

ABDUL GHAFFUR (AKHUND)
SAIDU BABA OF SWAT: LIFE,
CAREER AND ROLE

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Akhund Abdul Ghaffur¹ (Akhund 'Abd al-Ghafur), now known as Saidu Baba, "was born at Jabrai (in Shimizai), a small shepherd's hamlet in Bar (Upper) Swat, about the year 1794."² His father's name was Abdul Wahid³ (Abd al-Wahid). Born of Gujar⁴ parents, Abdul Ghaffur began life as a herd boy.⁵ "His early occupation afforded ample time for meditation; and Abdul Ghaffur was soon noted amongst his own people as a sober, thoughtful lad, with a natural predilection for a retired and religious life. As a shepherd boy, it is related of him that for years he lived on the milk of a single buffalo, which he always led to pasture, tied with a rope to prevent it grazing on the crops of others, rather than drink that of the rest of the herd which grazed on unlawful grounds."⁶

At eighteen years of age, he resolved to "devote himself to a religious life. Leaving his home, he went to the village of Barangolah, and there became the *chailah* (*chaylah* or disciple) of a priest, from whom he learned the rudiments of his religion, and the arts of reading and writing."⁷

After a while "he set out as a *Talib al-'ilm*, or "enquirer after wisdom"; and in the course of his wanderings, arrived at Gujargarhi."⁸ After a few months he went to Tordher⁹ (now in Sawabi District) and "became the *murid* or "disciple" of Sahibzadah Muahmmad Shwaib (Shu'ayb) at that time the most noted priest in these parts"¹⁰ and adopted Naqashbandiyah tariqah (order) "for its undisturbed observance."¹¹

At the age of twenty years, 1816, he migrated and "settled on a lonely spot on the river (Indus) bank below the village of Baiki (or Beka), near Hund. Here he built a *zozkhanah*, or "camel's thorn hut", at the river's brink; and, shut off from the world, dwelt in it for twelve years."¹² "sitting silent and motionless, his head bowed on his chest, and his eyes fixed on the ground."¹³ "During all this time his diet, it is said, was only *Shamukha*; the seed of a wild grass (*panicum frumentaceum*) and water. This grain is said to be his chief food at the present time;¹⁴ but the water is replaced by buffalo's milk."¹⁵ At Beka "his sanctity and holiness began to attract universal attention, and he got the title of Akhund."¹⁶ His fame as a saint, records Wylly, dates from his sojourn at Beka, and even to this day, in the most distant parts of Persia, he is still remembered as The Hermit of Beka.¹⁷

From Beka Abdul Ghaffur went to and settled in a Ziarat at Ghulaman and from there to the village of Salim Khan; where "he attached to himself a number of disciples, who spread his fame far and near through all the country; and from the miracles he was said to perform, he now got the title of Buzurg,¹⁸ in addition to that of Akhund, which he had acquired some years before."¹⁹ Here in Salim Khan, "he got involved in the death of Khadi Khan of Hund at the hands of Said (Sayyid) Ahmad Shah, the founder of the sect known as the Hindustani fanatics or *Mujahidin*. This occurrence led to the hasty retirement of the Akhund from there."²⁰

In 1835,²¹ Amir Dost Muhammad Khan, in his battle against the Sikhs, sought his co-operation; and "the Akhund set out with a considerable gathering of "*Ghazis*" and "*Taliban al-ilm*" and added to their number on his journey along the foot of the hills; so that when he joined the Amir's Camp, he had with him quite a small army of noisy champions for the faith; mostly however, unarmed."²² He joined the Amir's camp near Barah. The Sikhs, notwithstanding the Akhund's saintly presence, were victorious, and the Akhund fled to Bajour"²³ "with only a few adherents. These, after a time, also deserted him; and, left alone, he now resumed his early wandering habits, and at length, finding hospitable shelter, settled at Kaldara, in the Ranizai hills"²⁴ "From there he moved to Butkhela (Batkhila) in Lower Swat,²⁵ and from there to Saidu,²⁶

where he settled down permanently at about 43 years²⁷ of age."²⁸ Here "the people gave him a portion of land for his own and his disciples support . . . Soon after settling here, the Akhund married a woman of the Naikbi Khail (*khil*) division of the Akozai clan of Yusufzai."²⁹ At Saidu "he exercised an irresistible influence over the Yusufzais and their neighbours".³⁰

"At Saidu," reports Bellew, "the Akhund is surrounded by *murids* (disciples), who live in the village and perform his various commands, attend to and feed the crowds of devotees who daily flock to the "Master" and through them circulate wonderful lies."³¹ Most of these wonderful stories of his miracles and saintly virtues were "most firmly believed in by the bulk of the people, despite their absurdly incredulous, and impossible character,"³² e.g. that "he was supplied by supernatural means with necessities of life, and that every morning a sum of money, sufficient for his own needs and for the entertainment of the pilgrims who flocked to consult him, was found under his praying carpet."³³ That, the clods became *sang-i-paras* (the philosopher's stone) in, one of, his murid's hand (on the instruction of the Akhund) who, once doubted 'the Akhund's means for the expenditure of his public kitchen.³⁴ "The Akhund gained such an ascendancy over the minds of his co-religionists that they believed in all kinds of stories about him."³⁵

Bellew has rightly observed, that "It is more wonderful that the people, thus misled, have not yet discovered that their "*Buzurg*", with all his saintly and miraculous powers, has as yet done nothing to ameliorate their wretched condition, either moral, physical, or social, by a single whit."³⁶

Furthermore "though by no means a man of letters, or learned in theology, he is nevertheless, consulted in all cases of religious controversy amongst the Sunni Mahomadans of the countries around, and his decision is accepted as final and the law. He also now issues circular edicts regarding religious ceremonies and secular observances. These are acted on and considered as binding as the shariat (*Shari'at*) which indeed, they are considered to be by his followers".³⁷ One example will be sufficient, here, of his changing of and deviation from Islam and Qur'anic orders. Islam has given right to female heirs, of the deceased in his inheritance.³⁸ But the Akhund abolished these rights of female heirs, by a *fatwa* (religious decree), that giving female heirs their due share, in inheritance, would cause disturbances and quarrels.³⁹ That is why till now, the female heirs have no rights to inheritances in Swat and thus the Akhund maintained the status quo of pre-Islamic order. Whereas Allah declare: **وَتَمَّتْ كَلِمَتُ رَبِّكَ صِدْقًا وَعَدْلًا لَا مُبَدِّلَ لِكَلِمَاتِهِ ۗ** The word of thy Lord" doth find its fulfilment in truth and in justice; none can change His words."⁴⁰

Furthermore **وَلَا يُشْرِكُ فِي حُكْمِهِ أَحَدًا هـ وَأَتْلُ مَا أُوْحِيَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ كِتَابِ رَبِّكَ ۗ لَا مُبَدِّلَ لِكَلِمَاتِهِ ۗ** ^{٢٦ — ٢٧ الكهف} ^{nor} does He (Allah) share His command with any person whatsoever. And recite (and teach) what has been revealed to thee of the Book of thy Lord; none can change His words (His commands, decrees, orders)."⁴¹

The policy of the Akhund towards the Imperial power was conciliatory and submissive. Although "for nearly forty years he was the most influential figure in the valley (Swat),"⁴² he "was not a 'fanatic' or vehemently anti-British, and for most of his period as the leading figure in Swat his policy was to avoid engaging into conflict with the Government."⁴³ Notwithstanding the fact that the Akhund acquired great influence and reverence, however "his authority was not absolute."⁴⁴ It is noteworthy that when the people of Palai committed some raids on the British

occupied territory "both in 1847 and 1849 he (Akhund) advised the people of Palai not to interfere with or oppose us (British),"⁴⁵ and as regards the payment of the fine (1852) of Rs. 5000/- the leaders were divided in opinion; the Akhund urged the payment thereof, but Sayed Akbar⁴⁶ opposed him and urged the people of Sam Ranizai to refuse."⁴⁷

The Akhund had not undertaken any expedition against the Imperial power but he worked "as a modifying factor"⁴⁸ and rendered valuable services for the British at the critical moments. During the War of 1857, as "500 of the 55th Native Infantry crossed the border into Swat, where they were looked on with favour by Mubarak Shah, the son of Sayed Akbar (Shah). Fortunately for us the Akhund, so far from taking active steps against us, drove out the mutineers of the 55th and Mubarak Shah as well."⁴⁹ That there was not more disturbance, in that critical year was due mainly to the refusal of the Akhund to permit the Swat Yusufzai to be implicated."⁵⁰ Wylly admits that "he supported our government so far as lay in his power during the anxious days of the Mutiny."^{50b}

The Akhund only once joined the War against the Imperial power, i.e. Ambella War, in 1863, but as he "had little sympathy either with the Sitana Sayyeds or their Hindustani followers",⁵¹ "it appears his heart was not in it."⁵² So "at first the Akhund stood aloof"⁵³ "but when "the tribes of Bunner (Bunlr) and Swat, however, rose en masse,"⁵⁴ "the Akhund was no longer able to stem the tide;"⁵⁵ "whose (Akhund) inclinations were consequently for peace, especially as religious rivalry prevailed between him and the head of the fanatical colony,"⁵⁶ "whom he has decreed to be Wahabis or heretics."⁵⁷

McMahon and Ramsay give a clear cut version of the Akhund's desires, inclinations and compulsions to join the war against the British, in the Ambela campaign, in 1863, that "The Akhund probably had no very great desire to be drawn into direct opposition to us, but, owing to circumstances beyond his control, he was involved in the business. The people of Mahabon and Boner call on him for help, and to refuse would have been to risk the chance that Said Mubarak Shah,⁵⁸ the son of Said Akbar (Shah), might usurp a large amount of the influence which the Akhund then held over the Yusufzai. To join in the movement and not do his best to bring it to a successful conclusion would have been to lower his prestige."⁵⁹

Describing the War, Olaf Caroe writes that the Akhund was in favour of the policy of reconciliation "fearing that further resistance by the core of the irreconcilable Mujahidin would only recoil on the tribes, who might lose their independence. No doubt too the Akhund reflected that the destruction of Malka (also Mulka) would lower the prestige of the Sitana Sayyids, a result which would be likely to increase his own."⁶⁰ Therefore "the Buner Khans were induced to submit, and under the leadership of Zaidullah Khan of Daggar agreed to conduct the British commissioner with a small escort to effect the destruction of Malka⁶¹ and the expulsion of the Mujahidin."⁶²

The *Imperial Gazetteer* also records the importance of the Akhund's role in pacifying Swat tribes and defusing the political situation after the battle at the Ambela pass in 1863*: the Akhund advised the people of Swat and Buner, and other independent tracts, to behave towards us as good neighbours, and if they offended the British Government, to meet such demands as it might make, and to comply with such terms as might be imposed."⁶³

The Akhund opposed the doctrine of the *Mujahidin*, followers of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid Barelvi, "whom he has decreed to be Wahabis or heretics,"⁶⁴ and "whom he abhorred and frequently openly denounced."⁶⁵ Inter alia, with British interference through political officer,

after the battle of Ambella, the Akhund fought the Mujahidin and, their leader being murdered, at last expelled them to Hazara.⁶⁶ When the Buneries, again, gave shelter to some of the *Mujahidin* in 1868, "that time (too) the Akhund exerted his influence to have them harrassed and turned out of Boner (Bunir)."⁶⁷ Before his death, on January 12, 1877;⁶⁸ when the Utmankhel attacked a camp of coolies at Abazai in December 1876, according to McMahon and Ramsay, "the Akhund was emphatic in denouncing the perpetrators."⁶⁹

The Akhund was cautious in establishing claims to political leadership and to assume temporal power himself. "During his lifetime", writes Olaf Caroe, "there was no question of his assuming any degree of temporal power."⁷⁰ However, in 1871, he "attempted to gauge public opinion as to how the tribes were likely to accept the leadership of his son, the Miangul ('Abd al-Hannan), by first suggesting Said Mubarak Shah as the leader in Swat, but the suggestion was not received favourably."⁷¹ In 1875, he "once more threw out suggestions of a common leader for Swat, and put forward the name of Sayed Ahmad Shah, of Nikbikhel, (Nikbikhil or Nikpikhil) hoping that the tribes would of their own accord ask that his own son, Miangul should accept the leadership. Much to his disgust, however, the tribes acquiesced in his nomination, whereupon the Akhund repudiated his nominee, saying that, "as no Jihad was about to be undertaken, no common ruler was necessary."⁷²

To sum up, we may conclude, that the preaching, motives and policies of the 'Akhund Abdul Ghaffur"⁷³ are quite clear. He did not utilize his unbounded influence for the eradication of ignorance, absurd and false dogmas and un-Islamic beliefs and deeds; which were against the Qur'an the *Sunnah* and Islamic norms, but, in fact, maintained the status quo. He used his influence only "for purposes that were good according to his own light (nor Islam)"⁷⁴ and in "enforcing the precepts of the Muhammadan Law as far as was compatible with ineradicable Pathan customs."⁷⁵ He opposed the doctrine and cause of the followers of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid Bareilvi tooth and nail; decreed them Wahabis and finally pushed them out to Hazara.

In his role of adviser and mediator, observes R. O. Christensen, the Akhund was able to create the basis for political unity among the people of Swat. His position rested on his reputation for sanctity, however, and in order not to undermine his spiritual prestige he was therefore very cautious in establishing claims to political leadership. He nevertheless attempted (twice) to have his elder son accepted as ruler of Swat to continue his work, but without success.⁷⁶

Based on submission and conciliation; his policy towards the Imperial power "was to avoid engaging the conflict with the Government,"⁷⁷ who "generally regarded him as a factor for peace and stability on the frontier."⁷⁸ It appears that he rendered valuable services for the British, by working as a modifying factor, but mainly for the protection of his own vested interest.

NOTES and REFERENCES

1. Akbar S. Ahmad and Dr. Qiyam-ud-din Ahmad write 'ABDUL GHAFAR' which is incorrect. See Akbar S. Ahmad, *Millennium and Charisma among Pathans*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976, p. 94; henceforth Akbar S. Ahmad; and Qiyam-ud-din Ahmad, (Urdu translation by Prof. Muhammad Muslim Azeemabadi) *Hindustan mayn Wahabi Tahrik*, Karachi, 1976, p. 221, foot note, henceforth Qiyam-ud-din Ahmad. While in the Pashto translation of

- Akbar S. Ahmad, *'Millenium Au Charisma Da Swat Pa Pukhlanu Kay'* Peshawar, 1978, p. 166; it has been corrected as 'ABDUL GHAFUR'!
2. H. W. Bellew, *A General Report on the Yusufzais*, Peshawar, reprint, 1977, p. 102, henceforth, Bellew. Accounts are different about the place and year of the Akhund's birth. Cf. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Provincial Series, N.W.F.P, Lahore, Reprint 1976, p. 221; henceforth I.G.I. (N.W.F.P.); Olaf Caroe, *the Pathans*, Karachi, 1976, p. 362; henceforth Olaf Caroe; Allah Bakhsh Yusufi, *Yusufzai*, Karachi, 1960, p. 460; henceforth Allah Bakhsh Yusufi; A. H. McMahon and A. D. G. Ramsay, *Report on the Tribes of Dir, Swat and Bajaur together with the Utmankhel and Sam Ranizai*, Peshawar Report 1981, p. 24, henceforth McMahon and Ramsay; Akbar S. Ahmad, *op.cil.*, p. 94; and the *Frontier Post*, Peshawar, "Weekend Post", Feb. 19, 1988, p. 6, "Saidu Baba of Swat" by Umar Mahiyuddin, henceforth 'weekend post'. Nevertheless, the correct place is Jabrai and 1794 is the correct year nor 1784. See note No. 27, below. These versions of Mawlwi Abdul Malik in *Shahan-i-Gujar* that the Akhund "went from Punjab to Swat" (p. 398) and "It is said that the Hazrat (Akhund) went to Swat Bunir for the purpose of preaching from District Hazara" (p. 399), are incorrect.
 3. Allah Bakhsh Yusufi, *op.cil.*, p. 460; Khan Roshan Khan, *Yusufzai Qawm Ki Sarguzasht*, Karachi, 1986, p. 334, henceforth "Roshan Khan'.
 4. "The Gujar not only falls at the bottom of the Swat Caste Schemata but is also extra-ethnic in non-pakhtan origin." Akbar S. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p. 94. See also Bellew, *op.cit.*, pp. 181, 182. Opinions and accounts are different about the origin of the Akhund, that whether he was of Gujar origin or from Safi Clan of the Afghans. Some recent sources, following the Akhund dependents' version, traces his origin from Safies. e.g. J. W. Spain state's about his grandson, "one of the petty chieftains from the relatively unimportant Safi tribe of Pathans". (James W. Spain, *The way of the Pathans*, Karachi, 1979, pp. 67, 68). See also Olaf Caroe, *op.cit.*, p. 362; Allah Bakhsh Yusufi, *op.cit.*, p. 460; for the same point of view. While the contemporary sources close to his age confirm the former point of view i.e. Gujar origin. Please see Bellew, *op.cil.*, p. 102; I.G.I. (N.W.F.P.), p. 221; McMahon and Ramsay, *op.cit.*, p. 24; Wylly, p. 112, (quoted in Akbar S. Ahmad *op.cit.*, p. 94) and Mawlwi Abdul Malik Khan Sahib, *ShahaniGujar*, Lahore Reprint 1986, pp. 398, 399, henceforth *Shahan-i-Gujar*. Nevertheless a discussion may be cited here, which took place in a bus (rightly termed "Garzinda (moving) Hujra" by Adalat Khan, Lecturer in Economics, see. *Eelum*, 1990-91, *the Journal of Govt. Jahanzeb Post Graduate College Saidu Sharif Swat*, part Pashto, pp. 98-101) coming from Shamuzai on November 10, 1991, about the role of Gujars and Pukhtuns. Amidst hot debate, when the bus was between Aligramah and Kanju, a person, probably a Gujar, argued that Gujars had ruled nor the Pukhtuns; and he asked who were the rulers of Swat, means thereby descendants of the Akhund who ruled Swat, 1915-1969, they were Gujars not Pakhtuns. A similar discussion took place, some years ago, in a flying coach when I was coming from Peshawar to Mingawarah. There also a person, probably a Gujar, argued "show me a *Buzurg* in Pakhtuns; while in Gujars, Saidu Baba the Akhund — is an evident example." According to *Shahan-i-Gujar* (p. 399) the Akhund was from the

"Kathana" clan of Gujars. To sum up, the common people also trace his genealogy neither to the Gujars nor to the Safies. Anyhow Allah declares

﴿يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّا خَلَقْنَاكُمْ مِنْ ذَكَرٍ وَأُنْثَىٰ وَخَلَقْنَاكُمْ شُعُوبًا وَقَبَائِلَ لِتَعَارَفُوا ۗ إِنَّ أَكْرَمَكُمْ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ أَتْقَىٰ﴾

Mankind! We created you from a single (pair) of a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that ye may know each other (not that ye may despise each other) verily the most honoured of you in the sight of Allah is (he who is) the most righteous of you." (Al-Qu'an, *Surah Al-Hujurat*,

verse; 13) and that النَّاسُ مِنْ أَدَمٍ وَأَدَمُ مِنْ تُرَابٍ All mankind is from the Adam and Adam is from the dust" (*Alhadith*).

5. I.G.I. (N.W.F.P.), *op.cit.*, p. 221.
6. Bellow, *op.cit.*, p. 102. To prevent one and graze the remaining herd on the crops of others and on unlawful grounds by him was to be lawful?
7. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Bellew writes "Dudair", (p. 103) while it is Tordher (Turdhir) cf. Allah Bakhsh Yusufi, *op.cit.*, p. 463; and 'Weekend Post', *op. cit.*, p. 6. (For review of the article in *Weekend Post*, Feb; 19, 1988. See the *Frontier Post*, Peshawar, *Weekend Post*' July 15, 1988, pp. 4, 5, "Saidu Baba and the spread of Islam" by Sultan-i-Rome).
10. Bellew, *op.cit.*, p. 103.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 104, whereas, according to *Shahani-Gujar*, and Muhammad Amir Shah Qadiri, he adopted the Qadiriyyah *Tariqah.*, see *Shahani-Gujar*, *op.cit.*, p. 398. Muhammad Amir Shah Qadiri, *Tadhkirah 'Ulama wa Masha'ikh-i-Sarhad*, vol. I, Peshawar, p. 150, henceforth Muhammad Amir Shah Qadiri.
12. Bellew, *op.cit.*, p. 104.
13. Wylly, quoted in Akbar S. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p. 94.
14. 1863, at the time of compilation of the report by Bellew.
15. Bellew, *op.cit.*, p. 104. See also Akbar S. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p. 94.
16. McMahon and Ramsay, *op.cit.*, p. 2E. "A Persian word meaning a teacher with much the same connotation as Guru*. Olaf Caroe, *op.cit.*, p. 363.
17. Wylly, quoted in Akbar S. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p. 94.
18. "Applied to a reverend elder". (Olaf Caroe, *op.cit.*, p. 362).
19. Bellew, *op.cit.*, pp. 104, 105.
20. McMahon and Ramsay, *op.cit.*, p. 25. Accounts are different about the place of the Akhund's stay at the time of Khadi Khan's murder and his stay at various places. Olaf Caroe and McMahon and Ramsay mention the occurrence of Khadi Khan's murder during the Akhund's stay in the village Salim Khan and his settlement in Gujargarhi and Tordher after his escape from Salim Khan. Contrary to it, Bellew refers to Khadi Khan's murder case during the Akhund's stay at Beka (Bika) and his stay in Gujargarhi and Tordher before his settlement in Salim Khan. Cf. Olaf Caroe, *op. cit.*, p. 362; McMahon and Ramsay *op.cit.*, p. 25; Bellew, *op.cit.*, pp. 87, 104.
21. McMahon and Ramsay (p. 25) state 1829, which is incorrect, cf. Roshan Khan *op.cit.*, p. 268; Allah Bakhsh Yusufi, *Sarhad Awr Jid-o-Jihdi-Azadi*,

Lahore, 1968, p. 26, henceforth *Sarhad Awr Jid-o-Jihd-i-Aiadi*; Bellew, *op.cit.*, 105.

22. Bellew, *op.cit.*, p. 105.
23. McMahon and Ramsay, *op.cit.*, p. 25.
24. Bellew, *op.cit.*, p. 105.
25. The Historical Swat valley or proper Swat commences from the village Ain. The upper portion from there down to the Landkai Spur, 5 miles above Chakdarra, is known as Barr (upper) Swat while the lower portion from Landakai downwards as far as the village of Kalangai is called Kuz (Lower) Swat". (McMahon and Ramsay, *op.cit.*, p. 3). Bellew states the "valley is divided into three local districts, viz. Ranizai Kuz Swat, and Barr Swat — continuous with, and on cost of the Ranizai, district, is lower or Kuz Swat. It extends from Allahd and to Charbagh. — Beyond Charbagh eastward to the end of the valley, where it becomes blended with the Kohistan (Kuhistan) of Ghorband, is upper or Barr Swat. The last village in this direction, at the foot of the Kohistan, is charrarrai". (Bellew, *op.cit.*, pp. 40, 41. See also I.G.I. (N.W.F.P.), *op.cit.*, pp. 216, 217). Anyhow, Lower Swat has been merged, upto Landakai, in Malakand Agency by the British; and after the emergence of Swat State, in 1915, the valley beyond Landakai, became known as Swat, and from Landakai eastward to the villages of Charbagh and Ningwalai, on the river Swat banks, became known as Kuz (lower) Swat and beyond that eastward up to the valley end, as Barr (upper) Swat.
26. Before his permanent residence at Saidu Which was given the appellation 'Sharif (noble) to indicate its special status", (Akbar S. Ahmad *op.cit.*, p. 97) and which is "a beautiful spot on the south aide of the Swat River where a tributary stream, descending from the Dam Mountain, opens into the main valley" (Olaf Caroe, *op.cit.*, p. 362) the Akhund stayed in some other places. Please see Allah Bakhsh Yusufi, *op.cit.*, p. 463.
27. According to McMahon and Ramsay the Akhund was born in 1784. (McMahon and Ramsay, *op.cit.*, p. 24). It seems incorrect, as he settled below the village of Beka in 1816 at the age of twenty years (see Akbar S. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p. 94; "Weekend post", *op.cit.*, p. 6) so the year of his birth appears to be 1794. Furthermore, he settled permanently at Saidu after the battle of Amir Dost Muhammad Khan and the Sikhs and that battle took place in 1835. (See *Sarhad Awr Jid-o-Jihd-i-Atadi*, *op.cit.*, p. 26; Roshan Khan, *op.cit.*, p. 268; Bellew, *op.cit.*, pp. 105, 108). If it is supposed, that he was born in 1784 and "he settled at Saidu at about the age of 43 years," (McMahon and Ramsay, *op.cit.*, p. 25) then the Sikh-Afghan War, in which the Akhund was present, falls before 1827, which is also incorrect. So, the correct year of the birth comes to 1794. He permanently settled at Saidu In about at the age of 43 years' in 1837, two years latter of the Sikh-Afghan War in Khyber, where he was present.
28. McMahon and Ramsay, *op.cit.*, p. 25.
29. Bellew *op.cit.*, pp. 105, 106, see also Olaf Caroe, *op.cit.*, pp. 362, 363. McMahon and Ramsay, *op.cit.* p. 25. While the editor's note (on McMahon and Ramsay, *op.cit.*, p. 25) state's that "the 1916 edition gives a woman

- from a Mian family at sapal Bandai,' see also, Allah Bakhsh Yusufi, *op.cit.*, p. 463. "Weekend Post", *op.cit.*, p. 6.
30. I.G.I. (N.WJP.), *op.cit.*, p. 221.
 31. Bcllew, *op.cit.*, p. 106.
 32. *Ibid*,
 33. Wylly, quoted in Akbar S. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p. 95.
 34. See Abdul GhafTar Khan, *Zama zhwand Au JiduJihd* (My life and struggle), Afghanistan, p. 12. For another similar absurd story Bee Muhammad Amir Shah Qadiri, *op.cit.*, pp. 156, 157. Numerous other similar absurd stories are found among the common people, believed in by the ignorant and illiterate people till now.
 35. Wylly, quoted in Akbar S. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, pp. 94, 95.
 36. Bellow, *op.cit.*, p. 106.
 37. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
 38. See *Al-Qur'an, Surah Al-Nisa'*, verses, 7, 11—14, 177.
 39. A well known tradition and fact. I confirmed it, again, on November 15, 1991, from Aslam Haji Sahib, about 105 or 110 years of age, of village Hazara, District Swat. He related that *Imam ustad*, Abdul Sutwan, father of Mawlwi Abdur Rahman, has stated in the mosque that, although according to Islam female heirs have their due share in inheritance but 'Saidu Sahib' had abolished it, because it would cause disturbance and quarrels.
 40. *Al-Qur'an, Surah AlAn'aim*, verse, 116.
 41. *Ibid.*, *Surah Al-Kahf*, verses, 26, 27.
 42. McMahan and Ramsay, *op.cit.*, editor's introduction p. 22.
 43. *Ibid*.
 44. Olaf Cnroc, *op.cit.*, p. 363.
 45. MchMahon and Ramsay, *op.cit.*, p. 70.
 46. "A descendant of the famous Pir Baba Said Akbar Shah of Sithanah, who had been a follower of the fanatic Said Ahmad Shah and had been his treasurer and Prime Minister while the Said (Sayed) was in power". (McMahon and Ramsay, *op.cit.*, pp. 70, 71). In 1849 his appointment as *badshah* (ruler) of Swat, was suggested by the Akhund and the tribes concurred in it. He remained the ruler of swat till his death, May 11, 1857. "The very day that news of the Mutiny at Meerut reached Peshawar". (McMahon and Ramsay, *op.cit.*, p. 73). About whom Sir Herbert Edwards write, "If in Swat Sayed Akbar Shah, chief of the warrior tribes and of religious Government, was alive, then the state of affairs of the War of 1857 was to be somewhat different", (quoted in Allah Bakhsh Yusuf, *op.cit.*, pp. 464-465. Roshan Khan, *op.cit.*, p. 335. *Sarhad Awr JidoJihdi-Azadi*, p. 46.
 47. McMahon and Ramsay, *op.cit.*, p. 72.
 48. Akbar S. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p. 95.
 49. McMahon and Ramsay, *op.cit.*, p. 74. See also Akbar S. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p. 95; I.G.I. (N.WJ.P.), p. 218; Qiyam-ud-din Ahmad *op.cit.*, p. 223.
 50. Olaf Caroc, *op.cit.*, p. 364.
 - 50b. Wylly, quoted in Akbar SAhmad, *op.cit.*, p. 95.
 51. Olaf Caroe, *op.cif.*, p. 364.
 52. Akbar S. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p. 95.
 53. Olaf Caroe, *op.cit.*, p. 366.

54. I.G.I. (N.WJ.P.), *opxit.*, p. 225.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 20 see also Qiyam-ud-din Ahmad, *op.cit.*, pp. 221, 222.
57. Bellew, *op.cit.*, p. 107. See also Muhammad Amir Shah Qadri, *op.cit.*, p. 152.
58. Whom the Akhund had drawn out from Swat at the time of the War of 1857.
59. McMahon and Ramsay *op.cit.*, p. 74.
60. Olaf Caroe, *op.cit.*, p. 368.
61. In fact one house was set on fire, outside Malka, nor the village of Maltka. See Allah Bakhsh Yusufi, *op.cit.*, p. 388.
62. Olafj2aroc, *op.cit.*, p. 368. Sec also Roshan Khart, *op.cit.*, pp. 307-309 cf. Qiyam-ud-din Ahmad *op.cit.*, pp. 245-247.
63. Akbar S. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p. 95.
64. Bellew, *op.cit.*, p. 107.
65. McMahon and Ramsay, *op.cit.*, p. 74.
66. See Roshan Khan_A *op.cit.*, pp. 308, 309. Allah Baksh Yusufi, *op.cit.*, pp. 389, 390. Qiyam-ud-din Ahmad, *op.cit.*, pp. 337-340.
67. McMahon and Ramsay *op.cit.*, p. 75.
68. In editor's introduction, (pp. 22,24) R.O. Christensen states the year of the Akhund's death was 1878; (McMahon and Ramsay, *op.cit.*,) which is incorrect., cf. *Ibid.*, p. 77; Olaf Caroe, *op.cit.*, p. 385; Muhammad Amir Qadri, *op.cit.*, p. 157; Allah Bakhsh Yusufi, *op.cit.*, p. 465; Akbar S. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, pp. 97, 'OS; I.G.I. (N.WJP.P.), *op.cit.*, p. 219.
69. McMahon and Ramsay *op.cit.*, pp. 76,77.
70. Olaf Caroc, *op.cit.*, p. 363.
71. McMahon and Ramsay, *op.cit.*, p. 76.
72. *Ibid.*
73. Apart from his proper name he, Abdul Ghaffur, is also known by the_ names of the 'Akhund of Swat', 'Da Saidu Sahib, The Saidu Ghawth' and 'Saidu Baba'. The lost one is famous now and he is generally known, now, by it.
74. *Peshawar Gazetteer*, quoted in Akbar S. Ahmad, *op.cit.*, p. 97.
75. *Ibid.*
76. McMaho and Ramsay *op.cit.*, editor's introduction, p. 22.
77. *Ibid*
78. *Ibid.*