

Chapter I.

During the Moghul period.

The exigencies of a growing empire required that it should stretch to the logical limits of the country and so the Mughals naturally thought of annexing the Dun Valley. The Garhwal Kingdom enjoyed immunity from Muslim attack owing to its having been sheltered in the Himalayan ranges since Muhammad-bin-Tuglak's reign. In 1636 Shahjahan made preparations to invade Garhwal. He was perhaps attracted by the news of 'so called gold mines' of Srinagar. According to Dr.K.R. Qanungo¹ Garhwal was those days ruled by a notorious Nak-Kati Rani. But according to Sri Rahul Sankrityayan from 1634 to 36 Raja Mahipat Shah ruled over Garhwal,² and died in 1636 A.D; Mahipat Shah's widow got a nick name of 'Nak-Kati Rani' probably due to her cruelty as she usually gave rebellious people the punishment of nose-cutting.

In the eighth year of the reign of Shah Jahan, Nijabat Khan, Faujdar of Kangra offered his services to conquer Srinagar in Garhwal and asked for 2000 horses to achieve this object. The emperor complied with his demands, and accompanied by the army of Raja Mandhata of Sirmor (1630-54), Nijabat Khan marched

1. Qanungo, Dr. K.R.-Darashikoh - Chapter VII, page 89.

2. Sankrityayan, Rahul, Sirmor vide published in Himaprasth, June 1967, page 5.

on Srinagar. In the way he took the fort of Shergarh which had been erected by the Raja of Srinagar on the bank of the Jamuna. He also took the fort of Kalsi which was the capital of the Sirmorians in ancient time. Therefore, Nijabat Khan handed it back to the Raja of Sirmor. Further the Raja of Sirmor complained that the fort of Bairat had also been taken from him by the Raja of Srinagar and declared that if assisted with a force he could recover it. Troops were accordingly given to him and the fort was taken and made over to him. Nijabat Khan then marched on, took Santor fort¹ and entrusted it to Jagatu, the Zamindar of Lakhanpur with 100 horse and 1000 foot.

But these successes were in vain, because Nijabat^{at} Khan was defeated by Garhwali armies and lost his Mansab and Jagir which were bestowed upon Mirza Khan, son of Shah Nawaz Khan and grandson of Abdul Rahim Khan Khankhanan, who became Faujdar in his place.²

In spite of this Shah Jahan was not disappointed by this defeat and on 28th Jammadi-us-sani 1064 A.H. (6th May 1654 A.D.) by a farman he advised Raja Mandhata of Sirmor that "he had deputed Iraj Khan Faujdar of Jammu and Kangra to conquer Srinagar of Garhwal, and invited the Rajas and the Zamindars of hills to assist him, promising that the adjoining territories of Kumaon should be conferred upon the Zamindars of that

1. Santor is a place in Dun Valley 10 miles north-west of Dehra city.
2. Sankrityayan, R. - op. - cit. - page 5.

country (Kumaon) and those adjacent to his own dominions upon the Raja, in addition to his own possessions, while Dun, which was outside the hills, was to be added to the Imperial dominions¹.

But after some months again by a second Farman dated 24 Muharrum 1065 A.H. (4th December 1654 A.D.), Shah Jahan informed Raja Mandhata that Khalil-ullah-khan was nominated commander and 10,000 troops were placed under his command².

Khalil-ullah-khan in the company of Raja Subhag Prakash³ (1654-64) who had succeeded Mandhata in 1654 and some other Zamindars of those parts, having reached the Dun, which is a strip of the country lying outside of Srinagar, encamped near Kilaghar⁴ and occupied it within a week. He then deputed one of the Mansabdars to keep guard there with two hundred matchlock men and set out further with his whole army. When he reached Bahadurkhanpur⁵ the inhabitants of the adjoining area took refuge in the hills, forests and defiles. But Khalil-ullah-khan proceeded further and sent forces to surrounding the place from every corner. At last the royal troops overpowered the Garhwalis. A number of them were killed and many were taken prisoner, after which others offered their allegiance and a large booty fell in the hands of the Imperial army.

1. Shah Jahan, Farman to Raja Mandhata dated 28th Jammadi-us-sani 1064 A.H. (6th May 1654 A.D.). In Muhafizkhana, Sirmor State No.1.
2. Shah Jahan Farman (Persian) to Raja Mandhata dated 24th muharrum 1065 A.H. (4th December 1655 A.D.). In Muhafizkhana of Sirmor State (The true copies of these farmans see infra) No.2.
3. In 1654 Raja Mandhata died and Subhag Prakash succeeded him.
4. Kilaghar may be identified with Kaulagarh.
5. Bahadurkhanpur is a place belonging to the Dun.

Khalil-ullah-khan established a fortified post here and left a faithful person with Mansabdars and 500 infantry and some matchlock men, to garrison it so that the passage for the travellers might remain safe. After completing this task he approached the town of Basantpur, which is also a dependency of the Dun and halted half way up the hill. Opposite the above town, he constructed another military post in which a Mansabdar was deputed with 250 infantry and some matchlock men. From there he moved to Sahijpur, a place abounding in streams and fountains and clothed with flowers and verdure, where he erected a fort on the top of an embankment, measuring 1000 yards in circumference and 15 yards in height that had in former times been crowned by a stronghold. Some traces of the ancient works are still visible. Here he also deputed a trusted Captain to hold the post, backed by 250 musketeers.

On reaching the banks of the Ganges he sent a detachment with the Royal artillery to the other side of the river, to take possession of the Thana of Chandī which is one of the dependencies of Srinagar, but lies outside Dun.

Meanwhile Bahadur Chand, Raja of Kumaon espoused the Mughal cause, and came and joined Khalil-ullah-khan. As soon as this fact was conveyed to the Imperial officers through the representatives of the Khan, a conciliatory Farman and a khilat set with jewels were forwarded to him (Raja of Kumaon).¹

1. Khan, Inayat - Shahjahanama - Translated by Elliot and Dowson, - op. - cit. - Vol. VII, pp. 106, 107.

Dr. K.R. Qanungo writes that on 14th November 1654, Khalil-ullah-khan was ordered to attack the Raja of Srinagar¹ with 9000 soldiers, with assistance of Raja Subhag Prakash of Sirmor and Raja Bahadur Chand of Kumaon. The Mughal army entered the interior parts of Garhwal kingdom and temporarily occupied Dun above Hardwar. On the western bank of the Ganges the Imperialist established a base camp due to which common people began to call it Dera Dun. Khalil-ullah-khan was known for his inefficiency and in reality Chaturbhuj Chauhan was the Commander. The war continued for two years, and on 20th January 1655 Kasim Khan Mir Atish started with 4000 troops to assist Khalil-ullah-khan in Dun. Then Raja Prithvi Shah having failed against the imperialists started correspondence with Jahanara begum, pleaded his innocence, assured his allegiance and expressed his desire to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Emperor Shah Jahan and requested that Prince Dara Shukoh should intervene in this matter on his behalf. He sent his son Medini Shah to ^wprince Dara Shikoh. The prince presented Medini Shah on 30th July 1655 in the court and introduced him to his father. Medini Shah presented 1000 Mohars as Nazar to the Emperor on his father's behalf. The Emperor was liberal enough to pardon all faults of his father and forwarded a valuable Khillat, Dastarband (armlet) with jewels and a Kipchaq horse with a gilt saddle to the Raja of Srinagar.²

1. Prithvi Shah (1640-64) was the ruler of Garhwal in those days.

2. Qanungo, Dr.K.R. - op - cit - Chapter VII p. 90.

After this a mandate was issued to Khalil-ullah-khan, "to defer the campaign in the hills for the present. After delivering up Dun to Chaturbhuj, who had expressed an ardent desire to it and confiding the Thana of Chandi to Nagar Dass, the chief of Hardwar, set out for court." The Khan accordingly having fulfilled the royal command started for the court¹. After war, Subhag Prakash Raja of Sirmor in recognition of his services, received a firman dated 11th of Rabi-us-sani, 1065 A.H., confirming the promised grant of territory and granting the Raja whatsoever Khalil-ullah-khan might purpose in his favour².

After sometime, according to the promise, Shah Jhan by Second Imperial Farman³ dated 22nd of Jamed-ul-Awal 1065 (30th March 1655) granted the Ilaqa of Kotaha to Raja Subhag Prakash of Sirmor. The Raja of Sirmor expelled the Zamindar of Kotaha and annexed that territory.

This arrangement was scrupulously honoured and the political relations between the Garhwal Raja and Mughal Emperor remained cordial till war of succession.

Shah Jahan fell ill in September 1657 A.D. and the war of succession started. Dara, the heir apparent, sent two armies one under Raja Yashwant Singh of Jodhpur and Kasim Khan to check Aurangzeb and Murad towards south and another under his

1. Khan, Inayat - Shahjahanama-translated by Elliot and Dowson, op.- cit.- Vol. VII. p. 107.
2. Shah Jahan's Firman to Raja Subhag Prakash of Sirmor dated 11 Rabi-us-sani, 1065 A.H.(Persian) in Muhafizkhana Sirmor State.(True copy of Farman see infra No.3.)
3. Farman of Shah Jahan to Raja Subhag Prakash of Sirmor dated 22nd of Jamad-ul-Awal 1065 A.H.(30th March 1655 A.D.) in the Muhafizkhana of Sirmor State.(The true copy of this Farman see infra No.4).

eldest son, Suleman Shukoh with Raja Jai Singh of Amber to deal with Shuja. The latter two armies met on 24th February 1658 at Bahadurpur 5 miles north east of Benares and fought a hotly contested battle in which Shuja was defeated and fled towards Bengal.

Before Suleman Shukoh could return from Benares the battle of Dharmat had been fought between the armies of Dara on the one hand and Aurangzeb and Mured on the other. Aurangzeb and Mured got victory in this battle and began to proceed towards Agra. Then Suleman Shukoh decided to return so that he could assist his father Dara Shukoh against the rebels. But his commanders were not ready to return. Raja Jai Singh and Diler Khan were watching the situation. They decided to side with the rising star. On June 8, 1658 the battle of Samugarh was fought in which Dara was again defeated and fled towards Delhi.

Aurangzeb pursued Dara and had simultaneously sown the seed of disunion among the troops commanded by Suleman Shukoh to destroy Dara's last hope to retrieve his lost fortune. Raja Jai Singh for some time hesitated, but at last having taken counsel with his friend Diler Khan decided to join Aurangzeb. Jai Singh went to Suleman's tent and exposed him the overtures made by Aurangzeb and disclosed frankly the whole state of his mind. To tell the prince, "I ought not to disguise from you the danger of your situation, you can depend neither upon Jelil Kan (Diler Khan) or Sand Kan nor upon any part of the troops and by advancing to the relief of your father, you may involve yourself in irretrievable ruin. In this emergency you can not do better than seek refuge in the mountains of Sreenugur.

The Raja of that country will receive you kindly. His territory is inaccessible and he can be in no dread of Aurangzeb. While in this secure retreat, you may calmly observe the progress of events and descend from your mountains when favourable occasion shall arise"¹.

The unfortunate prince understood the whole situation and decided to leave his surplus property, heavy baggage, stores and harem attendants in the fort of Allahabad in charge of his father's trusted servant Sayed Kasim of Larha.²

Thus deprived of the strength of the army Suleman Shukoh formed a design of avoiding Aurangzeb by keeping close to the mountains and thus making his way to join his father at Lahore.

Aurangzeb defeated his project by sending a detachment at Hardwar to intercept him. He was further disappointed as many of his followers left him. He then decided to seek refuge in Srinagar but the Raja refused him an asylum unless he would send away his 500 cavalry that still remained with him. After a long discussion he agreed to the Raja of Srinagar's terms, entered his fort with five or six attendants and though he was treated with civility, found that in reality he was in a sort of confinement.³

Suleman Shukoh was under the protection of Nakti Rani⁴ (the Raja of Srinagar) in the province of Srinagar. This

1. Bernier, Francois, - Travels in the Mughal Empire - translated on the basis of Irving Brock's version and annotated by Archibald Constable (1891) - page 58.
2. Sarkar, Sir. J.W. - History of Aurangzeb. p. 224
3. Elphinston, M. - History of India. Chapter 1, p.603
4. Tavernier described Nakti Rani when Prithi Shah was ruling over Garhwal.

prince was satisfied to lead a solitary life among the mountains for fear of falling into the hands of Aurangzeb. He was assured that Aurangzeb could not do any harm at this place. Besides 'Nackti Rani' also had assured him with an oath, accompanied with a ceremony that could make it solemn and inviolable, that he would rather lose kingdom (territodam) than that Aurangzeb should do the least violence to the prince who was assured of protection by him. "This was done upon the banks of the river (Alakhnanda) which flows through his country. After this Sulaiman became free and took amuse himself with hunting.¹

Learning that Suleman Shukoh son of Dara was in safety within the lands and under the protection of Srinagar, Aurangzeb decided to seize him in some way or other. But being quite sure that Raja would not be moved by his promises and presents or threats, he planned with Raja Jai Singh that he should be the intermediary for getting the Raja of Srinagar to abandon Suleman Shukoh. Simultaneously Aurangzeb took precaution and sent a firman dated 19th of Jamad-ul-Awaal 1069 A.H. calling upon the Raja of Sirmor, Subhag Prakash to prevent and intercept all correspondence between Sulaiman Shukoh then at Srinagar and his father passing through Sirmor State. This firman further conveys that Raja must try to arrest the messenger also and produce him in the Royal Court.²

1. Tavernier, (John Baptista) Travels in India, Part II, p.118 Public Library, Allahabad.
2. Aurangzeb's firman to Raja Subhag Prakash of Sirmor dated 19 Jamad-ul-Awaal 1069 A.H.(Persian) in muhafizkhana Sirmor State (True copy of firman see infra No.6).

On the other hand Raja Jai Singh was made to write a letter to Srinagar Raja Prithvi Shah saying how advisable it was for him to make over Suleman Shukoh to Aurangzeb, thereby he would secure a friend in Aurangzeb whom he would find of use sooner or later. For Suleman Shukoh there was no hope. On the contrary, Aurangzeb was an absolute monarch, victorious and powerful who was able to confer farmans. If he refused to hear the words of a friend let him not forget that Aurangzeb had power where with to attain his just demands. He who protected his enemies was also against him.¹ But Raja Prithvi Shah could not be threatened by Aurangzeb's power. He could not prepare himself to handover the prince who took shelter in his kingdom. He wrote to Jai Singh, "that Aurangzeb might come to any decision whatever he liked."²

On being informed of the Raja's decision Aurangzeb resolved to make use of the Raja's enemies to start a war against him. "In 1069 A.H. (1659 A.D.) Aurangzeb sent a farman to Sirmor Raja Subhag Prakash and advised that Raja Raj Roop (uncle of Raja Yaswant Singh of Jodhpur) had been deputed to chastise the Zamindar of Srinagar and that the Raja of Sirmor also should assist him in the extirpation of his enemy³. A further farman informed Raja of Sirmor that Raja Raj Roop would attack Srinagar from one side and Ra'ud

1. Manucci, Niccolao, - Storia De Mogor or Mughal India. Vol.I, pp 378-79. (Translated by W.Irwin).
2. Manucci, N. - op.- cit.- pp 378-79.
3. Aurangzeb's Firman to Raja Subhag Prakash of Sirmor dated of 16 Shawaal 1069 A.H. in the first year of his coronation (Persian) No.7.

Khan from the other side and that the Raja of Sirmor should cooperate with him.¹

The war continued for one year but the Imperialist got no success. Even though Raja Prithvi Shah was not ready to hand over the fugitive prince, Raja's minister was persuaded by valuable presents and he tried to poison the prince but the plot was revealed and the minister had to sacrifice his life.²

Besides, higher officials of Garhwal and Raja's son Medini Shah also did not like to destroy the whole kingdom for the sake of Suleman Shukoh. So, Medini Shah opened negotiations for the delivery of Suleman Shukoh in opposition to the wish and opinion of his father. His plan was to deliver Suleman Shukoh secretly into the hands of Aurangzeb's men.³

Prince Suleman Shukoh felt that he was no longer in safety and endeavoured to disappear from Srinagar. One day he seized an opportunity of going out for hunting as he ordinarily did with the intention of making off into Tibet.⁴

He was pursued by the Raja's son, overtaken, wounded and was handed over to Ram Singh (Jai Singh's son) who brought him to Delhi.⁵

1. Aurangzeb's Firman to Raja Subhag Prakash of Sirmor dated of the 16 Muharram in the first year of his coronation (1689 A.D.) (Persian) No.8 Mubafizkhana Sirmor State (True copies of these Firmans see infra).
2. Sankrityayan, Bahul - op. - cit. - page 51 (August 1967).
3. Manucci, N. - op. - cit. - p. 379.
4. According to Bernier the territory known as Ladakh now-a-days.
5. Bernier, F. - op. - cit. - page 104.

The author of Shah Jahan Nama or Amal-i-Salih, Mohammad Salih Kumbu Lahori says that, "after the death of Murad Buksh Mirza Raja Jai Singh advised the Zamindar of Srinagar if he wanted to save the very foundation of his Zamindari (State) from the wrath of the Emperor he should despatch Prince Suleman Shukoh to the Imperial court at any cost." Accordingly the said Zamindar of Srinagar paid due respect to the Imperial command and did not stand in way of obeying the order. He despatched the said prince in Chains and fetters in the Imperial court in the custody of his own son. His Majesty sent for the prince after a couple of days in the court and after a day of their meeting sent him to the Gwalior fort together with Sultan Mohammad with the express orders for administering him 'Koknar' (Poppy seed) there, on 11th Shawwal 1072 A.H. Suleman Shukoh died at the age of thirty and was buried near Murad baksh.¹

The description of this author is reliable as he was Aurangzeb's courtier and contemporary and had probably seen the incident with his own eyes.

F. Bernier also supports the description of Muhammad Salih Kumbu in his work, Travels in the Mughal Empire, as he was also present in the court when Suleman Shukoh was brought before Aurangzeb.²

According to the author of Shah Jahan Nama, Medini Shah the son of Prithvi Shah came with Suleman Shukoh to the Imperial court. Whether he came with Suleman or afterwards he was invited

1. Kumbu, Mohammad Salih - Shah Jahan Nama or Amal-i-Salih Vol. III, pp 344-45, Persian Text (National Archives, New Delhi)
2. Bernier, F. - op. - cit. - pp. 105-106.

as to get the reward for his services, but he died in 1661 December in the court while serving the Emperor.¹

Rahul Sankrityayan writes in his work Sirmor that, "In opposition to the wishes of Raja Prithvi Shah, the courtiers and Yuvraj Madini Shah captured Suleman Chukoh and made him over to Nan Singh. Aurangzeb imprisoned him in the fort of Gwalior and got him poisoned and by a farman Dun was given to Prithi Shah as a reward for the services of Garhwalis."²

But G.R.C. Williams expresses doubt that a sanad of Doon was given to Prithi Shah as a reward for his services. He describes in his 'Doon Memoirs' that it is said that a copy of Imperial sanad existed among the records of Chandni in 1845. If this be so it is strange that the document should have escaped Mr. Shore's³ researches. At all events Aurangzeb could not have really granted what was already in the possession of the grantee although to gratify his own vanity he might have issued a 'farman' formally recognizing Prithi Singh's title to the district."⁴

William's objection can not be accepted, as the whole of Dun was conquered by Imperial forces when the expedition was undertaken to compel Suleman's surrender. Frightened with the success of Imperial forces Yuvraj Madini Shah and other officials of Garhwal were compelled to hand over Suleman to Aurangzeb inspite of the opposition of Prithi Shah.

1. Prithi Shah was informed of it by a condulatory Farman issued by Aurangzeb on 16 Jamad-ul-ula 1072 (28 Dec.1661 Saturday)(Photostat copy of farman (see infra).
2. Sankrityayan, R. - op. - cit. - p.51 (August 1967).
3. Shore, F.J. was the first officiating Joint Magistrate of D.Dun with Mr. Grindall, the Superintendent of Revenue.
4. Williams, G.R.C. - op. - cit. - p. 88.

After his success it was natural for Aurangzeb to issue a farman recognising Prithi Shah's title to the Dun.¹ Probably the farman had been destroyed in the earthquake of 1803 (Bhadon Anant Chaturdasi 1860 A.V.) or afterwards during Gorkha invasion of 1803 and 1804. Thus again Dun came under the control of Garhwal Raja and the political relation between Garhwal Raja and the Mughal Emperor were cordial for a long time as it is clear by two farmans which were also issued by Aurangzeb to Garhwal Raja, one² to Prithi Shah on 16th Jamad-ul-ula, in 6th year of Aurangzeb's coronation and the other to Fateh Shah³ (Prithi Shah's grand son) on 27th Jamad-us-ani, in 8th year of Aurangzeb's coronation.

1. Mola Ram - Garh Rajvansh Kavya - p.21(a) (Hindi M.S.)

मोला राम जी का जन्म 1743 ई. में हुआ था। वे अपने पिता मंगत राम से सीखे हुए कविता लिखने की शक्ति को आगे बढ़ाकर 'गढ़ राजवंश' नाम की कविता लिखी। यह कविता गढ़वाल राजाओं के इतिहास को बताने के लिए लिखी गई थी।

The famous painters of Delhi, father and son namely Shyam Das and Har Das came with Suleman Shukoh into Garhwal in 1658 A.D. and settled there. Har Das's son Hira Lal, grand-son Mangat Ram and great grandson Mola Ram continued the tradition of painting. Mola Ram born during the time of Pradipt Shah in 1743 A.D. and died in 1833 A.D. during British time. He wrote the history of Garhwal Rajas from the time of Shyama Shah to Gorkha regime in his poetic work namely 'Garh Rajvansh'. That manuscript is in possession of Mola Ram's great grandson Baij Nath Tomar in Srinagar.

2. Aurangzeb's farman to Garhwal Raja Prithi Shah-Persian text-Accession No.1527-State Archives Allahabad, U.P.
3. Aurangzeb's farman to Garhwal Raja Fateh Shah -Persian text-(Photostat copies of these farmans see infra).

Accession No.1527(a) - State Archives Allahabad,U.P.