MUSLIM RULE IN KASHMIR
(1554 A.D. to 1586 A.D.)

By

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JK

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Preface

Kashmir, as is evident from various sources available, had a deep-rooted historical tradition. For a considerably long period of time it remained under a number of Hindu dynasties in succession. But with the beginning of the 14th century A.D., the increasing pressure of the Muslims brought the Hindu rule crumbling down and registered their triumph by establishing an independent Muslim State in Kashmir in 1339 A.D.

Kashmir was successively ruled in complete independence by two Muslim dynasties : 'the Shahmiri' (1339-1554 A.D.) and 'the Chak' (1554-1586 A.D.). Kashmir could not escape for long the invincible forces of Mughal imperialism and was finally annexed to the Mughal empire by Akbar on 16th October, 1586.

Attempts have been made by some of the modern historians like Dr. G.M.D. Sufi, Dr. R.K. Parmu, Prof. Mohibbul Hasan, Dr. N.K. Zutshi and Dr. Abdul Qayum Rafiqi to bring to light the history and culture of medieval Kashmir but each one of them has either written a general history of a particular period or presented a monograph on an individual ruler or dwelt upon a cultural aspect. With the result, the Chak dynasty has not received the attention it really deserved.

The extensive works of Dr. Sufi and Dr. Parmu are at best the general surveys of various Muslim dynasties who ruled over Kashmir. Similarly, Professor Mohibbul Hasan has covered the period from 1339 A.D. to 1586 A.D., but he too has laid stress particularly on the activities of Shahmiri rulers while the Chak period, so full of political, religious and cultural interest, is conspicuous by its superficial treatment. The work of Dr. N.K.

Zutshi, entirely deals with Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-70 A.D.), the greatest of the Sultans of Kashmir.

Thus a substantial scope left by the aforesaid historians, for the Chak history, has been fully utilized in this work. A rich variety of source material preserved in numerous works written in Sanskrit, Persian and Kashmiri languages, archaeological remains, inscriptions, coins, travellers' account, traditions and folklore is fully utilized.

An attempt has been made in this work to investigate the evolution of political institutions, under the Chaks, placed in the overall historical perspective of the 16th century developments. The important aspects like, religious controversies, issues relating to internal politics and foreign affairs including the Kashmir-Mughal relations and the cultural renaissance under the liberal patronage of some of the Chak rulers, and finally, the fall of the dynasty have been studied and investigated.

I now take this opportunity of expressing my deep sense of gratitude and feeling of indebtedness to Dr. N.K. Zutshi, now Reader in the Department of Medieval and Modern Indian History, Lucknow University, for exercising patient and able supervision at all stages of this study. I sincerely offer my thanks to him for leading the work to its successful completion.

I am also highly grateful to Dr. A.C. Bose, Professor of History, Dr. G.S. Chhabra, Professor and Head of the History Department, Jammu University and other staff members of the Department for their kind cooperation and encouragement during the period of my research.

I also wish to place on record my thanks to late Muhammad Amin Mahjoor and Autar Krishan belonging to Research and Public Library, Srinagar, and Shrikanth Kaul for their help and valuable suggestions.

I am also thankful to the staff of the Central Archaeological Library (New Delhi), National Archives and Sapru House Library (New Deihi), Tagore Library and Amir-ud-Daulah Public Library (Lucknow), Research and Public Library (Srinagar), Ranbir Singh Library (Jammu), and the Central Library, Jammu University, Jammu.

I also wish to express my sincere gratitude to the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, for their award of Study-cum-Travel Grant (contingency), to work on this research project.

Lastly, I will be failing in my duty if I do not express my deep thanks to my father Kh. B.D. Wani, who, besides encouraging me in this endeavour and giving various useful suggestions, translated for me the two important Persian works : *Baharistan-i-Shahi* (anonymous) and *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Haidar Malik Chadura. I am also indebted to my wife, Syeeda Wani (Engineer Electric), for her continued cooperation at every stage of this work.

NIZAM-UD-DIN WANI

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Abbreviations Used

A.A.	:	Ain-i-Akbari by Abul Fazl, vols. I and II, English translation.
A.N.	:	Akbar Nama by Abul Fazl, vols. II and III, English translation.
Azam	:	Tarikh-i-Kashmir by Mohd. Azam Didmari, Urdu translation.
Badauni	:	Munta-Khab-ut-Tawarikh by Abdul Qadir Badauni, vols. I, II and III, English translation.
B.S.	:	Baharistan-i-Shahi by an anonymous author.
Birbal	:	Tarikh-i-Kashmir by Birbal Kachru.
Firishta	:	Tarikh-i-Firishta, vol. IV, English translation.
H.M.	:	Tarikh-i-Kashmir by Haidar Malik Chadura.
Hasan	:	Tarikh-i-Kashmir by Maulvi Hasan, vol. II, Urdu translation.
J.A.B.S	:	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J.B.B.R.A.S.	:	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J.I.H.	:	Journal of Indian History.
Jonaraja	:	Rajatarangini of Jonaraja, English translation.
J.P.H.S.	:	Journal of the Punjab Historical Society.
J.R.A.S.	:	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Lawrence	:	The Valley of Kashmir.

Leitner	:	Results of tours in Dardistan, Kashmir, Ladakh and Tibet etc.
Leydon	:	Encyclopaedia of Islam.
Mohibbul Hasan	:	Kashmir under the Sultans.
Parmu	:	A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir.
Rafi-ud-Din	:	Nawadir-ul-Akhbar.
R.T.	:	Rajatarangini, English translation by A. Stein.
Sayyid Ali	:	Tarikh-i-Kashmir.
Srivara	:	Jaina-Rajatarangini, English translation.
Stein	:	Rajatarangini of Kalhana, English translation by A. Stein.
Suka	:	Rajavalipataka of Suka, English translation.
Tabaqat	:	Tabaqat-i-Akbari by Nizam-ud-Din Ahmed vols. II and III, English translation.
T.R.	:	Tarikh-i-Rashidi by Mirza Haidar Dughlat.
Tuzuk	:	Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, vols. I and II, English translation.

1

Rise of the Chaks

By the beginning of the fourteenth century almost the whole of Northern India had passed under the regime of Alauddin Khalji (1296-1316) but the kingdom of Kashmir was yet to fall in the hands of Muslim rulers. It does not mean that Kashmir did not attract the attention of the foreign Muslim conquerers. In fact, during the successive rule of various Hindu dynasties, Karkotas (613-855 A.D.), Utpalas (855-1003 A.D.) and Loharas (1003-1309 A.D.) Kashmir was subject to a number of invasions which were only in the nature of sensational episodes and ended in failure. It is indeed surprising that Kashmir in the 13th century presented such a decadent social and political spectacle that it often tempted a foreign invader without being subjected. And when finally it fell under the control of a Muslim dynasty, it was the outcome of internal revolution so complete and decisive. The kingdom slipped out of the hands of Hindu rulers and a fugitive named Shahmir[1] from an adjoining area distinguished himself by a coup d'etat in 1339 A.D. when he established the Sultanate of Kashmir with himself as its first Sultan under the title of Shams-ud-Din. The new royal line which he set up came to be known as the Shahmiri dynasty after his name. The kings of this dynasty ruled Kashmir with varying degrees of success for over two centuries (1339-1554 A.D.),[2] after which they disappeared and were succeeded by a new line of Muslim kings heralding the

establishment of the Chak[3] dynasty. They ruled for a short period of thirty-two years (1554-86 A.D.).

There is no doubt that the Shahmiri dynasty produced a number of able rulers during the first one and a half centuries who consolidated and administered the kingdom with wisdom and efficiency. But with the passage of time, effete and ease-loving princes came to wield the royal sceptre. Lacking in wisdom and far-sightedness, they put the throne and crown in a trough of disturbance and gave full opportunity to opposite factions, who were always ready to fish in troubled waters, to gain some political advantage. Thus seeing the ominous sings of a crumbling empire, certain tribal groups began to exploit the situation to capture political power. Of these tribes, the most dominating were the Chaks and the Magres.[4] In the time of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-1470 A.D.)[5] these groups hardly dared to come out in open rivalry but after his death, they increasingly gathered strength which they finally used during the reign of his weak successors.[6] It were again these two classes who dominated the history of Kashmir after Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin till the Shahmiri dynasty tottered at its legs and its chapter came to a close at the hands of the rising Chaks in 1554 A.D. During this period of struggle, these two classes openly clashed with each other in their contest for political power, which they considerably exerted in turn, while on the other hand the king were reduced to the position of a mere spectator from the throne. Their struggle for the supremacy gathered momentum in the beginning of the sixteenth century and Kashmir was thrown into a state of utter confusion in which puppet kings were set up and deposed in rapid succession by these contending groups. The period which followed was one of the worst in which mutual rivalries, intrigues and a constant armed confrontation between the king and nobles, master and servant and among the landed magnates had become the order of the day. It was out of this chaos and confusion that Chaks carved out a kingdom for their own house in 1554 A.D. by successfully beating the other claimants almost equally powerful. The capture of royal power in Kashmir by the Chaks put an end to the rule of the Shahmiris and gave peace to the kingdom for

the next thirty-two years till Kashmir was annexed and assimilated in the Mughal Empire by Emperor Akbar in 1586 A.D.[7]

The Chaks exercised much influence on the political, religious and cultural life of Kashmir. Though their rule was a short one covering only the period from 1554 to 1586 A.D., yet they had a long and chequered history of their own even before and after their assumption of power. After their fall their role in Kashmir did not cease and they continued to display their worth and importance till they were finally reduced to penury. Today, their off-springs are known as Gulbans in Kashmir.[8] Their role after the fall would be discussed at the proper place.

Origin

Though we have extremely meagre information about their origin, owing to the paucity of original material yet a careful search of stray references both in contemporary Sanskrit and Persian chronicles yield encouraging results.

The later sources narrate many romantic and vainglorious events regarding their origin and these are fallacious and are based on the folk and myths.[9]

Dr. Parmu opines that "Chaks may have descended from the Chakmas of the Malaya peninsula or from the nomads of the Kipchak desert in Central Asia, who became known as Qazak. May be they originated from the Turkomans of Central Asia, or may they were a branch of some ancient tribe living in Kohkand region who committed robberies and attacked way-farers, when it appears, they were enlisted by some Mongol general when he invaded Northern India.[10] These are mere conjectures unsupported by any evidence.

Dr. Parmu has further tried to trace the genealogy of the Chaks from Alamkarachakara, the feudal Lord of Karna (the ancient Karna) who caused much destruction to Raja Jaisimha (1128-55 A.D.) in concert with Bhoja.[11] This identification too, like the previous ones lacks proof and is unacceptable on the following grounds. First, Kalhana though mentions his relationship with the Dardic people, yet he does

not attribute him to the Dardic stock, the offspring of which the Chaks were. Secondly, Kalhana has given the characteristics feature of Alamkara which are not in conformity with those of the Chaks, the descendants of Langar Chak,[13] e.g., Kalhana writes, "Alamkara, the superintendent of the great treasury (brhanday) embellished the land by constructing bathing huts, Mathas, Brahmapuris, bridges and the like. He is man of wisdom (Budha) was born from one who was versed in arts and was evergiving relief by medical herbs. He is known as poet who surpassed all liberal persons by his liberality.[13] Besides this description Kalhana is silent about the last days of Alamkara and his posteriors. Thus, while Kalhana has praised Alamkara for many virtues and talents, the Chaks who flourished in Kashmir before and during the time of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-70 A.D.) possessed none of these qualities and were entirely different in nature and character from Alamkara. They were most ferocious, turbulent and warlike people, full of marauding habits. This contrast also renders unacceptable, the opinion of Dr. Parmu's identifying Alamkara with Langar Chak, who entered Kashmir much after Alamkara's existence. Moreover no contemporary Persian or Sanskrit chronicler supports the view.

Similarly Sufi[14] and Mohibbul Hasan only refers to the arrival of Langar Chak from Dardistan in the time of Raja Suhadeva of Kashmir which does not lead to any conclusion.[15]

Among the contemporary chroniclers, the author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* write that, "the Chaks came from Dardo (Dardistan). Langar Chak, the progenitor of the Chak dynasty, with his tribe migrated to Kashmir during the period of Raja Suhadeva (1301-20 A.D.) of Kashmir and settled in Tragam.[16] He further mentions that Langar Chak left his home place owing to the public opposition there.[17] The author also refers to the arrival of another Chak's tribal group, led by Shams Chak, the son of Hilmat Chak, from Gilgit at some later date which settled at Kopwara in Kashmir.[18]

Haidar Malik states in his *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* that "Langar Chak came to Kashmir from Barsal,[19] the capital of Dardistan, owing to the conflict with his brother for the throne."[20] He does not mention anything about Shams Chak.

Among the Sanskrit sources, the two different editions of *Jaina-Rajatarangini* give different versions. While the Bombay edition mentions the arrival of Langar Chak in the time of Suhadeva, the Calcutta edition is silent on this point.[21] Srikanth Koul, who has edited Jonaraja's text, and has strictly followed the Calcutta edition, condemns the versions given in other texts regarding the arrival of the Chaks. He calls it the fabrication of the later scribes.[22]

Jaina Rajatarangini (edited by Dutt) mentions, that many people came from different quarters and resort to the king (Suhadeva) for service.[23] But he does not refer to any particular name.

From the above statements, the following conclusion can be drawn. First, the Chaks were not indigenous and came to Kashmir from Dardistan, the inhabitants of this place were commonly known as Dards. Dr. Leitner points, as is the case with uncivilised race generally, the Dard have no name in common but call each Dard tribe that inhabit a different valley by different name.[24]

Secondly the Chaks entered the valley as Dards and the name Chak was given to them in Kashmir. The Kashmiri called them by the name of 'Tsak'.[25]

Thirdly, the Chaks were the descendants of the royal scion as pointed out by the Persian contemporary chroniclers, Haidar Malik and the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, that Langar Chak left for Kashmir on account of the conflict with his brother for the throne and the opposition of the Dard people. After Langar Chak's flee, his brother might have occupied the throne, the descendants of whom too migrated to Kashmir, possibly owing to differences with other Dard tribes. This is clearly mentioned in *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, that another group of the Chak tribe came from Gilgit (which also falls in the same tract of Dardistan) under Shams Chak, son of Hilmat Chak and settled at Kopwara in Kashmir.[26] Thus the Chak tribe which had split earlier into two factions in Dardistan, over the differences on the throne, bore enmity and jealousy against each other. But both were driven out to seek asylum on the hospitable land of Kashmir, by their countrymen. The author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, mentions about the hostility which the

two Chak factions have kept alive in their bosoms, in these words, "the two Chak tribes had never been on cordial relations with each other in past and neither did possess any near relation now owing to enmity, though being the descendants of one and the same tribe."[27]

Fourthly, being brave, intrepid, enormous in stature and warlike, the later historians have woven various myths about their origin. In view of their enormous physical size and ferocity they were assumed to be the descendants of a big giant, which became a fact for those historians who believed in legends, folk tales and myths, and took the Chaks to be the off-springs of an amorous demon blindly.[28]

Chaks Activity under Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin

The Chaks who settled in Kashmir in the time of Raja Suhadeva, did not attract the attention of Kashmiri kings till Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin came to power in 1420.[29] But it is clear from the account of Srivara, the court historian of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, that the Chaks by the time had earned a bad name because of their turbulent habits and depredations which had now become a main trait of their character.[30] Therefore by the time of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, they had turned ferocious and militant to such an extreme, that under their leader Pandu Chak they at once rebelled against the Sultan, when the later tried to check them from depredations and evil deeds which they were committing in and around the place of their habitants. No doubt they were mercilessly tortured and suppressed, when they rebelled, but only after a year of this event they attracted the notice of the government and gained importance.[31]

Causes of the Chaks Rebellion

Baharistan-i-Shahi is the only source from which a vivid account of this rising can be obtained. Relying on the facts mentioned in this chronicle, one can attribute the following causes for the Chaks revolt in the early period of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin's reign.

First, the Sultan wanted to establish peace for a fairly long time through efficient administration but the same was being disturbed by the persistently recalcitrant attitude and the unscrupulous practices of the Chak tribe.[32]

Secondly, the Chaks had captured a large portion of stateland and were behaving like proprietor and exploiting the peasantry at Tragam in Kamraj.[33]

Thirdly, the Sultan in order to infuse vigour and efficiency in the administration was exercising great vigilance over the whole parts of the kingdom. Tragam, inhabited by the Chaks, was the most sensitive area and was prone to frequent trouble owing to the Chaks depredations. The moment, Sultan tried to disrupt and suppress their marauding habits, the whole of the tribe exhibited the bellicose attitude to the Sultan.[34]

Fourthly, the inhabitants of Tragam and its surroundings were overawed by the Chak tribe and were afraid of combating with them openly. Obviously, they were eager to get rid from the oppressions and cruelties of the Chaks. They kept Sultan constantly informed of the Chaks activities and cooperated whole-heartedly when he attacked them....[35] Thus for reasons of punishing the Chaks, the Sultan created a new sub-divisional headquarter of Zainagiri with a complex of government buildings in Kamraj where from a constant watch could be kept on their activities. The Chaks, apprehensive of dreadful prospects of being subjected to forced labour (begar) in the event of the Sultan taking up his residence there displayed a spirit of revolt.[36]

Fifthly, it is also stated in *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, that "the Chaks became dreadful when they came to realize that in the event of the priggish Sultans away in their vicinity, they would be reduced to nadir. The whole tribe of the Chaks would be disowned of the illegally raised property, their freedom would be hampered and they would be brought under an effective administrative control. In case of any violation, they would be put on forced labour and have to remain in servitude for the future under the new Sultan.[37]

The immediate cause which precipitated the crisis was when the Sultan ordered for the construction of residential palace in Zainagiri vicinity and the plantation of fruit trees in its

surroundings. He further requisitioned the services of the local inhabitants for forced labour and the Chaks were conspicuous by not coming to join in the forced labour. Not only this, but when the Sultan was away at the capital and a few labourers were at work, the Chaks under their leader Pandu Chak in a daring raid put the newly constructed Sultan's palace and other buildings on fire and withdrew to the defiles of Tragam.[38] Pandu Chak took the precaution of sending his tribes female members across the mountains to the village Drav.[39] Receiving this shocking news, the Sultan at once despatched a military contingent to chastise Pandu Chak, but the latter succeeded in escaping and joining his family members at Drav. The royal force, however, burnt down all the strongholds of the Chaks in Tragam. They could do nothing beyond this for the Chaks were sheltered by the villagers of Drav. The palace of Zainagiri was, in the meantime, ordered by the Sultan to be reconstructed. The task of rebuilding was not yet complete when Pandu Chak, in sheer vengeance, made a second raid with his tribesmen and destroyed again the palace by putting it on fire.

Seeing no alternative, except to bring about their complete ruin, the Sultan followed a judicious policy in catching Pandu Chak. Instead of sending any force after him, he successfully induced the villagers of Drav to lend a hand in rounding the Chaks up for which he promised them rewards in form of royal gifts and robes.[40] Pandu Chak his whole family, kinsmen, relatives and supporters were captured and brought before the Sultan. The Sultan flogged Pandu Chak to death along with other leading Chaks who were fit to bear arms.[41] Only infants and ladies, states the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* were spared and the Sultan sent them to the village of Kwaran (modern Karan) in the district of Maraj.[42]

For the first time in Kashmir, the Chak tribe received a severe punishment for their marauding activities. State land was confiscated from them and their houses were destroyed at Tragam (in Kamraj). But the Sultan showed his magnanimity in re-habilitating the women and children who were spared from the punishments, at Kwarin in Maraj district with complete arrangements for their livelihood there.[43] Similar

account has been given by the Sultan's court historians Srivara, that, "the Sultan (Zain-ul-Abidin) knew Chakara of Kamraj and others to be wicked men and he therefore confiscated their land, (but) made provision for their livelihood and inhabited them in Madav (Maraj) country."[44] Srivara's Chakaras and others should be identified with Pandu Chak and his followers. When among these surviving Chaks, the infants and children came to maturity they were less unscrupulous and turbulent than their predecessors. And with the passage of time, they became a honoured class and, as the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* writes, 'the leading nobles and respectable families were attracted to this tribe and developed matrimonial relations with them. Husain Chak, the posthumous son of Pandu Chak became a leading noble. The future Tragami Chaks were his descendants.[45]

Political Confusion and Rise of Shams Chak

The Chaks who were settled by Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin in Tragam, were destined to exercise considerable influence on Kashmir politics not only as powerful nobles but also as rulers of a dynasty to which they gave their own name for a quarter of a century (1554-1586 A.D.).

After the death of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, the Chaks began their political career under their new leader Shams Chak son of Hilmat Chak, who had lately reached Kashmir from Gilgit.[46] At Kashmir, Shams Chak, first served a powerful noble Sayyid Muhammad but soon he joined service under another noble Malik Nauroz Zatu son of Ahmed Zatu, where he found better chance of rise than was under Sayyid Muhammad.[47]

With his skill in diplomacy and personal gallantry, he made his mark in Kashmir politics. Besides being possessed of a strong physique and military talents Shams Chak earned good reputation while fighting wars under Malik Nauroz Zatu.[48] He continued with his tactics during the troublous days of a fierce contest for supremacy amongst various clans till he finally went in the services of Malik Saifdar, Wazir of Sultan Fateh Shah (1488-1493 A.D.). To strengthen his position further, he married the daughter of Husain Chak, posthumous

son of Pandu Chak, who was still living at Kwarin village in Maraj district.[49] The author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* writes that "after his marriage with Husain's daughter the two families, which hitherto had been hostile to each other now became friendly and their blood relation was once again strengthened. Husain Chak, along with all his followers joined Shams Chak and declared him the leader of the tribe."[50]

Shams Chak as Wazir

Shams Chak played a leading role against Saifdar the Wazir of Fateh Shah, who was drawn into an ambuscade and was killed in the battle which was fought at Ramalana.[51] Impressed by his valour and prowess Sultan Fateh Shah appointed Shams Chak his Wazir.

Among the Chaks Shams Chak was the first to become the Wazir of a king. This was a great honour to the whole Chak tribe.

Shams Chak could not remain in the office for more than two and a half year owing to the bitter opposition of many other nobles like Ibrahim Magre, Hajipadre, Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqi who combined to fight against him in the field of Zalidgarh.[52] No doubt, Shams Chak and his cousin brother Kaji Chak came out to give them fight but they were defeated and fled to Kamraj and took refuge in Tragam. The victorious faction brought Muhammad Shah, Fateh Shah's brother to the throne for the second time in 1493 A.D. At the defeat of his Wazir, Sultan Fateh Shah demit the throne and escaped to Naushehra.[53]

Immediately after assumption of sovereign authority, Sultan Muhammad Shah tried to capture Shams Chak and followed him in Kamraj where he destroyed the Chaks strongholds, when he could not catch him there.[54] In retaliation to it, Shams Chak, who had sought his safety in flight to Sopore, made a cavalry attack at night over the Sultan. His best efforts to come out successful in the enterprise ended in his own defeat and he fled to Naushehra to join Sultan Fateh Shah, the deposed king.[55]

Shams Chak Wazir for Second Time

Sultan Fateh Shah regained the throne of Kashmir in 1505 A.D. owing to the continuous efforts of his noble Shams Chak. For his loyalty he was again appointed Wazir by the king.[56] Out of sheer revenge, Shams Chak after regaining his seat and power, mercilessly tortured his enemies. He ruthlessly punished the three sons of Sultan Muhammad Shah, who had taken shelter in the house of Bahram Dar in Sopore.[57] The eldest son Mir Sayyid Murtaza was rolled down from a hillock while he was fleeing for safety to Ladakh, Ibrahim, the second remained captive with the Raja of Ladakh and Yaqub, the third being minor was allowed to live peacefully at Srinagar.[58]

This kind of attitude was highly resented by Malik Musa Raina, formerly Wazir of Sultan Muhammad Shah. He tactfully entered into a conspiracy with Fateh Shah and Ibrahim Magre. Thus Shams Chak was captured by Bahram Dar and Duni Malik, under the directions of Fateh Shah and Malik Musa Raina and finally killed in the prison.[59] It is stated in the Persian chronicles that "Shams Chak died heroically and killed about sixty assassins with his pocket knife, before he was stuck down alongwith his son by a volley of an arrow. His chains from his feet were removed after he fell dead."[60] Malik Musa Raina became the Wazir of Sultan Fateh Shah after Shams Chak's death who had remained occupying this post only for four months.[61]

The death of Shams Chak was so much terrifying for the other Chak leaders that they crumbled for some period. They were reduced to extreme penury and their important leaders like Kaji Chak, Sarang Chak and Mir Chak were forced to join the service under Malik Musa Raina and his son Ali Raina. Under these circumstances majority of the Chaks were converted to Nurbakshiya faith at the hands of Shams-ud-Din Iraqi,[62] an influential religious divine, preaching the new faith at this time in Kashmir.[63]

An important reason for the Chaks conversion to Nurbakshiya faith besides economic pressure was the political pressure from the Sultan's Wazir Musa Raina, who had also embraced this faith at the hands of Shams-ud-Din Iraqi.[64]

Encouraged by Shams-ud-Din Iraqi, whose influence over Malik Musa Raina was indeed great the Chaks once again rallied round Kaji Chak and started their political campaign.[65]

It is noteworthy that there were different political groups viz., the Chaks, the Magres, the Lons, the Dars and Rainas, contesting for the throne at that time. But foremost among them were the first two groups. But while the Chaks were aliens and Nurbakshiya by faith, the Magres were indigenous and of pure Sunni stock. It were these two classes who dominated the historical stage of Kashmir and locked in conflict for the remaining period till the establishment of the Chak hegemony in 1554 A.D.

Coming to details, after Shams Chak's death Malik Musa Raina who had occupied the chair of Wizarat could not hold it for long because the group of Magres did not tolerate a staunch man of Nurbakshiya sect as the Wazir. Thus, owing to religious antagonism, and greed for power, Ibrahim Magre, the Magre group leader intrigued against Malik Musa Raina in connivance with Sultan Fateh Shah.[66] Various other nobles politically rival to Musa Raina also joined Ibrahim Magre. Hearing of this, Musa Raina escaped for his safety towards Punjab but in his hurried flight via Chirhara his horse took fright in the way and he fell dead on the ground.[67]

Rise of Kaji Chak

After Malik Musa Raina, the chair of Wizarat was filled by many men in succession under Sultan Fateh Shah, who was no more than a puppet in the hands of his nobles. It was under Malik Usman's Wizarat, that Kaji Chak, leader of the Chak group, in combination with Sultan Fateh Shah, and many other nobles like Jahangir Padre, Qadar Malik intrigued to kill the Wazir Malik Usman and capture the chair. They first killed his attendant at Diwan-i-Khana in the capital and seized Malik Usman. Thereupon Kaji Chak was set up as Wazir.[68] But only a month had elapsed when Ibrahim Magre returned from the Punjab with an army and defeated and imprisoned Kaji Chak and Jahangir Padre. Losing the support of his Wazir and nobles Sultan Fateh Shah left for Punjab, but

Ibrahim Magre soon recalled him from Hirapur where he had reached by this time and proclaimed him the Sultan while he himself became his Wazir. He also set free both Kaji Chak and Jahangir Padre.[69] Subsequent to these events, Kaji Chak started a dubious role of mediators or playing one noble against other. By resorting to this policy of sowing dissensions in the ranks of the nobles, Kaji Chak strengthened his own position.

Peace, however, lasted only for five months after which Muhammad Shah snatched the throne from Fateh Shah in 1514 A.D. for the third time, with the help of many Kashmiri disaffected nobles. While Sultan Fateh Shah left for the Punjab, Kaji Chak, instead of favouring the new Sultan, prepare to give him a battle and recalled Fateh Shah. In the meantime Fateh Shah sent from the Punjab his son Habib Khan[70] with Jahangir Padre to see the condition of Kashmir. Joined by Kaji Chak at Srinagar, they won over many nobles to their side. Seeing the defections among the nobles, Sultan Muhammad Shah and Ibrahim Magre left for Punjab without offering any resistance.[71] Fateh Shah was again Sultan for the third time after about nine months of exile.[72]

Recalling his old difficulties Sultan Fateh Shah (1515-17), resolved to divest himself of all regal authority. Moreover his Wazir Jahangir Padre and two other nobles Kaji Chak and Shankar Raina had assigned him only the revenue of the Khalisa land and divided the rest of the country among themselves.[73]

After a year of this development Sultan Muhammad Shah and Ibrahim Magre entered Kashmir in a bid to secure the throne but were defeated and Ibrahim Magre with his two sons was killed by Kaji Chak in that encounter.[74] Sultan Muhammad Shah again fled to the Punjab to solicite the aid from Sultan Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517) who agreed to extend the military assistance. Thus with a force of about three thousand Lodi soldiers, Sultan Muhammad Shah set out towards Kashmir.[75] Hearing about his arrival, the mischievous nobles wrote letters of loyalty which Sultan Muhammad Shah received at Danaor.[76] Kaji Chak and Shankar Raina and his brother Nusrat Raina

seeing the turn of table in favour of the invader, deserted Sultan Fateh Shah while leading his force before the fort of Harshin[77] and joined throne without much trouble in 1517-18 while Sultan Fateh Shah fled to Punjab where he died in August 1517.[78]

Kaji Chak Wazir under Sultan Muhammad Shah

Sultan Muhammad Shah appointed Kaji Chak his Wazir and threw Malik Shankar Raina in prison for his treachery while himself went to see off the Lodi troops as far as Naushehra.[79]

Kashmir it seems had now become a fertile soil for internal dissensions, mutual rivalry and jealousy leading to bloody wars. It witnessed an incessant struggle amongst those nobles on whose shoulders rested the real administrative responsibility of the state. Factions among nobles multiplied, intensified by vested interests and Kaji Chak became the target of attack by nobles including Nusrat Raina, Lohar Magre and Jahangir Padre.

While Sultan Muhammad Shah was away at Naushehra to bid Lodi troops farewell and blocked there for some time by snow, the valley in his absence plunged into civil war, motivated by mutual jealousy, accentuated by religious Shia-Sunni[80] differences and finally disfigured by political just.[81] Lohar Magre and Malik Nusrat Raina, who was also jealous of his brother's imprisonment, were not slow to strike against Kaji Chak in the fort of Nagam. Kaji Chak with Jahangir Padre retaliated by a swift military confrontation inflicting a terrible defeat on them.[82] In this battle, Nusrat Raina lost his life and Lohar Magre fled to jungle. Kaji Chak himself received severe wounds and even lost one of his fingers.[83] This victory made Kaji Chak supreme authority in the kingdom almost like an uncrowned king. He took the whole administration in his hands and administered justice personally.[84] As one with shi-ite leanings, he started propagating doctrine of the faith with zeal and enthusiasm.[85] His religious attitude caused bitterness among his rivals. He also antagonised his old ally Jahangir Padre whom he forced to flee from Kashmir and had his property looted by his son Masud Chak. Jahangir

Padre left Srinagar and joined Qadai Malik in Dardistan.[86]

Tired of Kaji Chak's religious attitude and jealous of his power, a group of nobles led by Abdal Magre, Lohar Magre and Idi Raina brought back Sultan Fateh Shah's son Sikandar Khan from the Punjab in 1521 A.D. They were joined by Jahangir Padre and Qadai Malik on their way to Srinagar. In a tripartite league that they formed, they marched against Kaji Chak and seized the fort of Nagam. Kaji Chak despatched his son Masud Chak and other members of his tribe, including Daulat Chak, to intercept the invaders.[87] A fierce battle ensured resulting in the defeat of the invaders. Sikandar Khan made overtures for peace to Kaji Chak and descended to the Punjab.[88] The success proved very costly to Kaji Chak, because except the death of his many veteran leaders, his own son, Masud Chak was also killed while fighting.[89] It is mentioned in the *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, that in this devastating battle, no one knew about each other and the news of Masud Chak's death was received at Shahab-ud-Din Pur.[90] After this successful enterprise Kaji Chak bestowed the jagir of his son Masud Chak upon his nephew Daulat Chak in recognition of his gallantry which he displayed against Qadai Malik and Jahangir Padre.[91]

Kaji Chak had not yet overcome the grief caused by the loss of his son, when he was challenged by the rival group of the Magre. But Kaji Chak diplomatically entered into matrimonial alliances with them and averted the clash.[92] Tired of his dominating Wazir, Sultan Muhammad Shah conspired with his nobles Abdal Magre, Lohar Magre and Regi Chak, a Sunni noble, to oust Kaji Chak. Kaji Chak sensed the trouble and without any opposition fled to Naushehra.[93]

Mughal Interest in Kashmir

At the time when Kashmir was in the grip of internal dissensions the Mughals under Kuchak Bag and Shaikh Ali Bag were despatched in 1527 by Emperor Babur to help Sultan Fateh Shah's son Sikandar Khan in securing the throne at the latter's request.[94] Kaji Chak no doubt, retired from the state affairs, was fired with patriotism and quickly despatched his

sons Ghazi Chak and Husain Chak with a contingent of the men of his tribe, to intercept the invaders. The Chaks inflicted a crushing defeat on the Mughals. Ali Bag had a narrow escape when he was attacked by Husain Chak in his camp. Sikandar Khan was taken as prisoner. Thus even in exile, Kaji Chak did not forsake Sultan Muhammad Shah. This victory revived the relations between the Sultan and his old Wazir Kaji Chak. For his great service, Sultan Muhammad Shah once again called him to the post of Wizarat.[95] Kaji Chak after few months came to the capital and handed over Sikandar Khan to Muhammad Shah who gouged out his eyes.[96] Disgusted with this kind of cruel treatment, Kaji Chak through a military action of nobles and the tribal men which he organised, dethroned Sultan Muhammad Shah and locked him up in the village of Ladu.[97] He placed his son, Ibrahim Khan on the throne and himself taking post of Wizarat wielded all powers of the government.[98]

Kaji Chak Wazir under Sultan Ibrahim Khan (1528-29 A.D.)

The success of Kaji Chak dismayed his opponents and consequently Abdal Magre and Regi Chak went to Emperor Babur and induced him to annex Kashmir. Emperor Babur despatched a force under the command of Shaikh Ali Bag and Muhammad Khan. With the assistance of the Mughal force Abdal Magre and Regi Chak set out to invade Kashmir in 1528.[99] As a political expediency, Sultan Fateh Shah's son Nazuk Shah was declared the Sultan of Kashmir. Kaji Chak put up a tough resistance against the invaders in the pargana of Bankil[100] and choped off the heads of many Turks but was himself defeated. Many of the Chak nobles including Tazi Chak, Seh Chak, lost their lives. Kaji Chak escaped to the Gakkar territory while Ibrahim Khan, Ghazi Chak and Daulat Chak were made prisoners and send under a guard to the city. On their way, Daulat Chak alone could manage to escape by jumping out of the boat at nightfall. Nothing is known about Ibrahim Khan but Ghazi Chak remained in their possession.[101]

Declaring Nazuk Shah the ruler, the Magres divided the kingdom among themselves and a part of which was given to

Regi Chak.[102] Since Nazuk Shah was a minor, therefore, only after a year he was dethroned and Sultan Muhammad Shah who was in the prison of Ladu, was enthroned in the summer of 1530.[103]

Invasion of Kamran Mirza in 1531 A.D.

A succession of incompetent rulers and the soaring ambition of their nobles constantly engaged in the warfare and calling the outsiders for their help, left the country a prey to foreign invasions. Emperor Babur twice diverted his cohorts against Kashmir with a fair measure of success and thus paved the way for his successors to claim complete suzerainty over it later. Accordingly, Kamran Mirza, son of Emperor Babur, accompanied by Mohram Bag and Shaikh Ali Bag invaded Kashmir in 1531 A.D. Owing to the absence of strong government in Kashmir, his army had no difficulty in entering the valley via Naushehra and creating havoc among the inhabitants.[104] It is noteworthy, that while the Kashmiri nobles at this time were displaying a tendency to cut each others throat, they did not exhibit any want of patriotic feelings. And despite their personal feuds, they were able to rally round a common leader Kaji Chak, to defend Kashmir.[105] Consequently both the Chaks and the Magres encountered the Mughals at Athwajan[106] and compelled them to sue for peace. The peace treaty was negotiated between Muharam Bag and Kaji Chak and consequently the Mughal forces returned with presents for Kamran Mirza.[107]

After the withdrawal of the Mughals, the valley was redivided into five parts excluding the Khalisa land which remained with Muhammad Shah and the jagir of Sayyid Ibrahim. Abdal Magre continued as Wazir, and Kaji Chak received Zainpur in jagir. Malik Ali Chadura, Regi Chak and Lohar Magre also received their due share.[108]

Trouble from Kashghar

Kashmir had hardly recovered from the effects of the Mughal invasion, when it was subject to yet another attack only

after a year from the north-east by the Kashghari forces. The Kashghari forces under Mirza Haider (Emperor Humayun's foster brother) and Sikandar Khan, son of Sayeed Khan (ruler of Kashghar) entered Kashmir on first March 1533 A.D. The Kashmiris, both the Chaks and the Magres offered some resistance but were defeated by the invaders. Ultimately after a series of attacks and counter-attacks, the peace was concluded and Kashghar's returned via Lar, after exchanging gifts. Kaji Chak again retired to his jagir and Abdal Magre went to the Pargana Bankil.[109]

The departure of the Kashgharis was followed by another hoodoo upon the Kashmiris. Famine stalked the land and the people suffered starvation from the natural calamity.[110] No sooner did they get rid of this calamity than Sultan Muhammad Shah died in the middle of 1537 A.D. after ruling intermittently for about fifty-one years.[111] He was succeeded by his second son Shams-ud-Din, but he lacked administrative ability and was soon replaced by his brother, Ismail Shah, the son-in-law of Kaji Chak.[112] Peace did not reigned in the country for long and after these developments, civil war flared up again. Disorder was intensified, when some Magre nobles won over many of the Chak nobles and attempted to grab the throne, Kaji Chak skillfully attempted to win these disaffected nobles who were changing their colour like chameleon. When he found that the treacherous nobles again joined Abdal Magre and came in an open clash at Zalidgarh, Kaji Chak, without any confrontation with the rebels, took his way to the Punjab.[113]

From outside Kaji Chak watched the politics of Kashmir and was eagerly waiting for some opportune time to strike. The time actually came when in the spring of 1538 A.D., Regi Chak, the religious as well as political rival of Kaji Chak left Kashmir to receive in marriage, the daughter of Jammu Raja.[114] During his absence Kaji Chak marched on Kashmir with a small force and stationed himself at Gasu.[115] From there he made an attack on Magres. While the siege was going on, Regi Chak also returned from Jammu and joined the Magres. Despite his efforts to suppress Kaji Chak, he suffered a defeat from Kaji Chak. The Magres fled to the Punjab, while Regi Chak went in to hiding.[116]

Kaji Chak Wazir under Sultan Ismail Shah

After defeating the Magres, Kaji Chak became the Wazir of Sultan Ismail Shah in 1538 A.D. but he was in fact the de facto ruler. This time Kaji Chak remained in power for the three years. So far as the distracted state of Kashmir admitted, he turned his attention to over all developments in general and administration of justice in particular. At the same time, in order to free himself from the fresh disturbance, he had a number of his rivals thrown into prison and several among them killed.[117]

The shi-ite leanings of the Chaks, it seems, stood as a disadvantage in their efforts towards political considerations. It was often natural for their rivals, who were Sunni, to exploit the religious factor to create opposition against them. Thus in the name of religion, both Chaks and Magres never hesitated to join political power. This state of perpetual conflicts had turned Kashmir into a disturbed area. During the later period of his reign, Kaji Chak, made a conscious effort to impose the Shia doctrine on both the Sunni-Muslims and Brahmins and had a book *Fiqah-i-Ahwal*,[118] written by Shams-ud-Din Iraqi, circulated for the benefit of the newly conversed Kashmiris.[119] After ruling for one and a half year Sultan Ismail Shah[120] died and was succeeded by his son Ibrahim Shah. Kaji Chak continued to occupy the post of Wizarat.[121]

Mirza Haidar and Kashmir

Regi Chak who was the open rival of Kaji Chak both on political and on religious grounds turned against the latter when he started imposing Shi-ite faith upon the people. Consequently, he left the city and joined the Magres who were stationed outside Kashmir. Thus jointly the Magres and Regi Chak solicited the help of Mirza Haidar through the mediation of Khwaja Haji, who was acting as their agent with the Mughals.[122] They wrote many letters to Mirza Haidar who at this time had joined the service under Emperor Humayun, and assured him of their loyalty and faithfulness. It is noteworthy that the Mughals were in a critical position at this juncture. Emperor Humayun

was being hotly pursued by Sher Shah Suri after inflicting a severe defeat on him. Thus, Emperor Humayun, his brother Kamran Mirza, and Mirza Haidar a foster-brother and a faithful adherent of Humayun, were discussing at Lahore, to decide upon the future course of action. It was at this time that Mirza Haidar was being called upon by the disaffected Kashmiris to march on Kashmir. Mirza Haidar, who was well acquainted with the politics of Kashmir, pressed upon Humayun and Kamran to accept the proposal of an attack on Kashmir. But Kamran Mirza had to move to Delhi owing to Hindals rebellion there, and Mirza Haidar by great exertion contrived to raise an army which was despatched to Kashmir from Agra under Baba Chuchak,[123] one of Kamran's superior officers. Baba Chuchak still dilly-dallied in making immediate arrangements, for he wanted to spare his troops at this juncture, and for such an undertaking appeared strange to him. On the other hand, a plausible explanation for Mirza Haidar's keen interest in Kashmir affairs may be that he wished to secure Kashmir for the Mughals in anticipation of the approaching collapse of the Mughal Empire in Hindustan. However, Baba Chuchak abandoned the idea of proceeding to Kashmir when the news of the disaster of causa ferry came like a blue from the bolt.[124]

The Kashmiri nobles remained continuously at Naushehra awaiting Mirza Haidar's reply. Mirza Haidar convinced Emperor Humayun at Lahore of the advantage of the conquest of Kashmir, and taking his consent, marched on Kashmir. He was joined by Regi Chak and Abdal Magre at Naushehra.[125] From Naushehra, on 22nd November, 1540 Mirza Haidar marched on Kashmir through the unguarded passes, evading the troops drawn up to oppose him by Kaji Chak. Thus Mirza Haidar made his way secretly to Srinagar by following unfrequented routes and captured the capital of Kashmir. Kaji Chak's resistance ended in a fiasco. He left for Hindustan to seek help from Sher Shah Suri, the ruler of Delhi at that time.[126]

Mirza Haidar and the Chaks

With the arrival of Mirza Haidar in Kashmir a new era

dawned. Taking advantage of the domestic squabbles, he in the beginning earnestly favoured the Kashmiris but later on multiplying the dissensions, already existing on the soil of Kashmir, he tactfully wielded the royal sceptre and did away with the nominal suzerainty. For the first time, thus, coins were struck openly in the name of the Mughal Emperor, Humayun, which strengthened the Mughal claim over Kashmir in future.

As soon as Mirza Haidar achieved success over Kashmir, he divided it into three parts : one part he reserved for himself, the second was received by Regi Chak, and the third was given to Abdal Magre, who simultaneously was elevated to the position of Wazarat.[127] At the same time, the traditional set up was continued and Nazuk Shah[128] was recognized the nominal king of Kashmir. Early in the spring on the day of Nauroz, Abdal Magre, who planned the whole scheme of inviting Mirza Haidar died of paralysis[129] and his jagir alone with the post were bestowed upon his son, Husain Magre.[130]

Kaji Chak who had gone to Delhi was honourably welcomed by Sher Shah Suri who was impressed by the soars of wounds which Kaji Chak had received in various battlefields. For his bravery Sher Shah Suri conferred upon him the title of Khan-i-Khanan and prayed for his good future.[131] He was also allowed to take forces to his satisfaction. Thus, with the Afghan auxiliaries under the veterans, Husain Sherwani and Adil Khan, Kaji Chak marched on Kashmir via Hirapur.[132] Mirza Haidar, receiving this news, left his family in the fort of Andarkaul[133] and with Regi Chak advanced to meet the invader.[134] For complete three months the two parties engaged themselves in skirmishes, facing jointly natural troubles in the form of floods and heavy rains.[135] But after a desperate battle, Mirza Haidar successfully outwitted the Afghan force.[136] Kaji Chak found safety in flight and Sayyid Ibrahim Khan and Daulat Chak left Kashmir via Hirapur.[137] After this victory, Regi Chak again settled in his jagir at Kamraj.[138] His position soared up, but it was only a tentative rise in his career. Mirza Haidar was a far-sighted statesman. He had come to Kashmir with full determination to establish himself on its soil. He was already free from one of his strong rival i.e. Abdal Magre. He also

broke the back of Kaji Chak. He had now only to tackle Regi Chak. He tactfully infuriate him on a religious issue at Zalidgarh[139] and later cajoled him by posing his well wisher. Side by side, he won the favour of Malik Abdi Raina and Husain Magre and thus easily isolated Regi Chak from their friendship. Seeing all round desertion and Mirza's odium, Regi Chak eluded Mirza Haidar and joined his old sworn enemy Kaji Chak, who at this time was in Rajauri in 1543 A.D.[140]

Death of Kaji Chak and Regi Chak

A strange combination of the two religious rivals, who by this time were at dagger's drawn and had created so much confusion in Kashmir, that Kashmir had turned a pawn on the chess of the Mughal politics. Forgetting their old enmity, the two fugitive Chak nobles joined together against Mirza Haidar. In the spring of the next year both the Chak leaders entered Kashmir and encamped in the defiles of Gauri Marg[141] (Gulmarg) where they were also joined by Bairam Chak, son of Regi Chak.[142] Since both of them were advanced in age and had become tired owing to continuous warfare, they were soon dislodged and debouched by Mirza Haidar. All the three fled from Kashmir. At Thana on a Friday in September 1544 A.D. Kaji Chak died of ague and fever.[143] Regi Chak once again made a final attempt but was defeated and killed in 1546, along with his son Bairam Chak, by Mirza Haidar's forces. His head was separated from his body and presented to Mirza Haidar.[144]

Mirza's Religious Intolerance

With the death of Kaji Chak, the Chaks once again suffered a severe setback. At the same time they had to face the atrocities of Mirza Haidar. His eleven year rule (1540-1551 A.D.) dawned with many hoodoos on them. As a political expediency, Mirza Haidar had at first been liberal to the Shias, who were mostly Chaks, but with the passage of time he changed his attitude towards the Shia community and decided to exter-

minate them from the soil of Kashmir. He treated them ruthlessly and tortured them. In showing forth his religious zeal he went to such an extent that he did not spare the tomb of Shams-ud-Din Iraqi, their religious preceptor which was demolished and desecrated by his order. His surviving son Danial was caught and his head choped off along with those of his attendants. Every one of the Shi-ite faith was put to death.[145] And a time came when the Mirza himself boldly declared, "Thanks God at present time, no one in Kashmir dares openly to profess this faith but all deny it and give themselves out as good Sunnis."[146] The Chak community became a target of the Mirza's bigoted policy and suffered considerably both politically and religiously. Daulat Chak and Ghazi Chak who were at this time the leading personalities among the Chaks turned deadly against the Mirza.

Downfall of Mirza Haidar

In 1551 A.D. Mirza Haidar took the fort of Danial as a precautionary measure against the growing discontentment among the Chaks.[147] Adam Khan Gakkar endeavoured a reconciliation between Daulat Chak and Mirza Haidar. Consequently Daulat Chak was invited in the tent for a compromise. But Daulat Chak was offended at the cold reception he met with there. He left the camp and took away the elephant which he had brought to present to Mirza Haidar. The courtiers wished to pursue him but were stopped by Mirza Haidar. Now the Chaks turned scornfully against Mirza Haidar and decided to bring about his ruin. Consequently, Daulat Chak and Ghazi Chak rallied the Chaks together and started looking for an opportune time.[148]

At this juncture Azam Humayun, better known as Haibat Khan Niazi, who was being holly pursued by Islam Shah, ruler of Delhi, took refuge in the defiles of Kashmir,[149] and thence escaped to Rajauri, where the fugitive Chak leaders offered him their leadership and pressed him to assist them in their campaign against Mirza Haidar. But as he perceived that the king was coming in the rear and Mirza Haidar had already blocked the road to win Islam Shah's favour, he refused to

assist them in their campaign. The other reason for his refusal was that his Afghan attendants finding themselves lying between the devil and the deep sea disobliged to go to Srinagar and incur the displeasure of Mirza Haidar. Thus, instead of coming to the rescue of the fugitive Chaks, he decided to win the goodwill of Mirza Haidar. Therefore, he despatched a Brahmin agent to Mirza Haidar and promised him his loyalty and friendship.[150] Disgusted at his treacherous attitude, the Chaks deserted him. Some of them went over to Islam Shah, and others submitted before Mirza Haidar.[151] Although a man of magnanimous disposition, Mirza Haidar was a strong champion of orthodoxy. As stated earlier, Mirza began with a liberal policy for political reasons, but as he found his position strengthened, he promptly changed his religious attitude alienating all the Kashmiris. Moreover, by striking coins in the name of Emperor Humayun first and later in that of Islam Shah, Mirza placed himself on the edge of a Valcano which soon irrupted. The leading political groups in Kashmir, the Chaks and the Magres, forgetting their past rivalry, joined hands together against their common foe Mirza Haidar under the common leadership of Husain Magre. Meanwhile, troubles broke out in the outer hills in 1551 A.D. Mirza sent Qara Bahadur at the head of an army, comprising both the Kashmiris and the Mughals. The Kashmir troops planned to make an appropriate use of the opportunity of punishing the Mughals. When they reached near the fort of Mankot,[152] the Kashmiris deserted the Mughal soldiers and fell upon them, looted them, and killed many of them, while at the same time they imprisoned Qara Bahadur. After this success, Idi Raina who played a vital role in this enterprise, joined hands with Daulat Chak and Ghazi Chak and marched on Kashmir via Hirapura to Srinagar.[153]

The event was followed by a general uprising throughout Kashmir and everywhere the Mughals met the same fate. As this distressing news poured in from all sides, Mirza Haidar in concert with his followers came out to quell the rebellion led by the Kashmiri veteran leaders Idi Raina, Daulat Chak, and Ghazi Chak, at Manar near Khampur.[154] Mirza Haidar planned a night attack on the fort where the rebel had stationed but lost

his life when an arrow struck him down while he was climbing the wall of the fort (1551 A.D.).[155] Next morning, the dead body of Mirza was discovered and the Chaks tried to mishandle it, but it was protected and safely carried away by Husain Magre and Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqi and was buried beside the grave of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin after five days.[156]

Rise of Daulat Chak

With the exist of Mirza Haidar, power devolved upon the shoulders of Idi Raina, who had long been desirous of capturing it. Accordingly, Nazuk Shah was given the nominal kingship by the nobles and Kashmir, as usual, was divided among the chief nobles. Daulat Chak got the pargana of Deosar, Ghazi Chak the pargana of Wahi, Yusuf Chak and Bahram Chak obtained the parganas in the district Kamraj.[157]

It had become a common practice of the nobles to divide the valley among themselves, but they never stuck peacefully for long to their jagirs. Rather they would immediately start a contest for supremacy for one reason or other. Similarly, this time too, the nobles were discontented at the unequal division of territories. Besides, the religious factor further intensified the discontent and complicated the internal political situation. Kashmir once again drifted to become an arena of fierce strife.[158] The tribal groups, the Chaks, the Magres and the Rainas started their political manipulations. The Chaks, in order to strengthen and consolidate their position joined under Daulat Chak. They made a spirited efforts to sink their differences through matrimonial alliances within their tribe and those of the Magres.[159] The Sultan's Wazir, Idi Raina who was watching these developments with consternation decided to overthrow the Chak faction in 1552 A.D. But he was beguiled by his own followers who rallied to the support of Daulat Chak and Ghazi Chak.[160] Seeing no way of success he fled away from Srinagar but died an accidental death while on his way to Rawalpur.[161] The Chaks got the upper hand in the kingdom and deposed Nazuk Shah and placed their own nominee Ibrahim Shah on the throne of Kashmir in 1552 A.D. Daulat Chak became his Wazir.[162]

Daulat Chak as Wazir

The rise of Daulat Chak marks the beginning of the Chaks ascendancy in Kashmir. Like Kaji Chak, he too exercised all the administrative powers himself and the Sultan was reduced to the position of a mere figure head on the throne.

To begin with Daulat Chak treated the men of his rival faction with kindness. Het set free Sayyid Ibrahim and Hussain Magre, who were imprisoned for joining their hands with Idi Raina.[163]

Unlikely Kaji Chak, Daulat Chak was singularly free from religious prejudices. The author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* writing about his views, states that 'Daulat Chak lifted ban on all religious sects and issued an order that all are free to profess any religion and no one would molest another in matter of religion."[164] After this general proclamation of religious toleration as a state policy, Daulat Chak turned his attention to the service of Shi-ism. The first work which he did in this connection was, that he brought the bier of Shaikh Daniyal, son of Shams-ud-Din Iraqi, to the city of Srinagar and constructed a beautiful mausoleum over it. He also built an elegant hospice for Shams-ud-Din Iraqi and endowed it with land for the maintenance of his descendants and servants working in it.[165] He also made Baba Hasan in charge of the trust for the maintenance of mausoleum of his father, whose dead body had been lately brought to Srinagar city. Further, he revived the religious orders (Silsilahs) of Sayyid Ali Hamadani and Shams-ud-Din Iraqi and subsequently ordered the name of twelve Imams[166] to be included in the Friday sermons.[167] He imposed the poll tax on the Brahmins and considered it to be an essential religious duty for a Muslim ruler,[168] on the whole, he did a lot of service to Shi-ite faith to which he belonged, without intentionally hurting the sentiments of other religious groups.

Invasion of Ladakh

An important event during the Wizarat of Daulat Chak was an expedition sent against the Ladakhis under Ibrahim Chak and Haidar Chak, son of Ghazi Chak. The reason was not the imperial expansion of the kingdom; it was in the nature of a punitive expedition. It also happened that some Ladakhis had driven away stealthily the flocks of sheep from the two parganas of Khawa and Barah, which were in the jagir of Habib Chak. Consequently, a military contingent fought in garrisons killing their commander and occupying a number of their forts. The Ladakhis were forced to sue for peace and submitted. Accordingly, they sent three thousand horses, five hundred pieces of pattu (heavy winter cloth made of sheeps wool), one hundred sheep and thirty yaks in token of peace. The Kashmiris also took away some Kashghari horses which they had captured during the siege.[169]

Fall of Daulat Chak

In the year 1554 A.D. hostility began between Daulat Chak and Ghazi Chak and several trifling skirmishes took place between the two opposite groups for two months till peace was concluded at the intervention of a husbandman.[170] It was in the nature of a truce only for a struggle for power had begun and Ghazi Chak had constant eye on the Wizarat.[171] Unfortunately, the year 1554 marked the darkest period in the career of Daulat Chak, when a natural calamity fell upon the people and undermined his influence. The great earthquake which occurred in this year took a heavy tool of human life and property with the attendant suffering for the survivors.[172]

It was at this juncture, Daulat Chak committed a blunder which was enough to bring his downfall. He espoused Ghazi Chak's mother, widow of Kaji Chak. The action was greatly resented by Ghazi Chak and his brother Husain Chak and both of them resolved to bring about his ruin.[173] Ghazi Chak had his opportunity when in October 1554 A.D. Daulat Chak had gone in a boat for shooting on Dal Lake. Ghazi Chak with a small contingent made a sudden attack on his troops at Hussainabad and killed many of them, while some had a narrow escape.[174] Hearing this, Daulat Chak tried to escape but was pursued by Ghazi Chak, captured and thrown into

prison. After two days, his eyes were gouged out by drawing the needle across them.[175]

Many stories of bravery and valour are associated with Daulat Chak. Though, powerful, strong and descendant of a martial tribe, yet many events of his bravery have been highly exaggerated by the Persian chroniclers.[176] It is true that besides a good soldier and a fine shot, Daulat Chak was fairly tolerant and free from religious prejudice but he lacked the qualities of a far-sighted statesman. As an administrator, Daulat Chak does not impress, rather he even failed to console people when they were overtaken by natural calamity. However, his greatest achievement was that he had the position of the Chak recognised as a potential factor in Kashmir politics though the ground for which was already prepared by Kaji Chak earlier.

End of Shahmiri Dynasty

With the fall of Daulat Chak, Ghazi Chak came to occupy the chair of Wizarat. At this time, Ismail Shah was in possession of the nominal royal authority as the Sultan. But he soon died, and Ghazi Chak raised his own nephew Habib on the throne in 1554 A.D. (962 A.H.).[177] Ghazi Chak had already carved out a significant position among the nobles. Under Sultan Habib,[178] he entirely undermined the influence of other leading tribes, viz. the Magres and the Rainas. And a time came when he realized that there would be no murmur, if he grabbed the royal power. So he dramatize the transfer of royal authority in an open darbar.

In 1554 A.D.[179] his brother Ali Chak, boldly took off the crown from the head of Sultan Habib and placed it on the head of Ghazi Chak with the announcement that Habib Shah was incompetent and ill-mannered. The courtiers hailed Ghazi Chak as their king. Surprisingly enough, no one came forward to grumble over the passing of the throne and the crown from one dynasty to another. In fact, all welcomed this peaceful palace revolution.

Of the Shahmiris rule in Kashmir, there was, with a few exceptions the usual succession of weak rulers and constant struggle between the royal factions and the territorial magnates.

Its rulers had turned effete, lacking essential qualities of initiative and capacity for administration. It was only out of cupidity or in difference of the Chaks that they were allowed to stick to the king's chair and play the role of supernumerary kings under the Chaks domination. Otherwise, as a matter of fact, they should have since long been dispelled to make room for kings of vigour and virility. To sum up the account of the rise of the Chaks in Kashmir, it is sufficient to say that they staggered, struggled, and passed through many vicissitudes till they came to occupy the throne and founded their dynasty.

REFERENCES

1. Shahmir was a Khasa by birth and descended from the chiefs of Panchagahvara. The names of his father and grandfather are mentioned as Quru Shah and Tahir Ali respectively (Dr. Zutshi, p. 7). Shahmir came to Kashmir in 1313 along with his tribe in search of fortune and employment. King Suhadeva (1301-1320 A.D.), who was the then ruler admitted him to the royal service (*B.S.*, f.10a, H.M., f. 77b). Shahmir played a considerably important role, when Kashmir was invaded by a Mongol invader Dulcha, who ravaged Kashmir and left the Kashmiri's helpless. Suhadeva also fled into hiding. Shahmir, no doubt, had an eye on the throne, but he only consoled the people at that time and let Rinchana, a Ladakhi to usurp the throne. Rinchana, eventually accepted Islam through intimacy and association with Shahmir whom he appointed his Prime Minister (Dr. Zutshi, p. 8). Rinchana (1320-23 A.D.) was succeeded by Udayanadeva, a coward king. During the fifteen years of his reign (1323-1339 A.D.), Kota Devi, whom he married, was the virtual ruler of the kingdom. The king died in February 1339 A.D. and Kota Rani apprehensive of Shahmir's growing power, declared herself the sovereign after shifting to the fort of Andarkot. But Shahmir contrived the murder of her Prime Minister through an act of treachery, and imprisoned Kota Rani along with her sons Haidar and Jatta. Kota Rani, the last symbol of Hindu rule died in 1339 A.D. and Shahmir ascended throne (Mohibbul Hasan, pp. 43-44).
2. See Mohibbul Hasan (*Kashmir under the Sultans*), p. 46 and Dr. Parmu (*History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*), pp. 86-88.
3. The word "Chak" has been pronounced and written differently. The common Kashmiri pronunciation is 'Tsak'. The Persian chroniclers Haider Malik and the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* write 'Chak'. Lawrence, has written both 'Chak' and 'Tsak' in his

book (p. 309). The Sanskrit chronicler Srivara calls them 'Chakra' (pp. 102 and 292). Another Sanskrit chronicler Suka mentioned them as 'Chakresha' and Chakrapati. Firishta and Newal have used 'Chuk' and 'Chak' for them (p. 28, 2n, 187 and p. 318 n. 48, p. 130). In fact, the spelling of the name varies according to its pronunciation (I have used the common spelling in this thesis).

4. For details of Magres see p. 203 infra.
5. Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, the eighth Sultan of the Shahmiri dynasty was the greatest. The seven other were Shams-ud-Din (1339-1342 A.D.), Jamshed (1342-44), Ali Sher (1344-55), Shibab-ud-Din (1355-1373), Qutub-ub-Din (1373-89), Sikandar (1389-1413) and Ali Shah (1413-1419 A.D.). It was during the long reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin that peace, security and prosperity was restored. Literature, arts and crafts, music and dance flourished, agriculture was promoted, Hindus and Muslims lived in harmony. In fact the fame of the Shahmir dynasty reached its zenith in his time.
6. The later Shahmir rulers, Haidar Shah, Hasan Shah, Muhammad Shah and Fateh Shah inaugurated an age of gangsterism. Lacking in diplomacy and administrative talents, the state of the country reverted with short interludes of stability, to that which had existed before the foundation of Sultanate. The result was a struggle between powerful but mutually jealous groups for political supremacy (Sufi, I, p. 187 sqq.).
7. See chapter IV, p. 138.
8. Vigne, II, p. 301.
9. Among the later historians Azam (p. 141) and Hasan (p. 196) mention about the origin of the Chaks that, 'they were the descendants of a big giant who had fallen in love with a lady somewhere in Dardistan (Dardistan include in it all the countries lying between the Hindukush and Kagham, Lat. 37°N and Long. 73°E to Lat. 35°N-L 74°, 30°E, Dards are a race inhabiting the mountain country of Shinakai, Chilas, Astor, Gilgit, Duryl, Hunza, Nagyre, Chitral and Kaffiristan—Dards have no name in common but call each Dard tribe that inhabit a different valley by different name, Dr. Leitner, p. 45) which matured in coalition. With the passage of time the lady turned enceinte. At the time of delivery while the lady died the baby survived to become future Lashkar Chak, the descendant of whom was Langar Chak, who entered Kashmir during Suhdev's rule (1320-1323 A.D.). Dr. Parmu (p. 246) also mentions this myth.
10. Dr. Parmu, p. 246.
11. Ibid.
12. The Chak tribe came to Kashmir in the beginning of the fourteenth century under their leader Langar Chak. See details of Langar Chak in the following pages.
13. *R.T.*, II, 2423-2425, 2525, 2526, 2595, 2597.

14. Like Dr. Parmu, Sufi I (p. 217) has tried to connect them with the Marathas and he writes that Chaks bears the strange resemblance to that of the Marathas.
15. Mohibbul Hasan, p. 46.
16. Tragam is in Kamraj, about 48 Km. (30 miles) away from Baramulla. We should not confuse it with Trigam (Ancient Trigami) which is another village situated at the old junction of the river Jehlum and the Sind (Stein, *R.T.*, Vol. II, p. 329). Tragam finally became the stronghold of the Chaks. Vigne on his visit to this place found massive ruins of Chaks there (Vigne Vol. II, p. 301). See, for details Stein, II, p. 479, IV, 323.
17. *B.S.*, ff. 10a-b. Narayan Koul (p. 59) and the author of Majmul Tawarikh (ff. 144a) also mentions accordingly but writes Sankar Chak for Langar Chak.
18. *B.S.*, f. 67b.
19. Barsal is not traceable in any history or map of Dardistan.
20. H.M., f. 77b. Hasan (p. 196) also writes the advent of the Chaks from Barsal.
21. Jonaraja, p. 14-15.
22. Srikanth Koul, p. 23, n. 6.
23. Jonaraja, pp. 14-15.
24. Leitner, p. 45.
25. Details are not available to state clearly why the Dard tribe was named as the 'Tsaks' in Kashmir ? Possibly the tribe had moved to different places for settlement, it was nicknamed in Kashmir. 'Tsaker, (Tsaker, is a revolving part of 'charkka' and in Kashmir it is used as proverb for the person who moves from one place to another) which later became 'Tsak'. 'Chaks' are still known as 'Tsaks' in Kashmir.
26. *B.S.*, f. 67 b.
27. Ibid. See also Hasan, p. 197.
28. Haidar Malik (f. 77a) and the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* (f. 107a) writing about the physical strength of Shems Chak who survived during the early reign of Mohammad Shah and Fateh Shah says, "that when he was attacked in a cell by the armed men of his opponent party, though one leg in chains, still he killed a number of them with his pocket knife before he fell under the relentless blows of his assailants. Similarly, Maulvi Hasan portrays the physique of the Chaks distinctly when he says, that Mighty stature, bravery and fighting calibre were the inborn qualities of the Chaks. My father often said of a Tragami Chak, who was a bodyguard of Azam Khan, the Pathan governor of Kashmir. With a Tatar cap on head, Uzbeg shoes on feet, fully armed, he walked beside the elephant (the governor was riding) and his head touched the hoisedah (seat on elephant), *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, (MS.), p. 340.

There are a number of such events about the Chaks bravery

and for this they have been called the descendants of a big giant by the later historians.

29. According to Firishta (p. 649), Sultan Shahmir (1339-42 A.D.), recruited the Chaks in his army. This is wrong, as we do not have any such information in the local contemporary sources. Further, the Chaks by the time of Shahmir's accession were yet turbulent and ferocious and considered outsiders. To trust in their loyalty was out of the question for the Sultan (*B.S.*, f. 52b). Following Firishta, Nizam-ud-Din (*Tabaqat.*, III, 426, M.S), also writes the induction of Chaks into the nobility by Shahmir.
30. Srivara, p. 103.
31. Ibid., *B.S.*, f. 52b.
32. *B S.*, f. 52b.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. *B.S.*, ff. 52b-53a
36. Ibid., Hasan, p. 175. Haidar Malik does not mention this event.
37. *B.S.*, ff. 52b-53a, Hasan, p. 175. Mohibbul Hasan (p. 74) wrongly writes that the rising was organised only against carvee system. The system has not been imposed on the Chaks. It was only their apprehension that they may be put on the forced labour in case of Sultan taking his residence in their vicinity.
38. *B.S.*, f. 53a
39. This was the name for Kishanganga valley from below Shardi as far as Karna (Stein, II, p. 288).
40. *B.S.*, f. 53a, Hasan p. 175.
41. *B.S.*, f. 53a.
42. Ibid., Srivara, p. 102. Hasan writes Hareb, which is also near Kwarin, in Karna (p. 175).
    Dr. Parmu wrongly writes that Chaks were settled at Tragam and Kopwara by the Sultan, Zain-ul-Abidin, after crushing their marauding habits. In course of time the two branches became known as Kapwari and Tragami Chaks (p. 248).
43. *B.S.*, f. 53a.
44. Sirivara, p. 102.
45. *B.S.*, f. 53n., see also Hasan, p. 175.
46. *B.S.*, f. 68a; Hasan, p. 197.
47. *B.S.* f. 68a.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid.
50. *B.S* , f. 68b.
51. *B.S.*, f. 68b; H. M., f. 104a. Ramalana is not traceable anywhere. Mohibbul Hasan takes it to be a village near Srinagar (p. III).
52. The author of *B.S.*, p. 69 gives a detailed account of this battle in verses.
53. H. M., f. 105a; Suka, p. 347.

54. *B.S.*, f. 71a; H.M., ff. 106a; Newall (J.A.S.B. XXIII, 1854), p. 417.
55. *B.S.*, 71a; H.M., f. 106a. Hasan writes that Kaji Chak fought very bravely in this battle. He received fifty scores and lost one ear while fighting (p. 202).
56. *B.S.*, f. 71a; H.M., f. 106a.
57. *B.S.*, f. 75b; H.M., f. 107a.
58. *B.S.*, f. 75b.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid., H.M., f. 107a; Newall, p. 418. According to Hasan, Shams Chak during his Wizarat got a Khanqah constructed, known as "Khanqah-i-Shamshi for the devotees of a Sufi Babi Ismail. Many villages were donated for the maintenance of the Khanqah. Shaikh Hamza Makhdum is said to have passed twenty years of meditation in this khanqah. The Langar khana which was set up by Shams Chak continued upto the Afghan rule (1753-1819) in Kashmir (MS. I, p. 348).
61. *B.S.*, f. 75 b; H.M., f. 107a.
62. For details of Shams Iraqi and his teachings see p. 296, infra; *T.R.*, p. 436; *Tuhfat-ul-Abbab*, p. 899. According to Birbal, Kaji Chak was highly honoured by Shams Iraqi who prayed for his better future and put his own cap on his head, forecasting about his royal future (ff. 70a-b).
63. H.M., f. 107a; B.S., f. 75b.
64. *B.S.*, f. 75b. After his conversion, Musa Raina extended his full cooperation and gave out money to Shams-ud-Din Iraqi, for propagating Nurbakshiya faith; *Tahfat-ul-Ahbab*, p. 27.
65. Ibid.
66. *B.S.*, f. 81a. Dr. Parmu (p. 99) wrongly writes that Kaji Chak was also in league with Ibrahim Magre.
67. *B.S.*, f. 81a. According to Haidar Malik, Musa Raina was killed by a soldier while fleeing from Srinagar (f. 80b).
68. *B.S.*, f. 82b. It is wrongly stated by Rodgers (J.A.S.B., LIV, 1855, p. III) that Kaji Chak was killed by Ibrahim Magre.
69. *B.S.*, f. 82b.
70. *B.S.*, f. 86a. Haidar Malik writes that Kaji Chak was related to the mother of Habib (f. 110a).
71. H.M., f. 110a; *B.S.*, f. 86a.
72. *B.S.*, f. 86a; Newall (J. A.S.B., 1854) p. 418.
73. *B.S.*, f. 86a; H.M., f. 110a. Suka mentions that the estate of Siddha country was given to Shankar Raina, Kaji Chak was given the authority over the arsenal and Jahangir Padre was made the Wazir (p. 347).
74. Suka, p. 347; *B.S.*, f. 86a; H.M., f. 110a.
75. *B.S* , f. 86a; H.M., f. 110a.

76. Danaor, a village lies in the N.E. of Rajauri, Stein Map (J.A.S.B., 1, 1889).
77. The village Harshin is about sixteen Km. S.W. of Shupian.
78. *B.S.*, f. 87a; Hasan, p. 117.
79. H.M., f. 111a; *B.S.*, f. 87a.
80. As in Persia, the Nurbakshiya faith took increasingly the character of Shi-ite movement under Shah Ismail, the founder of Safavid dynasty (1502-1736), at Kashmir, the Nurbakshiyas also declared themselves as Shias with the passage of the time (Mohibbul Hasan, Appendix-A).
81. Firishta, p. 487.
82. *B.S.*, f. 87b; H.M., f. 111a; Suka, p. 352.
83. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 893; *B.S.*, f. 88b.
84. *B.S.*, f. 88b; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 693.
85. *B.S.*, f. 90a.
86. *B.S.*, f. 90a; H.M., f. 112a.
87. *B.S.*, f. 90b; H.M., f. 112a.
88. *B.S.*, f. 90b; H.M., f. 112a; Suka, p. 352.
89. *B.S.*, f. 90b; H.M., f. 112a, Nizam-ud-Din (*Tabaqat.*, III, p. 694), wrongly writes that masud Chak was made prisoner in this battle.
90. *B.S.*, f. 91a.
91. Ibid.
92. Suka, p. 357.
93. *B.S.*, f. 93b; H.M., f. 113a; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 694.
94. *B.S.*, f. 93b; Firishta, p. 490.
95. H.M., f. 113a; Suka, p. 361.
96. Suka, p. 361, H.M., f. 111a.
97. *B.S.*, f. 92b; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 695. About three and half Km. S.W. of Sar is village Ladu. It has hot been marked on the survey map of Stein, II, p. 459.
98. *B.S*, f. 92b.
99. Firishta, p. 491., *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 697.
100. Pargana. Bankil or Bangal is closely adjacent to Pattan situated on the shore of the Pambasar marsh cire, 74°-37' long. 34°-10' Lat. (Stein., II, p. 481).
101. The author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, has given a detailed history of this battle (ff. 194a-b).
102. *B.S.*, f. 95b; Suka, p.367. The division is mentioned with little variation in *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 699.
103. Suka, p. 367., *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 699; Firishta, p. 493,
104. *B.S.* f. 96; H.M., f. 166a.
105. *B.S.*, f. 96a., H.M., f. 166b.
106. Athwajan is mentioned by Stein (II, p. 406) as Atavath or Atwat, a small village near Vijji Marg.
107. *B.S.*, f. 97a; Suka, f. 371. Haidar Malik (f. 166a) writes that Turks were defeated and returned without concluding peace. See also Firishta, p. 493., Newall, p. 421.

108. *B.S.*, f. 97b., Suka (p. 374) writes that Kaji Chak was not given any share and he fled out of the country.
109. For the details Kashgharis invasion see *T.R.*, p. 417; *B.S.*, f. 102a; H.M., f. 116a; Suka p. 372.
110. *B.S.*, f. 102b; H.M., ff. 118a-b; *A.N.*, III, p. 404.
111. *B.S.*, f. 102; H.M., ff. 118a-b; Suka, p. 375.
112. *B.S.*, f. 103a; Hasan. p. 216. Haidar Malik does not mentions the name of any king during these quick succession of various potentates till the rise of the Chaks (ff. 118a-b). The account given by Firishta and in *Tabaqat* is also very confusing and lack chronological order.
113. *B.S.*, f. 103b; H.M., f. 118b.
114. *B.S.*, f. 103b. Haidar Malik differs here with other chronicles and write that Regi Chak went to bring force from the Raja of Jammu (f. 118b).
115. Gasu is situated in the centre of Uttar near the confluence of the Kamil river and the stream coming from Lolan (Stein, II, p. 485).
116. The author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, (pp. 104-105) gives a detailed account of the battle. Haidar Malik (ff. 119a-b), wrongly writes that Kaji Chak joined hands with Regi Chak in order to overthrow the Magres.
117. *B.S.*, f. 107a.
118. *Fikh-i-Ahwal*, was a treatise on law in Arabic written by the founder of Nurbakshiya faith, Muhammad-b-Abdullah (*T.R.*, pp. 434 sqq.). At Kashmir Shams-ud-Din Iraqi wrote *Fiqqh-i-Ahwal* for those Kashmiris who accepted Nurbakshiya faith. According to Mirza Haidar, *Fiqh-i-Ahwal*, does not conform to the teachings of any of the sects whether Sunni-or Shia. He introduced many impious practices and infidels beliefs and gave the heretical sect the name of Nurbakshiya (*T.R.*, p. 435).
119. *T.R.*, p. 435.
120. H.M., (f. 119b) writes Ismail Shah son-in-law of Kaji Chak. The author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* says Ibrahim Shah son-in-law of Kaji Chak (f. 107).
121. H.M., f. 119b.
122. Ibid., *T.R.*, p. 482.
123. *T.R*, P. 482. Abul Fazl (A.N., II, p. 359) call him Jujak. Mirza Haidar does not accept Baba Chuchak as a superior officer of Kamran, rather, he calls him a weak-minded and incapable general. Baba Chuchak was a prominent officer of Kamran. In 1543, he was sent to Shah Hussain Gurghan for asking the hand of Shah's daughter on Kamran's behalf. (Tarikh-i-Masumi, p. 181). During the struggle between Kamran and Humayun that followed, the latter returned from Persia to Afghanistan. Baba

Chuchak was one of the most consistent supporters of Kamran, (ef. Bayazid, Tazkira-Humayun-w-Akkbar, Bib., Ind. 133; *A.N.*, 2/277-325) See *Medieval Indian Quarterly*, iv, 1961, pp. 60-61, n.l.

124. *T.R.*, p. 482; *A.N.*, I, p. 360.
125. *A.N.*, I, p. 360; *B.S.*, f. 107a; *T.R.*, p. 482, H.M., f. 120a; Suka p. 359.
126. *B.S.*, 107a; H.M., f. 120b; *T.R.*, p. 485 (Appendix, A. p. 484); *A.N.*, pp. 403; *A.A.*, p. 503.
127. *B.S.*, f. 107b; Hasan, p. 219; Sayyid Ali, p. 39.
128. Abul Fazl (A.N., I, p. 402-3, n-5.) writes that "at that time a person called Nazuk Shah, having a name that was no name, was reputed sovereign. Nazuk is also called Nadir by some historians. Abul Fazl puns on the word "*Nazuk*" which means slight or slender and calls it an *ism-i-bimusamma* (like the anties of ulyses).
129. *B.S.*, f. 107b; *T.R.*, p. 485.
130. *B.S.*, f. 108a; Sayyid Ali, p. 39; M. Tawarikh, p. 87.
131. Abul Fazl mentions in (*A.N.*, p. 403) that Kaji Chak, in order to win the favour of Sher Shah Suri presented him the sister of Sultan Ismail, the son of Muhammad Shah. Maulvi Hasan says, that Kaji Chak offered to Sher Shah the daughter of his sister, who was the legitimate daughter of Muhammad Shah (p. 219).
132. *B.S.*, f. 108b. "Hirapura, the ancient Surapur is often referred to as the entrance station for those reaching Kashmir from Rajauri. Its site can be still traced at the place known as illahi-Darwaza (the gate of God at a short distance above the village). This was also a watch-station or Drang."
133. *T.R.*, p. 485; *B,S.*, f. 108b. The fort of Andarkul has been mentioned as Inderkot by Abul Fazl (A.N., I, p. 403).
134. *T.R.*, p. 485; *Tabaqat.*, III, 709.
135. *B.S*, f. 108b; *T.R.*, p.485.
136. *T.R.*, p. 486; *A.N.*, I, p. 403; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 709.
137. *B.S.*, f. 109a; H.M., f. 121a; Sayyid Ali, p. 39.
138. *B.S.*, f. 109a; Hasan, p. 209.
139. The author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* gives the detailed account of religious discussions, which ensued between Mirza Haidar and Regi Chak at Zalidgarh (ff. 109 a-b).
140. *B.S.*, ff. 109a-b; Hasan, p. 209.
141. *B.S.*, f. 111a.
142. Firishta, p. 409, *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 409.
143. H.M., f. 121b; Newall (J.A.S.B., 1854) p. 422; *B.S.*, f. 111a Dr. Parmu (p. 256) wrongly write 1546, the date of Kaji Chaks death.
144. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 710; Newall (J.A.S.B. 1854) p. 423. Nizam-ud-Din wrongly states that Ghazi Chak, son of Kaji Chak was killed. (*Tabaqat.*, III, 710). Possibly he confuses Ghazi with Bairam,

Regi's son. The Persian chroniclers of Kashmir do not refer to Regi Chak's death.

145. *B.S.*, ff. 112a-b; H.M., pp. 122-23; Azam; p. 131; *M. Tawarikh*, p. 81.
146. *T.R.*, p. 436.
147. Danial or the ancient fort Danagal on the lower Vitasta (Jehlum) *R.T.*, (I, 180n, V. 397).
148. *T.R.*, p. 436; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 712.
149. Firishta, p. 501; Elliot and Dowson (Tarikh-i-Daudi; p. 496) writes that Haibat Khan was one of the trusted chiefs of Sher Shah and the governor of the Punjab and Multan in his time.
150. Elliot and Dowson, p. 496; Firishta, p. 502; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 713; *B.S.*, ff. 117. Hasan (p. 227) mentions the same event after the death of Mirza Haidar. It is mentioned in Tarikh-i-Daudi that the Chaks who submitted before Mirza Haidar told him that Azam Humayun was coming with a body of Afghans for the purpose of seizing Kashmir and had reached the Pargana of Banihal. Idi Raina, ordered to attack the Niazis with a force of Kashmiris. Both sides prepared for action and a fierce contest took place. Bibi Rafia, the wife of Azam Humayun fought like a man and smote Lali Chak, with her sword. The Kashmiris were very numerous and were victorious over the discomfited Afghans. Azam Humayun, Said Khan and Bibi Rafia were killed in this battle and Mirza Haidar sent the heads of the Afghans through the hands of Yaqub Mir to Islam Shah who was in the village of Ban, near Chinab, and w o well pleased at the termination of the Niazi rebellion marched back howewards. But Firishta (p. 502) and Nizam-ud-Din (*Tabaqat.*, III, p. 714) do not mention the event. They agreed upon that after Haibat Khan (Azam Humayun) made for peace with Mirza Haidar he returned to the village Bir, which is a dependency of the territory of Jammu. The account here given in the *Tarikh-i-Daudi* is incorrect because swift movement from Rajauri to Banihal, which is very far away and full of steep routes, is impossible and Ghazi Chak, who was sorely against Haidar, had never submitted before Mirza Haidar and induced him against Mirza Humayun, as mentioned in *Tarikh-i-Daudi*.
151. *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 497; Firishta, 502; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 714.
152. A village and fort in Poonch on the right bank of Mandel stream in Lat. 33°-38', Long. 74°-6'.
153. *B.S.*, f. 114a-115a; H.M., ff. 123a-124a.
154. Khampur is situated 16 Km. south of Srinagar on the high road leading to Pir Panjal Pass. Stein writes that Kanikapura of the Persian chronicler is Kansipor near Baramulla. General Cunninghams identification of Kanikapura with Kampor, on the road from Srinagar to Suipyan, is untenable. The place is really

called "Khampor". (Stein, p. 482. n. 42).

155. There is difference of opinion among historians about the death of Mirza Haidar. But all agree that he died in a campaign against Kashmiris who had risen in revolt.
156. H.M., f. 124a; *A.N.*, II, p. 406; Hasan, p. 266.
157. Firishta, p. 503; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 709.
158. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 709.
159. Ibid., Rodgers (J.A.S.B. 1885), p. 122.
160. *B.S.*, f. 118b; H.M., p. 228; Newall (J.A.S.B. 1854) p. 424.
161. H.M., f. 126b; Rodgers (J.A S.B. 1885), p. 123; *Tabaqat.*, III., p. 722.
162. *B.S.*, f. 119a; *Tabaqat.*, p. 723.
163. *B.S.*, f. 121a.
164. Ibid.
165. *B.S.*, pp. 121-22.
166. The leading or "Orthodox" sect of the Shias received twelve imamyahs as the rightful Khalifas. They are the descendants of Ali. For details see *Dictionary of Islam*, pp. 572-584.
167. *B.S.*, pp. 121, 122.
168. Suka (p. 382) blamed Daulat Chak for religious discrimination and cites an event of discrimination in support of his verdict. He writes that "he imposed taxes on Brahmins and when a saint Abhimaniya entreated him to rescind the orders and exempt Brahmins from tax (Suka here means Jaziya), he replied "listen attentively, O' great saint, to what I saw now bestow on you the village of Tulamula (the ancient Tirtha of Tulamula is in the midst of wide water, logged tract of Sud Delta now the place is known as Tulamula, situated 70°-48' long., 34°-13' lat. see Stein, p. 488) but how can I, who am a Melechha (Muslim) cease by your order to levy tax from Brahmans." All this indicates that Daulat Chak imposed this tax too.
169 *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 728. Firishta, p. 505-506; Rodgers (J.A.S.B. 1885), p. 124.
170. Firishta, p. 506; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 723.
171. H.M., pp. 126-127; Suka, p. 381.
172. H.M., f. 127b.
173. Ibid. The author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* does not refer to the marriage of Daulat Chak with the widow of Kaji Chak. He attribute the political cause, which brought the Daulat Chak's ruin (*B.S.*, f. 122b).
174. H.M., pp. 127-28.
175. *B.S.*, f. 122b. According to Haidar Malik, Daulat Chak was caught by a shephered and presented to Ghazi Chak (pp. 127-128).
176. *B.S.*, f. 122b. Haidar Malik relates many eventful stories of Daulat Chak's bravery, in exaggeration. He writes that at Nandi Marg, called Nadan village today, he shout an arrow at a distance of one Km. Similarly, at Delhi before Sher Shah he caught an elephant from the tail and elephant could not move a single step till his tail was in Daulat Chak's hands. About his gigantic strength he narrates another miraculous event. He writes that at a construction site Daulat Chak stopped a wooden beam measuring two yards in width and twenty-two (22) yards long, which was being carried up the roof of a house by 22 men, with the help of ropes. It so happened that the ropes suddenly collapsed and the beam came down from the top of the roof. There was a possibility of Daulat Chak coming under it. He with great confidence stopped it, by giving one arm under it and stationed other on the ground. He continued in this posture, holding the beam upon his arm, till it was again lifted with the help of ropes. (H.M., f. 127-b), see also Azam p. 144; Narayan Kaul, ff. 89a-b.

177. Ghazi Shah was related to Habib through his mother.
178. *B.S.*, f. 122-b; H.M. (f. 130-a) wrongly mentions this event to have occurred in 969 A.H. instead of 962 A.H. (1554 A.D.). Possibly the error has been committed in the transcription because after a few pages, it is again correctly given.
179. *B.S.*, f. 125b; H.M., f. 130b. There is difference of opinion about the period of Sultan Habib's rule and the date of Ghazi Shah's accession to the throne. Both contemporary Persian chroniclers Haidar Malik and the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* agree that Ghazi Shah ruled for nine years and Husain Shah who succeeded him, ascended the throne in 971 A.H. By substracting 9 years period of Ghazi Shah rule from 971 A.H. the actual date of Ghazi Shah's accession comes to 962 A.H., i.e.1554 A.D. Following this date, Suka, a contemporary of the Persian chronicler is also correct when he states "The King Habiba reigned for one month when Guja Khan (Ghazi Khan) out of cupidity usurped the throne (see p. 383). Among the latter sources, Azam, p. 146; Hasan, p. 233; Newall, p. 425; *Wajiz-ul-Twarikh*; p. 23; *Majmul-Twarikh*, p. 89; *Nawadar-ul-Akbar*; p. 77; *Nigaristan*; p. 179 and *Guldasta*, p. 127, support this date. Abul Fazl does *not mention* in *Akbar Nama* (p. 189) the name of Habib Shah at all. Firishta (p. 499) and Nizam-ud-Din are the only two historians which differ from the above sources. According to these historians, Habib Shah ruled for five years and Ghazi Shah ascended the throne in 1561 A.D. Professor Mohibbul Hasan (p. 151) has wrongly followed these historians. The statements of these historians are wrong so far, no coin of Habib Shah has been found, and even Rodgers writes, "I have never seen the coin of any metal with Habib's name, yet he reigned five years". The date which he fixes for Habib's rule and Ghazi Shah's accession, is based on Firishta and Nizam-ud-Din account. As he himself

frankly admits: "In my text I am indebted to Firishta," see Rodgers (J.A.S.B., 1885).

Keeping the above discussion in view, it can conveniently be said that Ghazi Shah ascended the throne in 1554 A.D. after ousting Habib Shah, who had hardly passed a brief period of one or two months on the throne.

2

Period of Consolidation

(1554-1578 A.D.)

After a long and incessant struggle, the Chak dynasty was founded in Kashmir in 1554, by coup d'etate from within the country. For about 84 years, the country's affairs had been in a decadent state owing to civil wars among various political groups for the throne.[1] The economy of the country had deteriorated and administration was paralysed. People were restless and tired of civil strife and anarchy. Such was the state of affairs when the Chaks took over the reign of Kashmir and made the Shah Mirs quit the political stage after a long rule of about 215 years.

Gifted with indefatigable strength and indomitable will, the first three Chak potentates, Ghazi Shah, Husain Shah and Ali Shah, gave a firm footing to their dynasty by consolidating the gains of their triumph. Their rule afforded a gleam of sunshine in Kashmir after a long period of turmoil.

Ghazi Shah Chak (1554-63)

The first man to wield the royal sceptre, among the Chaks, was Ghazi Chak, who ascended the throne of Kashmir under

the title of 'Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad Ghazi Shah,.[2] He was the posthumous son of Husain Chak, brother of Kaji Chak, a leading noble under the later Shahmiri rulers.[3] Some scholars have doubted the paternity of Ghazi Shah and persisted in believing him to be the son of Kaji Chak, which is not based on facts.[4] In fact, Kaji Chak swayed either by infatuation or by political considerations, espoused the enceinte widow of his deceased brother, Husain Chak, against the Islamic Sunna, and it was only two months after the marriage that Ghazi Shah was born.[5] The accidental association of Ghazi Shah with Kaji Chak was a boon for the former and gave him both political and social status in his clan. When Shankar Chak (the legitimate son of Kaji Chak) attempted to question Ghazi Shah's paternity, the latter's predominance in the clan was so assured that the attempt failed despite the common knowledge of Ghazi's real paternity.[6]

Early Conquests

During the reigns of weak rulers of the Shahmiri dynasty, many of the tributary states in the outer hills had broken away from the Sultanate. Ghazi Shah not only reconquered them but added many new territories to his kingdom. He annexed the small principalities of Buniar[7], Vankil (near Pakhli) and Pakhli.[8] Next he was able to subjugate the petty states of Ladakh, Askardo, Gilgit and Kishtwar and the Rajas of these states were forced to pay tribute regularly.[9] He also laid a successful campaign against Kamal Khan, the ruler of the Gakkhar territory. Kamal Khan accepted the paramountcy of Ghazi Shah and gave out his daughter to him in marriage.[10] It seems that the hill states of Poonch (ancient Parnotsa) and Rajauri (ancient Rajapuri) were not annexed but the local chiefs of these states acknowledged his suzerainty. The smaller hill state of Naushehra, situated to the immediate south of Rajauri, was already incorporated into the kingdom of Kashmir.[11] In order to ensure good and efficient administration of the newly annexed territories, Ghazi Shah appointed intelligent and experienced governors.[12] Thus, the main territory over which Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-70) held his sway, was successfully recovered and retained by Ghazi Shah.

Suppression of Internal Rebellion

A group of recalcitrant elements led by Nusrat Chak, Yusuf Chak, son of Regi Chak, and Ghazi Shah's own brother Shankar Chak, who had earlier disturbed the relations between Ghazi and his brother Daulat Chak,[13] now in the beginning of the spring of 1556, conspired to put Ghazi Shah and his brother Husain Chak to death. When Ghazi Shah came to know of this treacherous combination, he tactfully handled the conspirators. He called Yusuf Chak and Shankar Chak in his palace where he reprimanded them for their insolent conduct and detained them for the night.[14] Hearing of this Nusrat Chak, who was outside the palace, got infuriated at the attitude of Ghazi Shah and early next morning, with a group of men, destroyed the city bridges and raised a banner of rebellion. Ghazi Shah at once proceeded against them. Crossing over the river with the help of some boats, he defeated the rebels and imprisoned Nusrat Chak. Yusuf Chak, who was already in his custody, was also thrown into prison while Shankar managed to escape to Sopore.[15] Thus again many surviving Chak rebels assembled under Shankar Chak and Bahram Chak at Sopore and again put up a show of resistance. Ghazi Shah at once marched against them and dispersed the rebels at Sopore. Bahram Chak while escaping to Khuyahom[16] was captured and put to death.[17] Ibrahin Chak, another rebel was executed while Shankar Chak escaped unhurt. Order was issued to put Yusuf Chak to epliepsy, but he managed to escape to Hindustan.[18] After suppressing the rebellion, 'Ghazi Shah', writes the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* consolidated the kingdom of Kashmir, exercising complete control with the help of his brothers, Husain Chak and Ali Chak. His fame travelled even beyond the mountains.[19]

Invasion of Shah Abul Maali (1557)

Abul Maali[0] had been a favourite noble of the Mughal Emperor, Humayun who had honoured him by calling him son. After the death of Humayun, he incurred the displeasure of Bairam Khan and that of Akbar, owing to his arrogance, and was imprisoned. But he managed to escape their wrath and

fled to Lahore. Joined by a Kashmiri fugitive, Yusuf Chak, he fled to Gakkhar, but was imprisoned by Kamal Khan the ruler of this territory.[21] By the contrivance of Yusuf Chak, once again he escaped with the chains round his ankles, on the shoulders of the former who brought him to Naushehra.[22] There, he was joined by a number of disgruntled Kashmiri nobles, namely, Fath Khan Chak, Hasubat, the nephew of Daulat Chak, Lohar Dangri, Muhammad Khan Magre, Shams-ul-Mulk and Daulat Chak, a blind man. All these nobles had fled from Kashmir to invoke the help of the Mughal Emperor Humayun against Ghazi Shah, but since he had died before they could approach him, they stationed at Naushehra.[23] When Yusuf Chak reached there with Abul Maali, they decided to use him against Ghazi Shah. Thus, in accordance with an agreement Abul Maali collected a force of 300 Mughals, while 800 Kashmiris rallied Yusuf Chak.[24] By the end of the year 1557, the joint forces marched on Kashmir through the Baramulla pass.[25] Nizam-ud-Din states that Abul Maali enforced such a strict discipline among his troops that no soldier dared to molest the inhabitants of Kashmir on any pretext.[26]

When the invading troops reached Baramulla, Muhammad Haidar and Fath Khan, the guardians of the passes (Nayaks) fled away and the invading forces of Abul Maali encamped at Patan.[7] When Ghazi Shah heard of this, he at once brought out from the prison Ibrahim Khan and Nusrat Chak for his help and marched to intercept the enemy along with his brothers, Husain Chak and Ali Chak.[28]

The two forces met at Hanjivara.[29] After a terrible battle, which lasted for the whole day, the invaders were defeated. But before the battle came to an end, Malik Shams Raina, son of a Kashmiri noble Abdi Raina, seeing Abul Maali falling into the hands of Ghazi, at once brought him out from the battle-field and despatched him away escorted by a contingent of the Mughal soldiers.[0] He himself continued to resist, in spite of severe injuries on his body, and then escaped. He was pursued and captured from a jungle and, although his daughter was married to Ghazi's son, yet he was not spared and executed for his impertinent behaviour.[31]

There was a heavy loss of life in the battle, but Haidar Malik exaggerates when he says that 4,000 soldiers were killed

and 17000 imprisoned,[2] while we know Abul Maali having been assisted by 300 Mughals and 800 Kashmiris at Naushehra.[33]

After his return to the capital, Ghazi Shah distributed gifts among his soldiers.[34] All the prisoners were beheaded with the exception of Hafiz Mirza Husani, who was an accomplished singer of Emperor Humayun and had memorized the whole Quran.[35] All the Mughal heads were collected and raised into a minaret.[36] In the meantime Ghazi Shah sent Nusrat Chak on a goodwill mission to Akbar. Nusrat was received with honour by Bairam Khan when he came to know about the defeat of Abul Maali.[37]

Revolt of Muhammad Raina (1558)

Muhammad Raina, brother of late Shams Raina, had turned against Ghazi after the execution of his brother.[38] Thus, in order to initiate his brother's revenge he entered into an alliance with many disaffected nobles in 1558 at Zalidgarh (near Amira Kadal).[39] Ghazi Shah, at first, did not pay any heed to their activities, but when the rebels started gaining strength, Ghazi Shah with a force crossed over the river near Deeda Mari Mohalla, where the water was shallow, and attacked the rebels. A terrifying battle took place in which Malik Muhammad Raina and Ghazi Shah fought face to face. Muhammad Raina was poised for a well-deserved success when his forces deserted him at the eleventh hour. Still, he did not lose heart and continued to resist till he fell down fighting in the battlefield.[40] The rebels were dispersed and many of them fled to solicit the help of the Mughal Emperor Akbar.[41]

Invasion of Qara Bahadur (1559-60)

A group of rebels, led by Haji Malik, Lohar Dangar, Yusuf Chak and Fath Chak, who had lately been driven out of Kashmir by Ghazi Shah for their strife and condition, persuaded Emperor Akbar to send a military contingent for their support.[42] Akbar, who already had a keen desire to subjugate Kashmir, decided to avail of this opportunity.[43] He ordered Mirza Qara

Bahadur to launch an invasion against Kashmir.[44] A large body of men was deputed to assist him in this campaign. As Qara Bahadur had been with Mirza Haidar Dughlat (1540-1551) in Kashmir earlier, he was well acquinted with the topography of the region and its complicated routes and passes. So, by rapid march he arrived in Rajauri in the summer season.[45] All the disgruntled fugitives from Kashmir joined Qara Bahadur there. However, Lohar Chak and Fath Chak betrayed him and came to join Ghazi Shah. Nusrat Chak also sent a message of loyalty and faithfulness to Ghazi Shah.[46] These desertions threw Qara Bahadur in a state of indecision and consequently he had to delay the campaign for a period of three months, waiting in the ravines, of Bhimbar, for re-inforcements.[47] The delay at Bhimbar was also due to another reason. The commanders of forces who assisted Qara Bahadur, were men of advance age and therefore lacked the necessary vitality to move swiftly through the difficult passes.[48]

Taking advantage of the enemy's delay, Ghazi Shah quickly barricaded the passes, fortified his position and came out of the capital fully prepared with his brothers and Ibrahim Chak.[49] Ghazi Shah's army included both cavalry and elephants. While descending via Hirapura (entrance station for those reaching Kashmir from Rajauri) he guarded all the important passes including Bahrangala[50] and Tosubul[51] and sent an advance force against the enemy. In order to arouse zeal among his forces, Ghazi Shah promised reward of one ashrafi (gold mohar) for each Mughal head.[52] Thus, after heavy fighting, which lasted for full day, Qara Bahadur was defeated. He fled to the fort of Danoor near Rajauri, leaving the elephants with the Kashmiri forces. From Danoor, Qara Bahadur escaped via Naushehra to Agra.[53]

The battle ended with heavy losses in men and material. Commenting on the Mughal loss, Nizam-ud-Din observes that, "it was so serious that Mughals lost five hundred men and nine elephants."[54] Haidar Malik, on the other hand, states that the Mughal lost 7,000 men in this battle.[55] Haidar Malik's estimate is on the higher side. Nizam-ud-Din's figures seem to be correct. Among the Mughal forces, Kunchak Bahadur displayed conspicuous valour and received serious wounds. He was captured and imprisoned. Ghazi Shah spared his life for his

courage and made him over to a physician but he could not survive.[56]

The reasons of the Mughal discomfiture in this battle were many. Firstly, as Abul Fazl observes, it was not solely the strength of the Kashmiris, that effected this, the beginning of rains and the non-arrival of auxiliary were the principal causes of the defeat.[57] Secondly, the selection of generals, who were lacking in courage and swiftness, for such an exhaustive campaign was unwise. Even Qara Bahadur, who was deputed by Emperor Akbar on account of his previous experience in Kashmir, lacked the essential qualities of a military commander. He failed to enforce strict discipline among his soldiers and secure the co-operation of the Kashmiri nobles, who were waiting for him at Rajauri.[58] Thirdly, the delay of three months at Bhimbar gave a much needed opportunity to Ghazi Shah to fortify the routes and barricade the passes.[59] Lastly, Qara Bahadur was no match to Ghazi Shah in valour, generalship and diplomacy. Ghazi Shah encouraged his soldiers by declaring a reward of one ashrafi (gold coin) for each Mughal head. A class of Dombas,[60] whose occupation was robbery, also fell upon the Mughals and chopped off their heads for the reward of one ashrafi.[61]

The defeat demoralised Emperor Akbar so much that for the next 27 years, despite his overwhelming interest in Kashmir, he dared not send any expedition.[62]

After this glorious victory, Ghazi Shah distributed the promised reward at the capital and constructed a bigger minaret of the heads of his enemy.[63] Suka has paid glowing tributes to Ghazi Shah for this decisive victory which considerably raised his prestige.[64]

Revolt of Nobles

In the year 1560-61 again, some nobles revolted under the leadership of Fath Chak and Lohar Dangri. Ghazi Shah promptly despatched his brother Husain Chak in pursuit of them. The rebels getting this information dispersed, fleeing to various places. Meanwhile the winter season had set in and, as a result, many of the rebels perished in the snow, while some escaped to Kishtwar.[65] Husain Chak hunted them in their

strongholds and the rebels seeing no way out made overture for peace with Husain Chak. The latter entreated forgiveness on their behalf before Ghazi Shah, who pardoned them and granted them jagirs.[66]

Expedition against Ladakh (1562)

The ruler of Ladakh stopped paying tribute to Ghazi Shah. Therefore, in the year 1562, Ghazi Shah proceeded to *Lar*[67] and deputed from there his son prince Ahmed Khan with Fath Chak and other amirs to punish him. Fath Chak with the permission of prince Ahmed went ahead and raided Ladakh. The Ladakhis, unwilling to offer resistance, submitted to Fath Chak and sent much tribute.[68] Getting jealous of Fath Chak's exploits, prince Ahmed decided to emulate him by invading Ladakh for the second time. Despite the former's advice to the contrary, prince Ahmed Khan invaded Ladakh with only 500 men.[69] Seeing him numerically weak, the Ladakhis encountered him. Unable to withstand their onslaughts, prince Ahmed Khan fled to Fath Chak. The Ladakhis pursued the Kashmiris and when Fath Chak tried to rally the demoralised Kashmiri force against the enemy, he was captured and slain while Prince Ahmed was constrained to return with disgrace.[70] Hearing all this Ghazi Shah got exceedingly infuriated and remonstrated with his son and disinherited him.[71]

Abdication of Ghazi Shah (1563)

In the year 1563, Ghazi Shah himself undertook an expedition against Ladakh to teach its ruler a lesson, but he was forced to abandon the campaign and abdicate for certain reasons. Firstly, during his absence from the capital, the disgruntled nobles stirred up disturbance in the city. Secondly, the arduous march and excessive chill in the defiles of Ladakh had worsened the leprous state of his body so much that he lost his fingers as well as much of his eye-sight.[72] Lastly, Ghazi Shah had grown old and become senile. His teeth were decaying and he was losing fast the pawn of his speech.[73]

He was now unfit to rule. The issue of succession caused

his nobles split into two groups.[74] One group favoured prince Ahmed, while the other supported Ghazi's brother, Husain Chak.[75] Each group endeavoured to gain support for its candidate. The moment Ghazi Shah realised the gravity of the situation, he announced his abdication in favour of his brother Husain Chak in 1563 in preference to his son prince Ahmed, who had recently incurred the displeasure of his father on account of his unsuccessful Ladakh expedition.[76]

Many nobles and amirs condemned Ghazi Shah for his wrong move and advised him to cancel the abdication. Realizing his folly, Ghazi Shah decided to regain his powers and nominate prince Ahmed Khan as his heir-apparent. But his plan ended in a fiasco when Husain Chak promptly moved into action and ascended himself the throne in 1563.[77]

Ghazi Shah's Death

After the abdication, Ghazi Shah survived for three years, but during this period he led a miserable life. His son was tortured by the new ruler.[78] In the year 1566, Husain Chak issued orders to blind Ahmed Khan for his refractory attitude. Ghazi Shah made every exertion to get this order reversed, but in vain. Consequently, he died of this shock in 1566-67, and was buried in the pargana of Bankil.[79] He lived for 58 years.[80]

He was a master of many personal qualities. He was handsome,[81] energetic with a dogged tenacity of purpose. Ghazi Shah successfully combined the skill of a conqueror with the talent of an enlightened administrator.

As the protege of Kaji Chak, he fought in all his wars and share with him in exile all those moments of hope and despair. After Kaji's death, his predominance in the clan was unsurpassed. His whole career was full of adventures and from his very teens he was incessantly pre-occupied in displaying his military talents in warfare. It was due to his valour and determination that he pursued with single-minded application to grab the opportunity of attaining the position of king and laying the foundation of the Chak rule in Kashmir.

On assuming powers, he started his legal career with discretion and allowed freedom of belief to persons of all religions.[82] Though himself belonging to a Shia sect, he

appointed Sayyid Ibrahim's son Sayyid Mubarak,[83] a Sunni divine, his Wazir.[84]

He subdued the outer hill states and appointed able governors in various provinces for efficient working of the government.[85] Ghazi Shah believed in strict enforcement of justice. No one was above law in his kingdom. He inflicted harsh punishments on criminals. He cut the hands of a boy, who stolen fruits,[86] and imposed heavy fine on a villager for stealing fish.[87] He did not spare the life of his own son Haidar and executed him for stabbing his uncle.[88] He also executed Shams Raina, the father-in-law of his son, for sedition.[89]

For the prevention of robbery and theft, Ghazi Shah gave the offenders exemplary punishments, viz., gouging out of eyes, amputation of various organs of the body, and imposition of heavy fines.[90] By imposing heavy penalties and inflicting severe punishments upon the offenders, Ghazi Shah ensured peace and safety in the kingdom. The author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* has condemned Ghazi Shah for the infliction of inhuman punishments,[91] but we hear of such punishments even before him. It was during the later years of his reign that Ghazi Shah, became increasingly cruel for much of his vitality was sapped by his serious ailment and he tended to be more choleric in temperament.[92]

He was a cultured man and composed verses in Persian.[93] Suka mentions him as one 'versed in literature'.[94] He had great regard for singers and learned men, and spared the life of Hafiz Mirza Husain for his fame in singing and recitation of the Quranic verses.[95] Himself a brave king, he always honoured brave soldiers. Thus he, forgave Kuchak Bahadur, belonging to Qara Bahadur's army, who was taken prisoner. Having been seriously wounded by an arrow, Ghazi Shah treated him with kindness and made him over to the physicians.[96]

Devoted to the cause of people's welfare, Ghazi Shah was the first Muslim ruler of Kashmir to have relieved the people from the oppressive practice of begar (forced labour).[97] But the most notable service of Ghazi Shah was that he successfully protected Kashmir from going over to the Mughals which about 27 years later was overwhelmed by them. Thus the study of his character and achievements leaves an impact, which endures and inspires.

Husain Shah Chak (1563-70)

Husain Chak ascended the throne in 1563,[98] under the title of 'Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad Husain Badshah Ghazi'[99] and appointed his favourite noble Malik Muhammad Naji the Wazir.[100] He could not rule in peace and immediately after ascending the throne was called upon to deal with a number of recalcitrant elements and conspiracies. The first man who posed a threat to king Husain Shah was Ghazi's son Ahmed Khan. Assisted by Muhammad Magre, son of Abdal Magre, an old rival of the Chaks, and Nusrat Chak, Ahmed Khan planned to kill Husain Shah and capture the throne. But the plan was foiled when Husain Shah imprisoned them under false pledges and gouged out their eyes despite the petitions of Ghazi Shah for his son.[101]

Revolt of Fath Khawaja (1564)

In the year 1564, Husain Shah was faced with a revolt of his favourite noble Fath Khawaja[102] and his son, on whom the king had conferred titles of 'Khan-i-Zaman' and 'Bahadur Khan' respectively.[103] In league with Fath Chak, Shams Duni, Haidar Khan and other nobles, Fath Khawaja decided first to secure the release of Ahmed Khan, Muhammad Magre and Nusrat Chak and then to seize the power. It was also planned to make Fath Khawaja the Sultan of Kashmir.[104] Soon the time came to carry out the plan. When Husain Shah went on a hunting expedition, the conspirators forced their way into the royal palace and set its gates on fire. But they were encountered and dispersed by Masud Nayak the Amir-i-Dar, who was also holding charge of the capital and the royal guards. Fath Chak was killed and Bahadur Khan beheaded. The latter's head was exposed to terrorise his partymen. Fath Khawaja, the real brain behind this scandle, fled to Gurez[105] with Shams Duni and Haidar. He was pursued and imprisoned along with his accomplices. The king, on his return ordered their amputation[106] and Masud Nayak was elevated to the position of Khan-i-Zaman, with the title of Mubariz Khan.[107] In recognition of his faithful services, Husain Shah called him his son and conferred upon him the pargana of Bankil (modern Bangila) in jagir.[108]

Immediately, after suppressing this rebellion, Mubariz Khan also revolted against Husain Shah. A sudden turn in his career intoxicated him and he began to assume airs. His ambition to gain greater status and power soon overcame him and he began to aspire for the throne. In order to make his position strong, he collected a contingent of cavalrymen and won Lohar Chak to his side. Seeing his treacherous conduct, Husain Shah promptly managed to seize him along with Lohar Chak and got their hands and feet cut off. Nusrat Chak, who was already in prison, was blinded on account of his link with Mubariz Khan.[109]

Revolt of Shankar Chak (1567)

Another revolt against Husain Shah was led by his own younger brother, Shankar Chak in 1567.[110] He was the governor of Naushehra which was assigned to him in jagir. Under the influence of malcontents he fled from Srinagar and declared independence in his jagir.[111] From there he annexed the surrounding territories including Vankil, Buniar and some part of the Gakkar territory, and initiated a policy of oppression in the newly conquered areas. Tired of his depredations, the peasants of these small principalities petitioned before Husain Shah who promptly came to their rescue. A regular force, under his brother Ali Chak and his Wazir Malik Muhammad Naji was sent against the rebellious brother. They attacked Shankar Chak in the ravines of Poonch, where he had come to encounter them. Both the forces were locked in a fierce battle and Shankar was defeated.[112] Haidar Malik states : 'In the midst of fighting, Shankar Chak locked in a duel with his brother Ali Chak and when the latter was about to be overpowered by Shankar Chak, a soldier, Bahadur Khan, promptly intervened and saved Ali Chak. Shankar Chak received a sword cut and fled away to some unknown place.'[113] The chronicler does not write anything further about Shankar Chak. Possibly, he succumbed to his wounds. The jagir of Naushehra was transferred to Masud Nayak.[114]

After their successful return, Ali Chak and Muhammad Naji, were highly honoured by Husain Shah. However, Muhammad Naji, tired of worldly pomp and show, resigned from the post

of Wizarat.[115] Husain Shah, therefore, appointed Lauli Malik, his next Wazir, but on the charge of embezzling 40,000 kharwars[116] of paddy, belonging to the government, he was dismissed and, in his place, Ali Koka was elevated to the exalted office.[117] Ali Koka was a staunch Sunni and it was during his Wizarat that the religious controversies caused much panic in the kingdom which had far-reaching effects on the subsequent history of Kashmir. We learn from *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, that 'Ali Koka was an incompetent and worthless man, full of prejudices against the Shia community.'[118]

Religious Controversy (1568-69)

In the year 1568-69, a dispute over an incident sparked off a serious religious controversy and accentuated Shia-Sunni differences in Kashmir. The dispute started when on one Friday in 1568-69, a staunch Sunni, Qazi Habib, who was a Khatib (reader of prayer) in the Jami Masjid, took up a quarrel with Yusuf Aindar, a man of equally staunch Shi-ite persuasion. In the duel fight that followed Qazi Habib received a serious sword cut and fell down unconscious while Yusuf Aindar went to some hiding place.[109] When Ali Koka, the orthodox Sunni Wazir[120] of Husain Shah, heard of this mishap, he at once brought the matter to the notice of Husain Shah and, with his permission, appointed a Council of Sunni Ulema including Qazi Musa (Qazi-ul-Qazzat), Mulla Yusuf Almas and Mulla Beja Ganai to investigate the matter and suggest punishment.[121] Though a breach of Islamic law, the Penal of judges issued a decree condemning Yusuf Aindar to death. None of the four Schools of Islamic Law approve of this decision and in spite of Qazi Habib's own protest, that the death penalty could not be inflicted as he had survived, Yusuf was mercilessly stoned to death under the directions of mischievous Wazir Ali Koka and his brother Duni Koka, who wanted to defame the king by proving him a fanatical shi-ite.[122]

The incident excited the sectarian differences to a high pitch of frenzy. The whole shi-ite community took it as a challenge. Thus supported by some enlightened Sunnis, Qazi Zain of Shafi faith and Mulla Sulaiman of Shia faith, demanded a review of the

whole case.[123] It was at this time that Husain Shah's own devoted son Ibrahim Khan died and he was struck with grief.[124] Meanwhile, when he heard about the arrival of Akbar's envoy, Mirza Maqim, he decided to refer the case of Yusuf Aindar's execution to him for his opinion.[126]

Mirza Maqim and Religious Controversy

Even after Qara Bahadur's defeat in 1559-60,[127] Akbar was interested in Kashmir affairs. Therefore, in order to keep himself in close touch with the developments in the valley, he sent Mirza Maqim to Kashmir.[128] The envoy was received with befitting honour and dignity.[129] At this juncture, Kashmir was in the grip of sectarian differences and Husain Shah was perturbed on account of Yusuf Aindar's execution. He, therefore, referred the matter to Mirza Maqim, a third party, for re-investigation. Maqim involved himself seriously and his judgement cost him his own life later, when he returned from Kashmir.[130]

Mirza Maqim sent for all the Ulema of the city including three, Qazi Musa, Mulla Almas and Mulla Beja Ganai, who had condemned Yusuf Aindar to death. The Ulema of different schools (Hunfi, Shafi, Malki, Hamble and Shia), including Husain Shah, presented themselves before Mirza Maqim, while Qazi Musa cleverly abstained.[131] Qazi Zain and Mulla Razi, who were bent upon revenge, discussed the whole case before Mirza Maqim, and then asked Beja Ganai and Mulla Almas to quote the provisions of the Islamic law under which the execution of Yusuf Aindar was held lawful, when Qazi Habib did not die.[132] The law books of the four schools were brought before the two mullas to justify their verdict.[133] But the two mullas remained mum owing to pressure from all sides. At this time Ali Koka, the cunning Wazir of Husain Shah, pleaded on their behalf and accused the latter for executing Aindar on political grounds. He declared that the verdict of execution was given under duress.[134] But Husain Shah solemnly swored and denied having had exerted any such pressure except that, instead of deciding the case personally, he entrusted it to the Qazis for their decision in accordance with the Sunna.[135] The statement of the king silenced Ali Koka. In the end, under the surveillance

of Mirza Maqim, both the Sunni and Shia Ulema decreed the execution of Mulla Boja Ganai and Mulla Yusuf Almas according to Shafi law. Qazi Abdul Gaffur (Hanfi-ite), Qazi Zain (Shafi-ite), Mulla Sulaiman and his son Mulla Razi (Shi-ite) agreed with this judgement.[136] Accordingly, they demanded an immediate infliction of death penalty on the two Muftis.[137]

Mirza Maqim, a staunch Shi-ite, without any religious or political authority to interfere in Kashmir's internal matters, handed over the two convicted Muftis over to Fath Khan, the executioner, on his own responsibility.[138] Fath Khan was forced to put them to death after parading them through the city streets.[139]

Husain Shah, unable to uphold the verdict of Mirza Maqim and the Ulema of Kashmir, left the city at this critical juncture for some days to Kamraj and returned only when the actual act of execution was over.[140]

The execution of the two Muftis was effected in violation of the Islamic law, which does not permit the taking of lives of two persons for one as it happened in this case. Both the Sunni and Shia Ulema overshot their jurisdictions and created in awkward position for the ruler.[141]

Mirza Maqim too fired his gun, when he found himself the master of the situation, and initiated the revenge of Yusuf Aindar's execution. The others guilty in Aindar's case, Qazi Musa and Ali Koka went unpunished. Qazi Musa saved his life by concealing himself, while Ali Koka remained behind the screen. It would have been better for Mirza Maqim and the Ulema of Kashmir to sentence the culprits to life imprisonment, rather than shedding their blood.

The religious issue least influenced the political considerations at Kashmir owing to the King's dexterity in the religious affairs and the execution of Maqim at Agra.[142] Mirza Maqim left Kashmir in 1569 for Lahore and was accompanied by Yaqub, son of Baba Ali, as the Wakil of Husain Shah in the court of Emperor, Akbar.[143] Husain Shah also sent his own daughter, with precious gifts, to be married to Emperor Akbar[144] and, to all intents and purposes, he acknowledged his suzerainty.[145] But before Mirza Maqim could start from Lahore, Ali Koka and Duni Koka, who had gone there to bid him adieu, secretly despatched a Sunni group of disgruntled Kashmiri nobles and

the Ulema to the court of Emperor Akbar to complaint against his envoy. Headed by Mulla Abdullah and Shaikh Abdul Nabi, this group successfully acquainted Emperor Akbar with the misdoings of Mirza Maqim in Kashmir. Hearing about the perfidious conduct of his envoy, Emperor's anger stirred up to such a pitch, that he put Mirza Maqim on gallows at Fathepur Sikri (near Agra) as soon as the latter reached there.[146] To express his disapproval at the conduct of Husain Shah, Emperor Akbar issued further orders for the execution of his Vakil, Yaqub and returned the gifts and his daughter without bringing her into his espousal.[147] The news shocked the aged king Husain Shah, who was unable to bear this grave insult and soon after fell a prey to an attack of paralysis.[148]

Abdication

Towards the close of his reign, while Husain Shah was confined to bed, many nobles including Ali Koka, Duni Koka and Malik Naji, plotted to create misunderstanding between the King and his favourite brother, Ali Chak. They advised the King to set up one of his own sons on the throne promptly and imprison Ali Chak and Sayyid Mubarak.[149] Warned of this plot, Ali Chak fled to Sopore where he was joined by his favourite nobles, Sayyid Mubarak. Abi Shah, Lauli Malik and Abdal Kham who had come from Poonch.[150]

After collecting together a huge force, Ali Chak marched on Srinagar and encamped at Fath Yari.[151] Outwitting the royalists there, the forces under the command of Sayyid Mubarak moved onward to Zainkot[152] and finally entered the capital. Ali Koka and Naji Malik, seeing no way of success, advised Husain Shah to demit. As Husain Shah had become invalid owing to paralysis, he relinquished the throne in favour of his brother Ali Chak in 1570 A.D. and sent the crown to him through Baba Khalil.[153]

Closing Years

Immediately after Husain's abdication, many nobles induced Ali Shah to gouge out his eyes, but the wise Wazir of Ali Shah,

Sayyid Mubarak, advised him to refrain from this filthy action. He was, therefore, transferred to Harian Bazar in Zainpur[154] along with his treasury where he died after few years.[155]

Of all the Chak rulers who ascended the throne of Kashmir, Husain Shah was by far the best. His reign was exceptional in many respects. He was a dispassionate ruler and efficient administrator with a fine literary taste.

For his extreme generosity, he has been elevated to the position of Naushervan-i-Adil, after the great Sassanid Emperor of Persia, by the inspired contemporary Persian chronicler.[156] The king attended to the complaints of his subjects regularly, protected them from rapacious officials[157] and afforded relief to the needy and poor people by giving them out money in alms after every Friday prayer.[158]

Like other Chak rulers, Husain Shah was a Shia and like Emperor Akbar, he was catholic in his views. He appointed Habib, a Sunni as Qazi of Srinagar and allowed the practice of the Hanafi-ite law in the kingdom.[159] In his treatment of the Hindus, he was a man of liberal views. He participated in their annual festivals, viz., Nauroz and Basant Panchami and distributed royal gifts among the Hindus on all their ceremonial occasions.[160]

Husain Shah was the only king of Kashmir who planned his engagements by timetable. Thus, Friday was allotted for discussion with literary men and the Ulema; Saturday was devoted to conversation with the Brahmin and the Buddhist priests; Sunday, he passed in the association of Darveshas and Sufis; Monday, he attended the court with the Qazi and the Muftis; Tuesday, he passed in the company of Musicians; Wednesday, he looked after the army administration and inspected demonstrations of feats of archery and military artifices; and Thursday, he enjoyed in the company of his friends.[161]

Husain Shah was a man of many accomplishments and of varied tastes and interests. A Scholar in his own right, he was devoted to the study of Persian and Vedic literature. He was well versed in Persian, Kashmiri and Sanskrit languages and composed verses in Persian.[162] For the promotion of education, he established schools and colleges in the kingdom[163] and patronized men of letters and fine arts.[164] He was a pious man

punctiliously devoted to religious meditation and observance of Ramzan fasts.[165] Thus, as a man and as a ruler, Husain Shah stands out conspicuously and deserves to be classed among the greatest Muslim rulers of Kashmir.

Ali Shah Chak (1570-79)

Like his two brothers Ghazi and Husain, Ali ascended the throne of Kashmir in 1570, under the title of Zahir-ud-Din Muhammad Ali Badshah Ghazi.[166] His favourite and devoted noble, Sayyid Mubarak became the Wazir. Sayyid Mubarak had already served as Wazir of Ghazi Shah, and for his faithful services, Ali Shah strengthened the bonds of friendship with him and gave his own daughter in marriage to his son, Sayyid Abul Maali.[168] In praise of Sayyid Mubarak, writes the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, that 'he was a man of generous disposition, free from wordly pomp and grandeur, honest to his duty and spent the major portion of his time in prayers.'[169]

The eight years of Ali Shah's rule did not pass off well. Internal disturbances, wars, and unforeseen calamities were the order of the day which he was called upon to face one after another.

Rise of Pretender

In 1571, after one year of his accession, an impostor from Iran, dressed in the garb of a darvesh and named Shaikh Arif came to Kashmir. He was a Shia and had lived under the protection of Husain Quli Khan of Lahore.[170] He had been driven from the Punjab owing to the objections of the Ulema, the chief of whom was Makhdum-ul-Malik, and he found asylum in Kashmir.[171] Many miracles are related to him.[172]

Learning about his piety, Ali Shah received the Darvesh with honour and gave his own daughter to him in marriage.[173] But he soon posed a threat to his very existence and the king had to resort to severe measures.[174]

The Darvesh won the confidence and goodwill of the Kashmiri nobles to such an extent that important officials, viz., Ali Chak, son of Nauroz Chak, and Ibrahim Chak, son of

Ghazi Chak, declared him to be the Mehdi of the age.[175] Their adoration for him carried them so far that they resolved to depose Ali Shah and elevate Shaikh Arif to the throne.[176] A plot was organised to assassinate the ruler, when he would come to visit the Darvesh.[177] It was soon discovered that he was an impostor and a dangerous character. The Kashmiri nobles deserted him and the king had him pursued and finally captured on the hill of Takht-i-Sulaiman. Ali Shah then fined him one thousand ashrafis (gold coins) and had his daughter taken from him in divorce and exiled him to Ladakh,[178] and from there he fled to Emperor Akbar and died there shortly afterwards.[179]

Suppression of Internal Disturbances

The ill-treatment meted out to Shaikh Arif by Ali Shah was highly resented by his followers and, immediately after the exile of the former,[180] his devotee, Nauroz's son Ali Chak, in league with Ibrahim Chak organised a plot to seize the throne for the second time. But once again his schemes were foiled and he was imprisoned. For his mischievous activities, Ali Shah ordered his execution. But his pious Wazir, Sayyid Mubarak, interceded on his behalf and wanted him to go to his jagir in Kamraj.[181] Ali Chak, instead of going there, fled to Ali Quli Khan, the governor of Emperor Akbar in the Punjab and solicited his help.[182] But he returned disgusted, for Ali Quli Khan did not treat him with conventional hospitality, and stayed in the fort of Mankot. Joined by some other disgruntled nobles, he raised a banner of rebellion there. Ali Shah, thereupon, despatched a force against him. He was captured, and after a year and six months' imprisonment, Sayyid Mubarak again pleaded on his behalf and got him released.[183]

Revolt of Prince Yusuf

In 1572, a serious situation arose in the kingdom, when Prince Yusuf revolted against his father. Prince Yusuf's immediate rival for the throne was Ghazi Shah's son Aiba Chak. The relations between the two became inimical when

one day Aiba Khan disobliged Prince Yusuf and passed obscene remarks.[184] Incited by a noble Muhammad Bat, Prince Yusuf killed him in an ambuscade and fled to Sopore, where he organised a rising. Abdal Chak, Ali Shah's brother, decided to attack Yusuf promptly for he was anxious to clear the way for his own succession. But on the intervention of Sayyid Mubarak, who wrote a letter to Prince Yusuf, the fratricidal war was averted and father and son reconciled.[186] However, Muhammad Bat was not spared. He was summoned and imprisoned.[186]

Immediately after this bloodless victory, Ali Shah was disturbed by two other nobles, Shams Duni and Muhammad Maraj. But they were captured and imprisoned and, later at the request of Sayyid Mubarak, both were set free.[187]

Sayyid Mubarak, the king's sage Wazir, seems to have been singularly disposed towards peace and to setting affairs by sagacity and wisdom. On several occasions, he saved the kingdom of the Chaks from serious disturbances.

Invasion of Haji and Salim (1575-76)

Among the posteriors of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-70) Haji Haidar Khan and Salim Khan, the two sons of Sultan Nazuk Shah, were living an exiled life in the neighbouring hill state of Poonch and were aspiring for the throne.[188] Lured by some Kashmiri chiefs, the two brothers, Haji and Salim marched on Kashmir, and encamped at Naushehra from where they made secret correspondence with the disaffected nobles of Kashmir. Assured of their co-operation, the inexperienced and resourceless young princes advanced from Naushehra in 1575.[189] Ali Shah promptly sent a force of 5,000 soldiers under his nephew Lohar Khan and Muhammad Khan.[190] The two princes were defeated in their endeavour not by Ali Shah's military might but by the cunning diplomacy of Muhammad Khan, who by a strategem killed prince Salim and dislodged prince Haji Haidar, when they reached Thana near Rajouri.[191]

Thus, a great catastrophe was avoided without sacrificing a single life of Ali's force. On his return Muhammad Khan became the recipient of many favours from the king, while Ali

Dangri, Daud Kadar and other nobles, who had intended to help the pretenders, were punished.[192]

Relations with Kishtwar

The Rajas of the small hill state of Kishtwar[193] were tributary to Kashmir. Its Rajas who were Hindus till Aurangzeb's time, practically retained their independence until the conquest of their territory by Maharaja Gulab Singh.[194] During the weak succession of Shahmiri rulers of Kashmir, the Rajas of Kishtwar had discontinued the practice of sending tribute but this practice was resumed by Ghazi Shah, the founder of the Chak dynasty. Shortly after the accession of Ali Shah, Raja Bahadur Singh of Kishtwar renounced his authority and stopped sending the tribute. Ali Shah, therefore, decided to reduce Kishtwar. Accordingly in 1572,[195] he despatched his forces under the command of his three commanders Ali Khan, Abdal Chak, and Nauroz Chak, to invade Kishtwar from three different quarters, Doda,[196] Singppur[197], and Marv.[198] Finding unable to resist the invaders, Raja Bahadur Singh sued for peace and signed a treaty under which (i) he acknowledged Ali Shah as his suzerain, (ii) agreed to pay as tribute, saffron and (iii) in token thereof presented his sister Shankar Devi for Ali Shah's grandson, Yaqub.[199] But, as soon as the royal forces retraced their steps, Raja Bahadur repudiated the terms of the treaty. A second expedition was, therefore undertaken in 1573. The royal force led by Ismail Ganai and Haidar Chak inflicted crushing andignominious defeat on Raja Bahadur and forced upon him the terms already laid down in the previous treaty. Raja Bahadur therefore sent his son Narayan Singh with saffron, hawks and falcons to Kashmir. He also sent his own daughter[200] for Ali Shah, who was married by the king and gained the sobriquet of 'Fath-i-Khatun'[201] (a lady who had been conquered). Thereafter, the relations between Kashmir and Kishtwar remained cordial during the whole period of the Chak rule.

Akbar and Kashmir

With the exception of Ghazi Shah, none of the early Chak

rulers could escape Akbar's talon for a long period. They were made to play a second fiddle in the hands of Emperor Akbar. Ghazi Shah was the only Chak potentate who repulsed the Mughal onslaught but his brother, Husain, was reduced to the position of a puppet king by Akbar's envoy, Mirza Maqim.[202]

No doubt Ali Shah, kept himself away from the Mughal clutches for the first three years of his rule but in 1573,[203] he too was overawed by sheer superiority of Akbar's two ambassadors, Qazi Sadr-ud-Din and Mulla Ali.[204] Emperor Akbar, from the neighbourhood of Kalanur, had sent his ambassadors to Kashmir, ostensibly, with the object of proposing a marriage between prince Salim and Husain's daughter, previously rejected, but in reality to find out whether the conditions wer favourable for a Mughal invasion of Kashmir[205] and to force Ali Shah to pay his personal homage to Akbar.[206] The mission was carried out by the ambassadors with conspicuous success. Ali Shah proclaimed Akbar his sovereign, read the Khutba and minted coins[207] in his name. He, too, accepted the marriage proposal and sent his Vakil, Muhammad Qasim, with his niece carrying the best specimens of Kashmir—saffron, musk and shawls as presents for the Emperor.[208] The ambassadors remained in Kashmir for a period of about five years and returned to the imperial Darbar in 1579.[209]

Famine (1576-79)

The last years of Ali Shah's reign were clouded with anxieties when the two hoodoos-famine and fire, caused him endless worries. In 1576, autumn crops (paddy) failed owing to the early fall of heavy snow and caused famine in the country.[210] The king took effective measures to fight the famine and exhausted all the resources of the state for alleviation of the sufferings of his subjects. He distributed grains stored in the government store-house, remitted or reduced the tax in the affected areas, but the famine continued for three years in all its horror and destruction.[211] To make the situation worse, the town around the temple Samudramatha[212] was gutted by grisly fire causing enormous loss of life and property. Thus thousands

of people were swept by hunger and fire. The state treasury turned empty and economic position of the peasants deteriorated.[213]

In a state of helplessness, the king moved from one shrine to another, praying for the welfare of his subjects. It was during these days of miseries, Ali Shah was told by a Faqir Zatu Chak that the cessation of famine would synchronize with his death.[214]

Ali Shah was not yet destined to see his subjects relieved from the miseries, when one day in the new year of 1579, he went to Idgah at Srinagar for playing polo (Chaughan) and fell down from the horse while in Chukken. The pommel of saddle gave a fatal cut to his belly and he died on the spot.[215]

Like his brother Husain, Ali Shah was kind hearted, able, prudent and an impartial ruler. He inaugurated his reign by introducing himself publicly to his subjects on the Friday congregation at Jamia Masjid and won the mass goodwill by declaring that he would rule "like a true patriot and conduct official business of the state without the least interference of religious prejudice".[216]

By nature, Ali Shah was a man of humane disposition and was opposed to the infliction of harsh and brutal punishments. It is remarkable for an age in which the punishments generally included, mutilation of hands, feet, ear and nose, gouging out of eyes, hammering the bones of hands and feet, roasting alive in fire, flaying alive, and battering with spiked rod. As one of the precursors of the 9th century criminal reform movement, he abolished the severities of the criminal codes from the judicial state administration of the country.[217] In this endeavour he was supported by his noble Wazir, Sayyid Mubarak.[218]

Though, by faith a shi-ite, he was extremely liberal and like Ghazi Shah and Husain Shah before him, he also appointed a Sunni Wazir and cultivated matrimonial relations with the Sunnis.[219] The king had high regard for Sufis, Saints and learned men. He daily paid visit to Shaikh Hamza Makhdum, a great Sufi of the time.[220] He paid equal respect to his disciples, viz., Baba Daud Ganai, Baba Rishi Harvi, Zatu Chak and Muhammad Rafiq.[221]

Ali Shah's generous patronage of scholars, poets and learned men is rarely unsurpassed. His court was adorned by promi-

nent persons, and scholars including Baba Yaqub Sarfi and Baba Daud Khaki. Ahmed Kashmir was a favourite poet of Ali Shah and had become celebrated for his elegant poetry.[222] Like Husain Shah, Ali Shah had also fixed a day for discussions with the learned men and Sufis.[223]

Not many monarchs in history have emphasised so much, as Ali Shah has done, a ruler's obligation to his people, making enquiries after their welfare, listening to their cases, feeding the needy and the poor and forgiving those who begged for pardon. The peasants were completely relieved from many oppressive exactions by the king. The system of forced labour which was common under Shahmiri rulers, was completely stopped by Ali Shah. Even the hanjis (ferrymen) who were required to serve the king seven days in every month, were exempted from this evil custom.[224]

In private life, he was devoted to religious meditation. A year before his death, he went on top of a mosque in the company of learned and pious men and confessed his sins, for repentence.[225] He spent his last days in prayers and in reciting the Quran.[226]

REFERENCES

1. For details, see chapter 1.
2. Rodgers, coin No. 19, plate II. Rodgers also attributes coin No. 18, plate II, dated 961 A.H. (1553-54 A.D.) to Ghazi Shah (See J.A.S.B., 1885, p. 129).
3. For details of Kaji Chak, see pp. 12-13 supra.
4. Hasan, p. 233.
5. *A.N.*, p. 198; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 720. Rodgers wrongly mentions Husain Chak and Ali Chak, the sons of Husain Chak, brother of Kaji Chak. They were the sons of Kaji Chak and related to Ghazi Shah from parental side. See J.A.S., G. Britain and Ireland (1918), p. 467
6. *A.N.*, II, p. 198; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 720.
7. Buniar lies on the way to Uri, a convenient route used earlier by Kashmiris (Stein, II, p. 404).
8. *H.M.*, f.130b; Hasan, pp. 223-24. Pakhli comprises the whole of the hill territory between Kashmir in the east and Indus on the west. To Pakhli belonged also the lower valley of Kisanganga and the valleys of the streams which flow into the latter from Kajang rang and the mountains to the N,W, of Kashmir (Stein, II, p. 434),

9. *H.M.*, f. 130b; Hasan, pp. 223-24; Rodgers, p. 425.
10. Ibid.
11. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 741.
12. Hasan, p. 224; Sufi, II, p. 219.
13. *B.S.*, f. 123a.
14. *B.S.*, f. 123 a; Nizam-ud-Din (*Tabaqat.*, III, p. 731) and Firishta (p. 508) wrongly write that conspiracy was hatched against Ghazi Shah only. Husain was in prison and the conspirators wanted to place him on the throne.
15. *B.S.*, f. 123 b. Firishta, p. 508. Nizam-ud-Din mentions that Nusrat Chak surrendered to Ghazi without any armed conflict (*Tabaqat.*, III, pp. 731-32).
16. 'Around the north shore of the Volur lake, there stretches in a semi-circle the district of 'Khuyaham'. Its ancient name is given by Kalhana as Khuyasrama, while Srivara writes it with a slight variation, 'Khoyasrama' (Stein, II, p. 480).
17. *B.S.*, f. 123 b. Nizam-ud-Din gives a different story of Bahram Chak. He says that 'after Bahram Chak having been hit by an arrow, had gone to some unknown place. After a great search Ahmed Jurin, who was entrusted with the duty of capturing Bahram, seized him at Badkal a village where he had been carried by the Rishis of Sherkot. He was brought to Srinagar and strangled and Jurin received the title of Fath Khan (*Tabaqat.*, III, pp. 733-34). See also Firishta, p. 509.
18. *B.S.*, f. ibid., Hasan, p. 234.
19. *B.S.*, f. 124 a.
20. For details of Abul Maali, See *A.N.*, II, pp. 153-54. Badauni, II, p. 3. Suka wrongly mentions the invasion of Abul Maali after Qara Bahadur's invasion, pp. 387-88.
21. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 734; *A.N.*, II, pp. 153-54. Badauni (II, p. 3) is wrong in saying that Kamal Khan honoured Abul Maali and encouraged him to set out to conquer Kashmir. Kamal Khan was loyal to Akbar and he imprisoned Abul Maali. (*A.A.*, pp. 507-8).
22. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 734.
23. *B.S.*, f. 123 b; Hasan, p. 234.
    Haidar Malik mentions that Kashmiri nobles joined Abul Maali at Poonch (f. 131 b).
24. *A.N.*, II, p. 154; *B.S.*, f. 124a.
25. Ibid.
26. *Tabaqat.*, p. 735; see also Firishta, p. 510.
27. *Tabaqat.*, III, (p. 735) and Firishta, p. 510. 'Patan' is a village at a distance of 27 Km. (17 miles) in the N.W. of Srinagar on the road between Srinagar and Baramulla (Stein, II, p. 481).
28. *B.S.*, f. 124a.
29. *H.M.*, f. 131b; *B.S.* f. 124a. 'Hanjivara' is a large village about 3 Km. (2 miles) east of Patan. (Stein, II, p. 481).
30. H.M., f. 131 b; *B.S.*, f. 124 a. Abul Fazl writes that Shams Raina,

after coming out of the battlefield, followed a wretched route and nearly fell into the hands of the Kashmiris. But one of Chaghtai heroes, whom he came across, offered him his own horses and while Abul Maali successfully escaped, the young hero was killed by the Kashmiris (*A.N.*, II, p. 154).

31. *H.M.*, ff. 131 b; *B.S.*, f. 124 b; Hasan, p. 235.
32. *H.M.*, f. 131b.
33. *A.N.*, II, p. 154.
34. *B.S.*, f. 124b.
35. Ibid.
36. *Firishta*, p. 54; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 735; *H.M.*, f. 132b.
37. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 736; Rodger, p. 127.
38. *H.M.*, ff. 131b-132 b; *B.S.*, f. 124a.
39. *H.M.*, f. 132b ; Hasan, p. 236.
40. *H.M.*, ff. 133a-134b; Hasan, p. 236. The author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, is silent about this event. Firishta relates this event before the invasion of Abul Maali (p. 509). Suka mentions after Qara Bahadur's invasion (p. 388).
41. *H.M.*, ff. 133a-134b; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 731.
42. *H.M.*, f. 134b; *A.N.*, II, p. 197; *A.A.*, p. 513.
43. *A.N.*, II, p. 197. Abul Fazl states that at the requests of Kashmiri nobles, Emperor Akbar declared, 'as it is proper of the rulers of administration of justice and of worldly sway, that whenever a ruler engages himself in his own pleasures and spends his time in gratifying his lusts and does not attend to the cherishing of his subjects and sympathising with the oppressed and to overthrow oppressors, the Lord of the age (Akbar) to whom Almighty God has given power and made him the governor of the terrestrial, should for the sake of thanks-giving to God strive to uproot that tyrant (Ghazi Shah), and to make over the inhabitants of his country to be the prudent and just minded. (*A.N.*, II, p. 197)
44. *A.N.*, II, p. 197; *A.A.*, p. 513.
45. *A.A.*, p. 513.
46. Ibid.
47. *A.N.*, II, p. 198.
48. *A.N.*, II, p. 198. Abul Fazl, writing about the Kashmir routes and passes comments, 'it is not by such slowness and heaviness that the entrance into Kashmir is to be effected, for the roads of that country are of such nature, that if the ruler gets the news a few days before the approach of strangers and seized the passes, it would be difficult, rather impossible for any adorned with thousands of Rustums to get possession of the country (*A.N.*, p. 198).
49. *B.S.*, f. 124b; H.M., f. 134b; *A.N.*, p. 198.
50. 'Bahramgala', a considerable place mentioned by Srivara as 'Bhairavagala', was a common route leading to Kashmir (Stein, II, p. 398).
51. '*Tosubul*' or Tosa-maidan pass is the most direct route between the

Kashmir capital and Lohara modern Lorin. (Stein, II, p. 399)

52. *B.S.*, f. 124b; H.M., f. 135a.
53. *B.S.*, f. 124b; *A.N.*, III, p. 199; *A.A.*, p. 513; Suka, p. 388.
54. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 737.
55. *H.M.*, f. 135-a.
56. *B.S.*, f. 124b; *A.N.*, II, p. 199.
57. *A.N.*, p. 199.
58. Ibid., *B.S.*, f. 124b.
59. *H.M.*, f. 135 a.
60. For details of Dombas see p. 189 infra.
61. *B.S.*, f. 124-b; Suka, p. 388.
62. Suka, p. 388.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.
65. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 738; Firishta, p. 513.
66. *Tabaqat.*, II , p. 738.
67. Lar is the ancient Lahara comprising the whole territory in the north-east of Kashmir drained by the Sindh and its tributaries (Stein, *R.T.*, I, V, 51 n).
68. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 739; Firishta, p. 513.
69. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 739.
70. Ibid. Firishta writes that Fath Chak lost his life in the encounter (p. 514).
71. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 739.
72. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 740; Firishta, p. 514.
73. Firishta, p. 514.
74. Firishta, p. 514; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 740.
75. Ibid.
76. *B.S.*, f. 125-b; *H.M.*, f. 135b; Firishta, p. 514.
77. *B.S.*, f. 126-a. Nizam-ud-Din (*Tabaqat.*, III, p. 740) and Firishta (p. 515) state that Ghazi Shah decided to cancel abdication at the instigation of some traders who wanted to purchase personal belongings of Ghazi Shah at a very low price. But it does not seem to be convincing.
78. Suka (p. 391), writes that in the course of time, the king was attacked with a severe leprosy and was deprived of his beauty. Itching was caused by worms in his body and pus and blood came out of it, worms drank off his pus and blood and ate his flesh, and he was deprived of his life.
79. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 744; Firishta, p. 517; *Wajiz-ul-Tawarikh*, p. 23. The 'pargana of Bankil', used as Bhangila by Kalhana (Raj. VII, 498, VIII, 3130) corresponds to the present pargana of Banjil, to the south-west of Paraspore (Stein, II, p. 481).
80. Ghazi was 17 years old when Emperor Babur's troops invaded Kashmir in 1526. (See *B.S.*, f. 92-a). Obviously, his date of birth comes to 1509. He died in 1566-67, i.e., at the age of 58 years.
81. Suka, p. 391.

82. Rafi-ud-Din has accused Ghazi Shah for his intolerant policy (p.77). But there is no such evidence in the contemporary sources.
83. For details of Sayyid Mubarak, see infra p. 79 sqq.
84. *B.S.*, f. 123 a.
85. H.M., f. 123-a; Hasan, pp. 223-24.
86. Suka, p. 389.
87. Ibid.
88. *H.M.*, f. 135-a; Firishta, p. 511; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 740.
89. *B.S.*, f. 124-a; H.M., f. 131 b.
90. *B.S.*, f. 125-a.
91. Ibid.
92. Firishta, p. 511; Suka, p. 391.
93. Suka, p. 383. Also see Newall (J.A.S.B., 1854), p. 426.
94. Suka, p. ibid.
95. Firishta, p. 511; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 735.
96. *A.N.*, II, p. 199.
97. *A.A.*, p. 90 Under the Shahmiri's rulers men were forcibly employed to separate the saffron from the petals and the stamens and for this they were given a certain quantity of salt as wages. But from the time of Ghazi Shah Chak, they received eleven traks (one trak was equal to eight seers of Akbar's time) of saffron flowers out of which one trak was to be their wages and for the remaining ten, they had to supply a quarter trak of saffron to the government. This custom was abolished by Akbar on his third visit to Kashmir to the great relief of the peasants (A.A., p. 90).
98. *B.S.*, f. 126-a; H.M., f. 135b; Rafi-ud-Din, p. 79.
99. Rodgers coin Nos. 20 and 21. (J.A.S.B., LXI, I, 1885, pp. 94, 129); R.C. Kak, p. 138.
100. *H.M.*, f. 136a; Narayan Koul, p. 92; Azam, p. 85; Birbal, f. 85a.
101. *B.S.*, f. 126; Firishta, p. 515.
102. The Khawaja was a rich trader and, owing to his wealth, was associated with the king and nobles. The word 'Khawaja' is associated with the name of all those men who are merchants in Kashmir.
103. *B.S.*, f. 126-b; Suka, p.392; *Tabaqat.*, II, p. 392.
104. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 743; Firishta, p. 516.
105. The upper Krishanganga valley is known as 'Gurez' which connects Astor with the Balti territory of the Indus (Stein, II, pp. 406-7).
106. *B.S.*, 127-a; Rodgers, p. 131; Firishta, p. 516.
107. Mohibbul Hasan wrongly writes that Fath Chak was Wazir of Husain Shah and was succeeded later on by Mubariz Khan (pp. 154-55). Malik Muhammad Naji was the Wazir of Husain Shah (H.M., f. 136a).
108. Firishta, p. 516; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 743.
109. *B.S.*, f. 127a. Rodgers wrongly states that Mubariz Khan took quarrel with Husain Shah and demanded equal share out of his treasury when it was not given, he turned against the king (p. 121).
110. *H.M.*, f. 137a; Narayan Koul, p. 93; *Tabaqat.*, III, 741. Firish was wrongly assigned the date 972 A.H. (1568 A.D.) to this event (p. 525).

111. Firishta, p. 525.
112. *H.M.*, ff. 137b-138a; Hasan, p. 240; Firishta, p. 515; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 741.
113. *H.M.*, ff. 137b-138a.
114. Firishta, p. 515; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 741.
115. H.M., ff. 138 a-b.
116. One Kharwar was equal to three maunds and eight seers of the Mughal Shahi weight, and the total annual produce of paddy in Kashmir, under the Chaks was twenty lakh Kharwar (Tuzuk, I, p. 143).
117. *B.S.*, f. 127 b; Firishta, p. 517; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 745.
118. *B.S.*, f. ibid.
119. *B.S.*, f. 127 b. Haidar Malik is completely silent about this incident. We find different versions of this controversy in other chronicles. According to Firishta and Nizam-ud-Din, "in the year 976 A.H. (1568 A.D.), Qazi Habib, a person of Hanfi-ite persuasion, after leaving the great mosque on Friday, went to pay his devotion at the tomb of some holy person at the foot of Maran hill. On this occasion a Rafdi, (Shia) Yusuf Aindar by name drew the sword and struck the Qazi on the head. He levelled also another blow at the Qazi who in endeavouring to save his head, had his finger cut off. This attack arose out of no other cause then the animosity which existed between the two sects (Firishta, p. 517; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 747). Hasan narrates a similar story but he adds further that Qazi Habib was saved by Maulana Kamal, who was with the Qazi (p. 420). Azam Didmar's version is entirely different. He says, "after completing Friday prayers, Yusuf Aindar threw away the cap from Qazi Habib's head, who was the imam of the city. As this Qazi issued the orders for his execution and he was accordingly persecuted (p. 151).
120. *B.S.*, f. 127b.
121. Ibid., Firishta, p. 517; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 745; Hasan, p. 241.
122. According to the Quran the punishment to a criminal can be imposed on the following lines :

> We ordained therein for them
> "Life for life, eye for eye,
> None for nose, ear for ear,
> Tooth for tooth, and wounds
> Equal for equal."

But if anyone remits the retaliation by way of charity, it is an act of atonement for himself. And if any fails to judge by (the light of) what Allah hath revealed they are (no better than) wrong doers, Surah 48, p. 257. (Translation Abdullah Yusuf Ali). According to the Quranic version, the decree issued against Yusuf Aindar was unlawful for Qazi Habib was not killed.

The author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* has exaggerated the manner in which Aindar's execution was carried out (ff. 128 a-b).

123. *B.S.*, ff.128 a-b.
124. Ibid.
125. Badauni, II, p. 128.
126. Ibid.
127. Badauni, II, p. 128; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 746; Firishta, p. 518.
128. Badauni, II, p. 128; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 746.
129. Badauni, II, p. 128; Firishta, p. 518; *B.S.*, f.128 b.
130. *B.S.*, f.128 b; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 746; Firishta, p. 518, Badauni, II, p. 128; *Comprehensive History*, p. 775.
131 *B.S.*, f. 128 b.
132 *B.S.*, ff. 128 a-129b.
133 Ibid.
134. Ibid.
135. Ibid.
136. Ibid.
137. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 746; Firishta, p. 519; Rodgers, p. 132.
138. Badauni, II, p. 128.
139. Firishta, p. 519; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 746; Sayyid Ali, p. 43; Rafi-ud Din, p. 84; Azam, p. 52; Hasan, pp. 241-42.
140. Firishta, p. 519; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 746.
141. Quran, Eng. Translation by Abdullah Yusuf Ali Surah 48, p. 257.
142. Badauni, II, p. 128; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 746.
143. Nizam-ud-Din wrongly writes that Yaqub was sent by Emperor Akbar with Mirza Maqim (*Tabaqat.*, III, p. 746).
144. *B.S.*, f. 103b; Badauni, II, p. 128.
145. Firishta, p. 519; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 746; Badauni, II, p. 128; *B.S.*, f. 130b. Hasan writes that Husain Shah sent his daughter for Prince Salim (p. 241). Mohibbul Hasan has followed Hasan (p. 156).
146. Badauni, II, p. 128; Firishta, p. 519; *Tabaqbt.*, III, p. 746; *B.S.*, f. 130b.
147. Firishta, p. 515; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 746; Badauni, II, p. 128.
148. *B.S.*, f. 131 b. Firishta (p. 515) and Nizam-ud-Din (*Tabaqat.*, III, p. 746) write that Husain Shah had the attack of dysentery and cancer. Suka, on the other hand, writes that the king was attacked with epilepsy, 'disease of brain causing fits and convulsion (p. 393).
149. *B.S.*, f. 131b.
150. Ibid.
151. Fath Yari was known as Fathgarh. It is now site full of considerable remains of ancient temples (Stein, II, p. 404).
152. Zainkot is situated about ten Km. (six miles) below Srinagar and was called Jainakotta (Stein, II, p. 477).
153. *B.S.*, ff. 130a-133b. According to Firishta, the abdication took place without any differences between the two brothers, Husain Chak and Ali Chak (p. 519).

154. Zainpur, also called Jainapur, was founded by Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (Stein, II, p. 472).
155. Birbal, p. 85; Hasan, p. 244.
156. H.M., f. 136a.
157. Suka, pp. 391, 393; *B.S.*, f. 126 a.
158. H.M., f. 136 a.
159. Azam (MS), p. 159.
160. Suka, p. 393.
161. H.M., ff. 136a-b; Birbal, f. 85a, Azam, p. 153; Hasan, p. 238; Narayan Koul, p. 93.
162. Rafi-ud-Din, f. 85a; Hasan, p. 238.
163. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 744.
164. Azam, pp. 114-15; *A.A.*, p. 108, n. 8. For details, see pp. 277-68, infra
165. H.M., f. 136b.
166. Rodgers, p. 132, coin Nos. 22 to 25, Pt. II (J.A.S.B., 1885); R.C. Kak, p. 138; Coin No. 24, Pt. No. VI (J.A.S.B., 1876, Delmelrich, p. 296).
167. *B.S.*, f. 122a.
168. *B.S.*, f. 133b.
169. Ibid.
170. Badauni, III (Haig), p. 98. The local contemporary chroniclers have mentioned nothing about Shaikh Arif.
171. Badauni writes about Arif that, 'he is one of the grandsons of Ismail-i-Safari. He is a great master of exorcism, practices, many austerities and strives much in the path of holiness, breaking his fast always with some coarse burnt barely bread and bitter herbs, which none but himself can bear to eat. He walks steadfastly in the straight path of holy law and recites the 'Azan' at five times of the prayers in the practice of Shaikh Abul Fazl, at Imperial court, fearing no boy" (III, p. 79).
172. For details see Badauni, III (Haig), pp. 98-100.
173. Ibid; Firishta, p. 522; *Tabaqat.*, p. 749.
174. *A.N.*, III, p. 847.
175. *A.N.*, III, p. 847; Firishta, p. 522; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 749.
176. *A.N.*, III, p. 847.
177. Ibid.
178. Firishta, p. 522; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 749; Rodgers, p. 134; Badauni, III, p. 99. Abul Fazl exaggerates the facts when he writes that Ali Rai, the ruler of Ladakh regarded the coming of Darvesh as boon and begged him to accept his noble beloved and sister as his wife (*A.N.*, III, p. 847).
179. Firishta, p. 522; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 749.
180 *A.N.*, III, p 847; Badauni, III, p. 99.
181. *B.S.*, f. 135a; Firishta, p. 522; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 749.
182 *B.S.*, f. 135a; Tabaqat., III, p. 749.
183. *B S.*, ff. 135a-136b; Hasan, p. 246; *Tabaqat.*, III, pp. 749 50.

Mohibbul Hasan writes that Ali Chak was released on presenting the Sultan one hundred gold dinnars (p. 159). But we do not find any such version in the contemporary chronicles.

184. *B.S.*, ff. 136a-b; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 749.
185. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 749; *B.S.*, ff. 136a-b
186. Mohibbul Hasan, p. 159; *Comprehensive History*, V, p. 777.
187. *B.S.*, f. 136 b.
188. H.M., f. 139b; Azam, p. 155; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 750; Hasan, p. 245.
189. H.M., f. 139; *Tabqat.*, III, p. 750.
Radgers, p. 134.
190. H.M., f. 139; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 750.
Newal, p. 126 (J.A.S.B., 1854).
191. We are told by the writers that as soon as the invader reached Thana, Muhammad Khan, under pre-planned scheme, ingratiated himself to the princes and handed Lohar Khan over to the prince Salim. He manifested sympathy for them and made them believe that he was loyal to their cause. He also offered himself to conquer Kashmir for Haidar on the condition that Salim, the younger brother should accompany him. Haidar Khan being deceived by his words accepted the terms and sent Salim with him. When the two reached in a narrow gorge at Thana, Muhammad Khan turned against the prince and slew him on spot. When the news reached the prince, he was shocked and escaped to Hindustan, while Muhammad Khan successfully secured the release of Lohar Chak (H.M., ff. 140a-b, *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 751; Birbal, p. 86; Hasan, p. 246).
192. *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 751.
193. The hill state of modern 'Kishtwar' (ancient Kashtavata) is in the S.E. of Kashmir on the upper Chinab river. It is famous for saffron cultivation (Stein, p. 431). Firishta (p. 522) and Nizam-ud-Din (*Tabaqat.* III, p. 741) have written 'Gunwar' and 'Kaithwar', ' respectively for Kishtwar.
194. Stein, II, p. 431.
195. Hashmat Ullah (*Tarikh-i-Kishtwar*), pp. 151-52;
J.P.H.S., IV, p. 37; Najim-ud-Daullah, (*Tarikh-i-Kishtwar*), p. 24.
Nizam-ud-Din writes that Kishtwar was annexed in 1574 (*Tabaqat.*, III, p. 741).
196. Hashmat Ullah, pp. 151-52; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 741; Azam, p. 126.
Doda is now district headquarter, situated on the left bank of the river Chinab. It connects Kishtwar through Tahri pass.
197. 'Singppur' is situated on the left side of the Marbal pass, leading to Kishtwar.
198. Marv is the easiest approach to Kishtwar and was frequently used by the people during early days.
199. Hashmat-Ullah, pp. 151-52; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 741; Birbal, ff. 86a-b.
Haidar Malik wrongly mentions Shankar Devi as the daughter of Raja Bahadur (f. 141a).

200. According to Mohibbul Hasan, Bahadur Singh presented to Ali Shah the wife of one of his relations, with whom Sultan was in love. There is no such evidence in Haidar Malik's account, to whom Mohibbul Hasan has wrongly referred (p.761).
201. Hashmat-Ullah, pp. 151-52; Najim-ud-Daullah, p. 24; Hasan, p. 245; Azam, p. 156; Birbal, ff. 86a-b.
202. See pp. 54-56 supra (For details of Mirza Maqim).
203. Firishta, p. 522; *Tabaqat.*, p. 750. The date 1578, as given by Abul Fazl (A.N., III, p. 750), for the arrival of Akbar's ambassadors in Kashmir is wrong. In fact, this is the date of their return. (Badauni, II, p. 276).
204. Badauni writes about Mulla Isqi having come to Kashmir as Vakil with Sadr-ud-Din of Lahore. He is further attributed to have written a 'Diwan' and a 'Masnavi' under the title of Khan.
205. *A.N.*, III, p. 356; Badauni, II, p. 276; Azam, p. 157. Previously Husain Shah proposed her daughter's marriage to Emperor Akbar.
206. *A.N.*, III, p. 356; Badauni, Low, II, p. 276;
Hasan, p. 245.
207. Azam, p. 157. Coin No. 27, Pt. II (J.A.S.B., 1885, Rodgers, p. 135) of Ali Shah's time bears the name of Akbar. It was minted in 987/1579.
208. Azam, p. 157.
209. Badauni, II, p. 276. Akbar's coin minted at Srinagar bears the date (987 1579) of the return of ambassadors (Rodger, p. 135).
210. H.M., f. 141b; Suka, p. 395; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 751; Nigaristan, p. 183.
211. H.M., f. 141b; Suka, p. 395; Firishta, p. 523. Mohibbul Hasan wrongly gives 1578 as the date of famine in Kashmir. He also writes that Akbar's ambassadors were returned by Ali Shah in the same year with precious gifts (p. 161). Thus the account in itself is confusing.
212. The temple 'Samudramatha' is below the second bridge and is still visited as Tirtha in Kashmir (Stein, II, p.450).
213. Suka, p. 395; H.M., p. 146; *Muntakhab-Kashmiri Mazoomatt*, pp. 25, 38. Hasan, p. 247. Suka has given a gruesome account of the horrors of the famine and fire. It is stated by him that men became cannibal and cooked the flesh of their children (Suka, pp. 395-96). A similar account has been narrated by Xavier who visited Kashmir in 1589 with Akbar during the days of famine.
214. H.M., f.142b; See, Beverdige, p. 36 (J.A.S.B., LVII, Father Jerome Xavier).
215. H.M., f. 142b; *A.A.*, p. 534, n. 228; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 751.
216. *B.S.*, f.137a; H.M. f.139a; Hasan, p. 244.
217. *B.S.*, f.137a; H.M., f.139a; Baba Daud, ff. 130a-b.
218. *B.S.*, f.134b.
219. Ibid; Azam, p. 153; Rafi-ud-Din, p. 88; J.A.S.B., 1888, p. 269.

220. *B.S.*, f. 134 b; Azam, p. 153.
221. H.M., f. 142b; *B.S.*, f. 134-b; *A.A.* (Blochmann), p. 651, n. 2; Hasan, p. 244, Rafi-ud-Din, p. 87 sqq.
222. *H.M.*, f. 140-a.
223. *H.M.*, f. 136 a-b; Azam, p. 153.
224. *B.S.*, f. 19a; Mohibbul Hasan, p. 251.
225. *Suka*, p. 394; H.M., 141b.
226. *B.S.*, f. 138 a; Baba Daud Khaki, p. 130.

3

Yusuf Shah's First Reign and the Period of Interregnum

Probem of Succession

The sudden death of Ali Shah was followed by a war of succession between his son Prince Yusuf and his brother Abdal Chak. No doubt, Ali Shah died without nominating his successor but it is evident from the accounts of chroniclers, that he wished Prince Yusuf to succeed him and that is why the nobles and the Ulema too favoured his succession.[1]

As the news of Ali Shah's death reached Abdal, he decided to attend the cremation of his brother. But his wife, Afifa Khatoon and his son Habib, opposed him, for they did not trust Yusuf on account of his part in the assassination of Aiba Chak.[2] They were also afraid that the nobles would induce him to perform the coronation of Yusuf there.[3] Abdal, therefore, sent his messenger Jahangir Lon to Yusuf with the words to give up the idea of ascending the throne, for under the Chak royal tradition, brother had been succeeding brother.[4] Yusuf, realising the sinister motive of his uncle, thought it advisable to avert the hostilities on the day of mourning. Thereupon, he sent his three envoys, Sayyid Mubarak, Baba Khalil, and Muhammad Bat to him with the request to attend the burial of his brother first and then take up the issue of succession to the throne.[5] The envoys had a meeting with

Abdal at his residence. They advised him to attend the funeral procession and assured him of his safety. They also tried to persuade him not to contest for the throne, for Yusuf had a better claim than anyone else.[6] But all their attempts to convince Abdal proved fruitless. He was adamant in his decision to die like a hero rather than to submit.[7]

The unyielding attitude of Abdal was highly resented by the envoys who returned furious and prepared Yusuf for a battle against his uncle. Thus keeping the deceased body of Ali Shah in the Jami Masjid at Srinagar, a huge army was organised into three divisions by Sayyid Mubarak, with an advance guard under Muhammad Khan, the centre under himself, and the rear under Prince Yusuf.[8] Hearing this, Abdal who was already fully armed, moved out to Nauhatta, a locality in Srinagar. He began with an attack on the advance guard. Meanwhile Sayyid Mubarak also reached there with a force of three thousand cavalry and fell on his enemy. The royalists were in high spirits. Abdal tried to dispel the fear of his soldiers by retaliating with equal vigour, but in the midst of the fight an arrow from Abul Maali's bow struck him. Simultaneously, he was attacked by Sayyid Mubarak, who pushed him down from the elephant with his lance, and a soldier named Husain chopped off his head on the spot.[9] Seeing Abdal dead, all his force dispersed, while his son Habib fled away from the battlefield. He was swiftly pursued by Mubarak's son, Sayyid Jalal, but while fleeing, Habib shot an arrow from the running horse killing Sayyid Jalal. Habib Chak escaped successfully.[10] After this glorious success Yusuf, who was in the rear, visited the battlefield for inspection. He recognised the dead body of his uncle and forbade its burial. But Qazi Musa, who had earlier escaped execution in the time of Husain Shah, defied the order and buried it in his ancestral graveyard the same day.[11]

The next day, Yusuf after performing the cremation rites of his father Ali Shah and Mubarak's son Jalal, ascended the throne.[12] He assumed the title of Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad Yusuf Ghazi Badshah[13] and had the coins struck and Khutba read out in his own name.[14] The common Muslim practice of medieval rulers that kingship knows no kingship was repeated by the Chaks here.

Early Measures

Soon after Yusuf's accession to the throne, Sayyid Mubarak, who was greatly run down on account of the loss of his youthful son Sayyid Jalal, returned from the active duty and offered the services of his three sons, Abdul Maali, Ibrahim, and Husain to the new King. Yusuf Shah took them into his service and appointed Muhammad Bat his Wazir.[15]

The king distributed costly gifts and presents among his people to make them forget the wounds of the battle. He ordered the abolition of various taxes which the earlier Sultans of the Shahmiri dynasty had levied on ferrymen and citizens.[16] Forced labour (Begar) was also abolished.[17] But he could not rule for more than two and a half months for he was called upon to abdicate the throne on account of a serious rising.[18]

Conspiracy against Yusuf Shah

Despite Yusuf's efforts to consolidate his position, discontentment began to mount among the nobles who were critical of his rise to the throne. His own cousin Lohar Chak was the first to raise disturbance for he had borne in mind the idea of usurping the throne.[19] Another noble Abdal Bat, the brother of Muhammad Bat was also not happy with the king for not being elevated to the position of Wazir. He was therefore bent upon taking revenge.[20]

The two disaffected nobles joined their hands together and organised a conspiracy to depose the king and install Sayyid Mubarak in his place.[21] Joined by many other nobles like Shams Chak, Ali Chak and Nauroz Chak, the rebels destroyed the city bridges at the mid-night of June, 1579,[22] and fled to solicit the co-operation of Sayyid Mubarak. Since the latter had already withdrawn from state politics, and had certain regard for Ali Shah Chak, he advised the rebels to abandon their refractory attitude. But when he learnt about the destruction of city bridges, he at once came out in the plain of Idgah and sent Baba Khalil to Yusuf Shah requesting him to forgive the insurgents.[23] But the messenger was returned with a blunt reply by the king to hand over the insurgents for

punishment. It was an unwise measure, for he did not even trust Sayyid Mubarak, who had always been a well wisher of the Chaks. Sayyid Mubarak took Yusuf's intransigence as both an affront and direct challenge and, as a result, he joined the rebels.[24] Thereupon, Malik Naji and many other sensible nobles, who were conscious of the Sayyid's influential position in the kingdom, advised Yusuf Shah either to do something to win over the rebels to his side or to purchase the support of the people by distributing money.[25] But owing to lack of diplomacy, the inexperienced king exhibited his hostile attitude towards the rebels and sent a force under Muhammad Khan against Sayyid Mubarak and himself proceeded to the field of Zalidgarh.[26] Despite the request of Sayyid Mubarak to avoid bloodshed, the royalists attacked him. But they lacked discipline and were defeated. Their leader, Muhammad Khan and many other generals like Qasim Khan and Husain Khan lost their lives. The total loss on both sides was about three hundred men.[27]

The defeat caused much panic in the royal army and, while some escaped to join Yusuf Shah at Zalidgarh, a good number of them submitted before Sayyid Mubarak.[28] The miraculous defeat befogged Yusuf Shah and he became pensive. Seeing him in a precarious position, many rebels decided to capture him, but Sayyid Mubarak refrained them from their malignant intentions.[29] He proved more generous and forgave Yusuf Shah when the latter begged pardon through Mulla Hasan Aswad, the tutor of his father Ali Shah. He further advised him to leave Kashmir along with treasury for some months and assured him that he would be recalled and crowned as soon as the atmosphere would be congenial for him.[30] As a proof of his perpetual allegiance for Yusuf Shah, he sent back his envoy Mulla Aswad accompanied with his own son and Baba Khalil. Relying upon his words, Yusuf Shah deposited his treasury and other necessary articles in the house of his cousin Ali Chak and left the insignia of royalty in favour of Sayyid Mubarak. He then betook himself to the territory of the Khasas.[31]

The change in the political set up revived the old political jingling in Kashmir which was very common before the Chak

rule. The departure of Yusuf Shah prompted various political groups to begin preparations to occupy the throne.

Rise and Fall of Sayyid Mubarak

With the banishment of Yusuf Shah, the throne of Kashmir remained unoccupied for four days. The trouble-mongers who had ousted Yusuf also disfavoured the accession of Sayyid Mubarak.[32] Ali Chak,[33] a cousin of Yusuf Shah, was the first to start disturbance and being proud of the royal treasury which Yusuf Shah had deposited in his house, he disobliged to meet Sayyid Mubarak despite the latter's requests.[34] Seeing the seditious elements getting momentum in the kingdom, the nobles declared Sayyid Mubarak the king and requested him to wear the crown in 1580.[35] This was done only because keeping the throne vacant might have endangered peace and security of the kingdom. The new king could rule only for a few months and was forced to abdicate by Lohar Chak and Abdul Bat.

Internal Crisis

An internal crisis in the kingdom was caused by the diplomatic manipulations of Abdal Bat who had withdrawn his sympathies from the Chak house. He had already played an evil part in banishing Yusuf Shah, for not having been elevated to the position of Wizarat by the latter.[36] Now, unable to attain the post of Wizarat under the new king, the ambitious noble again decided to expatriate him.[37] Joined by many other untrustworthy nobles, he exploited the succession of Sayyid Mubarak tactfully and declared it to be the incompetence of the Chak nobles. Many Chak nobles also took the rise of Sayyid Mubarak as a great threat to their regal authority. So they wrote a letter to Yusuf Shah with a humble petition to come back and occupy the throne.[38] On the receipt of this message, Yusuf Shah who had stationed himself at Rajauri, descended to Barbal,[39] with his followers who had lately joined him there.[40] When Sayyid Mubarak came to know of this treachery, he at once moved out to Satpat[41] and

hurriedly sent his messenger Baba Daud Mir to Yusuf Shah with the peace proposals and advised him not to trust the disloyal nobles.[42] Thereupon, Yusuf Shah decided to continue friendly relations with Sayyid Mubarak and in token of surety he sent his son, Yaqub with Mirza Ibrahim and Mulla Hasan Aswad and returned Daud Mir with the words that he (Yusuf) was coming to meet Sayyid Mubarak.[43] But before the two could meet, Abdal Bat who was scheming against Sayyid Mubarak, successfully foiled the peaceful negotiations between the two by sending message of loyalty to Yusuf Shah warning him not to trust Mubarak's words or meet him.[44] Yusuf Shah at this time was acting foolishly and, without assessing the situation correctly, he broke off the talks with Sayyid Mubarak and challenged him for a battle.[45] Sayyid Mubarak was startled by this development. He at once descended to the outer hills and attacked the enemy. The two commanders of the Yusuf Shah, Gada Beg Turkman and Baz Khan, were killed in the battle. Dhangi Mir was imprisoned and Naji Raina, who had stationed at Baruwel,[46] was burnt alive along with his partymen when they came in clash with the soldiers of Sayyid Mubarak.[47] Yusuf Shah, seeing no way of excuse, fled back to Barbal with few men, while Sayyid Mubarak returned triumphant to the capital.[48]

Diplomacy of Abdal

Abdal Bat, who had successfully foiled the peaceful negotiations between Yusuf Shah and Sayyid Mubarak by his cunning diplomacy, made another plan to overthrow Sayyid Mubarak, for he was still in power. He treacherously poisoned the ears of Sayyid Mubarak against Yusuf Shah's cousin, Ali Chak, by telling that he was inviting Yusuf Shah from exile and was conspiring to seize the throne. He further induced him to imprison Ali Chak, till he recovered from bad health.[49] Beguiled by his talks, Sayyid Mubarak summoned Ali Chak through Abdal Bat and imprisoned him in his own house. Abdal Bat, who had carried this plan successfully, now incited the Chak nobles against Sayyid Mubarak and warned them that, like Ali Chak, their lives too were in danger. Thus, with

his deceitful machinations, he incited the spirit of revenge among the Chaks to such a high pitch of frenzy, that the whole of the Chak community turned its venom against Sayyid Mubarak. They again sent an invitation letter to Yusuf and prepared themselves for revolt with full enthusiasm.[50]

In order to hasten the crisis, Abdal Bat spread a rumour in September, 1580[51] that Yusuf Shah was coming to the city and raised the banner of rebellion against Sayyid Mubarak.[52]

Hearing about the incivility of Abdal Bat and perfidious designs of the Chak nobles Sayyid Mubarak, though in bad health, released Ali Chak and marched against the rebels. He encamped in the plain of Idgah and sent from there Muhammad Padre with a challenge to Abdal Bat for a personal combat.[53] As Abdal Bat knew that he was no match to Mubarak in his personal valour and prowess, he decided upon a ruse.[54] He sent a message to Sayyid Mubarak that the rebels were anxious for peaceful negotiations in the hospice of Baba Khalil, and the only cause of resentment was Ali Chak's imprisonment. On getting this message, Sayyid Mubarak held an immediate council of his advisors, who suggested him not to adhere to Abdal's mockery. But he turned dismayed when Ali Chak fled to join the rebels. Ali Chak was followed by many other nobles. Sayyid Mubarak therefore prepared for the peaceful negotiations[55] but owing to his bad health he remained waiting there till Abdal Bat sent Haidar Chak who honourably brought him in a boat to the hospice of Baba Khalil. Ali Chak, who had already reached there, was imprisoned,[56] while Sayyid Mubarak was forced to abdicate in favour of Lohar Chak, son of Shankar Chak.[57] Immediately after Mubarak's abdication Abdal Bat sent his son to Yusuf Shah with the request that as the events had turned turtle, it would be better for him to return to his hiding place.[58] Yusuf Shah was disgusted with the mischievous conduct of the Chak nobles and went to invoke the help of Emperor Akbar.[59]

Estimate of Sayyid Mubarak

The rise of Sayyid Mubarak to power was a result of his audacity. His powerful family had fallen on evil days since they

were defeated by the Kashmiris in 1484. But Sayyid Mubarak had been able to regain the lost position under the Chaks. He served as a Wazir under Ghazi Shah[60] and Ali Shah and it was due to his judicious inducement and wisdom that harsh punishments were deleted from the criminal code of the State.[61]

He was indifferent to the worldly pomp and grandeur and, despite his dilly-dally, he was unanimously chosen by the nobles for the throne of Kashmir. His reign of six months was packed with many remarkable and novel features for which he occupies a special place in the history of medieval Kashmir.

His reign was remarkable for its religious toleration and humanism. Clad in a simple dress Sayyid Mubarak ascended the throne and refrained from striking coins and reading out Khutba in his name.[62] He broke the royal crown which was studded with pears, sapphire and rubies etc. and distributed it among his poor subjects.[63] He threw open the doors of justice to all irrespective of caste, colour and creed.[64] He was resolute, and a man of firm determination. He had profound knowledge of Islamic Fiqh, Shariat, and Sunna. No other king of Kashmir stands comparison with Mubarak's modesty and simplicity. His judicial reforms and strict sense of justice deserve appreciation.

He remained loyal to the Chak house thoughout his life and was finally sent as captive to Delhi by Qasim Khan, a Mughal general.[65] When Akbar sent Yusuf Rizvi for the final annexation of Kashmir, Sayyid Mubarak was ordered to act as guide of the Mughal army. But, on his refusal, he was sent to Shah Baz Kambu in Bengal where he died after one year in 1589.[66] He left behind him two sons, Miran Sayyid Ibrahim and Sayyid Abul Maali, while the other two, Sayyid Husain and Sayyid Jalal, were already killed in fightings.

Lohar Shah Chak

Abdal Bat, who had successfully manoeuvred to overthrow Sayyid Mubarak, elevated Lohar Chak, son of Shankar Chak to the throne. The new king assumed the title of Badai-ud-Din Lohar Shah[67] and, in a traditional manner, read out the Khutba and struck the coins in his own name.[68] Abdal Bat

received the coveted office of Wizarat for which he had created so much of chaos and confusion in the kingdom.[69] The king was a mere puppet in the hands of his Wazir or, 'a mere holder of the title and khutba'.[70] Abdal Bat had already imprisoned his rival Ali Chak and informed Yusuf Shah not to come to Srinagar. He started a policy of consolidation to strengthen his position. He won to his side many disaffected nobles by appointing them on good posts,[71] while a number of them including Shams Chak and Alam Sher Khan, who were unhappy with the new developments in Kashmir, fled to join Yusuf Shah who was on his way to Akbar's court.[72]

Lohar Shah ruled for about nine months which was remarkable for economic prosperity and the administration of justice.[73] We learn from the accounts of Persian chroniclers that the king made food abundant and cheap. The price of Shali fell so low that a Kharwar[74] cost only a copper coin weighing $1\frac{1}{2}$ tola,[75] and upto this day the term "Loharmund" (Large loof of bread) commemorates the era of economic abundance, the Kashmir had seen in the reign of Lohar Shah.

To add to the economic prosperity, the king took keen interest in the administration of justice. He was accessible to all and every one was equal before his court of law.[76] For his generosity and sense of justice, he has been compared with Nau Shervan-i-Adil by the Persian historian Haidar Malik.[77]

Restoration of Yusuf Shah

Yusuf Shah, after his banishment, as already discussed, stationed at Baruwel near Rajauri for about six months. But when he came to know about the rise of Lohar Shah to the throne he lost all hopes of regaining it without foreign aid. He, therefore, decided to invoke the help of Emperor Akbar. He prudently went by the Jammu route and took protection at Lahore under Raja Man Singh and Mirza Yusuf Khan who successfully conducted him to the court of Emperor Akbar in 1580.[78] Akbar, who was eager to annex the Kashmir kingdom and had since long been looking for such an opportunity, received the fugitive, Yusuf Shah, cordially and decided to use

GEANEALOGY TABLE

SAYYID DYNASTY UNDER THE CHAK RULE

Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqi

Sayyid Ibrahim Baihaqi

Sayyid Mubarak Baihaqi

(Mubarak served as Wazir under Ghazi Shah Chak and Ali Shah Chak. He also ruled Kashmir for six months in the year 1680 A.D.)

Sayyid Abul Maali	Sayyid Ibrahim	Sayyid Jalal	Sayyid Husain
(Abul Maali married the daughter of Ali Shah Chak and remained devoted to the Chak house till his death. He served Yusuf Shah Chak and Yaqub Shah in exile in Biswak (Bihar) and died there. He is burried in Biswak near the grave of Yaqub Shah Chak).	(He died in Kashmir in the service of the Chak kings).	(He died fighting in the war of succession between Prince Yusuf and his uncle Abdal Chak in 1579 A.D. Yusuf managed to cremate his dead body with great honour).	(Died in Srinagar in the service of the Chaks).

him as a tool for his own advantage.[79] He ordered his two Punjab Generals, Man Singh and Mirza Yusuf, to carry the exiled king on the throne of Kashmir. Thus, after a stay of about eleven months at the court of Akbar, Yusuf Shah marched on Kashmir escorted by the Mughal auxiliary troops.[80] In order to win the favour of his old adherents and to get the reports of political developments in Kashmir, he sent in advance his son, Yaqub Chak.[81]

When Yusuf Shah reached Lahore with the Mughal force, he got disgusted, because he smell the ill-intentions of the Mughal Generals. He realised that he would be carried to the throne as a Mughal nominee and would be forced to execute in his kingdom the Mughal rules and regulations which might lower his position in the estimation of his subjects.[82] Meanwhile, he received secret letters of allegiance from many Kashmiri nobles including Abdal Bat, with the request to come alone and occupy the throne.[83] Yusuf Shah, therefore, decided to go ahead without employing the Mughal force.[84] He became more firm in his conviction when he came to know about the arrival of Muhammad Bat, his loyal Wazir, to Buhlulpur with one thousand soldiers.[85] Consequently, he at once bade adieu to the Mughal Generals and came to Buhlulpur under the pretext of meeting his son and enquiring about the political developments in Kashmir.[86] It was here that Yusuf Shah and Muhammad Bat finally resolved not to employ the Mughal force in this endeavour.[87] And later when Emperor Akbar came to know of Yusuf's treachery, he turned furious and reprimanded his Generals for missing such a golden opportunity.[88] The news of Yusuf Shah's arrival at Buhlulpur spread like a wild fire and all the Sirdars and amirs including Lohar Shah and Abdal Bat, who had beguiled him, turned pensive, while a number of them fled to join Yusuf Shah.[89]

Yusuf's March on Kashmir

In the beginning of November 1580, Yusuf Shah marched from Buhlulpur without informing the Mughal Generals at Lahore.[90] On his march to Srinagar, he was joined by a number of Kashmiri nobles and soldiers and his force had risen

to four thousand cavalry and two thousand soldiers.[91] From Buhlulpur, Yusuf Shah came direct to Rajauri and sent his family to the fort of Poonch and himself encamped at Naushehra.[92] On getting this news, Abdal Bat, the fickle-minded Wazir of Lohar Shah, prepared to put up a stiff resistance to Yusuf Shah and with a huge force came out of the city and stationed at Hirapura.[93] From there he despatched an advance force under his two generals Husain and Yusuf to intercept the march of the invaders who were still at Naushehra. The two generals in consultation with each other joined Yusuf Shah along with their forces.[94] Hearing of this news, many other nobles also deserted Abdal Bat and came down to welcome Yusuf Shah.[95] Before his march on Srinagar, Yusuf Shah sent his messenger to Sayyid Mubarak and won his favour.[96] He then marched to Rajauri and its Raja Rai Bahadur submitted before him. Yusuf Shah made him the commander of the vanguard.[97] At Thana Mandi, Yusuf Shah was joined by another group of Kashmiri nobles, including Hasan Malik and Daud Chak.[98] The number of Yusuf's force was increasing at every step. He reached Sopore on 5th November and was joined there by his son Yaqub, the same day.[99]

Battle of Sopore (November, 1580)

Yusuf Shah reached Sopore without any mishap and sent from there a message to Abdal Bat to submit in good faith. But the latter remained adamant since he was joined by Lohar Shah and Ali Chak and the confederacy of the three decided to give a fight to Yusuf Shah.[100]

Yusuf Shah at once annexed the surrounding territories of Sopore and destroyed the city bridges.[101] Abdal Bat also came there with a huge army but, finding the bridges destroyed, he stationed on the opposite bank of the river Jehlum.[102] Owing to the great depth of the river, the two forces could not clash face to face but showered arrows over each other for some days. Finally, Abdal Bat under a scheme despatched a force of 2,000 under Haidar Chak to attack Yusuf Shah in the rear via Khuyahoma.[103] On that very day, he directed his brother

Ali Bat to cross the river and engage the enemy in the battle.[104] Meanwhile, he called Baba Khalil from Roba Bazi[105] and sent a message to Yusuf Shah that the men who had rallied for his support were disloyal and before he would be attacked both from the front and the rear and defeated, he should leave Kashmir via Poonch and save his life.[106] Yusuf Shah, who was well familiar with the deceitful ways of Abdal Bat, paid no heed to his message and arranged his army quickly, keeping his troops both on the right and the left sides, musketeers in the front and himself in the centre, he crossed the river where the water was shallow and attacked Abdal Bat on the 8th morning of November 1580.[107] After a horrible contest, Abdal Bat fell dead when Yusuf threw a poisoned spear at him. The incident disarrayed his whole force and Lohar Shah, who had lately joined him with a huge force, was unable to withstand the onslaughts and fled away demitting the royal parasol in the battlefield.[108] When Haider Chak who was coming in the rear, received the news of disaster he got demoralized and escaped via Chirhara, leaving the whole force behind to disperse.[109]

Thus, with the flag of victory wavering high in the air, Yusuf Shah marched to occupy the throne. He was given a warm reception with congratulations by the Kashmiris at Barthana.[110] He mounted the throne for the second time in November 1580 after an exile of a year and a half.[111]

Lohar Shah's defeat in the battle of Sopore had its own causes. Firstly, the two forces did not fight jointly, rather they faced Yusuf Shah dividedly, nor did they make use of Haidar Chak, who was coming in the rear. The division of Abdal's force into three groups proved advantageous for Yusuf Shah, Abul Fazl comments : "As the flower of his army had gone off to the other place, Yusuf Khan (Yusuf Shah) took him at disadvantage and on 8th November 1580, crossed Baht (Jehlum) and dispersed the opposing forces without a serious engagement."[112] Secondly, the typical temperament of Abdal had alienated the sympathies of all his generals and, consequently, they joined Yusuf Shah. Thirdly, Yusuf Shah, while in exile, had learnt a lot and forgotten nothing. He marched on

Kashmir prudently and overawed his rivals by sheer superiority.

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1. Baba Daud, ff. 130a-b; *B.S.* f. 139a; H.M., f. 143a.
2. *B S.*, f. 136a.
3. H.M., f. 142b; Suka, p. 396.
4. H.M., f. 143a.
5. Ibid., *B.S.*, f. 139a.
6. *B.S.*, f. 139a; H.M. f. 143a; Hasan, p. 248.
7. *B.S.*, f. 139a.
8. *B.S.*, f. 140b; Hasan, p. 248. Firishta (p. 524) and Nizam-ud-Din (*Tabaqat.*, III, p. 753) wrongly writes that Sayyid Mubarak, who was on unhappy terms with Abdal, was responsible to accentuate this conflict. Dr. Parmu has also followed the two historians (pp. 261-63).
9. *B.S.*, f. 140b; H.M., f. 143b.
10. *B.S.*, f. 140b; H.M., f. 143b; Rafi-ud-Din, p. 96. The anonymous author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* has given in detail the exploits of Baihaqi Sayyids. Much of it seems to be an exaggeration of facts (ff. 140b-141b).
11. *B.S.*, ff. 141a-b; H M., ff. 144a-b. According to Abul Fazl, Abdal was killed by a bullet (*A.N.*, III, p. 408). Mohibbul Hasan has followed him (p. 162).
12. *B.S.*, f. 141b.
13. Coin No. 26, Pt. II (J.A.S.B. 1885, Rodgers, p. 129); R.C. Kak, p. 139.
14. *B.S.*, f. 142b; Suka 896.
15. *B.S.*, f. 142b; Suka 896. According to Sufi, Sayyid Mubarak resigned from the post of Wizarat owing to Yusuf's loose morals and licentiousness (I, p. 527).
16. H.M., f. 151b.
17. Ibid; Rafi-ud-Din, p. 96. Ghazi Shah Chak was the first king who gave many concessions to the cultivators in the practice of forced labour in Kashmir (A.A., p. 90).
18. H M., f. 151b; Birbal, p. 87.
19. Suka, p. 397; *B.S.*, f. 143a. According to Firishta, Yusuf Shah ruled only for forty days (p. 524). See also *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 753.
20. *B.S.*, f. 143a; H.M., f. 144a.
21. *B.S.*, f. 143a. According to Haidar Malik, Yusuf's debaucheries and licentiousness prompted the nobles to dethrone him (ff. 144a-b),
22. *B.S.*, f. 143b; H.M., Ibid.
23. *B.S.*, f. 143b.

24. Ibid.
25. H.M., f. 144b.
26. H.M., f. 145a; *B.S.*, f. 144b; Suka, p. 398.
27. H.M., f. 145a. The anonymous author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* has given a comprehensive account of this battle (ff. 145a-b).
28. *B.S.*, ff. 146a-b; H.M., f. 145b.
29. H.M., f. 145b. We learn from the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* that Yusuf Shah was in such a critical position at this time that he could have easily been captured by the rebellious soldiers (ff. 146a-b).
30. *B.S.*, ff. 147a-b.
31. Suka, p. 430; Lawrence, p. 193. The anonymous author of the *Baharistan-i-Shahi* writes that Yusuf Shah left for Rajauri (ff. 147a-b). 'Khasas' were the people occupying the hill territories of Lohara and Rajauri (Stein, II, p. 430).
32. *B.S.*, f. 148a.
33. Abul Fazl wrongly writes Ali Chak as Yusuf Chak (*A.N.*, III, p 408).
34. *B.S.*, f. 148b.
35. *B.S.* ff. 149a-b; Suka, p. 397. According to Abul Fazl, soon after the defeat of Yusuf Shah, Sayyid Mubarak and many other nobles decided that Yusuf, (Yusuf Shah's cousin) should be made the king. But he declined out of foresightedness (*A.N.*, III, p. 408). This account has not been supported by any local chronicler of Kashmir.
36. See p. 97 supra.
37. *B.S.*, ff. 140a-b.
38. Ibid; H.M., f. 146b; Hasan, p. 254.
39. Barbal is the name of tower on Tosamaidan in Rajauri (Stein, II, p. 399).
40. *B.S.*, 149b; H.M., f. 146b.
41. 'Satpat' or Sarikaparvata and now it is called Haraparvat in Srinagar (Stein, II, p. 446). See also Raj. III, pp. 339-346.
42. *B.S.*, f. 149b.
43. *B.S.*, f. 150a; Hasan, p. 254.
44. *B.S.*, f. 150a.
45. *B.S.*, f. 150a.
46. At the mouth of Kankan-nai valley and about three Km. to N.E. of Ciramocana, is the helmet of 'Baruwel' which Kalhana mentions as an Agratra of King *Jalanka* under the name of 'Varabala' (Stein, II, p. 490) and (*R.T.*, n.i., p. 121).
47. *B.S.*, ff. 151a-b.
48. Ibid. Haidar Malik writes Kashmir nobles took the route of deceit and backed out of their promises when Sayyid Mubarak despatched soldiers against Yusuf Shah. He fled to Katal (near Rajauri) without giving a fight (f. 147a).
49. *B.S.*, ff. 151a-b; *A.N.*, III, p. 409.

50. *B.S.*, ff. 155a-b; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 734; Rodgers, p. 136; *A.N.*, III, p. 409.
51. *B.S.*, f. 152b.
52. *B.S.*, f. 153a; Hasan, p. 286.
53. *B.S*, f. 153a.
54. Ibid.
55. *B.S.*, pp. 154, 155
56. *B.S.*, ff. 156a-b; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 755.
57. *B.S.*, ff. 156a-b; *A.N.*, p. 409. According to Haidar Malik, Sayyid Mubarak sent the royal crown and Chattar to Lohar without himself coming to the hospice of Baba Khalil (f. 147a). The anonymous author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* has related a touching story about the abdication of Sayyid Mubarak (p. 156).
58. *B.S.*, f. 156b.
59. Ibid , f. 157a; H.M., f. 147a.
60. *B.S.*, f. 123a.
61. Ibid., f. 134a.
62. Ibid., f. 149a; Hasan, p. 253.
63. *B.S.*, f. 149a.
64. Ibid.
65. *A.N.*, III, p. 787.
66. *B.S.*, f. 190a.
67. Coin No. 38, Pt. III (J.A.S.B. 1885, Rodgers, p. 136). According to Rodgers statement, the coin No. 38, bears neither the word Lohar nor Gauhar, but some name ending in 'Ann' a letter in Persian alphabet and 'ud-Din'. Perhaps, the name is 'Badai-ud-Din (the out strippers of the others in religion), is a new title in Kashmir History. It is the name or title of Lohar Shah Chak assumed on ascending the throne (p. 136).
68. *B.S.*, f. 157a; *A.A.*, p. 479.
69. *B.S.*, f. 157a; *A.A.*, p. 479.
70. *A.A.*, p. 47a; *B.S.*, f. 1579a.
71. *B.S.*, f. 153b.
72. Ibid.
73. H.M., f. 149b; Azam, p. 162.
74. One Kashmiri Kharwar was equal to three maunds and eight seers of the Mughal Shahi weight (*Tuzuk*, I, p. 143). According to Stein, the average price of a Kharwar under the Chaks was ascertained to be 29 Dams (i.e. 2900 Dinnars), p. 325. For identification of Dam's value, see Stein, II, p. 309 Sqq.
75. H.M., f. 149b; Azam, p. 162; Birbal; ff. 88a-b; Narayan Kaul, f. 69a.
76. H.M., f. 491b; Newal, p. 427.
77. H.M., f. 149b.
78. *B.S.*, f. 157a; H.M., f. 147a; *Tabaqat.*, III, p. 756.
79. A.N., III, p, 409. The anonymous chronicler writes that Emperor