and Tukaram Jadhav both show similar patterns of behaviors that associate them with classical as well as wedding band music. A consideration of their careers, however, must be preceded by the introduction of additional factors in the matter of socio-musical mobility and by an examination of the final career pattern shown in the final column of Figure 3.

Dual Citizenship. In light of the careers of most living clarinetists, the category labeled "Classical and Band" appears to be an anomaly based on a combination of history, cultural geography, and instrumentation. Unlike the others in this study, who have been able to find success in the band world or the classical world—but not both—these men have managed to perform in classical and wedding band contexts, with little or no apparent degradation of their reputations or status. There are two distinct explanations for this career pattern; both offer further insights into changes in South Asian music culture across time and in different parts of the subcontinent.

Dilan Khan's dual citizenship is due to his ability to play classical shahanāī, a skill and repertoire that he inherited from his father. Although born and currently retired in the city of Jaunpur, Dilan Khan spent most of his professional career in Calcutta, where he learned clarinet and worked as a wedding bandsman and a classical shahanāī player. In one sense, therefore, and although he is respected as a classical musician, Dilan Khan cannot be said to have achieved that status as a clarinet player. Currently in the Deccan city of Bijapur a young clarinetist, Giralappa S. Bajantri (circa 1978), is attempting a similarly bifurcated career. As the son of a father with classical as well as traditional and popular musical knowledge, and as the

student of a classical musician, Bajantri plays classical programs on the shahanāī. He simultaneously manages his family's wedding band. It remains to be seen whether this career pattern, in which Dilan Khan succeeded during the mid-twentieth century, is still a viable option forty years later. These careers demonstrate very specific characteristics of simultaneity accompanied by a readily made distinction resulting from the two different instruments (shahanāī for classical, clarinet for band) that these musicians use in their two worlds. Dilan Khan's career (and Bajantri's incipient one as well) is, therefore, in contrast with the early twentieth century careers of Alamghir and Sohni, who accomplished a similar dual identity on a single instrument.

Outside of Lahore, and with the exception of the Thanjavur tradition, the oral history of the clarinet in South Asia has no definite record of clarinetists who performed classical music prior to Sohni and Alamghir. However, some names do appear (although with few references) that connect clarinet performance with classical music in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Tawakkal Hussain (1902-1958) was a contemporary of Sohni's, but is described as the source from whom Sohni learned classical music. Also in Lahore there is a record of one Babu Khan (active circa 1875-1915) who appears to have played classical music; at any rate, he is not described as a bandmaster, which is the normal alternative (non-classical) label: "After learning the rudiments of clarinet-playing from his father during the last decade of the nineteenth century, young Muhammad Din was given in the care of Babu Khan, who played clarinet, then made of wood. As Babu Khan, [was] eager to pass his performing skill on to someone else . . . he readily accepted young Muhammad Din as his progeny" (Malik, 1984:1).

The names of Nazir Hussain Sohni and Alamghir Khan are known to most of the reputable clarinetists of north India and Pakistan; their students may be found throughout the upper half of South Asia. Both were bandsmen whose earliest training was received from other bandsmen, but who later received *tālīm* from classical musicians as well. The general consensus seems to be that Alamghir had stronger connections to the classical world through his *tālīm* with the *khayālīa*, Bhai Lal Muhammad of Amritsar. Alamghir's family also claims Bhaskar Rao Bakhle (1869-1922) as one of his gurus. The intensity of this particular teacher-student relationship is unclear, given that Alamghir apparently was thirteen years old when Bakhle died.

The distinguishing feature of these men's careers, in contrast with their younger colleagues, was their ability to combine the performance of classical musics and their careers as wedding bandsmen without harming their classical reputations. In the Punjab, and especially in the Muslim Punjab, the line of demarcation between classical and popular performance con-

texts and social identities was, and to some extent still is, less well defined than it is in the contemporary music culture of northern India. Alamghir and Sohni played classical concert programs; but they also played classical music, as well as popular music, at weddings and processions. In fact, one of his son's favorite anecdotes concerning his father recounts a wedding procession that lasted much longer than anticipated ("all night" is how it is described) because the wedding party and passers-by were so enthralled by Alamghir's extended classical improvisations that he was encouraged to continue playing rather than to process.

Using the amount of classical knowledge he was able to pass on to his student Nabi Jaan as a measure, Muhammad Gucchan seems to have received considerable classical training from Mustaq Hussain Khan. One might therefore have expected his career to have proceeded along the dualistic lines of his contemporaries to the west, Sohni and Alamghir. This did not happen. Gucchan's reputation never passed beyond the boundaries of the limited band world of Uttar Pradesh; what is more, whatever classical-band duality Gucchan's career possessed was divided between two different younger musicians: his student Nabi Jaan inherited the classical repertoire and status, while his son Muhammad Akram inherited the Macchan band. Akram (born 1970) is admittedly much younger than either Nabi Jaan (circa 1948) or the sons of Alamghir and Sohni, and therefore had less opportunity to learn classical music from his father. It may also be that the level of socio-musical intolerance for bi-musical identities in central Uttar Pradesh was growing throughout this period, making it not only less possible, but less conceivable that a band clarinetist should learn or perform classical music.

The chronological aspect of the career differences between Akram and Nabi Jaan as inheritors of Muhammad Gucchan's status and knowledge are perhaps heightened by the consideration of another, chronologically intermediate clarinetist in this Rampur group. Muhammad Bacchan (born 1955) is Gucchan's son-in-law (*dāmād*), who as a young man learned clarinet, including classical musical performance, from his new father-in-law. Bacchan can and does play *ālāp-gat* style clarinet in wedding band contexts; but the demand for, and interest in such performances is quite small. Bacchan's knowledge of *rāga* and ability to manipulate the materials of the classical repertoire are not as developed as are those of Nabi Jaan (his elder by about seven years), but are more developed than those of Akram (very much his junior). Bacchan may thus represent a mid-way point in the transition of clarinetists in Uttar Pradesh from a stage in which classical-band duality was possible to a stage in which classical and band performance were forced into distinct careers in distinct musical worlds.

This separation of the classical and band portions of Gucchan's inheritance may be the result of two different factors: first, the straightforward

matter of these students' appearance at different stages of their guru's life; second, and perhaps more importantly, their arrival on the scene at different stages in an ongoing change in public perceptions of the band and classical world. Gucchan's inability to secure a firm classical patronage base on which to build a new career may reflect an unexpected (on his part) split in public perceptions of the identity and role of classical and wedding band musician as distinct and incompatible that grew stronger as he grew older and/or that was not present in Punjab, where that split is still neither clear nor absolute. It is certainly true that the ability of a newly defined classical clarinetist to acquire classical patronage sources is crucial to the solidification of his classical status. It is essential if the individual hopes to pass that status on to his son.

Patronage Sources for Classical Clarinet

The essential nature of patronage in the trans-generational transmission of classical knowledge and status is made very clear in the careers of the three generations of Baba Hussain Nadaf's family shown in Figure 1. Unlike some of the other Muslim families discussed here, this family comes from the central Deccani region of northern Karnataka state; generally speaking, the transition from traditional shahanāī/percussion ensembles to wind bands has been slower here than farther north. Hussain Nadaf's grandfather and most of his elder relatives played *tassa*, a shallow kettle-drum that remains a prominent feature of traditional and wind band performance in many areas of the Deccan. Like shahanāī, it is an instrument associated with low-caste and untouchable musicians. Although Nadaf joined his elder brothers in the band business, he was also fortunate enough to learn the basics of *rāga* and *tāla* from Vitelparwar Jhumkandi, whom Nadaf calls his guru. Nadaf later augmented this basis with training (in more *rāgas* and compositions) from other ustads (to use his word), and eventually auditioned for and secured a staff position at the All India Radio (AIR) station in Dharward. Nadaf's son was able to receive classical instruction in *sitār* from his father's new colleagues; he ultimately acquired his own position at the station. Thus, in four generations, the family has transformed its professional music activity from performance on the lowly *tassa* drums to *sitār*, one of the most prestigious instruments in Indian music. While Nadaf's son may never become a world-famous virtuoso, his ability to defend his claim to classical status and support his family through that claim is secure.

As Daniel Neuman has noted, AIR is an important source of state patronage for classical musicians (1980); for many clarinetists it has played a vital role, supplying both a regular (if not princely) income and respectable (and normally classical) status. Hussain Nadaf, Mahbood Hussain, Darshan Singh,

and Nabi Jaan all occupied regular staff positions at AIR stations (Dharward, Lucknow, Delhi, and Rampur, respectively). M. V. Solapurkar, Tukaram Jadhav, Dilan Khan, and Narasimhalu Wadvati have all broadcast from AIR stations. This view of the importance of an AIR staff position is reinforced by the consistency with which this form of state patronage leads to the perpetuation of a clarinetist's classical status in his son's career. Of the musicians born after 1920, those whose sons have sustained their fathers' classical status, (Hussain Nadaf, Darshan Singh, and Narasimhalu Wadvati) have all had regular relationships, if not staff positions, with AIR. (Of the remaining staff artists on my list, Mahbood Hussain had no sons, while Nabi Jaan's two sons decided to stay out of the music business altogether.)

It is reasonable to suggest that AIR is the major source of patronage for classical clarinet performance in contemporary north India (as is Radio Pakistan in that country). Another source of patronage, from which at least one of the subjects of this study has managed to secure considerable financial support, is the Hindu religion. M. V. Solapurkar's publicity material states that "Sri. [*sic*] Solapurkar has given many of his programmes in the premises of holy temples and in the presence of SAT PURUSHAS" [emphasis original]. He then lists twenty-two "main important" sacred locations throughout India in which he has performed, including the Sri Balaji Venkatesh Mandir at Tirupati, the Dwarkaji Mandir at Dwarka, the Kala Pranam Sri Venkateshwara Mandir at Karkala, and the Sri Satguru Sai Baba Mandir at Shirdi. Solapurkar notes that some of his performances were professional and others devotional in nature. Whether or not he was paid for any particular performance, these concerts all added to his social, religious, and musical prestige. They defined him with increasing clarity as a classical musician. This somewhat novel approach to the acquisition of patronage has been successful for Solapurkar, but seems to have been neither as appealing nor as rewarding for his son, who manages the family band and plays in a pop music orchestra.⁵

In the increasingly assertive Hindu atmosphere of post-Independence western India, Solapurkar's high-caste Brahmin background may make him especially well suited to temple musicianship. Thus that status could be viewed as an advantage in his search for the patronage necessary to sustain a place in the classical world. The reverse may also be true: that low caste status makes the search for patronage more difficult. Low caste status, however, in and of itself, is usually not enough of an impediment; it is rather the final element in a list of factors that are collectively too much for musicians to overcome. In the career of Tukaram Jadhav, a member of the traditionally untouchable Jadhav or Mane-Jadhav caste, low caste status may have been a contributing factor to his final career choice as a bandsman, especially since many of his caste-mates are engaged in this trade. The

explanation of Jadhav's ultimate career as a band musician however, was his inability to secure his grasp on the light-classical patronage he initially acquired.

Tukaram Jadhav learned shahanāī from his father; and clarinet from his elder brothers. His eldest brother also had some classical vocal training which he passed on to Tukaram. Like Hussain Nadaf, Jadhav acquired additional knowledge of rāga and tāla from a variety of musicians with whom he came in contact. For a number of years the brothers performed as a light classical ensemble, and were hired to provide concert and background classical music for weddings and social events. Subsequently Jadhav served as a casual artist on AIR and spent a number of years playing light classical music for Marathi *natya sangit* troupes in Pune. However, an apparent lack of regular and reliable patronage (which itself may have stemmed in part from his lack of a identifiable classical guru and his low caste) loomed as problems that were ultimately too difficult to overcome. The live market for light-classical shahanāī or clarinet dried up, and Marathi theater dwindled. Jadhav joined a band and eventually established his own wedding band. Today, his band is a flourishing business; the family have recently purchased and are renovating a new and impressive house. Nevertheless, Jadhav feels that his sons are not maintaining the musical standards that his father set, or that he himself was able to maintain in his youth. His sons manage the family band, but know little if any of the light classical and traditional repertoires that their father played and continues to value. Jadhav's perception is that the markets, that he and his brothers tapped into to sustain their classical position (however peripheral or temporary) no longer exist. He views this loss of classical patronage as the result of changes in audience preference: "Today, people only want to hear this disco music" (personal communication, 1993).

Conclusions

Throughout this study I have hypothesized three socio-musical worlds in which South Asian clarinetists have lived and performed. I have charted the career paths of thirteen clarinetists within one or more of these worlds. In following these careers over the hypothetical geography of the classical, traditional, and band worlds, a number of trends become apparent.

The decline of the traditional world of clarinet performance. One trend that is clear from these results offers information about the relative desirability of the three worlds as professional destinations. The traditional world, comprised of shahanāī repertoires and ensembles in which wedding songs, dhuns, bhajans, and other widely dispersed or popular melodies form the core of a processional music practice and repertoire, continues to lose

inhabitants in late twentieth-century South Asia. While this traditional processional culture is historically important, and while it is a musical world from which musicians and repertoires still immigrate to other worlds, it is not a destination towards which modern clarinetists direct their professional footsteps.

Certainly, there are still traditional processional musicians, including non-band clarinetists, in South Asia. If one looks hard enough, one can still find ensembles of clarinet, shahanāī, dhol, and tassa in the Deccan; for example, Tukaram Jadhav's elder brother Jaitappa (Jaiting Rao, born circa 1928) continued playing clarinet in such ensembles and for the occasional *nāutankī* theater troupe until at least 1993. His entire career in processional wind music performance seems to have excluded wedding bands completely. Careers of this type, however, have become the exception rather than the rule that they were at the beginning of the century. The extent of the remaining traditional clarinetists' marginalization seems to grow yearly, even as their numbers shrink. To clarinetists today, the traditional world offers neither the prestige of the classical world nor the popular demand (and thus viable income) of the band world. As a result, career movement by the majority of South Asian clarinetists has been away from the traditional world and in the direction of either the classical and band worlds, or in some cases both. My second conclusion, however, addresses the possibility of clarinetists simultaneously inhabiting both the classical and band worlds of clarinet performance.

Changes in the bi-musical potential of clarinet performance. Throughout most of the twentieth century many clarinetists who were leaders or featured members of South Asian wedding bands played classical music within the context of the wedding procession, on city streets. Clarinetists born at the beginning of the twentieth century—Alamghir, Sohni, Gucchan (although not as successfully), and other lesser known figures such as Fida Hussain (active circa 1910–1955) and Rajan Sarkar (active circa 1920–1965)—all combined active and influential careers in the band world with Hindustani classical performance.

Patrons in the 1930s or 40s who hired the Sohni Band or the Jehanghir Band (Alamghir's group), or probably Gucchan's Macchan Band as well, expected to hear a high proportion of classical music along with the usual folk and popular songs. Baver Lal Ved, a retired merchant in northern Rajasthan, relates stories of the tremendous impression that Sohni's ālāp-gat performances made when Punjabi bands first appeared in that region in the early 1940s. Such accounts, and the oral history of the instrument in general, suggest that these men comprised the first widespread generation of classically informed clarinetists. In addition to their wedding band performances, many played classical concerts for both live and radio audi-

ences. Some, including Sarkar and Hussain, issued classical recordings during the 1920s, 30s, and 40s, from centers as diverse as Lahore and Calcutta. Although these musicians were explicitly part of the wedding band world, they were also respected by musicians and the public for their classical knowledge and performances. They did indeed have dual classical/band citizenship.

In the late twentieth century, classical music performance by clarinetists in wedding bands is both less common and less rigorous than it was in mid-century, but may still occasionally be heard. The Sohni and Jehanghir bandsmen in Lahore include classical compositions with improvised *rāga*-based clarinet solos in their performances. At some weddings this practice is actually requested by wedding guests, who then sit and listen to the group's performance. This is much less common in India, where *rāga* and *tāla* based performances by bandsmen are within neither the expectations of the public nor the abilities of most bandsmen. However, when I played recordings of the 1995 Jehanghir band's classical performances for an elder bandsman of Varanasi, Master Nasim (born circa 1945), he asserted that "This style [*rāga* and *tāla* based compositions and solo improvisation] is the way bands here used to play" (personal communication, 1995). Nasim's use of the past tense is important, but the implications of this state of affairs are even more profound. Not only do Indian band clarinetists not play classical music, but even those who possess classical knowledge and performance skills are not accorded the respect accorded to Alamghir, Sohni, Gucchan, or even some present-day Punjabi bandsmen. Regardless of what they know, the possibility of Indian clarinetists' dual citizenship in the classical and bands worlds does not exist today.

This impossibility is demonstrated in most of the careers discussed here. Musicians such as Muhammad Safi, Muhammad Usman, and Tukaram Jadhav all managed to acquire some classical music knowledge. These men have had classical phases in their careers, but the classical traditions in which they participated (the Maihar Band in Safi's case, or Marathi Natya Sangit in Jadhav's) were not powerful enough—or their connections to them were not permanent enough—for them permanently to establish themselves in the classical world. In addition, these men were unable, due to a lack of adequate classical patronage, to renounce completely their band careers; consequently, they have ultimately been defined, by themselves and their patrons, as bandsmen.

Those clarinetists who did secure permanent identities as classical musicians did so through the patronage of AIR (there are similar careers associated with Radio Pakistan; an example is Sadak Ali Khan Mandu), or through personal patronage networks (such as M. V. Solapurkar's emphasis on temple performance, or Wadvati's teaching activities) that suited their

unique circumstances. In the process of becoming classical musicians, men such as Mahbood Hussain, Narasimhalu Wadvati, and M. V. Solapurkar severed all active connections to the world of wedding bands. Furthermore, it is clear that many successful classical clarinetists (Wadvati and Solapurkar, for example) abandoned the band world before they achieved success in the classical world. While a renunciation of the band world cannot be considered an absolute prerequisite (Hussain Nadaf's classical career seems to have begun with the acquisition of AIR patronage), it certainly is a contributing factor in their final success as classical musicians. The "either-or" nature of these careers contrasts with the careers of some of the older musicians I have discussed above, who established classical reputations without abandoning the world of wedding bands. My final goal in this article is at least to tentatively explain the complex of cultural changes that have led to a process of polarization between the classical and band worlds.

One factor in this growing polarization is a change in the repertoire of wedding bands, where traditional and classical musics have been replaced by *filmī gīt*. During the period from roughly 1935 to 1965, when almost all the musicians I have discussed here were active, an ongoing cycle of producer innovation, audience demand, and bandsman response led to the almost complete domination of the wedding band repertoire by *filmī gīt*, a pluralistic, composed genre in which many stylistic influences, including non-indigenous popular musics, competed (see Arnold 1988 on the eclectic nature of Hindi film music). The direct connections with traditional and classical South Asian repertoires that wedding bands of the 1920s and 30s may have enjoyed were weakened as the twentieth century progressed. Those that remained were largely mediated through film songs based on classical or folk genres.

At the same time that the world of wedding bands was becoming ever more dependent on the pop music styles of *filmī gīt*, transformations were also taking place in the classical world. In newly independent South Asia (especially India), classical traditions developed into potent and globally respected symbols of national identity. Classical musicians met with increasing respect as a result of governmental policy and their well-documented international successes. In this context, Sumita S. Chakravarty's description of the Hindi cinema's problematized position in post-colonial India as the government sought to sponsor the traditional and classical arts (1993) has considerable resonance with the position of clarinetists of the period in relation to sitarists and sarodists of the classical culture, who were enjoying a new wave of state patronage in the form of educational, touring, and promotional funding.

Another factor in the growing rift between the classical and band worlds is suggested by Nita Kumar, who proposes that during the first half

of the twentieth century classical culture moved from public spaces, such as city streets, to private spaces, such as houses, concert halls, and so on. This suggestion is made with reference to India, and specifically to that most Hindu of cities, Varanasi. This distinction may in part explain the contrast between northern India and modern Punjab, (especially the Muslim Punjab of Pakistan); in the latter, the line of demarcation between classical and band performance contexts and social identities is still less well defined than it is in the contemporary music culture of northern India. In the regions where Kumar's model was developed (including Rampur, for instance, the home of Muhammad Gucchan and his students), clarinetists who have sought to inhabit the inter-world borders of classical and band performance and identity have found themselves constrained by a variety of factors that eventually required a commitment to one or the other world—if indeed they had the opportunity to choose.

The issues that I have described here have all placed obstacles in the way of band clarinetists seeking a place in the classical world. They also reflect on the clarinet as an instrument in the emerging post-colonial cultures of India and Pakistan. In South Asia, even the identification of classical music has political implications (see Note 1). Especially in India, classical clarinet performance in some ways challenges the very idea of the identity of classical music as that nation has developed it. Cultural negotiations surround the origins of such instruments as the *santūr* (the *shata tantrī vīna*) and the *tabla* (see Mistry 1984); but the “Indianization” of the clarinet seems beyond the abilities of even the boldest organological revisionist. Ironically, in Pakistan—which has less cultural and political investment in classical music as a national symbol—the clarinet is somewhat less problematic as a classical instrument. Nevertheless, in north India and Pakistan clarinetists have sought to perform their nations' classical traditions on instruments that clearly relate to the colonial past. Those who have succeeded in this endeavor have relied on traditional patterns of transmission, religion, and state patronage.

The worlds of classical and wedding band performance were driven apart by an engine that combined three different—but roughly simultaneous and certainly related—changes in South Asian music culture. On one hand the status of classical musicians was elevated through an association with national identity; while on the other hand bandsmen (whose social identities were already suspect) found their status weakening as their repertoire became ever more dominated by film music. At the same time, the location of classical culture was being withdrawn from the public performance contexts to which bandsmen had access. Therefore, classical musicians (or musicians seeking a place in the classical world) had many reasons to avoid any connection with wedding bands: the potentially polluting (at least for

Hindus) and clearly colonial nature of the instrument itself, the low-caste status of many wedding band musicians, and the similarly low status of their *filmī gīt* repertoire. As a relic of the colonial past, and as an instrument associated with wedding bands and film music, the clarinet was highly problematic as a solo classical instrument. The difficulties were clearly not severe enough to drive the instrument out of the subcontinent, or even out of the classical world altogether. Nevertheless (as Mahbood Hussain asserted), it added an extra hurdle which had to be overcome by clarinetists in pursuit of a classical identity. Socio-musical change among South Asian clarinet players in the latter twentieth century has been informed by this polarization. Unlike members of an earlier generation, the musicians have had to choose between two increasingly separate career worlds: the world of wedding bands, which is not often desirable; and the world of classical music, which is rarely attainable.

Notes

1. The field research upon which this study is based was generously supported by a Senior Research Fellowship from the American Institute of Indian Studies (1988-89) and by two Research Grants from the Research Committee of the University of Auckland (1993 and 1994). My research in Lahore was aided immeasurably by Mr. M. A. Sheikh of the Classical Music Research Cell, Radio Pakistan, Lahore. Portions of this research were presented at the 1990 meeting of the Niagara Chapter of the Society for Ethnomusicology.

This research would not have been possible without the assistance of the many musicians in India and Pakistan who willingly shared their knowledge and life-histories with me. These musicians come from three South Asian regions that are sometimes identified as the Punjab, Hindustan, and the Deccan. The inclusion in this study of musicians from the Pakistani Punjab and the exclusion of musicians from the far south of India (who are part of the Karnatik music tradition) both make the label "Indian" inappropriate. Similarly, the appellation "North Indian" or "Hindustani" classical music is not acceptable to most Pakistani musicians.

2. In this study, the name Muhammad is transliterated according to the Library of Congress system, except where it conflicts with a specific personal usage. In all their publicity and documentation, this family writes their band's name as I have written it here. In Figures 1 and 3 I have abbreviated the name according to standard South Asian practice, as "Mohd."

3. Naturally, there are exceptions to the dominance of the Müller clarinet. One of the most famous instances is the Mumbai clarinetist Master Ebrahim (1915-80). Ebrahim is perhaps best known for his recordings with the Hindi film music industry; but he made classical broadcasts over All India Radio as well. In both his *filmī* and classical performances Ebrahim played on Boehm system clarinets.

4. In an article which provides a general survey of the Indian wedding band tradition, I refer to these groups as "brass bands," according to the standard South Asian usage (1990). In this article I use the term "wedding bands" as a more general and inclusive label for brass and other types of ensembles that play for weddings.

5. Pop music orchestras are present in many Indian cities. They perform primarily popular film songs in background-music as well as concert settings. The ensembles include various combinations of electronic keyboards, guitars, indigenous and western percussion, and some wind instruments. Normally such groups feature one or more vocalists as well.

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