Bengal had made them too well-known to the people. Whole districts in Noakhali and Baqarganj had been depopulated through their ravages and remained deserted even so late as 1780, when Rennell drew his maps. Their daring attacks, ferocious cruelty, uncouth appearance, barbarous manners, lack of religion and caste, and practice of eating unclean animals,—all caused them to be regarded by the people of East Bengal, Hindus and Musulms alike, with a mixture of terror and loathing, to which history affords the only parallel in the Hun invasion of the Roman Empire and the Cossack raid into France after Leipzig. The dread of captivity under them was enhanced by the unknown dangers of their mysterious country, which was believed to be full of pestiferous jungles and separated by the perilous ocean from all civilised lands.*

And now Shuja was to go there! But to him it was a lesser evil than to fall into Aurangzib’s hands. The fate of his father and two brothers made him shun the idea of surrender. Shah Jahan, the kindest of fathers, was pining away in dishonourable old age as a prisoner in the very fort where he had once held Court as the “King of Kings.” The liberal and accomplished Crown Prince, Dara Shukoh, had been brought in chains to Delhi, paraded through the streets with every mark of humiliation and then, after the mummery of a trial, murdered by slaves. The gallant and generous Murad Bakhsh had been sentenced to captivity by his disinterested helper, his “darvish brother” Aurangzib! The handsome young and heroic Sulaiman Shukoh had been hunted into the land of hills and snow.

No! better, better far the cruellest death in the most barbarous of foreign lands than such an end as that of Dara or Murad. Farewell to Hindustan, with all its wealth, joys and elusture, if Aurangzib was to be its king. Shuja’s mind was soon made up. Others might stay behind, but for him Hindustan was no longer a home.

So, on 12th May, 1660, he finally left the province which he had ruled for twenty years and the country where he had spent 43 years of his life, and sailed for Arracan with his family and less than forty followers. History has preserved some account of these men who were faithful unto the last. Ten of them were Sayyids of Barha

*Talish’s Continuation translated by me in my Studies.
under Sayyid Alam, and twelve others were Mughals under Sayyid Quli Uzbak;* the rest were evidently servants. To the Sayyids of Barha belonged the hereditary right of occupying the place of honour in the Emperor’s line of battle. It was only fitting, therefore, that Sayyids of Barha were found ready also to stand by their master’s side in the hour of his supreme misfortune and danger.

§ 5. The end of Shuja

Mystery shrouds the end of the ill-fated prince whose history we have pursued so long. The author of the *Amal-i-Salih* (21a), writing in 1671, says, “Up to this time none knows anything about Shuja’s fate in Arracan. It is utterly unknown in what country he is and what he is doing, or whether he has been sent to the realm of the dead.” Sixty years later, Khafi Khan was no better informed. He remarks (ii 109), “In Arracan all traces of Shuja disappeared,—none (in India) got any sign of him”. Nothing save the vaguest rumour passing through many intermediaries ever reached Aurangzib. For years afterwards wild tales came to India of Shuja having gone to Persia; and sharpers counterfeiting his son Buland Akhtar appeared in different parts of India. One such was arrested near Allahabad as late as 1699. A false Shuja headed a rising near Murang (Purnia) in 1669 and another in the Yusufzai country in 1674.†

To remove the uncertainty, Aurangzib desired that Mir Jumla, the new viceroy of Bengal, should after conquering Assam lead an army into Arracan to recover Shuja’s family if possible. [Talish, 25.] When Shaista Khan, Mir Jumla’s successor, conquered Chatgaon from the Maghs (1666), he evidently got no certain news of Shuja, or it would have got into the official history. The European traders who had free access to Arracan were likely to be best informed, and I believe that the truth lies in what they have recorded of Shuja’s fate.

From this source we learn, “Many dwellers in Arracan, Mogul and Pathan,... showed themselves inclined towards him (Shuja). He planned an outbreak intending to slay the king and take his

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*Alamgirnamah, 561; Khafi Khan, ii. 110.
†M. A. 405 and 84. Orme’s *Fragments*, p. 50.
The end of Shuja

kingdom, and then advance once more to test his fortune in Bengal.” The king of Arracan heard of the plot and “planned the assassination of Shah Shuja. Shah Shuja with a few men fled into the jungle. The Maghs... ...pursued the poor prince,... ...cutting his body into pieces.” This story is based on the report of a Dutch merchant named Jan Tak to Aurangzib. The official records of the Dutch factory first state that on 7th February, 1661, when Shuja’s house was surrounded by the Arracanese, he set fire to it and escaped with his family and followers towards Tippera. But they finally take a different view and assert, “Although there can be no certainty, the fact is that he was killed in the first outbreak,” and that his followers concealed the fact and spread the false news that he had fled into the jungle. [Storia, i. 374-376.]
§ 1. The extraordinary grandeur of Aurangzib's Coronation.

Of all the coronations of Muhammadan rulers of India, that of Aurangzib was undoubtedly the grandest. True, Shah Jahan was the most magnificent of the Great Mughals. But when he ascended the throne in 1628, he had not yet made the Peacock Throne nor acquired the Kohinur diamond; and his chaste white marble palaces set with many coloured stones, which still excite our admiration at Agra and Delhi, were yet to be. All these were present at Aurangzib's accession.*

Another circumstance lent greater lustre to the son's coronation than to the father's. During the year before his enthronement, Aurangzib had gained a series of hard-fought victories over his rivals and made himself the undisputed sovereign of India. Of his three brothers, Murad Bakhsh was a close prisoner in his dungeons. Shuja had been defeated at Khajwa and Dara Shukoh at Ajmir, and both were in course of helpless flight. The coronation that followed these grand victories naturally combined all the pomp and splendour of an oriental enthronement with the solemnity and grandeur of a Roman triumph.

The essential element of a Muhammadan coronation is the act of the king's sitting on the throne; hence its Arabic name jalus or 'sitting.' No high priest has to anoint the new sovereign's forehead with holy oil or sandal-paste, as among the ancient Jews and Hindus, nor place on his brow's a diadem, as is the practice with Christians. The Muslim sovereign mounts the throne fully dressed, with a cloth turban bound round his head. Diamonds and jewels glitter on that turban; an aigrette (jigha) with nodding tassels of pearls adorns the front part of it; but no crown of the type familiar

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to Europe from ancient times is necessarily worn by him. The Persian sovereigns, however, put on a crown of this pattern, with a narrow base and wide indented top.

No Muslim coronation is complete unless the new sovereign’s name and titles are publicly proclaimed from the pulpit (khutba) and coins bearing his name are stamped (sikka.) To these must be added, in most cases, his assumption of a title different from that he held as a prince, the offering of presents and largess by the nobles and officers, and the granting of titles, promotions and bounties by the sovereign. Large sums are given away in charity to scholars, holy men, and beggars. Music, dance and illuminations at night complete the festivities.*

The Court astrologers were of opinion that Sunday, 5th June, 1659, was a most auspicious day, and all arrangements were made for Aurangzib’s enthronement on that day. A year earlier he had gained the crown of Delhi, but he was then too busy pursuing his rivals to hold a grand coronation, and only a hurried and curtailed ceremony had been gone through on 21st July, 1658. All the celebration and rejoicing had been left over for the present occasion.

§ 2. Emperor’s grand procession through Delhi.

On 12th May took place the Emperor’s grand entry into Delhi, after the glorious campaigns of Khajwa and Ajmir,—though a march through the streets is no necessary part of a Muslim coronation festival. Early in the morning the imperial procession started from Khizirabad, a suburb of Delhi, where the Emperor had encamped on his return from the war. First marched the band, making a deafening clangour of kettle-drums, tambourines, big brass drums, brazen pipes and trumpets. Next came a long file of huge elephants, richly caparisoned in gold and silver, their housings being of embroidered velvet and cloth of gold, thick set with flashing gems, with golden bells and silver chains dangling

*Weighing the king against gold and silver, which were given away as alms, was a Hindu practice which our Mughal Emperors adopted and even the orthodox Aurangzib countenanced. It took place every year at the two birthdays, solar and linar, of the sovereign, but was no part of the coronation celebrations.
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from their bodies. Each carried on its back an imperial standard of polished balls slung from a pole, as ensigns of Turkish royalty. Then were led forth a troop of choice horses, of the Persian and Arab breeds, their saddles decorated with gold, and their bridles set with jewels; behind them were marshalled female elephants and dromedaries. Then marched dense columns of infantry consisting of musketeers and rocketmen, carrying flashing blades. Behind them and girt round by a vast crowd of nobles and ministers, came the loftiest elephant of the royal stables, with a golden throne strapped to its back, on which sat the observed of all observers, the undisputed lord and master of all he surveyed, Aurangzib Alamgir Ghazi, Padishah of Hind.

§ 3. Appearance of Aurangzib.

He was a few months over forty. Long years of campaigning in many lands had saved him from the stolid rotundity which bespeaks the indolent and self-indulgent life of so many Eastern princes. His frame was somewhat thin, but tall and symmetrical. His face was rather long than round; it had lost the fulness that marked it in early youth, but had not yet acquired the sharpness of nose and chin, the hollowness of cheek, the beetling eye-brows and long grey beard which European visitors to his Court noted on it thirty years afterwards. Under that broad, unwrinkled forehead beamed two cold piercing eyes, whose serenity no danger or fear could disturb, no weakness or pity relax.

On his right, left and rear rode his troops in due order, each division keeping its proper position. The citizens gazed with wonder on the veterans who had defeated the choicest troops of Bijapur and Golkonda, and nearer home had crushed Shuja and Dara, captured Agra fort, and made Shah Jahan a prisoner.

From the backs of the elephants handfuls of gold and silver coins were incessantly flung among the crowd right and left, as the procession moved on. In this order the imperial cortege wended its way through the bazar of Old Delhi and entered the fort by the Lahor Gate. Then all dismounted; the Emperor sat down for a while in the Halls of Public and Private Audience in succession.
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The nobles laid before him large sums to be given away in charity for averting evil from him. Finally, he retired to the harem.

The decoration of the two Halls of Audience for the coronation ceremony proceeded apace. A lavish display was made of all the precious things which the sovereigns of the richest empire in Asia had acquired in three generations, and all the rare articles which the most skilled artisans of home and foreign countries had made for sale.


The ceiling and forty pillars of the Diwan-i-am (Hall of Public Audience) were draped in gold embroidered velvet and cloth of gold and silver from Persia and the famous flowered broacades of Gujrat. From every arch hung polished balls set with jewels, enamelled, or of plain gold, by means of golden chains. In the middle of the Hall a space was fenced round with a golden railing. Within it, amidst the dazzling lustre of diamonds, rubies and topazes, stood the towering Peacock Throne, one of the wonders of the East. Before it was stretched a most costly canopy of state, held up by four slender columns encrusted with gems; its corners were fastened with strings of precious pearls instead of ropes. On the two sides of the throne-enclosure stood two jewelled umbrellas, with tassels of pearls hanging from them. Right and left of the imperial throne were placed two golden couches, covered with enameled work. Behind it benches of gold were laid, and on them were displayed the Crown weapons,—jewelled swords, targes, shields, and spears. The courtyard in front of the Hall was covered with awnings of embroidered velvet borne aloft on silver poles, and similar canopies were stretched on all sides of it. Below were spread costly carpets of many coloured patterns. The outer sides of the Hall were enclosed by a silver railing. In the arena itself there was a second silver railing, forming an inner enclosure, while the outermost fence was of red painted wood. On the two wings were pitched lofty pavilions overspread with bright coverings. The door and walls of the Hall were tapestried with embroidered velvet, flowered velvet, European screens, and gold tissue from Turkey and China. The enclosures round the courtyard of the Audience Hall were
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furnished by the nobles from their own stores, in a befitting style, for the accommodation of their retainers.

From this the reader may guess the style in which the Hall of Private Audience (Diwan-i-khas) was decorated.

§ 5. Aurangzib mounts the throne.

The astrologers had declared 3 hours 15 minutes from sunrise as the auspicious moment. The whole Court anxiously hung on the lips of the astrologers, who keenly watched their (water) clocks and sand-glasses. At last they gave the signal; the precious moment had arrived; the Emperor, who had been sitting dressed and ready behind a screen, entered the Hall of Public Audience and mounted the throne. At once there was a loud burst of joyous notes from the imperial band in attendance. The musicians began their songs; the nautch-girls began their dances.

An eloquent chanter mounted a lofty rostrum (mimbar) and in a clear ringing voice read the khutba or public proclamation of the Emperor’s name and titles, prefaced with the praise of God and the Prophet, and followed by the names of his predecessors on the throne. As every such name fell from his lips a fresh robe of honour was bestowed on him. And when he came to the recital of the Emperor’s own titles, he got a robe of cloth of gold as well as a cash reward. Trays of gold and silver coins and plates heaped over with pyramids of perals and jewels, were showered in the Emperor’s name among the assembled courtiers who picked them up as tokens of good luck.

The courtiers did homage by bowing low and raising their hands to their forehead, while they shouted ‘Long live the Khalif of the Age!’ The Emperor rewarded them all with robes of honour (khilat). The royal attendants swung round perforated flasks of scented water, and splashed the assembled throng with liquid fragrance. Trays of betel (pan) were distributed to all. The air was charged with the fragrance of attar, musk and ambergris. The smoke of burning incense and aloe wood sweetened the atmosphere.

That day new coins were struck. Shah Jahan had inscribed the Muslim confession of faith (kalimah) on one face of his coins;
but the pious Aurangzib forbade the practice, lest the holy text should be defiled by the touch of infidels! So, his coins bore on one face a Persian couplet meaning,—

“This coin has been stamped on earth
like the shining full moon,
By King Aurangzib, the Conqueror
of the World!”

The reverse bore the name of the mint-city, the year of the reign and the Emperor’s full title in the Tughra script: Abul Muzaffar Muhi-ul-din Muhammad Aurangzib Bahadur Alamgir Padishah Ghazi.

§ 6. Emperor holds a Court in the harem.

Formal letters were sent to all the provinces and cities to announce the glorious accession. In this way two hours and forty-eight minutes were spent in the Public Audience. Then he retired to the harem and held another Court there, at which the princesses, wives of nobles, and other ladies “soured this Candle of the Assembly of Royalty like a swarm of moths.” They offered their dutiful congratulations and scattered large quantities of gold and silver, pearl and jewel, in honour of the Emperor, while he made rich presents to them in return. His sister Raznanara Begam, who had supported him during the war of succession and watched over his interests in the harem of Shah Jahan, in opposition to her elder sister Jahanara, the partisan of Dara Shukoh, now received five lakhs of Rupees in cash and kind. Aurangzib’s four daughters got 4, 2, 1·6 and 1·5 lakhs respectively.

Thereafter the Emperor betook himself to the Hall of Private Audience, to which only a select few had entree. Here he presented to his four sons 3, 2, 2, and 1 lakhs respectively. Other gifts were made to the nobles, officers, scholars, poets and musicians. Forty-eight minutes were passed here.

The poets taxed their brains to compose verses the numerical value of whose letters when added together would express the date of the accession. The most successful of these chronograms were highly rewarded and handed down to posterity.
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As the Roman proprætors on assuming office declared the laws they intended to follow, so the Mughal Emperors at their accession often made changes in the established usage. Aurangzib, for instance, restored the lunar Hijera year in all public transactions, abolished the celebration of the Persian New Year's Day (nauroz),—an innovation borrowed by Akbar from the heretical Shias of Iran,—appointed Censors of Public Morals to put down wine-drinking and other vices condemned by Islam as sins, and lastly he abolished many cesses and the transit-duties and police-fees on grain.

§ 7. Illuminations and festivals.

The next day and for weeks afterwards, the festivities continued. Presents (peshkash) suited to the high occasion were received from the nobles, officers, courtiers, and feudatory princes, while they received in return titles, robes of honour, promotions of rank, and gifts in cash and kind,—such as elephants, horses, jewelled swords daggers and pencases, necklaces of pearls, jewelled aigrettes waistbands and other ornaments.

At night both banks of the Jamuna river were illuminated. "The surface of the river looked like a flower-garden" of light. The nobles fitted out boats with planks on which lamps were arranged in tiers, and as they plied up and down the stream the bands seated on the decks discoursed sweet music. Myriads of people lined the banks to feast their eyes on the spectacle.

But the grandest display of fire-works was made by the imperial Artillery Department (24th June),—evidently because it contained experts in the manufacture of powder and had an unlimited supply of the material. These were let off on the level bank of the river outside the Hall of Private Audience (Diwan-i-khas) in the fort. The Emperor beheld it from a balcony on the eastern wall of that Hall, which looked out on the river.

Early in July news arrived of the arrest of Dara, and it heightened the joy of the Emperor and his courtiers. The coronation festivities were prolonged for more than two months, and formally ended on 19th August. The reign was ordered to be reckoned from 1st Ramzan 1068 A. H. (23rd May, 1658), in all official papers, because his
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second or grand coronation took place in this month of the year 1069.

END OF VOLUME II