Chapter 11

HIMALAYAN TERRITORIES OF THE SūBA

1. Kumāūn

Under Akbar Kumāūn formed a separate sarkār falling within sūba Delhi. It comprised practically the entire Himalayan portion of the present state of Uttar Pradesh. Though the Ain treats this region under the single division traditions of Kumāūn, local suggest that by Akbar's reign, both Kumāūn and Garhwal had established their separate principalities. The Kumāūn rājas had their capital at Almora and the Garhwal rājas at Dewālgārh (later in the early 17th century Srinagar was founded, and the capital was shifted there by Mahipati Shāh). ²

An analysis of the Ain's list of the Kumāūn mahal (those which have been identified so far) suggests that they were mostly situated in the Terai. However, Phauri (Pauri) and Basantpur, which belonged to Garhwal, were included in the sarkār. ³

1. Ain, I, 521.
3. Phauri is given in the Ain's (I, 521) mahal list for sarkār Kumāūn. Basantpur is not included in this list. However, Abūl Fażl (Akbar-nāma, III, 144) mentions that Basantpur belonged to sarkār Kumāūn.
According to the Ḥīr, the sarkār of Kumāūn contained 21 mahals with a jamā' of 4,04,37,700 dāms. The zamīndārs' retainers of these mahals comprised 3,000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry.¹ By the time of Aurangzeb the Kumāūn sarkār had been divided into two, the new sarkār being that of Srinagar which represented the principality of Garhwāl.² The Kumāūn sarkār now consisted of only six mahals listed in the Kāghazāt-i-mutafarīqa, of which only Bhoksl, Chinki (Chhinki) and Sahajgar mahal were recorded in the Ḥīr. The new mahals are Faridnagar etc. Kashipur, Barbhād and Havelī Kumāūn (Almora, presumably). The sarkār had a jamā' of 1,69,20,000 dāms, but its hāsil amounted to Rs. 89,719 only.³

Exaggerated reports of the wealth of the hill rulers seem to have circulated. Fīrishta says that the Rāja of Kumāūn possessed an army of 80,000 cavalry and infantry and commanded great repute at the court of the Emperors of Delhi.⁴ Jahāngīr also says that the Rāja of Kumāūn possessed

1. Ḥīr, I, 521.
2. Kāghazāt-i-mutafarīqa, 85a-86b.
large quantities of gold.\(^1\)

In 1569-70 Ḥusain Khān Tukariah, governor of Kant and Gola led an expedition into the territories of Kumāūn Rāja. Badaūnī says that Ḥusain Khān marched towards Kumāūn with the intention of demolishing temples and breaking idols. Besides, he had also heard of the great wealth of the Rāja. After some resistance the inhabitants (of the Terai, apparently) took refuge in the mountains. Ḥusain Khān ravaged the entire low-lands as far as Wajrail which was a part of the Rainka Rāja's territory.\(^2\) Suddenly, heavy rains fell and it became difficult for Ḥusain Khān's forces to procure food and fodder. Starvation befell the army. Though Ḥusain Khān tried his best to encourage his men, the army could not be prevented from retreating. As it withdrew, the natives blocked the passes and threw stones and poisoned arrows. Badaūnī gives the chronogram of the disaster as "bitter without taste" (1030-50 978 AH/1570-71 AD).\(^3\)

After his return Ḥusain Khān was again granted Kant and Gola in ḫāqīr. He led several expeditions to the outskirts of the Kumāūn hills but he could never penetrate into the hills.\(^4\)

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2. The title Rainka Rāja was that of the Rāja of Doti. Wajrail can be identified with either Jurail or Dipail, the cold weather residence of the Doti Rāja on the Seti river, at the foot of the hills. Cf. Kumaun Hills, 544-45.
4. Ibid, 126.
In 1575-76 Ḥusain Khān once again invaded Kumāūn. The reason for his attack, again, was his plunder.¹ Before entering the hills he plundered many towns (within Mughal territories), north of the river Ganges. Then he attacked and plundered Basantpur, a town in Eastern Dun. During the skirmishes he received a severe musket-wound and was compelled to retreat, again without any gain.² In the meantime, complaints were lodged against him by Malik-ul Sharq Gujarātī, the tax-collector (karori) of Thanesar to the Emperor to the effect that he was in rebellion. This was perhaps, because he had not received any order or authorisation from the Emperor to attack Kumāūn. Though Sa’dīd Khān Mughal, a friend of Ḥusain Khān, firmly denied Malik-ul-Sharq Gujarātī’s allegations, Akbar ordered Sayyid Hāshim, son of Mir Sayyid Muḥammad, to bring back Ḥusain Khān.³ The latter returned to Agra but he soon died of wounds.⁴

Sultān Ibrāhīm of Aubāhī, uncle-in-law of Nizāmuddīn Ahmad, later led an expedition into the foot-hills (dāmanī-

1. AN, III, 144; Badaūnī, II, 219.
2. Abūl Fażl (AN, III, 144) blamed Ḥusain Khān’s defeat to his ill-conceived plan.
3. Abūl Fażl (AN, III, 144) says that Sādiq Khān together with some of the Sayyids of Bārha and Amroha was sent against him.
4. AN, III, 143-144; Badaūnī, II, 219-20.
koh) of Kumāūn and seized control over it. We do not have any detailed information of this expedition. The Ain also does not mention him in its list of nobles.

Though Rudra Chand (1565-97), Rāja of Kumāūn, used to send presents to the Emperor he never came to the court. In 1588, at the instigation of Mathurā Dās, āmil of Bareilly, Rudra Chand expressed his wish to pay respects to the Mughal Emperor personally. But he demanded assurance of safety from Rāja Todar Mal. Todar Mal sent his son, Kalyān Dās, to reassure him. Accordingly on 18 Dec. 1588 Rudra Chand paid his respects to the Emperor. Badauni also mentions this visit. He says that Rudra Chand came to Lahore from the "Siwālik" hills. It was the first ever visit of any of the hill Rājas to Akbar's court. He brought rarities including a yak and a musk-deer which, however, died en route because of excessive heat.

Local tradition in Kumāūn attributes much importance to Rudra Chand's journey to the court. It is said that Akbar was so pleased with the conduct of the Kumāūn Rāja

1. Tabagāt, II, 449.
2. AN, III, 533.
3. Badauni, II, 365-66. Jahāngīr in his memoirs (Tuzuk, 106) also has a reference to Rudra Chand's meeting with Akbar. He says, "Rāja Rudra, who at the time of waiting upon the late king, sent a petition asking that the son of Rāja Todar Mal might lead him to the Royal presence, and his request was acceded to".
that he invited him to Lahore and ordered Rudra Chand to help imperial forces in the siege of Nagor (Nagarkot?) where the hill troops distinguished themselves. Akbar conferred on him a grant of Chaurāṣī Māl parganas and excused Rudra Chand from personal attendance at the court for the rest of his life. Rudra Chand made Bīrbal, making him his purohit so that up to the close of the Chand rule, the descendants of Bīrbal used to visit Almora to collect the customary dues.  

It seems that after Akbar’s death, the Kumāun Rājas continued to maintain cordial relations with the Mughal court. In 1612 Jahāngīr writes that Lakṣmī Chand (1597-1621) petitioned Jahāngīr to ask that a son of I’timād-ud-daula might accompany him to the court. His wish was granted and Shāpur was sent to bring him to the court. The Rāja presented gun-shot-horses, hawks, falcons, musk, skin of musk-deer, swords etc. Jahāngīr describes him as the richest of the hill chiefs. He also says as Akbar had given Rudra Chand 100 horses, he also gave Lakṣmī Chand the same number of horses and an elephant.  

1. Kumāun Hills, 546.  
3. Ibid, 111. Rāja’s name is wrongly printed as Tekchand in the printed Persian text. However, the manuscript reading is Lakhmi (Lakshmi) Chand. (Asafiah, i/234, 632 p.247).
presented him with a robe of honour and a jewelled sword. His brothers also got robes of honour and horses.¹

According to local tradition Jahāngīr visited the Terai for hunting during Lakshmī Chand's reign and stayed between Tanda and Pipal Hata where there is a Bādshāhī garden, which is considered to have been built during Jahāngīr's reign.² But there is no record of this in Jahāngīr's own memoirs.

During the reign of Shāhjahan, Bahādur Chand, titled Bāz Bahādur (1638-78), Rāja of Kumāūn visited the court and appealed to Shāhjahan for help against "the Hindūs of Katehr" who had earlier succeeded in occupying portions of the Terai. He was given audience (1654-55) and asked to join imperial forces engaged in the Dun which was under Gaṛhwāl.³ He was given a farman and a jewelled robe of honour.⁴ The Rāja so distinguished himself in the expedition against Gaṛhwāl that on his return to Delhi, he was honoured with the title of 'Bahādur' and the right of naggāra to be beaten before him. The emperor also appointed Rustam Khān to aid

1. Ibid, 111.
the Rājā in recovering the Teraiform the Katharias. Muhammad Šālih says that in 1655-56 Bahādur Chand sent 2 elephants and some horses through Khalīlullāh Khān as peshkāsh to the Emperor. The Emperor bestowed upon him a robe of honour and other presents. A Kumāūn document of 1656 tells us that Baz Bahādur paid a second visit to the court. He presented 1001 muhrs, Rs.3000 along with other specialities of the hill-swords, elephants, horses etc. to the Emperor. He also presented 101 muhrs each to Begum (Jahanārā) and Dārā Shukoh. Further, he presented Rs.1000 as nazr to Dārā Shukoh. In all, his presents to the Emperor were worth Rs.40,427 in cash and kind and those to Jahanārā and Dārā Shukoh Rs.8,512.

Bahādur Chand later also helped the Mughals in forcing the ruler of Srinagar to surrender Sulaimān Shukoh.

2. Šālih, III, 220.
4. Rāhul Śāṅkṛityāyān, Himalaya Parichay (1) Garhwal, Allahabad, pp.144-5. Badri Datt Pande (Kumāūn kā Itihās, 284-85) says that at first Sulaimān Shukoh sought shelter in Kumāūn and was welcomed by the Rājā. But as the Rājā saw the risks that involved, he sent him to the Rājā of Srinagar (Garhwal) along with nazrāna and money. Aurangzeb in the meantime sent a force and threatened the Rājā that if he would not return the prince, the Teraiform be taken away and the imperial forces would desolate Kumāūn. However, later, one of the Mughal nobles confirmed that the Rājā was innocent in the matter. Baz Bahādur sent Kunwar Parwat Singh and Pandit Vishwarūp Pande to Delhi to clear his position. The emperor was pleased over his conduct and presented him a farmān and a robe of honour.
In 1662 Bahadur Chand sent a number of hill birds as peshkāsh to the Emperor. The emperor bestowed upon him a jewel studded handle of a sword and a robe of honour. In 1664-65, again, the Emperor conferred a robe of honour on Bahādur Chand.

The Akhbarāt report that in 1665 Aṣālat Khān, along with Ḥusain 'Alī supplied with 1000 rockets was deputed on an expedition to Kumāūn. One lakh of rupees from the Chāndpur pargana was granted to him for expenses. Aṣālat Khān also requested that Sayyid Farid Rustam Khān be deputed along with him as he knew the region well. His request was complied with. Ilahwardī Khān, Kesar Singh, son of Rāo Karan were also sent along with these forces.

The next report on Kumāūn occurs in the Akhbarāt of 1666. We are told that Ilahwardī Khān had reported to Jāfar Khān that the Rāja of Kumāūn had sent a letter expressing

2. 'Alamgirnāme, 595, 765.
3. Ibid, 861.
5. Ibid, 2 Jumādī-ul-Awwal, 8 R.Y./10 Nov. 1665.
his allegiance to the Emperor. The Raja protested as to why then his country was being ravaged. It had been falsely alleged by the Raja of Srinagar that he had large treasure- hoards. Besides, he added, that if he (the Raja of Kumāun) ever marched to Srinagar without the permission of the Emperor he was ready to pay fine.

Ilahwardī Khān also sought a subsidy of one lakh of rupees and the services of two hundred stone-cutters for the expedition. The amount was to be converted into inām at Ilahwardī Khān's success. His request was accepted.

In the same year Murīd Khān was appointed faujdār of Dāman-i-koh of Kumāun with an enhancement of 500/500 (his total mansab now, 1000/500).

"Being desirous of standing well with the Delhi court," in 1672 Bāz Bahādur imposed poll-tax (jīziya), the income of which was regularly remitted to the Emperor. But this seems to be incorrect since Aurangzeb imposed the jīziya

4. Alamgīrīnāma, 981.
5. Kumāun Hills, 566.
only in 1679 and Bāz Bahādur was by then dead.

In 1673-74 the Kumaun Rāja was again alarmed over the imperial army's contemplated expedition. The fear was removed by the intervention of Murtaza Khān. Rāja Bahādur Chand requested Ḥāmid Khān to accompany his son to the court to pay his respects. He presented 1000 muhrs and 3000 rupees in cash and got a robe of honour.¹

In 1694 and again in 1696 Udyot Chand (1678-98) sent some birds and animals to the imperial court.² In 1700 Aurangzeb conferred a robe of honour upon him.³

In 1701 after Udyot Chand's death his son Giyān Chand (1698-1708) sent 100 muhrs, four handles of Khānda, 25 bāz and falcons of the hills. He requested Aurangzeb to confer the tīka on him. Aurangzeb duly conferred the tīka, signifying his recognition as a rāja.⁴

In 1703 and again in 1704 Giyān Chand sent white falcons to the emperor as peshkash through Tarbiyat Khān and got robes of honour and a ṣafar-i-qalamī.⁵

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1. Ma'asir, 128.
3. Ibid, 24 Shawwāl, 44 R.Y./14 April, 1700.
4. Ibid, 8 Rabi-ul-Qadah, 45 R.Y./16 April, 1701.
In 1705 Gīyān Chand reported through Tarbiyat Khān Bahadur mīr-ātish that he had captured the fort of Lodhan from Pateh Singh, the rebellious Rāja of Srinagar. Tarbiyat Khān also reported that Gīyān Chand, himself, had written a letter in this regard to the Emperor soliciting the grant of the pargana of Kelagarh and an elephant as inām for his success over Pateh Singh. His request was granted. The Emperor also ordered that details be reported to him.¹

2. Srinagar

It is difficult to establish when Srinagar was brought to accept the suzerainty of the Mughal Emperor. The Ain does not mention Srinagar. The town is first mentioned in the Tuzuk.² According to local tradition Mehipati Shāh, who was a contemporary of Lakshmi Chand (1597-1621), shifted his capital from Dewalgarh to Srinagar.³ This suggests that the town was probably founded in the early years of Jahāngīr’s

1. Ibid, 8 Shawwāl, 49 R.Y./3 Jan. 1705.

2. Tuzuk, 328. Prof. Irfan Habib (An Atlas of the Mughal Empire, Delhi, 1982, p.27) says that Srinagar is first mentioned by Antonio de Andrade who visited Srinagar in 1624. However, the Tuzuk’s reference of the Rāja of Srinagar, Shyām Singh is of an earlier date (1621).

3. Walton, 115-16.
reign. By Aurangzeb's reign Srinagar came to form a separate sarkār in the sūba. It consisted of 6 mahals (Haveli Srinagar, Chandi, Kothal, Koli etc.) with a jama' of 81 lakh dāms; the hasil amounted to Rs. 60,000.¹

Our information about Mughal relations with the principality begins from Akbar's reign when in 1575-76 Ḥusain Khān Tukariyah invaded Basantpur (Dun). However, he had to retreat without any gain.² According to local tradition the ruler owed allegiance to the Mughal Emperor (Akbar) but paid no tribute.³

Under Jahāngīr, it seems that the Mughals had cordial relations with the Rāja of Srinagar, Shyām Singh. In 1621 Jahāngīr presented a horse and an elephant to Shyām Singh.⁴

In 1624 and in 1631 Portuguese missionaries Father Antonio de Andrade and Francisco de Azevedo, travelled to Tibet by the same route, i.e. via Hardwar, Srinagar, Badrinath/Joshimath and the Mana Pass.⁵ Father Andrade had

2. AN, III, 143-44; Badāʿūnī, II, 219-20. A detail account of Ḥusain Khān's attack is given in the earlier part, while dealing Mughal Kumaūn relations.
4. Tuzuk, 328.
complaints over the hostile behaviour of the Rāja of Srinagar. The father had to "undergo a severe cross-examination as to whence he came and what was his subject".  

During the reign of Shāhjahān in 1634-35, the ruler of Srinagar (who must have been Mahipātī Shāh 1625-46) is said to have revolted. Najābat Khān, faujdār of Dāman-i-koh Punjab requested Shāhjahān to entrust him with the task of suppressing the revolt. He demanded 2000 sawār for his help. Shāhjahān sent him the required contingent. At first, he captured the fort of Shergarh. Then he marched to Kalpi (Kalsi). At this time the ruler of Sirmūr along with his contingent also joined him. After some resistance they captured the fort. Then he captured the fort of Santur which he gave over to Jagtū, zamīndār of Lakhanpur. He crossed the Ganga from Hardwar and left Gujar Gwāliārī and Udai Singh Rāthor to look after supplies. He himself marched to Katl Talāv. The chief of Srinagar raised a numerous force2 "like ants and locusts" attacking Najābat Khān with arrows and musket shots. After much effort Najābat Khān succeeded in capturing a large number of the enemy. Here Gujar Gwāliārī also joined him and they

1. Wessels, 49.

2. Amin Qazwīnī (Bādshāhnāma Or. 173, f.346b) says that it was 40,000 (Infantry).
reached a point only 3 kurohs from Srinagar. At last, the Srinagar ruler agreed to pay without delay Rs.10 lakhs to the Mughal exchequer and one lakh to Najabat Khân. Najabat Khân waited for one and half months for the indemnity, but Srinagar ruler sent not more than one lakh of rupees.

Najabat Khân's decision to wait for such a long time proved shortsighted and led to a total disaster for the imperial forces. His army was stationed at a place so deep in the mountains that it was very difficult to maintain supplies. At last he had only one month's stores left. To add to this, the rainy season was very near. Seeing no way out Najabat Khân sent Gujar Gwâliari along with 200 sawâr to bring food from Nagina. But hardly had he marched 5-6 kurohs, when the enemy came in strength to attack him. Gujar Gwâliari died fighting, but Najabat Khân could not get even the news of this disaster. In the meantime, another contingent of the Srinagar forces surrounded Najabat Khân's army and blocked all passes. In the ensuing struggle most of Najabat Khân's force perished and Najabat Khân and a few other nobles could barely escape with their lives.

When the Emperor was informed of this disaster, he took away the mansab and jāgîr of Najabat Khân and Mirzâ

1. Šâdiq Khân (35a) mentions the sum 2 lakhs for Najabat Khân.
2. Lahorî, III, 90-92, 309, Qazwînî, 346a-348a, Šâdiq Khân, 34b-35a.
Khan, son of Shāh Nawāz Khān was appointed faujdār of the Dāman-i-koh Kangra in his place.¹

In 1654-55 the Mughal forces again raided the territory of Srinagar. Khalīlullāh Khān, along with 8,000-10,000 soldiers was appointed to lead the expedition. The ruler of Sirmūr, Subhāg Prakāsh (1654-1664) and some other local chiefs of Dun also joined the imperial forces. During the expedition, Khalīlullāh Khān established fortified camps at Kelagarh (140x120 yards), Bahādurpūr (220x150 yards), Basantpūr (130x120 yards) and Sahajpūr (1000 yards in circumference and 15 yards high) and stationed there Sher Khwāja, Bāhā Nohānī, Sayyid Biloch and Muḥammad Ḥusain respectively. At Bahādurpūr a great number of cattle fell into the hands of the invading troops. Khalīlullāh Khān sent up artillery to capture Chandī. Here, he was joined by the Rāja of Kumāūn Bahādur Chand.²

Since the rainy season was near and Khalīlullāh Khān had taken possession of the Dun, the Emperor ordered that he should not go further and return to the court. Khalīlullāh Khān handed over the Dun to Chaturbhuj Chauhān. The latter was also granted a 12 monthly wātan-jāqīr worth

1. Lāhorī, III, 92, Qazwīnī, 348a, Ṣādiq Khān, 35a.
60 lakhs दाम्स (1.5 lakhs of Rs.). His mangab was increased to 1500/1000 by an enhancement of 400 sawār. Since the peasants in parqana Dun resisted paying revenue, 500 sawār and 1000 musketeers were attached to Chaturbhuji. The cost of maintenance of these troops, which amounted to Rs.10,000 a month, was to be met by the imperial exchequer in cash. The fort of Santur was also handed over to Chaturbhuji. Chandi was put in the charge of Nagardās, tax-collector (karori) of Hardwar.¹

Ṣāliḥ records that in 1656 i.e., a year after Khalīl-ullāh Khān's expedition, Shāhjahān conferred a robe of honour, a decorated urbaṣī, a jewelled sword, silver weapons with minākārī, an Īrāqī horse with silver stirrup and an elephant on Mādīnī Rāi (1654-1664), son of the ruler of Srinagar². Apparently, with the occupation of the Dun, the Srinagar ruler's allegiance could now be accepted.

In 1656 Himmat Khān was assigned the jāgīr of Dun.³

Srinagar, did not, however, long remain loyal to the Mughals. During the war of succession, Prithvī Shāh (1646-76) gave asylum to Dārā Shukhū's son Sulaimān Shukhū.

2. Ṣāliḥ, III, 232.
3. Ibid, 244-5.
The prince fled into the hills when pursued by ShāISTA KHĀN, Lodī KHĀN and FidāĪ KHĀN KOKA.1 Khāfī KHĀN says that the ruler of Srinagar seized all the money and jewels that Sulaimān had brought and kept him prisoner.2 Basing himself on local sources, Rāhul Sānkṛityāyān says that when Sulaimān arrived Prithvī Shāh made him welcome, since Aurangzeb’s success was still undecided. Prithvī Shāh even married one of his daughters to Sulaimān Shukoh.3 FidāĪ KHĀN from Hardwar and Qāsim KHĀN from Nagīna pursued Sulaimān Shukoh, but failed to bring him back.4 Sānkṛityāyān adds that prithvī Shāh’s son Maidini Shāh did not like to incur Aurangzeb’s displeasure by keeping Sulaimān Shukoh, and that one of Prithvī Shāh’s ministers even tried to poison the fugitive prince, but somehow the news was leaked and the scheming minister was executed.5

In the 2 R.Y. (1658-59) Aurangzeb sent a farman to Prithvī Shāh demanding the surrender of Sulaimān Shukoh.6 Rāja Rāj RūP and Rādandāz KHĀN were appointed to persuade Prithvī Shāh to give up the fugitive prince.7 In the meantime,

2. Ibid, 42.
3. Himalaya Parichay (1), 144.
4. Ibid; Akbārat, 14 Shawwāl, 3 R.Y./23 June, 1660.
5. Himalaya Parichay (1), 144.
6. Abūl Faẕl Māmūrī, Or. 174, f. 111a.
as a token of submission, Prithvi Shah sent tāngan horses and hunting animals of the hills to the Emperor as peshkash. Aurangzeb, along with Rādandāz Khān, also sent a robe of honour, a female elephant, a jewelled handle of jamdhar for Prithvi Shāh.¹

Rāja Rāj Rūp requested Aurangzeb for 2,50,000 maunds of grain for the Srinagar expedition. His demand was acceded to and Qāsim Khān was directed to send the required supplies.²

The expeditionary forces entered Srinagar territory from three points: from the west under Rāja of Sirmūr; from the Dun, the imperial troops; and from the north-east, the Rāja of Kumāūm. The imperial forces captured the Dun and Bhabar.³

Sāqī Mustaʿīd Khān and Khāfi Khān say that this time Prithvi Shāh wrote a letter to Rāja Jai Singh seeking pardon. At the Rāja’s request Jai Singh sent his son Rām Singh to bring Sulaimān Shukoh. Sulaimān Shukoh was thus brought to

1. ‘Alamgīrīmā, 441.


3. Himalaya Parichay (1), p.144-45. Khāfi Khān (II, 123) says that Aurangzeb had sent Tarbiyat Khān with the expedition. Capture of Dun at this time seems fabulous since it was already conquered by the Imperial forces. See supra.
the court on 6 Jan. 1661.\(^1\)

Aurangzeb took a lenient view of Prithvi Shāh's conduct. Maidini Shāh, who accompanied Sulaimān Shukōh to the court, was granted the mangāb of 2000/1000, along with gifts of Rs.5,000 in cash, an elephant, 10 horses and a robe of honour. For Prithvi Shāh, the Emperor sent a robe of honour, an elephant and other gifts.\(^2\)

There is also a cultural side to Sulaimān Shukōh's flight to Srinagar. He had been accompanied by the painter Shām Dās (son of Banārasī Dās) and his son Har Dās. After Sulaimān Shukōh's imprisonment Shām Dās remained at Srinagar. After his death, his family continued his profession till the early 19th century, when the profession was finally abandoned.\(^3\)

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1. Ma‘āsir, 33; Khāfī Khān (II, 123) gives the date 12 Jan. 1661. Sānkṛityāyan (Himālaya Parichay (1), p.145) says that Jai Singh sent his son to conciliate Prithvi Shāh. The rāja welcomed Rām Singh but did not agree to return Sulaimān Shukōh. In the meantime, Sulaimān Shukōh, realising that Maidini Shāh and Rām Singh were searching for him, tried to flee towards Tibet. Since he had no knowledge of the hills he deviated from the correct track. Finally, a milk-man caught him and handed him over to Rām Singh.

2. ‘Alamgīrīnāma, 618, 625, 757, Khāfī Khān, II, 123.

3. Himālaya Parichay (1), 133-34 (fn.)
In 1665-66 Prem Singh (?), ruler of Srinagar sent his son to the Mughal court along with objects of gold, hill-horses and hunting animals. He was granted a robe of honour, jewelled jamdhar, sarpech, urbāsī and pahunchī. He also got a mansab of 1500 sawār.

In 1668 Fateh Singh (?), ruler of Srinagar, sent falcons and horses as peshkāsh through his servant Kunwar Dās.

In 1686-87, Rāja Mat Prakāśh of Sirmūr (1684-1704) complained that the Rāja of Srinagar had seized some of his territories. Aurangzeb despatched some forces to the aid of the Rāja. As a consequence, the Rāja of Srinagar was compelled to surrender the fort of Bairat and Kalsi to Rāja Mat Prakāśh.

As already mentioned, the Akhbarāt in 1705 contain a report that the Rāja of Kumūn had captured the fort of Lodhan from Fateh Singh (1699-1749), the rebellious ruler of Srinagar. Apparently, once again the ruler of Garhwal

1. By this time Prithvī Shāh (1646-76) was the Rāja of Srinagar and his son was named Maidīnī Shāh (1676-99).
2. Ālamgīrīnāma, 872, 881.
3. Akhbarāt, 20 Ramzān, 10 R.Y./16 March, 1667. The name is wrongly given Fateh Singh. At this time Prithvī Shāh (1646-76) was the ruler of Srinagar. Fateh Singh had succeeded his father Maidīnī Shāh (1676-99) only in 1699.
5. Akhbarāt, 8 Shawwāl, 49 R.Y./3 Jan. 1705.
was under pressure from the Mughals, who could use to good advantage the hostile relations subsisting between Kumāūn and Garhwal.

3. Sirmūr:

Although Sirmūr was probably outside the gūba of Delhi\(^1\), its ruler seems to have held jāgīra (Sadhaura, Doon valley, etc.) in the Delhi gūba from time to time, and was involved in perpetual disputes with Srinagar. It may, therefore, be relevant to survey Sirmūr's relations with the Mughal authorities in a separate section.

The Sirmūr rulers regularly used to supply ice to the Emperor. For this the ruler used to be popularly called "Barfi Rāja". Lāhorī, Wāris, Šāliḥ and Manucci, all, mention boat-loads of ice coming down by the Yamuna to Delhi.\(^2\)

In 1634–35 Rāja of Sirmūr Māndhāta Prakāsh (1630–64) assisted the Mughal forces against Srinagar. During this expedition Najābat Khān handed over the fort of Kalsi to

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1. Kāghazāt-i-mutafarrīga (80a) puts Sirmūr into Lahore gūba (Doāb Sind Sāgar).

2. Lāhorī, III, 90; Wāris, 300, Šāliḥ, III, 205, Manucci, II, 438. The porters (hammāla) carried the ice (for around 16 kurohs at their back) which was sent to the capital via boats from Daryapur (near Khizrābād) and Dhārmras.
Mândhāta. At the Rāja's request Najābat Khān also sent a contingent to occupy the fort of Bairat which had been within Sirmūr Rāja's principality but had been seized by the Rāja of Srinagar. With Mughal help Mândhāta took possession of the fort.

In May, 1655 when the Mughal forces marched against Srinagar, the ruler of Sirmūr, Subhāg Prakāsh (1654-1664) also joined the imperial forces. Shāhjahan granted him the title of "Rāja Subhāg Prakāsh".

In the same year, in December, Subhāg Prakāsh paid his respects to the Emperor and presented nine horses and some birds. In reward, for his services in the Srinagar expedition he obtained Kotaha in grant.

After Aurangzeb's accession Subhāg Prakāsh came to the court to pay his respects. Aurangzeb gave him a robe of honour and other presents. Aurangzeb, even before his

1. Lāhorī, Iii, 90-91; Qazwīnī, 346a.
2. Lāhorī, Iii, 91; Qazwīnī, 346b.
3. Wāris, 300; Sāliḥ, III, 205.
6. 'Ālamgīrīnāma, 220, 221, 231.
accession had sent him a rescript as a prince in 1657-58 to notify his resumption of power". 1

As the war of succession was in progress, in 1658-59, Aurangzeb, by a farman directed the Raja to intercept and prevent all correspondences between Sulaimān Shukōh and Dārā and to assist Raja Rāj Rūp (uncle of Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur) against Srinagar. 2 Aurangzeb also sent a jamāhar and a robe of honour for Subhāg Prakāṣh through Kāndandāz khān. 3

In 1660-61 Aurangzeb conferred Kalakhar (Kolagadh, near Dehradun) on the Raja of Sirmūr. 4 In 1662-63 Subhāg Prakāṣh visited the court. The Emperor bestowed upon him a robe of honour, a jewelled urbāsī, a jamāhar and a horse decorated with gold. 5 Next year Subhāg Prakāṣh again came to the court and presented some hunting birds and received a robe of honour. 6

2. Ibid.
3. Ālamgīrīnāma, 441, 564.
5. Ālamgīrīnāma, 765.
On 20 July, 1668 Aurangzeb confirmed the succession of Rāja Budh Prakāsh.¹

Certain letters of Jahānārā Begum written to the Rāja of Sirmūr have been preserved. These letters date from 13 to 23 R.Y. of Aurangzeb (1670-80 AD); and from these a few sidelights can be gained on relations between Sirmūr and the Mughal authorities.²

In 1670 the Rāja of Sirmūr sent a few animals and a basket of pomegranates to Jahānārā Begum.³

In 1671 myrobalans, a goldfinch and musk were sent by the Rāja to Jahanara Begum. Jahānārā Begum expressed her desire for another specimen of the goldfinch. A robe of honour was presented to the Rāja.⁴

In 1674 Aurangzeb ordered the supply of sāl (worth Rs.8000) for imperial use from the Kalakhar forests over

2. Jahānārā's Letters, Cf. Rugfāt-i-'Alamgīrī, 315-17. These letters contain regnal years only. Since these letters are addressed to Rāja Budh Prakāsh of Sirmūr (who reigned from 1664-1684) suggests that the letters belong to Aurangzeb's reign. It is very interesting that Jahānārā Begum (d. 1681, Māsqīr, 213), who held a special position under Shahjahan continued to enjoy great influence in Mughal court politics' during Aurangzeb's reign as well. After her death Aurangzeb ordered that her posthumous title should be Sāhibat-uz-zamānī.
which no duty would be charged. If any dues had already
been extracted then the Rāja of Simūr was ordered to
refund it.¹

Next year Aurangzeb ordered the Rāja to expel
Sūraj Chand, son of the late ruler who had seized Pinjaur
which fell within Fidā'ī Khān's jāgīr.²

In 1675 musk and a flapper (chanwar) were sent to
Jahānārā by the Rāja. The Rāja had complained that Sondha
and other tahwīdārs of pargana Sadhaura (apparently in
the Rāja's jāgīr) were not remitting land-revenue and they
were being assisted in this defiance by the zamīndārs of
Sadhaura. The Rāja solicited a nishān of the Princes to be
sent to Rūhullāh Khān, faujdār Miān Doāb, Dāwar Khān,
faujdār Sirhind and 'Alī Akbar, amin-faujdar pargana Sadhaura
to apprehend the recalcitrant tahwīdārs and zamīndārs.
Jahānārā Begum replied that the Rāja should report the matter
directly to the Emperor. Rūhullāh Khān and the other
officials would not take any action until the Emperor was
first informed.³

In 1677 the Rāja sent musk and a basket of pome-
granates. Jahānārā Begum was pleased with the quality of
musk and desired him to send more of the perfume. She

². Ibid.
directed the Rāja to check the quality so that false musk should not be sent.¹

In 1678 Rāja sent two boxes of ice. Jahānārā Begum complained about the quality of ice, a large amount of which was already melted. The Rāja of Garhwal had also written that he had sent the ice, and it was not clear which of the two had sent the inferior ice. The Rāja of Sirmūr had requested her intervention in resolving his disputes with the Rāja of Garhwal. The Emperor had now ordered the Bakhshīs that whoever was guilty shall be punished. Jahānārā Begum said that the Rāja of Sirmūr's version was totally different from that of the other party. The Emperor had, accordingly, deputed an amin to enquire into the matter. She added that a Mughal army could hardly be spared for the enterprise since the troops were occupied in Kabul and the Deccan.²

In 1680 the Rāja sent honey and a falcon to Jahānārā, who appreciated the fact that the Rāja had reported the turbulences of the Rāja of Srinagar directly to the Emperor. The Rāja had also complained (probably in reply to Jahānārā's earlier letter) that 'Abdur Raḥmān, dārōqa delayed the

collection of the ice and did not pay the labourers.
Consequently, a farman was sent to ʻAbdur Raḥmān to collect
the ice diligently and pay the workers according to the
agreement.¹

In 1686-87 the Rāja complained that the Rāja of
Srinagar had seized some of his territories. Aurangzeb
despatched some forces to help him. As a consequence, the
Rāja of Srinagar was compelled to surrender the fort of
Bairat and Kalsi to Raja Mat Prakāsh (1684-1704).² In 1688-89
Aurangzeb directed the Sirmur ruler not to interfere with the
territories of the Rāja of Srinagar in future.³

In 1702 Rāja Mat Prakāsh died and his son Sri Prakāsh
(Harī Prasād) sent 11 tōlas of musk and 21 ashrafīs as
peshkash. Aurangzeb conferred his father’s zamīndārī on him
and gave him the title of ‘Rāja’ and a robe of honour.⁴

¹. Jahānārā’s Letters, 5 Muḥarram, 23 R.Y./6 Feb. 1680.
³. Ibid.
⁴. Akhbārāt, 6 Shabān, 45 R.Y./6 Jan., 1702.