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Emotions in Indian music history: anxiety in late Mughal Hindustan

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Abstract:

Emotions in Indian music are generally studied through the aesthetic lens of “*rasa*”: the Sanskrit theory that proposes the artist’s role is to stimulate one of nine distilled emotional essences (*rasas*) that is ‘tasted’ by the audience. But there are other, less abstract and more socially grounded, ways of approaching Indian music’s relationship with past listeners’ emotions, revealed in historically conscious modes of writing on music that developed under the Mughals. In this paper I will consider the *Hayy al-Arwāh*, a music treatise and *tazkira*

written by Zia-ud-din c1785–88, an ex-Mughal official from Delhi residing in Patna; and place it against the more famous autobiography of his contemporary, Urdu poet Mir Taqi ‘Mir’. Through exploring music, Zia-ud-din’s work reveals much about the emotions felt by people directly affected by the dramatic political upheaval centred on late Mughal Delhi c1740–80—in particular, anxiety.

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Emotions in Indian music history: anxiety in late Mughal Hindustan

After the calamities unleashed upon Shahjahanabad, Mirza Tali' 'Yar' became a dervish...he [then] fled to Sa'dullah Khan Rohilla, after his death came to Lucknow, and then went to Farrukhabad...Wherever he is now, may God Almighty bless him with health and safety, by the prayers of the Prophet and his followers—for he was my beloved friend.

Miyan Zia-ud-din 'Zia', c. 1785–88¹

Ab garam o sard dhir se yeksān nahīn hai hāl

Pānī hai dil hamārā kabhī to kabhī hai āg

The heat and cold of the times have upset the equanimity of life.

My heart is water sometimes, at other times fire.

Mir Taqi 'Mir' (1723–1810)²

In his 1666 Persian treatise on the music of Hindustan, Saif Khan 'Faqrullah' summarised in one line what the Mughals thought music was, and what it was for: 'To arouse tender sympathy in the heart is music's entire essence, and its result.'³ The idea that music has the power to stimulate, express, alter, and release emotions seems to be one of its few true universals across human cultures.⁴ References to music's special affective powers abound in global literature dating from ancient times to the present day,⁵ although it is really only since the 'affective turn' in academic music studies c. 2000 that modern scholars have begun to focus on the link between music and emotions in a more systematic and sustained manner.⁶ But affect has played a prominent role in the study of certain musical traditions long before this recent theoretical turn to musical emotions⁷—in particular, the art-music systems of the Indian subcontinent. For nearly two millennia until the present day, music's ability to transform the emotions of its audiences has been central to the aesthetics and reception theory

of India's elite *rāga*-based traditions that we now call Hindustani music in the North and Karnatak music in the South.⁸

In relation to the late Mughal era (1658–1858), I use the terms 'elite' or 'art' music to refer to that limited set of Hindustani *rāgas* (melodic modes), *tālas* (rhythmic cycles), song and instrumental forms, and communities of professional performer that were patronised by North Indian social elites of all backgrounds in this period,⁹ and that were aestheticised and canonised in Persian and Sanskrit music-technical and philosophical writings of the time (*'ilm-i mūsīqī, saṅgīta-shāstra*); this field of discourse, practices, performers, and modes of listening became known as 'classical' in the twentieth century.¹⁰ In the late eighteenth century, with which this article is concerned, 'these forms were principally the *rāgs* themselves, and a set of virtuosic song genres in *rāg* and *tāl* composed in courtly registers of North Indian languages: *dhrupad, khayāl, tappa*...and instrumental forms on the *rudra vīṇā, rabāb, pakhāwaj, sārāṅgī...sitār* [and] *tabla*'.¹¹

To Mughal-era listeners, affective power was the primary frame for interpreting and experiencing these particular Hindustani forms—and above all, the *rāga*.¹² By this point in Indian history, the emotions aroused by elite musical forms had been filtered through the Sanskritic aesthetic lens of *rasa* for well over a thousand years. *Rasa* is an affect-based theory of performance and reception first propounded in the early Sanskrit treatise, the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, and deepened and disseminated over the centuries through a continuous stream of writings in Sanskrit and later vernacular languages and Persian, the Mughal language of elite Indian music theory.¹³ The *rasas* ('juice, essence') are nine distilled emotional essences: the erotic essence, which is experienced as desire (*śṛṅgāra*), tragic=grief (*karuṇa*), comic=amusement (*hāsyā*), violent=anger (*raudra*), heroic=determination (*vīra*), fearful=fear (*bhayānaka*), macabre=revulsion (*bībhatsa*), fantastic=amazement (*adbhuta*), and (a later addition) peaceful=tranquility (*śhānta*).¹⁴ Musically, *rasa* theory proposes that the

performer's role is, through a perfect rendition of the *rāga*'s melodic contours, to produce the *rasa* temporarily between musician and audience in order for it to be 'tasted' in the transient moment of performance by the listening connoisseur, the *rasika* or *ahl-i zauq* (both of which mean the 'one who tastes emotion/delight').¹⁵

In practice, however, in Mughal times as now,¹⁶ a slightly different, somewhat more impressionistic set of emotions than the classical nine seems to have been tasted by Mughal audiences of elite *rāga*-based music. While Sanskrit, Brajhasha, and Persian treatises written, translated, and studied by Mughal-era connoisseurs described the nine *rasas*, and some connected them with particular *rāgas* or *swaras* (individual notes), these theoretical correlations were the subject of such wide disagreement that scholars like Widdess have dismissed them as fundamentally artificial.¹⁷ Some *rasas* were not deployed musically. No musician would ever wish to disgust their listeners with *bībhatsa rasa*, for instance; indeed, in Mughal-era treatises patrons were strictly enjoined not to employ musicians who might disgust their guests.¹⁸

In any case, of far greater importance than the *rasas per se* to Mughal understandings of the correct emotional effect of each *rāga*, was the powerful hold over the Mughal imagination of the *rāgamālā* tradition of painting the six male *rāgas* and thirty female *rāginīs* as heroes, heroines, semi-divine beings, and deities in standardised but vivid and complex emotional scenarios.¹⁹ These richly layered icons allowed a more expansive range of emotional shades connected with key *rasas* to be enjoyed through musical listening.²⁰ Powers, for instance, argued that many of the *rāga* and *rāginī* icons in this period explored the multiple different emotional facets of one key affective essence, the 'king of *rasas*', *shṛṅgāra*.²¹ Likewise, Zia-ud-din, whose writing on music lies at the heart of this paper, wrote that the entire Brajhasha language in which Hindustani art songs were composed was 'the idiom of *shṛṅgāra rasa*, *shṛṅgāra rasa* being the beauty and love (*husn o 'ishq*) of

women and men'.²² Multiple shades of a single *rasa* might be considered to have rather more conceptual affinity with the *Nāṭyashāstra*'s notion of the thirty-three transitory emotions or *bhāvas* that give rise to the *rasas*, than with the *rasas* themselves.²³ Indeed, although the Mughal connoisseurs and master musicians who wrote the canonical treatises in Persian on the Hindustani *rāgas* c. 1650–1700 certainly knew what the nine *rasas* were technically, 'rasa,' wrote Faqirullah much more sweepingly, 'means inflaming the passions and pleasing the heart through listening'.²⁴

It is important to note, in this regard, the Suficate filter through which Mughal writers understood the *rasa* concept.²⁵ There was a long history going back to the medieval Sufi *premakhyāns* (romances) of interpreting the nine *rasas* as stages on the Sufi path to annihilation (*fanā*).²⁶ But the deep affective polysemy of early modern *rāgamālā* iconography, experienced in perhaps less technically 'correct', more instinctive and impressionistic, ways, also seems to have facilitated affinities—experiential common ground—between Indic and Persianate, Sufi, and Greco-Islamicate understandings of music's powers.²⁷ A smaller set of emotions affine with both Sufi experience and the Indic *rasas* seem to have been prioritised in Indo-Persian writings on the *rāgas*' emotional effects. The most important of these were desire for the beloved (*shṛṅgāra/ishq*) and grief at the beloved's loss or absence (*karuṇa/firāq*), with ecstatic joy, contemplative tranquility, and arousing courage also valued among the *rāgas*' emotional results.²⁸ In Mughal writings on music, these emotions were contextualised within conceptual and literal translations of Sanskrit *rāga* and *rasa* theory; but their emotional vocabulary was rendered in Persianate terms and their interpretation steeped in Greco-Islamicate and Suficate understandings of emotion, the mind, and music's powers.²⁹

What is critical to note is that the emotional and, indeed, supernatural powers of the *rāgas* remained absolutely fundamental to Hindustani music's ontology in the Mughal listener's

experience: its 'entire essence, and its result'.³⁰ The single aim that unified the canonical Mughal treatises was to explain which effects were produced by different *rāgas* and—more importantly—why.³¹ This is because the Mughals regarded the Hindustani *rāgas* as an indispensable, supernaturally powerful technology for use within Greco-Islamic medicinal theories of mind and body to restore balance and harmony to the individual, the empire, and the natural world. Each *rāga* derived its ability to arouse desire, compassion, sorrow, joy, vigour, tranquility, etc. in the individual listener—or to bring the rain, defeat enemies, light fires, bestow sovereignty, or calm wild beasts—from channelling the power of the astral bodies over the four elements out of which all things were made, and especially the humours of the human body and the faculties of the human mind. Mental and physical disease were caused by imbalance and disorder in the faculties and humours. The ideal state of health was equilibrium—a mental and physical equanimity to which the Mughals believed the correct choice of *rāga* could fully restore a disordered listener.³²

The *rāgas* were thus, most importantly, an essential Mughal technology for fine-tuning an individual's humours, faculties, and emotions, and for bringing the polity itself, supernaturally, into the power of auspicious balance.³³ But the *rāgas* were also critical to the self-fashioning of the Mughal elites in a more worldly and socially grounded sense, too. Since at least the 1660s, listening to the 'right' kinds of Hindustani *rāgas*, instruments, and song forms in that most storied of gatherings for intimate listening, the Mughal *majlis* (pl. *majālis*), had set elite Mughal and Rajput men apart *as a class* from both grubby social climbers and the unwashed masses.³⁴ Listening to and being moved by the Hindustani *rāgas* was not just crucial to Mughal health and wellbeing. It was fundamental, in the most visceral and passionate terms, to *who the old Mughal elites were* as a cohesive social and political collective. Hindustani music, in other words, was the central social and cultural glue of what in modern terms we would call Mughal elite 'identity'.³⁵ The fundamental necessity of the

rāgas' critical emotional affordances to sustaining this elite class socially and politically, and not just individually or supernaturally, thus opens a unique window onto the history of *other* emotions in the late Mughal period that lie outside classical *rasa* theory.

In this paper I will be focussing, then, not on the pleasant effects generated by musical listening in late Mughal Hindustan, but instead on the overpowering negative emotions aroused when Mughal listeners were threatened with the immediate and total loss of this affect-soaked musical world, c. 1757–61—notably, anxiety. During these tumultuous years especially, which Zia-ud-din referred to as the 'scattering' of Shahjahanabad, but beginning with Nadir Shah's invasion in 1739, the Mughal imperial city of Delhi was repeatedly overrun and sacked by invading armies intent on plunder, revenge, and conquest. 'What of the people of Mughal Delhi?' Carla Petievich wrote of these events' devastating human consequences:

Their entire sense of security had just been severely undermined... Their way of life, their culture, in fact *their very identity, embodied in the capital city of Delhi*, was threatened with obsolescence.

[The poets] Sauda and Mir thought that the world as they had known it was destroyed and they had no idea of what would follow.³⁶

One could say with equal truth: their very identity, embodied in the savouring of the Hindustani *rāgas* in Delhi's fabled *majlis*, was imperilled. A recipe for existential anxiety if ever there was one.

In what follows, I wish to explore in depth the response of one fairly ordinary Mughal man, the gentleman-amateur musician Miyan Zia-ud-din 'Zia' (b. c. 1725–30), to the extraordinary endangerment of his musical world and sense of self-hood, through the collection of musicians' biographies, or *tazkira*,³⁷ that he wrote as the second half of his unique music treatise, the *Hayy al-Arwāh (Everliving Spirits)*, c. 1785–88.³⁸ As a young man,

Zia-ud-din took part in the same intimate poetical and musical gatherings in Delhi as the great Urdu poet, Mir Muhammad Taqī ‘Mir’ (1723–1810), who included an approving entry on the younger man in his 1752 *tazkira* of Urdu poets, the *Nikāt al-Shu‘arā*.³⁹ Mir’s own emotion-laden writings on Delhi’s destruction and his own long exile in his well-known autobiography, the *Zikr-i Mīr* (*Mir’s Remembrances*) and in his celebrated poetry, thus provide a crucial foil in this paper for Zia-ud-din’s much more restrained reflections on the same events.⁴⁰

In my second epigraph above, Mir described his emotional state at the destruction of his beloved Delhi in elemental terms, as one of distressing imbalance—of being all fire and water due to the heat and cold of that most disordered of times and places in which he, and Zia-ud-din, lived. As we shall see, the emotion Mir was expressing in this couplet was anxiety: the universal human emotional response to the kind of uncertain but existential threats exemplified by the upheaval Mir and Zia-ud-din endured during their lifetimes. In classical Indian aesthetic theory, anxiety is not one of the nine stable *rasas*, but a transitory *bhāva* ‘observed to accompany any number of [*rasas*]’.⁴¹ It was nonetheless precisely—indeed, primarily—such a state of emotional uncertainty that the Mughals believed the Hindustani *rāgas* could soothe and alleviate. Music was an attested medicinal tonic that could restore contentment to the listener consumed with the cares of the world.⁴²

In this paper I will argue that—in sharp contrast to Mir’s emotional candour—it is Zia-ud-din’s very emotional restraint and detached attention to detail in tracing what happened to hundreds of lost and scattered musicians and listeners, that reveals to us that the emotional driving force behind the writing of the *Hayy al-Arwāh* was a deep and abiding anxiety, engendered by the ongoing existential threat he perceived to the imperial musical traditions of Delhi. Critical to my argument here is Kurth’s recent empirical work that demonstrates, firstly, that anxiety, like fear or sadness, is a biocognitive emotion ‘that

combines a core [biological] affect programme with a culturally shaped control system;’ and, secondly, that anxiety is not the same as fear.⁴³ Fear and anxiety are distinct biocognitive emotions; in both animals and humans they arise from different stimuli, and result in different behaviours. They are both automatic ‘negatively valenced’ defensive responses to threats. But fear is ‘triggered by clear and present dangers,’ and precipitates the well-known behavioural responses of fight, flight, or freeze. In contrast, anxiety is ‘triggered by threats and challenges that are unpredictable, uncontrollable, or otherwise uncertain in nature,’ and activates ‘patterns of risk-assessment and risk-minimization behavior’ aimed at mitigating that uncertainty.

Crucially for my argument concerning Zia-ud-din’s musical writings, these patterns include ‘epistemic behaviors (e.g. deliberation, reflection, information-gathering)’ that help individuals evaluate the threat or risk, and help them ‘determine what the correct thing to do is.’ While excessive anxiety can be crippling, it has long been known empirically that moderate anxiety can be productive, acting as a regulating device helping individuals to perform tasks better and make better decisions. (Indeed the majority of extant literature on music and anxiety concerns ‘performance nerves’ and how to help musicians control and channel them effectively.⁴⁴) Thus, ‘by working principally to orient us toward questions about what we should do...anxiety can promote better moral decision making...it is an emotion that plays an important role in agency.’ In other words, anxiety propels information-rich, solution-focussed actions that are designed to mitigate negative outcomes when faced with uncertain or uncontrollable threats.⁴⁵ This is precisely what I think was in operation in the writing of the *Hayy al-Arwāh*.

* * *

Zia-ud-din's *Hayy al-Arwāh*, the *Everliving Spirits*, is an important treatise on the elite musical traditions of late Mughal Hindustan written in the 1780s, but including material stretching back to the cultural Golden Age of the reign of Muhammad Shah 'Rangilē' (r. 1720–48).⁴⁶ Zia-ud-din dedicated his work ultimately to the Mughal emperor in Delhi, Shah 'Alam II (r. 1759–1806). But he named the *Hayy al-Arwāh* after a more immediate dedicatee, Shah 'Abd-ul-hayy, whom Zia-ud-din revered as a great music connoisseur: presenting a work on music to him was 'like taking cumin to Kerman, or pepper to India'.⁴⁷ Much of what we know about Zia-ud-din and his text's production has to be gained from internal evidence and parallel sources, as the only surviving manuscript, in the John Rylands Library, University of Manchester, has no original bindings or colophon. Fortunately, the second half of the text is a *tazkira* or biographical dictionary of North Indian musicians, nearly all of whom were connected with Mughal Delhi and its imperial walled city of Shahjahanabad,⁴⁸ and many of whom Zia-ud-din had himself heard and befriended over a period of about forty years. His *tazkira* contains a wealth of helpful detail that enables us to place both the author and his remarkable musical text.

Miyan Zia-ud-din 'Zia' was a well-connected minor Mughal official from Shahjahanabad who was born c. 1725–30, early enough to remember the glamour and luxury of Muhammad Shah's Delhi before the Persian emperor Nadir Shah's humiliating invasion in 1739.⁴⁹ The often acerbic Mir regarded his younger contemporary unreservedly as a fresh-faced and sincere person with suitably deferential manners, of humble temperament, and much inclined to the ways of the Sufi *faqīrs* (mendicants).⁵⁰ Mir's impression tallies well with Zia-ud-din's self-presentation. Like many other gentleman-amateurs of the time, he was a poet, a committed Sufi, and slightly more unusually an accomplished musician: a dedicated student of Miyan Anjha Baras Khan who was head of the most prestigious lineage of hereditary musicians in Muhammad Shah's imperial atelier.⁵¹

In 1754, when the unstable and sadistic prime minister 'Imad-ul-mulk blinded the Mughal emperor Ahmad Shah (r. 1748–54)⁵² and placed the puppet 'Alamgir II (r. 1754–59) on the throne, Zia-ud-din left Delhi for Lucknow with his employer Iftikhar-ud-daula Mirza 'Ali Khan⁵³. Before 1756 they had moved further east to Faizabad in Bengal⁵⁴, possibly in the service of Nawab Ahmad 'Ali Khan Shaukat Jang, governor of Purnea (d. 1756); and they had returned to Lucknow by 1761. It is not clear when Zia-ud-din left Iftikhar-ud-daula's employ, but in 1764 he was living in Sahibganj in Bihar, at which point he decided it was time to return to his homeland (*watan*) of Delhi. Sadly, the political situation in the imperial capital under the rule of Ahmad Shah Abdali's Rohilla deputy Najib-ud-daula made this impossible. So instead, in about 1765 Zia-ud-din settled permanently in the great commercial hub of Patna (Azimabad) in Bihar on the Ganges River, which was by that time securely under the control of the British East India Company.⁵⁵ At the time of writing, Zia-ud-din was working for Muhammad Quli Khan 'Mushtaq' (d. 1791).⁵⁶ Mushtaq was a 'clever musician' and poet according to Sprenger, whose father Hashim Quli Khan had been chief of staff (*darogha*) to the governor of Patna 1740–48, Nawab Zain-ud-din Ahmad Khan Haibat Jang.⁵⁷ The *Hayy al-Arwāh* manuscript is undated, but Zia-ud-din wrote it between the death of Mirza Najaf Khan in 1782⁵⁸ and the death of his own employer in 1791, and most probably between 1785 and 1788: in what is a highly Delhi-centric text, there is not a hint of Afghan marauder Ghulam Qadir's horrendous blinding and torture of Shah 'Alam II (r.1759–1806) in August 1788.⁵⁹

Zia-ud-din was thus writing as an elderly gentleman in his late fifties or sixties,⁶⁰ looking back over the turbulent events of his life and times. As a Mughal insider who worked until the mid 1750s in the imperial capital, then fled eastward to Nawabi Lucknow and Bengal, finally coming to rest in British-run Patna, his perspective on this period of tumult is invaluable. Zia-ud-din had the dubious privilege of being an eyewitness to much of what he

called the ‘turmoil/disorder’ (*hangāma*) or ‘calamity/misfortune’ (*āshob*) that befell Mughal Delhi 1739–61, which led to the capital’s physical devastation (*ghārat*) and the ‘scattering’ (*tafriqa*) of the people of Shahjahanabad’ all over India.⁶¹ He was present for Nadir Shah’s brutal conquest of Delhi in 1739, the constant threats to the capital of Afghan, Rohilla, Maratha and Jat incursions 1748–54, and the violent overthrow of emperor Ahmad Shah. And Zia-ud-din could not return to his beloved Delhi because of the catastrophic events that most preyed on his mind, which he repeatedly called the ‘*hangāma-yi Abdālī*’: the period 1757–61 when Abdali and the Marathas fought for control of the capital, ‘Imad ul-Mulk murdered ‘Alamgir II, and Shah ‘Alam II fled into exile, culminating in the devastating 1761 Battle of Panipat. But Zia-ud-din was also in Bihar and Bengal during the portentous events there that began the transfer of power from the Mughals to the British: Robert Clive’s defeat of Siraj-ud-daula at the 1757 Battle of Palashi, the multiple sieges of Patna that led up to the British defeat of the Mughal, Awadh, and Bengal armies at the Battle of Baksar in 1764,⁶² and the 1765 Treaty of Allahabad when Shah ‘Alam II ceded Bengal and Bihar to the British. Although Patna was largely peaceful over the next few decades, Zia-ud-din would also have witnessed first-hand the devastating effects of the 1769–70 Bengal famine, as Patna was badly hit; the best modern estimates are that 1.2 million people died of starvation.⁶³

For most of his adult life, then, Zia-ud-din repeatedly endured and witnessed great trauma and upheaval, surviving, finally, to live in peace—but only in permanent exile from his beloved Delhi, the memory of whose social and cultural life remained always at the front of his mind. Why did he choose a music treatise—of all possible genres of writing—as the vehicle for what he most wanted to preserve of his life and times for future generations to remember? And what were the main emotions detectable in his writing that propelled him to write it? Music’s power over the emotions and its connections with memory and self-hood ultimately played a role in this choice—but only obliquely, at one remove. It is the emotional

after-effects of trauma and exile on Zia-ud-din and those he cared about that scar the *Hayy al-Arwāh* throughout—but in markedly different ways than the more direct (and much more famous) reflections on the same events by his exact contemporary, the Urdu poet Mir, especially in his autobiography, the *Zikr-i Mīr*.

In their prose works, both Mir and Zia-ud-din wrote in first person from time to time, making their writings at least in parts ‘ego documents’, and thus classic primary sources for the history of the emotions.⁶⁴ But while Mir recalled in vivid emotive language the fear and grief he and his community experienced over the destruction of their whole way of life, exemplified in Delhi’s physical devastation, Zia-ud-din’s language was curiously unemotional, even dry, especially considering the subject matter of his *tazkira*, which obsessively tried to pin down whether or not the scattered musicians of Shahjahanabad survived, and if they did, where they went to. In other words, I will suggest, the main emotion propelling the *Hayy al-Arwāh* was neither fear nor grief, but *anxiety*—Zia-ud-din’s anxiety over the longer-term existential threat to a crucial source of his people’s emotional solace and self-hood: the music of his Mughal homeland.

It is quite clear from their writing that both Mir and Zia-ud-din saw the *hangāma-yi Abdālī* of 1757–61, the cataclysmic end of two decades of increasingly intense uncertainty and instability in the Mughal heartlands, as a particularly severe existential threat to their own lives and loved ones, and to the rich Mughal life of poetry and music they both loved almost more than life itself. I would like to compare their responses to the *hangāma-yi Abdālī*, because the quite different flavours of their writings demonstrate the distinct behavioural responses engendered by fear, as Mir was personally caught up in the violence, and anxiety, as Zia-ud-din reacted to reports of the *hangāma* and its longer-term consequences from a geographical and temporal distance.

The mid-to-late eighteenth century in North India is famous for the genre of Urdu poetry known as the ‘city of misfortune’ or *shahr-āshob*, of which Mir was an acknowledged master. The genre was derived from earlier Persian models that joyously explored the Mughal cityscape through its palaces, bazaars, religious shrines, and musical and poetical gatherings (*majlis*, pl. *majālis*), all lavishly populated with ‘rascally boys’ of all trades, ‘slim, tall beauties’, and blissfully intoxicated lovers.⁶⁵ But in sharp contrast, the eighteenth-century poets of the Urdu *shahr-āshob* emptied and razed the city, in order to distil Mughal feelings of grief, desolation, and anxiety for the future in the wake of the mid-century destruction of their beloved capital.

Although we can’t identify with certainty which specific catastrophes in the period of Delhi’s travails inspired particular *shahr-āshob* verses,⁶⁶ Mir’s Persian prose autobiography, the *Zikr-i Mīr*, at times addresses his experience of datable events in equally intense and direct fashion. Like Zia-ud-din’s text, the first version of the *Zikr-i Mīr* was written in exile from the safety of the Jat fortresses of Kumher and Deeg, and completed in 1773 when Mir, too, considered himself to have crossed the threshold of old age.⁶⁷ And, again like Zia-ud-din, Mir seems to have been especially consumed with the period of Abdali’s invasions c. 1757–61, which dramatically affected his own fortunes.⁶⁸ There are two critical differences, however. Mir’s experiences of the *hangāma-yi Abdalī* were direct, while Zia-ud-din’s were indirect. Mir also began writing about them almost straight away, between 1760 and 1771,⁶⁹ whereas Zia-ud-din put pen to paper more than two decades after the fact. The immediacy of events for Mir may explain in part why his most potent expressed emotions were fear in the context of immediate threats to life and property; and grief in the aftermath of destruction.

In January 1760, the armies of the Afghan ruler Ahmad Shah Abdali Durrani and the leader of the Rohillas Najib-ud-daula routed the Maratha army ten miles north of Delhi, and descended upon the helpless city.⁷⁰ Mir tells us that ‘the Marathas, in utter panic, did not even

pick up [General Dataji Rao's] corpse and left it lying by the river. The Rohillas, crossing over to this side, started a massacre, while the Marathas ran off into the wilderness in utter rout (*hazīmat*).⁷¹ While many of the men of Shahjahanabad, including Mir's patron Raja Nagar Mal, exhibited the same *flight* response, Mir 'stayed behind to protect my family', and prepared to *fight*. But the onslaught was terrible and relentless for over a week:

In the morning—which was like the morning of doomsday (*Qiyāmat*)—the armies of the shah and the Rohilla leader Najib-ud-Daula poured in and set about looting and killing...Roofs were dug up; walls were pulled down. Breasts were torn open; hearts were charred⁷²...A terrible host trampled the city and caused death and destruction to all and sundry...The New City [Shahjahanabad] was turned into rubble...Meanwhile the savages attacked the Old City and started killing its people...Thousands of wretches, in the midst of that raging fire, scarred their hearts with the mark of exile and ran off into the jungles, where, like lamps at dawn, they died in the cold air...*It was a reign of tyrants. They stole and plundered, and enriched themselves obscenely, and did not spare even the women. They waved their swords and snatched away whatever they could grab. The people of the Old City could do nothing. You could say their hands and hearts had gone numb. They were stunned in their distress. On every doorstep there stood a blackguard; every street was a field of killing...The poor stood stiff with fear while those impudent fellows showered abuses on them...I was left destitute and penniless, and my humble dwelling...was leveled to the ground.*⁷³

And then, as suddenly as they had come, the armies of the Afghans and Rohillas vanished into the Aravalli hills, their attentions fixed on plunder elsewhere.

Mir's description of the responses of the Old City's inhabitants is especially interesting here. Some *fled* headlong, hopelessly, only to die in the wilderness of the bitter winter's cold; but others *froze* stiff with fear, stunned, their hands and hearts numb, under the thumb of tyranny. Mir used specific literary techniques to make his audience themselves feel the fear of this moment, and sympathise with the horrors the people of Delhi had endured. Bear in

mind that most Indian literature in this period was designed to be recited aloud to listeners.⁷⁴

Naim notes that the passage I have italicised makes unusual use of eight idioms constructed on the word 'hand' (*dast*) in rapid succession.⁷⁵ Mir wielded them in short, punchy sentences that would have left a Persian-literate audience stunned and reeling from the metaphorical weight of the blackguards' fists and swords raining down on them, too, as they listened.⁷⁶

Over the next six months, intense anxiety that the armies would return and overrun Shahjahanabad again set in. Unable to bear the uncertainty, Mir made a bold decision to ensure his family's survival: 'I went to the raja and submitted to him that I was in great distress (*ātish o āb* [fire and water]) due to the uncertain times (*garam o sard* [heat and cold]) and wished to go out of the city, to some other place where perhaps I might find some peace...I took all my dependents with me and set out on foot.' In one of the few examples where we can tie a particular couplet from Mir's *ghazals* to a passage from his autobiography, he uses almost identical language to my second epigraph to describe the anxiety that led to this wise but drastic decision: due to the heat and cold of the times, he was all fire and water; by leaving his beloved Delhi he was seeking equanimity (*yaksān*) and peace (*āsūda*).⁷⁷

It was only later that he gave full expression to his grief for all that was lost. When he returned to Delhi with Raja Nagar Mal in February 1761, more than a month after Abdali had won the decisive battle of Panipat and pacified Shahjahanabad, Mir wrote:

I happened to take the road into the newly ruined city of Delhi, outside the walled city of Shahjahanabad. At every step I shed tears and learned the lesson of mortality...I could not recognize any neighborhood or house...Houses had collapsed. Walls had fallen down. The hospices were bereft of Sufis. The taverns were empty of revelers. It was a wasteland, from one end to the other...What can I say about the rascally boys of the bazaar when there was no bazaar itself? And what can I tell of my lover friends when there was nothing around of beauty? The

handsome young men had passed on. The pious old men had passed away... Suddenly I found myself in the neighbourhood where I had lived: where I gathered my friends (*sohbat mī-dāshṭam*) and recited verses—where I lived the life of love (*‘āshiqāna mī-zīstam*) and cried many a night—where I fell in love with slim and tall beauties, and sang high their praises... This was where I had arranged joyous gatherings (*bazm mī-ārāstam*) with beautiful people... and lived a life worth the name (*zindagānī mī-kardam*). But now... every bazaar was a place of desolation, and every street a track into wilderness. I stood there and gazed in amazement. I was horrified.⁷⁸

This famous passage is, of course, a *shahr-āshob* in sonorous rhyming prose, modelled on the joyful Persian *shahr-āshobs* of happier times, but with its sentiments reversed—the city full of devastating beauties now become the city devastated and empty.

The idea that nothing was left standing and no-one left alive was not, strictly speaking, true. Zia-ud-din's *tazkira* featured a number of musicians and musical patrons who were still living in the Old City and Shahjahanabad between 1761 and 1772 when Shah 'Alam II himself returned from exile. And we know that elite music and poetry continued there as did Sufi life, all three, for example, cultivated by the great Sufi leader and poet Khwaja Mir Dard at his hospice in the Old City.⁷⁹ That this was not, in reality, the end of Mughal Delhi and her people focusses our attention on Mir's heightened emotional *perceptions* in 1761; and in particular the cause of his most intense grief—the great disruption of the living organism that was Delhi's celebrated *majlis*, the intimate gathering for music, poetry, and friendship.⁸⁰ Mir of course mourned the passing of the mentors, friends and lovers that filled the assemblies of his memories. But most of all he wept over the passing of the Mughal 'life of love' he had once enjoyed with them: the ephemeral 'life worth living' of poetry, song, love, feasting, and friendship that was generated nightly in those gatherings, and that dissipated daily 'like lamps at dawn'.⁸¹ He wept not only over the assemblies' past glories and their present deathly

silence, but over the likelihood, given the evidence of his own eyes and heart, that they would never be revived.⁸²

This point, and this passage, are critical to understanding Zia-ud-din's focus on the musical world in his only known literary work. As in Afghanistan under the Taliban and the 'war on terror' ever since, if the physical spaces in which music and poetry are performed are literally destroyed, and if the musicians and poets and listeners that populated those spaces are themselves dead and scattered, then the threat to the survival of the music and poetry they carry in their bodies is very real.⁸³ Such a threat is especially acute with a tradition like Hindustani music, for unlike poetry, the music itself has never been written down; the sounds of eighteenth-century Delhi are not reproducible from any written notation. They were passed on bodily, in the throats and hands of master musicians to their sons and carefully selected disciples, who in time themselves became masters.⁸⁴ And they required listeners who were equally enculturated into those traditions through continuous exposure over generations, and had the time, money, and pavilions to spare for listening.⁸⁵

What happens to music when the chains of its existence all break at once?

It was precisely this possibility that lay at the heart of Zia-ud-din's anxiety, which in turn, I argue, impelled him to write the *Hayy al-Arwāh* in order to bring the disordered musical world back under control, and to bear witness to all that had been lost and was still, he thought, under threat. The style of his writing is in dramatic contrast to Mir's: technical, detailed, factual, and emotionally distanced. This is in large part to do with genre: the *Hayy al-Arwāh* is not a memoir or poetry, but a scientific music treatise. However, more detached and intellectual 'epistemic behaviors (e.g. deliberation, reflection, information-gathering)' aimed at 'risk-minimization' are also exactly what we would expect if this work's

fundamental emotional driving force was anxiety.⁸⁶ Curiously for a work entitled the *Everliving Spirits*, references to the emotional impacts of music on human beings are restricted to a few gestures in the introduction, as was customarily required of music treatises in the canonical Indo-Persian tradition.⁸⁷ Thereafter, Zia-ud-din's use of language is largely technical and emotionally restrained, with minimal use of affective vocabulary or rhetorical effects, as in Mir's repetition of *dast*, that might elsewhere be deployed sonically or musically to evoke emotions in the reader.⁸⁸ Unlike Mir's literary memoir or even more so his poetry, Zia-ud-din's treatise is not the work of art itself. He is writing *about* the work of art, in its absence and under erasure. And it reads, as I have written elsewhere, as though he were 'trying desperately to contain a torrent of rushing floodwater in a sieve.'⁸⁹

The *Hayy al-Arwāh* splits roughly into two halves and combines a well-informed summary of canonical and contemporary music-technical knowledge with a *tazkira* containing short biographies of musicians and their extended networks. The first three chapters are on the science of music (*'ilm-i mūsīqī*), and cover (1) the origins of music according to Arab, Persian, and Indian philosophies; (2) the musical system of Iran, which was still in partial use in North and South India at that time;⁹⁰ and (3) the Hindustani musical system (*sarūd-i Hindī*), which takes up most of the first half of the treatise.⁹¹ The second half, Chapter Four, is Zia-ud-din's *tazkira* on the lives of musicians.⁹² It combines information on the pre-Muhammad Shah period taken from 'Inayat Khan Rasikh's pioneering musicians' *tazkira* of 1753, the *Risāla-i Zikr-i Mughanniyān-i Hindūstān*,⁹³ with Zia-ud-din's own memories of Delhi before he left in 1754, and information he had meticulously gathered about what had happened to Shahjahanabad's scattered musicians over the past thirty years that he had resided in the eastern regions, from musicians who were passing through.⁹⁴

What Zia-ud-din wrote down about the *hangāma-yi Abdalī* and its impact upon the life of Delhi's erstwhile music and musicians was derived from his painstaking recording of these

musicians' oral reports. His records are brief, but heavy on facts: on names of musicians, patrons, and places of patronage, and how they were all related. Delhi is at the centre of his personal 'significant geography':⁹⁵ until mid century as a place of arrival, metaphorical and literal; and after its disturbance as a place of departure and retirement. From this point in time, a tripartite litany runs through Zia-ud-din's narrative like streaks through marble. First, the calamity:

Because of the scattering (*tafriqa*) of the people of Shahjahanabad...

After the turmoil created by Abdali (*hangāma-yi Abdālī*) and the scattering (*tafriqa-shudan*) of the people of Shahjahanabad...

When the disturbance (*āshob*) [caused by Abdali] reached Shahjahanabad...

Because of the disturbances (*āshob*) in Shahjahanabad...

After the turmoil caused by Abdali (*hangāma-yi Abdālī*) and the devastation (*ghārat-shodan*) of Shahjahanabad...

He died during the disorder caused by Abdali (*hangāma-yi Abdālī*).

After Abdali's disturbance (*āshob*)...

After the calamities (*āshob-hā*) unleashed upon Shahjahanabad...

Second, the 'scattering', and the tracing of those who survived:

He came to this region of Purab [probably Patna]...Then the aforementioned Daulat Khan [*kalāwant*] went from Bihar to Benares to [stay with] Fazil Khan, son of Bhupat Khan and brother of Ghulam Nabi, and passed away there....

[Musahib Khan *kalāwant*] came to Lucknow and became a servant of the late ruler Nawab Shuja'-ud-daula (d. 1775)...After some years, in Patna I heard from some people who came from Lucknow that Musahib Khan and Ghulam Husain his son had left the late ruler Nawab Shuja'-ud-daula's service and gone to Mathura in Braj and become servants of the *zamīndar* (local ruler) of *qissa-yi havelī*⁹⁶...both father and son passed away there...

[Chabbar Khan the *pakhāwaj* player] was in the service of Muhammad Yar Khan, the governor of Shahjahanabad...he had come to Patna some years ago and lived here. It is nearly twenty years ago that he came to my house for the music and poetry gatherings that were held every month...He went to the court of Murshidabad some years since...

Jamal [*qawwāl*] came to Lucknow...Twenty years ago Jamal's son, Jamil, came to Patna, then went to Bengal, and then came back to Lucknow...

Mirza Tali' 'Yar' became a dervish [wandering Sufi mendicant]...he [then] fled to Sa'dullah Khan Rohilla, after his death came to Lucknow, and then went to Farrukhabad...

Third, the marking of those who had gone missing in the upheaval:

It is not known in which direction he has gone now, or whether he is alive or dead (*zinda ast bā bar morda*), God knows best...

But nothing has been heard of him or the other *kalāwants* there for some time now...

It is said they have now separated from him; may God keep them alive (*khodā inhā-rā zinda dārad*)...

For a while it has not been known where they are or whether they are dead or alive...

The story of his life after this is unclear...

Since I left for Patna, it has been unclear whether the aforementioned *qawwāl* is still alive or has passed away...

I saw Azizullah Beg's son in the clothes of a dervish, playing chess. But I did not get any other information about his life, or whether he too knew something of music...

Wherever he is now, may God Almighty bless him with health and safety, by the prayers of the Prophet and his followers—for he was my beloved friend.⁹⁷

There are several important things to note here. The first is that although the *hangāma-yi Abdali* was clearly the major turning point in Zia-ud-din's history of Hindustani music through the lives of Delhi's musicians and music lovers, he was not motivated to describe the *hangāma*'s horrors, nor to recall its immediate emotional resonances, simply to mark its

centrality to what followed. His narrative, in other words, does not primarily concern either the fear or grief experienced by his contemporaries during these appalling events, or even his own in retrospect. Even when he wrote about musicians he knew personally who were killed during Delhi's mid-century travails—the once-fabled beauty Allah Banda *qawwāl* who died of cholera along with his father while Safdar Jang sacked the Old City (1753),⁹⁸ and his great friend Azizullah Beg, lynched by Abdali's soldiers⁹⁹—Zia-ud-din's tone is merely one of faded melancholy.

The second is the almost obsessive detail and meticulous care with which Zia-ud-din recorded the biological and pedagogical lineages and multiple complex migrations of hundreds of musicians from Delhi—*kalāwants*, *qawwāls*, and gentleman amateurs (*nūjabā'*)—over three decades (see Figure 1 for the information contained in just two related entries). Importantly, his genealogical information, where it overlaps, is supported by other sources of the time, including Edinburgh University MS 585 written in 1788, whose unnamed musician author belonged to the same Delhi *kalāwant* lineage.¹⁰⁰ Zia-ud-din's *tazkira* gives us an unprecedentedly detailed map of the many alternative sites of patronage for Delhi's exiled musicians across India c. 1760–1790. It also tells us where and often into whose service members of the main lineages of Mughal imperial musicians went. Different lineages of musicians in Mughal Delhi performed different repertoire and possessed slightly different trade secrets: *qawwāl* lineages specialised in *khayāl* and *kalāwants* in *dhrupad*; but Shaikh Moin-ud-din's *khayāl* style was as different from Taj Khan's as the Dagari *kalāwant* style was from the Khandari lineage, who were in turn distinctive for singing both *dhrupad* and *khayāl*.¹⁰¹ Knowing exactly which musicians travelled where gives us unparalleled insight into the mechanisms and back-story of major stylistic changes that we know were set in motion by this unprecedented migration.¹⁰²

[Insert Figure 1. Caption: The genealogical and migration information contained in Zia-ud-din's entries on the lives of *kalāwant* brothers Mahmud and Mansur Khan, and Mahmud's grandson Muzaffar.]

But, thirdly, Zia-ud-din's attention to detail also helps us to see that by no means all was lost in Delhi's turmoils, and that the *majālis* mourned by Mir lived on, elsewhere. One particular passage stands out in this regard: 'Because of the disturbances in Shahjahanabad,' wrote Zia-ud-din, Jamal *qawwāl* 'came to Lucknow with Khwaja Muhammad Basit and lived there. He performed in the unextinguished *majlis* which was held in the Khwaja's residence.'¹⁰³ Back in Delhi, Khwaja Muhammad Basit had been famous for the regular poetical, musical, and mystical *majlis* held in his house. Tabor reminds us that when the Nawab of Awadh Shuja'-ud-daula (r. 1754–75) invited him to reside in Lucknow, Basit simply transferred his *majlis* to Awadh and picked up where he had left off, carrying the metaphorical lamp of his gathering unextinguished to its new home.¹⁰⁴ Zia-ud-din himself held a monthly musical *majlis* for at least two decades in Patna to which he invited all local and visiting musicians, thus recreating the atmosphere of his beloved Delhi in his site of exile.¹⁰⁵ And most of the musicians in his *tazkira* made similarly successful transitions to new musical lives in Patna, Benares, Lucknow, and elsewhere, as well as keeping the candle burning in the *majālis* of the exiled Emperor Shah 'Alam II in Allahabad, and determinedly teaching new generations the old Mughal ways amidst Delhi's ruins.¹⁰⁶

What is critical here is that Zia-ud-din took considerable pains to trace in written form exactly where all of Delhi's musicians had gone, so that their traditions might not be lost, nor their contributions and lineages forgotten. In gathering all this information together, he was bringing order and control and certainty back into his world. It is worth noting that the first half of Zia-ud-din's text—the three chapters on the science of music—is similarly precise and organised.¹⁰⁷ He presented all the information a student needed to know about Hindustani

music in a clear and methodical summary, distilling the works of the canonical Mughal theorists while also updating their contents to cover the latest trends. Although we cannot hear the sounds of the music he described, in writing about it so meticulously Zia-ud-din did the best he could to insure all the musical knowledge he had gained over his lifetime against its eternal loss. Similarly, it must have been soothing for him to know that, even if he could not hear his teacher's great disciple Fazil Khan *kalāwant* (Figure 1) every day channelling the lost voices of Muhammad Shah's court, thanks to his painstaking documentation Zia-ud-din knew where Fazil was living and could travel to nearby Benares to hear him (until his death c. 1780–3), or even invite Fazil to sing for him in his Patna *majlis*.¹⁰⁸ Thus, momentarily, Zia-ud-din might relive his lost Delhi youth, if he closed his eyes and just listened.

But it is in his litanies for those musicians he had been unable to keep track of that what was at stake for Zia-ud-din is most clearly exposed. While marking the death of biographical subjects was common in *tazkiras*, marking them as 'missing' was unusual.¹⁰⁹ And yet it was clearly very important to him to do so. Perhaps this was for the sake of completeness; or to honour them. But it was also because with the disappearance of every one of those musicians the existence of a tiny, unique world of music was thrown into question; even more so when that musician was the last of a distinguished line.¹¹⁰ His long-term anxiety that the music of his Mughal homeland would survive in its scattered state is palpable here in his frequent repetition of the words 'it is unclear,' 'it is not known' (*ma'lūm nīst*). But it is more poignantly rendered in his prayers for the missing: 'may God keep them alive...wherever he is, may God Almighty bless him with health and safety...for he was my friend.'¹¹¹ Even now, in the winter of his life, Zia-ud-din was still living with uncertainty, with a world he could not entirely tie down, with anxieties that could not be fully resolved. Ultimately the only thing he could do was put all these things, and all those he loved, in God's hands.

* * *

I noted earlier that as an emotion, anxiety is a response to uncertain threats that generates information gathering, analysis, and sorting behaviours that help individuals evaluate that risk and come up with solutions to mitigate negative outcomes. Zia-ud-din's book on music, the *Everliving Spirits*, was written in exile in the face of the existential threat posed by the *hangāma-yi Abdali* and the scattering of the people of Shahjahanabad to the celebrated musical traditions of the Mughal court. In the *Hayy al-Arwāh* Zia-ud-din gathered together all his knowledge about the science of music, which he had learned painstakingly at the feet of the best musicians of Muhammad Shah's court, and all the information he could get his hands on about where the scattered court musicians of Delhi were now. He did so in order to mitigate the considerable risk, poured out likewise in Mir's grief and horror at the desolation of their beloved city, that the music and poetry they both cherished would pass away. As Mir put it so hauntingly:

Last night, having opened that closed heart with the power of wine
We seated ourselves in the tavern—what fools were we?

A voice came—'Remember the age that has passed away'—
It was certainly something of a warning, oh sharp-witted company.

Jamshed, who invented the wineglass—what happened to him?
Where did those gatherings go? Where, that music and drinking?

Except in the bowl of the tulip, there is no trace of his wineglass;
The poppy now carries the flagon in his place.¹¹²

But the act of researching and writing his text, I would suggest, was also Zia-ud-din's way of *alleviating* his anxiety. There are only two passages in the whole of his text where Zia-ud-din wrote about emotions directly. One of them is in his biography of a *kalāwant* called Qana' Khan, who died in Delhi in the mid 1770s. He was given that name because the famous Sufi poet and mystic Shah Gulshan noticed his contented, tranquil (*qanā'at*) temperament. In a break from the norm, Zia-ud-din interrupted his narrative to make an aside that, to me, betrays his deepest desire—to be restored to emotional equanimity. 'He lived in a house in Shahjahanabad in contentment and tranquility—Good for him. "Oh contentment, make me rich. There is no richness beyond you".'¹¹³ The other passage is his opening description of how God breathed life into humans at the creation of the world, and will do so again on the Day of Judgement (*Qiyāmat*):

Praise full of music and music full of praise be to the One who provides for the voiceless, and from the workshop of whose blessing...breathed into me a soul (*rūh*) as music is blown into the reed flute, and the melodies of Israfil the Trumpeter [on the Last Day] were blown into Adam's body...Praise be to the One who blessed man's darkened body with luminous breath and voice (*dam o sadā-yi nūrānī*)...I name this collection *Hayy al-Arwāh* [sg. *rūh*], the *Everliving Spirits*, because in the beginning the soul entered the body through the music of the angels, and in the end it will come to life again through the beautiful sound of the Last Trumpet (*naflkh*).¹¹⁴

How could Zia-ud-din find contentment when the music of his youth was gone beyond recall, and could no longer be used as the emotional balm his voiceless spirit so desperately needed? While the sound of the beloved world of Delhi's lost musical gatherings might be scattered and silent now; while so many of the 'everliving spirits' were lost to Zia-ud-din in this world, yet there was still hope of restoration in the end. For music is a Divine gift to the living; the everliving spirits of the faithful in the grave are entrusted to God's care; and music

shall be restored to them again with life's breath, in that great Gathering on the Last Day. In writing his *tazkira* on the musical lives of the 'everliving spirits', I suggest, Zia-ud-din found another way, in the absence of music itself, to work productively through his anxiety at the disordered state of his world. Through the research and writing process he seems to have found some kind of emotional resolution to his predicament—perhaps even contentment.

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Notes:

¹ Zia-ud-din, *Hayy al-Arwāh*, f. 60v.

² Mir, *Selected Ghazals*, 204–5 (tr. Faruqi, with slight adaptation). I shall use a simplified system of transliteration for Persian and Urdu vocabulary, which only marks long vowels (ā ī ū); retroflex consonants (ḍ ḥ ṇ ṛ ṣ ṭ ṭh) and nasalisation (ñ) in words of Indic origin; *ain* (‘) and *hamza* (’); and distinguishes kh ڪ from kh ڪ and gh ڄ from gh ڄ. All translations are my own, except where specified.

³ Faqirullah, *Rāg Darpan*, 152.

⁴ Chandra and Levitin, "Neurochemistry of Music," 179.

⁵ e.g. for ancient Greece, Cook and Dibben, "Emotion in Culture and History," 46–7; for ancient India, Rowell, *Music and Musical Thought*, 15–18; for tenth-century Arab thought, Ikhwan us-Safa', *On Music*, 77–81.

⁶ Cook and Dibben, "Emotion in Culture and History," 48–50; Thompson and Biddle, *Sound, Music, Affect*, 18; Juslin and Sloboda, *Music and Emotion*; Clayton, "Introduction"; Becker, *Deep Listeners*; Cochrane, Fantini and Scherer, *Emotional Power of Music*, ix.

⁷ Hofman, "Affective Turn in Ethnomusicology"; Becker, "Exploring the Habitus".

⁸ Rowell, *Music and Musical Thought*, 15–18; Clayton, "Introduction".

⁹ To my knowledge, the first use of the 'music of Hindustan'—*naghma-yi Hindūstān*—for this field of knowledge and practice is 1636–48; Lahawri, *Badshah Namah*, vol ii, 5. On my unapologetic use of 'art' and 'elite' music to refer to the North Indian forms patronised by the Mughals, and on classicisation processes in India long before modernity, see Schofield, "Reviving the Golden Age".

¹⁰ Schofield, "Reviving the Golden Age," esp. 487–90 for a discussion of the substantial secondary literature to 2010 on the colonial-era re-classicisation of Indian music; also Walker, *India's Kathak Dance*.

¹¹ Schofield, "Musical Culture Under Mughal Patronage," forthcoming; also Schofield, "'Words Without Songs'," 172–7.

¹² Schofield, “Music, Art, and Power.”

¹³ Pollock, *Rasa Reader*, 5–9, 19–21; Schofield, “Reviving the Golden Age,” 491–502. The written theoretical tradition on music in Sanskrit begins with the *Nātyashāstra*, composed in the first few centuries C.E., and the Persian tradition of writing systematically on Indian music dates at least as early as Amir Khusrau (1253–1325).

¹⁴ Pollock, *Rasa Reader*, 50, 8, 21–2; these are Pollock’s translations of these terms, pp. 50 & 8.

¹⁵ Schofield, “Learning to Taste the Emotions”; for the seventeenth-century Mughal translation of *rasa* as *zauq* see 417; also Khan, *Tuhfat al-Hind*, vol. i, 71.

¹⁶ Leante, “Lotus and the King,” for a seminal discussion of contemporary musicians’ and listeners’ impressionistic and multifaceted emotional responses to Rag Shri; critically, she notes that ‘only an extremely limited number of musicians among those interviewed mentioned the concept of *rasa*,’ 204 fn. 6.

¹⁷ Schofield, “Learning to Taste the Emotions,” 413–19; Widdess, *Ragas of Early Indian Music*, 39–48.

¹⁸ Faqirullah, *Rāg Darpan*, 160–71; Khan, *Tuhfat al-Hind*, vol. ii, 338–43; Schofield, “Musical Culture,” forthcoming. I heard this exact sentiment concerning *bībhatsa rasa* expressed on the concert stage by the late *surbahār* maestro Ustad Imrat Khan-*sāhib*.

¹⁹ Schofield, “Music, Art, and Power”; Ebeling, *Ragamala Painting*; Miner, “Raga in the Early Sixteenth Century”; and on *rāgamālā* poetry, Williams, “Reflecting in the Vernacular”.

²⁰ e.g. Orsini, “Clouds, Cuckoos, and an Empty Bed,” 125–9, for Uzlat’s Urdu poetical *rāga* icon of Rag Megh.

²¹ Powers, “Illustrated Inventories,” 482.

²² Zia-ud-din, *Hayy al-Arwāh*, ff. 57v–58r.

²³ Pollock, *Rasa Reader*, xv–xvi, 53–5 and glossary, for a discussion of the *bhāvas*.

²⁴ Schofield, “Learning to Taste the Emotions,” 415–6; Faqirullah, *Rāg Darpan*, 94.

²⁵ Shackle, “Persian Poetry,” on the concept of the Suficate.

²⁶ Behl, *Love’s Subtle Magic*, 59–108, 286–384.

²⁷ Leante, “Lotus and the King”; Schofield, “Learning to Taste the Emotions,” on the notion of ‘affinity’.

²⁸ On the Greco-Islamic mental faculties of irascibility (anger, *vīra*) and concupiscence (desire, *shṛṅgāra*) also being engendered by fast speeds, see Anon, Untitled Treatise on *Tāla*, ff. 41r–v, 58r–v.

²⁹ Schofield, “Learning to Taste the Emotions,” 418–9; ‘Abd-ul-karim, *Javāhir al-Mūsīqāt*, f. 67v; Schofield, “Music, Art, and Power,” and Schofield, “Musical Culture,” forthcoming, for extensive discussion of Greco-Islamic, Persian, and Sufiic emotional language used to describe the *rāgas* effects/affinities with the *rasas*. It

is beyond the scope of this paper to go into any further depth on the Greco-Islamic and Suficate reinterpretations of Indic ideas about musical effects.

³⁰ Faqirullah, *Rāg Darpan*, 152.

³¹ Schofield, “Music, Art, and Power,” 69–72.

³² Schofield, “Music, Art, and Power,” for the technical details; “Musical Culture,” forthcoming, for the full explanation.

³³ Schofield and Lunn, “Desire, Devotion and the Music of the Monsoon,” 242–7.

³⁴ Brown [Schofield], “If Music Be the Food of Love.” In modern times, gatherings for poetry and music became separate institutions known respectively as the *mehfil* and the *mushā‘ira*.

³⁵ Gentry notes that the term ‘identity’ was an innovation of 1950s social scientists and marks a conceptual ‘break with earlier notions of selfhood’; *What Will I Be*, 5. I thus use self-hood or self-fashioning instead of ‘identity’ throughout this paper. There is an almost bottomless literature on music and identity and music and memory in several subdisciplines of music studies, especially in ethnomusicology and music psychology.

³⁶ Petievich, “Poetry of the Declining Mughals,” 103; my emphasis.

³⁷ For an extended analysis of Mughal-era *tazkiras* of Hindustani musicians, see Schofield, *Histories of the Ephemeral*, Chapters 2 and 3, forthcoming. There has been a recent upsurge in scholarly interest in the Persian and Urdu *tazkira* in India, especially for the eighteenth century. Classic studies include Hermansen and Lawrence, “Indo-Persian Tazkiras”; Faruqi, “Long History Part I”; and Pritchett “Long History Part II”. Important recent scholarship (post-2010) on *tazkiras* in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century India includes Dudney, “Desire for Meaning”; Mana Kia, “Contours of Persianate Community”; Kinra, *Writing Self*, pp. 258–95; Pelló, “Persian as a Passe-Partout” and “Persian Poets on the Streets”; Schwartz, “Transregional Persianate Library”; Sharma, “Reading the Acts”; Tabor, “Market for Speech”.

³⁸ The digital version of the *Hayy al-Arwāh* can be accessed via the John Rylands Library, at <https://luna.manchester.ac.uk/luna/servlet/detail/Manchester~91~1~374998~203213> [last accessed 27/03/19]

³⁹ Mir, *Nikāt al-Shu‘arā*, 130.

⁴⁰ Mir’s autobiography and a large selection of his Urdu *ghazals* and *masnavīs* have recently been published in new editions and translations by the Murty Classical Library; Mir, *Remembrances*, and Mir, *Selected Ghazals*.

⁴¹ Pollock, *Rasa Reader*, 201.

⁴² Abu-ul-fazl, *Akbarnamah*, vol. ii, 136.

⁴³ Kurth, *Anxious Mind*. For a full summary of Kurth's compelling argument, see the outstanding introduction to his book, especially 1–2, 7, 15, 33 from which I have taken the direct quotations in this paragraph.

⁴⁴ See e.g. Kenny, *Psychology of Music Performance Anxiety*. Nearly all the remaining literature on music and anxiety concerns listening to music as a therapy to alleviate anxiety; e.g. Chanda and Levitin, "Neurochemistry of Music"; Nilsson, "Anxiety- and Pain-Reducing Effects of Music"; Thoma et al, "Effect of Music".

⁴⁵ See also Chandra and Levitin, "Neurochemistry of Music," 183–6.

⁴⁶ On the cultural efflorescence of Muhammad Shah's court, see Khan, *Muraqqa'*; Miner, *Sitar and Sarod*; and Kaicker, "Unquiet City".

⁴⁷ Zia-ud-din, *Hayy al-Arwāh*, f. 1v. This figure may have been the famous co-author of the great *tazkira* of Mughal noblemen, the *Ma'āsir ul-Umarā'*, completed in 1780; Khan and Hayy, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā'*, vol. i, v–vi. On the other hand, the co-author of the *Ma'āsir ul-Umarā'* lived in the Deccan all his life and died in 1782; *ibid.*, vol i, 32 fn. 1; whereas Zia-ud-din notes that his dedicatee was alive at the time of writing and had at one point lived in 'eastern lands', i.e. Awadh, Bihar, or Bengal; *Hayy al-Arwāh*, f. 57r.

⁴⁸ At the time Shahjahanabad was considered the 'new city' (*shahr-i nau*) as opposed to the 'old city' (*shahr-i kohna*) of Delhi; Mir, *Remembrances*, xii–xiii; Kaicker, "Unquiet City," 46–73.

⁴⁹ Zia-ud-din, *Hayy al-Arwāh*, ff. 1r, 56v, 57v. On Nadir Shah's invasion, see Dalrymple and Anand, *Koh-i-noor*, 63–92; Kaicker, "Unquiet City," 475–577. Zia-ud-din must have been younger than Mir (b. 1723), who called him 'fresh faced', but old enough to remember Nadir Shah first hand.

⁵⁰ Mir, *Nikāt al-Shu'arā'*, 130.

⁵¹ Zia-ud-din, *Hayy al-Arwāh*, ff. 44r–45v; Schofield, *Histories of the Ephemeral*, forthcoming. For an extensive exploration of the overlapping circles of poetry, music, and Sufism in eighteenth-century Delhi, see Tabor, "Market for Speech".

⁵² Not to be confused with Afghan warlord and conqueror of Delhi Ahmad Shah Abdali Durrani. To avoid confusion I shall refer to the latter throughout as Abdali.

⁵³ A high ranking Awadhi nobleman, Nawab Iftikhar-ud-daula Amir-ul-mulk Mirza 'Ali Khan Bahadur Dilawar Jang was a correspondent of Swiss adventurer and famous Lucknow resident Antoine Polier. By 1775, Iftikhar-ud-daula was based at the Lucknow court of Nawab Asaf-ud-daula of Awadh; Alam and Alavi, *European Experience of the Mughal Orient*, 230, 267.

⁵⁴ Zia-ud-din uses the phrase 'Faizabad Bengal' to differentiate it from Faizabad in Awadh, the seat of the Nawab of Awadh in the 1750s. This may be Faizabad in what is now Bihar, east of Patna, but the exact location is unclear.

⁵⁵ Malua, "Between Two Empires," 198.

⁵⁶ Autobiographical details above: Zia-ud-din, *Hayy al-Arwāh*, ff. 52v, 45v, 47r-v, 46r, 49v, 62v.

⁵⁷ Sprenger, *Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian, and Hindustany Manuscripts*, vol i, 182, 265. Nawab Zain-ud-din is perhaps more famous as the father of Siraj-ud-daula, the last independent Nawab Nazim of Bengal (d. 1757).

⁵⁸ The 'late Najaf Khan' is mentioned on Zia-ud-din, *Hayy al-Arwāh*, f. 45v; he was Shah 'Alam II's most capable general. For a vivid account of Najaf Khan's impressive life and painful death, see Dalrymple, *Anarchy*.

⁵⁹ 1785 as a lower date is indicated by Zia-ud-din's entry for musician Muhammad Qasim 'who worked for Nawab Asaf-ud-daula [of Awadh (r. 1775–97)] for a time. It is nearly ten years since he passed away'; *Hayy al-Arwāh*, f. 56r.

⁶⁰ The Mughals considered the fiftieth solar birthday to be the threshold of old age; e.g. Mir, *Remembrances*, 252–3.

⁶¹ Zia-ud-din, *Hayy al-Arwāh*, e.g. ff. 43r, 44v, 47v, 55r, 57r for some examples of these terms.

⁶² The Battles of Plassey and Buxar.

⁶³ Zia-ud-din knew Shitab Rai, the governor of Patna in 1770 who became renowned for his effective efforts to relieve the suffering of the starving in Patna; *Hayy al-Arwāh*, f. 51r; Tabatabai, *Seir Mutaqherin*, vol iii, 56. For mortality figures, see Rajat Datta, *Society, Economy and the Market*, esp. 264; also Dalrymple, *Anarchy*, forthcoming.

⁶⁴ Pernau, "Mapping Emotions, Constructing Feelings," 634–37; Kinra, *Writing Self, Writing Empire*, 8–9. Ego documents—first-person writings such as journals, letters and autobiographies—have been key sources for the history of the emotions in Europe and its settler colonies as important windows onto the interior emotional self-fashioning of the author. In her crucial article, Pernau points to the relative dearth of similar materials for Persianate South Asia, and the need to consider unusual sources—and Zia-ud-din's music treatise largely qualifies. By contrast, Kinra argues that there are many more ego documents available in the Indo-Persianate archive that we have perhaps overlooked, especially in the widely practised realm of *inshā'* or 'letters'.

⁶⁵ Sharma, *Mughal Arcadia*, 89–124; quotations Mir, *Remembrances*, 194–7.

⁶⁶ Mir's *shahr āshobs*, which are written from a first-hand perspective, are frequently seen as responses to Nadir Shah's much better-known invasion. But Mir didn't witness it—he was a teenager living in Agra in 1739–40,

and didn't come to live in Delhi until later; *Remembrances*, xii. As with Zia-ud-din and Dargah Quli Khan, the author of the famous *Muraqqa'-i Dehli* (*Delhi Album*) of c. 1740—who were both eyewitnesses—Nadir's invasion does not loom at all large in Mir's view of his world. We need to reassess the significance of this event.

⁶⁷ Mir, *Remembrances*, xviii.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, 151–99.

⁶⁹ *ibid.*, xviii

⁷⁰ For the Marathas' effective control of Delhi 1752–61, see Gordon, *Marathas*, 138–9, 151–8. Shah 'Alam II was restored to Delhi in 1772 and remained under Maratha protection until the British took Delhi in 1803.

⁷¹ *ibid.*, 167

⁷² Gruesomely, this appears to have been literal as well as metaphorical.

⁷³ *ibid.*, 168–73; my italics.

⁷⁴ Orsini and Schofield, “Introduction”.

⁷⁵ Mir, *Remembrances*, 170–2. *Dast dast-i zālim-ān būd, dast-i kajī mī-kardand, dast palashtī mī-namūdand. Dast charb bar sar mī-kashīdand. Dast ba-bāzū 'i zanān mī-rasīdand. Tīgh-hā mī-ākhīdand. Dastgāh mī-sākhīdand. Az dast shahriy-ān hīch namī-āmad. Zīrā ki dast o dil-i īshān sard shuda būd. Kasī dast pācha mī-shud; kasī dast ba-zīr-i sar-sitūn mī-namūd.*

⁷⁶ *ibid.*, 170–1, 341–2.

⁷⁷ *ibid.*, 178–9; Mir, *Selected Ghazals*, 204–5.

⁷⁸ Mir, *Remembrances*, 194–97.

⁷⁹ e.g. Tabor, “Market for Speech”; and on Dard see Ziad, “I Transcend Myself”; Ziad, “Poetry, Music, and the Muhammadi Path,” esp. 555.

⁸⁰ Also commonly called the *mehfil*, *bazm*, *jalsa*, or *sohbat*, and for poetry alone *mushā'ira*.

⁸¹ Mir, *Remembrances*, 170–1; on the *majlis* and its transient emotional qualities, see Schofield, “Musical Culture under Mughal Patronage,” forthcoming. The passing of the *majlis* come the dawn is the subject of many an Urdu *ghazal*, e.g. Ghalib, *Selected Poems*, 42–3.

⁸² cf. Baig's post-1857 elegy to Delhi's lost gatherings and poets, *Dihlī kī Ākhrī Shama'*, (*Delhi's Last Lamp*, translated as *The Last Mushā'irah of Dehlī*).

⁸³ Baily, *Can You Stop the Birds Singing*, 8, 22, 47; Baily, *War, Exile, and the Music of Afghanistan*; also Brown [Schofield], “Did Aurangzeb Ban Music?” 79–81.

⁸⁴ Zia-ud-din, *Hayy al-Arwāh*, f. 46r; Schofield, “Chief Musicians.”

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- ⁸⁵ On the enculturation of elite Mughal youths into musical modes of listening by their elders, see Khan, “Sayyid Ahmad Khan’s Respresentations,” 96–7.
- ⁸⁶ Kurth, *Anxious Mind*, 15, and fn. 43 above.
- ⁸⁷ *ibid.*, ff. 1r–3r; Schofield, “Learning to Taste the Emotions,” esp. 417–19; Schofield, “Music, Art, and Power,” 69–72.
- ⁸⁸ e.g. cf. Abu’l Fazl’s sonically rich evocation of the celebrations for the birth of Mughal emperor Akbar, *History of Akbar*.
- ⁸⁹ Schofield, *Histories of the Ephemeral*, forthcoming.
- ⁹⁰ cf. Ruhullah, *Tuhfat al-Naghmāt*, 4–13.
- ⁹¹ Zia-ud-din, *Hayy al-Arwāh*, ff. 3r–38r.
- ⁹² *ibid.*, ff. 38r–62v.
- ⁹³ Rasikh, *Risāla*, cf. Zia-ud-din, *Hayy al-Arwāh*; Schofield, *Histories of the Ephemeral*, forthcoming.
- ⁹⁴ e.g. Zia-ud-din, *Hayy al Arwāh*, ff. 46r, 48r, 49v.
- ⁹⁵ Orsini, “Multilingual Local in World Literature,” 346–7, on ‘significant geographies’.
- ⁹⁶ Possibly an early reference to *havelī-saṅgī*, the sophisticated *bhakti* devotional-song tradition of Vaishnavite sects centred on Mathura and Vrindaban in Braj. On the relationship of *havelī-saṅgī* in Braj with the art music traditions of Hindustan, see Beck, “Religious and Devotional Music,” 250–1.
- ⁹⁷ Zia-ud-din, *Hayy al-Arwāh*, ff. 43r–60v; these three sets of quotations are taken from the entries for *kalāwants* Daulat Khan, Musahib Khan, and Chabbar Khan; *qawwāls* Shaikh Moin-ud-din, Allah Banda, Daulat and Giyan Khan, Jamal, and Muhammad Faiz; and gentlemen amateurs (*nujabā’*) Azizullah Beg, and Mirza Tali’ ‘Yar’.
- ⁹⁸ Mir, *Remembrances*, 143–5. On Allah Banda’s beauty in Muhammad Shah’s time, see Khan, *Muraqqa’*, 101.
- ⁹⁹ Zia-ud-din, *Hayy al-Arwāh*, ff. 54v, 58r.
- ¹⁰⁰ Anon., Untitled Treatise on *Tāla*; see also Schofield, *Histories of the Ephemeral*, forthcoming.
- ¹⁰¹ Brown [Schofield], “Origins and Early Development of Khayal.”
- ¹⁰² Barlow and Subramanian, “Music and Society.”
- ¹⁰³ Zia-ud-din, *Hayy al-Arwāh*, f. 55v.
- ¹⁰⁴ Tabor, “Market for Speech,” 321–4.
- ¹⁰⁵ Ziauddin, *Hayy al-Arwāh*, ff. 49r–v, entry for Chabbar Khan *kalāwant*.
- ¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*, ff. 57r, 44v–46r, 48r–v, entries for Nur Muhammad *qānūn*-player, Anjha Baras Khan, and Qana’ Khan.
- ¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*, ff. 3r–38r.

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, ff. 45r-v, entries on Fazil Khan and Anjha Baras Khan. Fazil Khan was the nephew of the greatest *kalāwant* of the eighteenth century, Ni‘mat Khan Sadarang, and the special disciple of Muhammad Shah’s chief musician Anjha Baras Khan, who was also Zia-ud-din’s beloved *ustād* (teacher). Fazil and Zia-ud-din would almost certainly have known each other well.

¹⁰⁹ Tabor, personal communication 2019.

¹¹⁰ Bywater, *Lost Worlds*, 264.

¹¹¹ fn. 95 above; Zia-ud-din, *Hayy al-Arwāh*, f. 60v.

¹¹² Mir, *Selected Ghazals*, 12; my translation.

¹¹³ Zia-ud-din, *Hayy al-Arwāh*, ff. 48r-v

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*, ff. 1r-2v