

# ***MULLAS, BABAS AND THE FORMATION OF SWAT STATE: UNDERSTANDING THE STRUGGLE OF SANDAKAI BABA***

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## **Abstract**

Sandakai Baba, a religious figure, was an active actor during the initial years of the formation of Swat state. He was widely respected and owing to his unbounded influence he is regarded one of the founding figures in the formation of Swat state. He participated in most of the affairs that culminated in the formation of Swat state. In this article two common terms i.e. Mullah and Baba has been defined in the context of Swat to understand their proper roles and to relate the debate with the emergence of Sandakai Baba. His forceful campaign, fighting capability and spiritual influence made him a political and religious actor to be reckoned with. This paper investigates the role of religious figures with special reference to the struggle and services of Sandakai Baba in the politics and society of Swat. It would be examined in the article that what were the objectives, strength and achievement of his struggle? What kind of strategy he adopted and how he persuaded other influential figures in accepting his strategies and plans which culminated in the establishment of Swat state. Mostly, primary and authentic secondary sources have been utilized to build a coherent and lucid argument in the article.

**Key words:** Mulla, Baba, Swat, Dir, Yusufzais, Sandakai Baba

## **Defining *Mulla* and *Baba***

Religious figures have played a dominant role in the formation of Swat as a princely state. Over the years till the present time they mobilized their followers on various issues. Religious figures, on the

basis of their influence, transformed the social and political structure of Swat to a large extent. They have been referred to with different titles and honorific appellations, but in the context of Swat *Mulla* and *Baba* are the two honorific titles mostly used for religious and spiritual figures across the terrain. These figures have played an active role during the second half of the Nineteenth century Swat. Their role in other Muslim societies ranges from transmitting knowledge, bestowing spiritual salvations and political emancipation and their blessings to militant and armed struggles.

*Mulla* is pronounced in Arabic and Pakhtu as ملا. This term has been derived from the Arabic word *maula*, meaning, 'lord' 'master' and 'guardian'. It is understood across the Muslim world as a title of respect for an educated religious man. In Pashto language the term '*mulla*' referred to a person well versed in religious knowledge or a theologian. A half-literate theologian who usually led five-time prayers in local mosques is also called *mulla*. There are two types of *mullas* among the Swat Yusufzai Pakhtuns: one who belongs to religious families. He may be an offspring of some religious person of the past, whose sanctity has conferred a religious status on his descendants. These types of *mulla* include the *sajjadanashins* of *khanqas* (custodians of shrines) who wield considerable influence in the society through their followers. Some of them attached themselves with a religious seminary where hundreds of pupils study religion in different categories. Such families are popularly known with their special and separate identity "*mulaan*" (plural of *mulla*) or in some localities as "*mulyan*".

The other type of *mullas* are those who perform religious ceremonies as a profession like leading prayers in a mosque, teaching the Holy Quran to children, and running a religious seminary etc. Among these *mullas* some are powerful and wield profound influence due to their religious services, conservative and forceful rhetoric. Mulla Meero, Mulla Mastan, Hadda Mulla, Sartor (bareheaded) Mulla are some famous religious figures who played important roles in the religious and political history of the Pakhtuns.

On the other hand, '*Baba*' بابا in Persian is used for father or grandfather. Likewise, among the Pakhtuns of Swat *Baba* is used for father and grand-father. Sometime an old poor person is also referred to as *Baba*. It also used for a white bearded, wise, shrewd old man which is more than an honorific term. This term is in use in several South Asian, South-East Asian, Central Asian and Middle Eastern Muslim cultures and societies. In South Asia, it is also used as a mark of respect to refer to religious figures in religions like Islam, Hinduism and Sikhism etc. For example, Saidu Baba, Rahman Baba, Baba Guru Nanak, Baba Ramdas,

Baba Ramdev. It is a term used for denoting respect, wisdom and expertise in theology and religious knowledge.

The place and respect of *Baba* among the Swat Yusufzai Pakhtuns is comparatively broader than other societies in Pakistan. *Baba*, at the same time, could be a religious, spiritual and political figure. In most of the cases *Baba* performs religious ceremonies and leads prayers in a mosque like a *mulla* but one thing is different between *Mulla* and *Baba* i.e. *Baba* has disciples (*murids*) and also is regarded as a *Pir* (a spiritual guide) for example, Pir Baba, Masoom Baba, Thorder Baba and Saidu Baba. Their shrines are usually centres of religious activities with hundreds and thousands of *murids* gathering every year for 'urs (annual gathering). Some *Babas* are also politically inclined and have revered lineage like Malik Ahmad Baba, Ahmad Shah Baba etc.

### ***Mullas and Babas in the Context of Swat State***

In the 16th century the tribe of Yusufzai occupied Swat after their forceful migration from Kabul. Before the Yusufzai's occupation of Swat they were active in the politics of Kabul. Around 1460 Mirza Ulugh Beg<sup>1</sup> became the ruler of Kabul with the help of the Yusufzai tribal head Malik Suleman Shah. The Yusufzais' mounting influence in the royal court perturbed Ulugh Beg. Owing to this he felt jealousy and threats from them and started planning to crush their strength.<sup>2</sup> Under a conspiracy differences were created between Yusufzai and Gigyani (Gugyani or Gagyani), another Pakhtun tribe. Once, the Gugiyani tribe in support of Mirza Ulugh Beg attacked the Yusufzai but the attack was repulsed and ultimately both were defeated. After the defeat, Mirza made peace with them and again they were invited for a feast.<sup>3</sup> He laid another trap and this time the Yusufzai Malaks were caught easily. When they were setting to get start their meal they were unarmed and according to the plan they were then killed.<sup>4</sup>

After the massacre, the tribe left Kabul *en mass* and came to Peshawar. Gradually, they occupied various territories from Dilazak, Shalmanis, Gibries and Matravies. These tribes were already well entrenched in the Peshawar valley and Swat. The Yusufzai then established matrimonial relations with Sultan Uwais, the then ruler of Swat. They were ambitious and wanted to capture the valley.<sup>5</sup> Gradually, they expelled the rival tribes and then increased pressure from various quarters and attacked Swat, Sultan Uwais, along with his army, fled from his palace.<sup>6</sup> They not only occupied Swat proper, but emerged dominant as well.<sup>7</sup>

When Yusufzai occupied Swat in the sixteenth century they did not establish a formal administrative machinery or government. They were divided in the occupied areas into two *dalay* (*dalah* means group, faction, party or side) and lived within complete tribal structure and followed their old and archaic traditions.<sup>8</sup> The Yusufzais were not used to accept the rule of one person and remained active into two *dalay*. Often, in the intra-tribal affairs these factions emerged as rivals of each-others. Each *dalah* had its own chief and often fought wars against each other's but when any outside threat or aggression was felt, they usually got united.<sup>9</sup> This tradition of internal fighting virtually paralyzed even their nascent tribal culture. In the tribal structure, *Mullas* and *Babas* wielded as much influence as enjoyed by the tribal chiefs. In fact, people's attachment with these religious figures was more dedicated, deep and strong as compared to tribal chiefs. This was frequently exploited by a number of *Mullahs* and *Babas* for their own benefits.

Another factor in the ascendancy of the religious figures in Swat was the land settlement popularly known as *vesh* (division of land). This permanent land settlement had been completed by one of the Yousafzai Mandanr leaders named Shaikh Milli or Shaikh Adam. He had given large tracts of land to religious families. Moreover, they were given judicial, policing and other responsibilities for the maintenance of law and order in the Yousafzai' society. Some of them wielded great influence sometimes even more than the Yusufzai Malaks. For example, the family of Pir Baba, Saidu Baba, Akhun Darwaiza enjoyed unbounded influence among the people of Swat and Malakand.<sup>10</sup> This land allotment, social and religious responsibilities not only strengthened their financial position but also gave them greater share in the tribal affairs.

One such religious person was Abdul Ghaffur<sup>11</sup> popularly known as Saidu Baba also known as Akhund of Swat. He was born to Abdul Wahid in 1794 in the village of Jabrai situated in Bar Swat (upper Swat).<sup>12</sup> He belonged to the Safi tribe.<sup>13</sup> After getting early education at home he left Swat and received further education from different scholars and theologians.<sup>14</sup> He was a brave fighter who displayed courage against the Sikhs. At the age of 43 he permanently settled in Saidu Sharif, *Koz Swat* (Lower Swat).<sup>15</sup> He has been one of the most revered spiritual figures in the nineteenth century among the Yousafzai in Swat.

Among the Yusufzais in Swat he attracted thousands of disciples and his abode became a centre of learning and spiritual activities. Owing to his sagacity and piety, people usually looked up to him not only for guidance in religious matters but also in political affairs. In 1849, when the British East India Company occupied Peshawar, the people of Swat

felt their independence threatened.<sup>16</sup> A number of tribal chiefs of Swat, after hectic discussion, principally agreed to install a ruler of Swat. At the suggestion of Saidu Baba, Sayed Akbar Shah was invited from Sithana (Buner) and was installed as the Akhund of Swat.<sup>17</sup> From this event one can observe the importance of these *Babas* among the Swat Pakhtuns. It was Saidu Baba who had given the final verdict that Syed Akbar Shah, a scion of Pir Baba, would be installed as emir.

Sayed Akbar Shah was the descendant of Sayed Ali Tirmizi popularly known as Pir Baba; the most respected and revered *Pir* (Sufi) of the Yusufzais. He was the supporter of Sayed Ahmad Barelvi and also fought battles against the Sikhs. After becoming emir, he made Ghaligay, a village on the bank of river Swat, his capital. He governed under the patronage of Saidu Baba. His government came to an end with his death on 11 May 1857.<sup>18</sup> After the death of Sayed Akbar Shah, an organized government could not be established in Swat. Sayed Mubarak Shah, Sayed Akbar Shah's son, wanted to be the Akhund of Swat<sup>19</sup> but the people of Swat did not accept him. Saidu Baba wanted his son Miangul Abdul Hanan to be the ruler of Swat but he could not succeed in his mission.

For the first time, the British and the people of Swat confronted each other at Ambela in 1863 CE. In Ambela Campaign, British wanted to destroy the base of Sayed Ahmad Shaheed Barelvi's followers in Malka, a remote mountainous area of Buner. The British force failed to intrude in the hilly terrain but succeeded through diplomacy. Accordingly, a truce was concluded and the tribal *lashkar* (force) dispersed.<sup>20</sup>

After the Ambela Campaign, Yusufzais in Swat remained peaceful for some time. In 1877 the Akhund of Swat died.<sup>21</sup> He left two sons Miangul Abdul Hanan and Miangul Abdul Khaliq.<sup>22</sup> Despite the fact that Abdul Hanan did not possess his father's ability yet his claim to power was eventually acknowledged. In 1887 he died<sup>23</sup> and was succeeded by his brother Miangul Abdul Khaliq.<sup>24</sup> Abdul Khaliq took no part whatsoever in Swat politics and died a natural death in 1892.<sup>25</sup> This was the time when religious figures got another opportunity to meddle in the affairs of Swat.

After the death of Saidu Baba another religious person who preached *jihad* against the British was *Sartor Faqir*. His original name was Saadullah Khan<sup>26</sup> who belonged to honourable family of village Rega in Buner. He was also known as *Mulla Mastan*, *Sartor Baba* and *Faqir Baba*. The British called him "Mad Mulla" and 'Mad Faqir'.<sup>27</sup> He travelled different areas to get knowledge of religion and for a long time remained in Ajmer Sharif, returned to his country in 1895 and started

preaching *jihad* against the British government. Among the people he was popularly known as *Mulla Mastan*.<sup>28</sup> In 1897, the *Sartor Faqir* (bareheaded) started struggle against the British. He claimed that the British would not only be expelled from Malakand but also from Peshawar.<sup>29</sup>

He claimed to have been visited by all the deceased *faqirs*, who told him that the mouths of their (British) guns and rifles would be closed and that their (British) bullets would be turned to water; that he had only to throw stones into the Swat river, and each stone he threw would have on them (British troop) the effect of a gun.<sup>30</sup>

26 July, *Sartor Faqir* started marching from Landakay to Malakand and Chakdara.<sup>31</sup> People from Upper Swat, Buner, Utman Khel and the adjacent areas joined him in thousands.<sup>32</sup> Realizing the intensity of the insurgency, the governor general allowed the formation of Malakand Field Force on 30 July 1897, so as to punish the tribes involved in the rising.<sup>33</sup> In this fighting a lot of fighters were killed from both sides:

The severe nature of the fighting at Kotah and Naway Kalay, near Landakay, at the time of the punitive expedition in the valley, and its significance to the British can be judged from the fact that the British government awarded the highest military medal, the Victoria Cross, to Lieutenant-Colonel Adams and Viscount Fincastle. Five others were awarded the Order of Merit.<sup>34</sup>

In the 1897 uprising the people of Swat fought for one week against the British force under the command of Sartor Faqir. The year 1897, proved very difficult for the British government but after that the Yusufzais in Swat had made no further significant armed progress against the British government.

### **Emergence of Wali Ahmad (Sandakai Baba)**

Sandakai Baba's original name was Wali Ahmad,<sup>35</sup> he was also known as Kohistan Mulla. He was a son of Maulana Abdul Hamid<sup>36</sup> and was born at Sandakai,<sup>37</sup> a small village in modern Shanglapar district.<sup>38</sup> Some mention he was born in 1820 and others claims he was born in 1831<sup>39</sup> but according to the confidential colonial official file mentions that he was born in 1857.<sup>40</sup> He was given religious education by the local teachers and then received advance religious education from *Dar-ul-Ulum* Deoband in India.<sup>41</sup> Then he proceeded to Makkah, performed *haj* and visited Syria, Baghdad and other centres of Muslim civilization.<sup>42</sup>

As mentioned earlier in 1857, after the death of Sayed Akbar Shah, the early phase of Swat State came to an end as the people of Swat

expelled the son and successor of Sayed Akbar Shah.<sup>43</sup> During the years 1879-1881, the Khan of Dir occupied the areas situated on the right bank of the river Swat. The tribes' impatience at the factional fighting, the Nawab's agents atrocities and weariness of the Mianguls and their constant feuds had already intensified attempts at the close of 1913 to install a ruler of a state of their own.<sup>44</sup> In fact, some of the tribesmen were fed-up with the frequent excesses of the local agents of the Nawab of Dir. They were fed-up of this highhandedness; henceforth they stood up and started an armed struggle against the Nawab. Initially, the people of Shamizi, Sibujni and Nikpi Khel sub-branches, under the leadership of Sandakai Baba, defeated the Nawab of Dir's forces. This victory proved to be a turning point in the popularity of Sandakai Baba as a religious-cum-political and military leader. This sudden rise is important for two reasons. Firstly, he transformed the nascent political nature of the Swat state through bringing about unity among warring factions. Secondly, his rise reconfirmed the significance of *Mullas, Babas* beyond their religious services. Undoubtedly, their original strength lay in their forceful religious rhetoric but here they got additional public legitimacy and acceptance as political leader and jihadi commanders. This transformation radically changed the internal tribal dynamics and led the political affairs of Swat to becoming a separate state.

### **Sandakai Baba and the Formation of the Swat State**

At the start of the struggle he thought over the condition of the society and started purifying it from *un-Islamic* beliefs and practices.<sup>45</sup> In the first phase he sorted out a plan to oust the forces of the Nawab of Dir. For that, he met all the influential *khans* one by one. The tribes of Shamizi, Sebuji and Nikpi Khel set aside their differences and agreed to expel the Nawab forces.<sup>46</sup> They presented 20,000 logs to Sandakai Baba in return for his assistance during the struggle against the Nawab, and requested him to stay in Swat.<sup>47</sup>

The tribes of Swat under Sandakai Baba expelled the Nawab of Dir from Swat and now started struggle for the formation of an independent state. Sandakai Baba appointed a council of five men, Masam Khan of Shamizi, Taj Muhammad Khan of Sebuji and Zarin Khan, Amir Sultan and Jafar Khan of Nikpi Khel. This was an administrative machinery so as to carry on business of government. The council wished to make Abdul Wadud head of the state.<sup>48</sup> The council asked the Mianguls' family to become their ruler, but they refused due to internal jealousies and feud.<sup>49</sup>

Owing to this state of affairs Sandakai Baba, the tribes and the *khans* of Swat, invited Sayed Abdul Jabbar Shah of Sitana (Buner).<sup>50</sup>

Abdul Jabbar Shah was the descendent of Sayed Ali Tirmezi aka Pir Baba.<sup>51</sup> He was the grandson of Sayed Akbar Shah who also remained the Akhund of Swat for a brief period.<sup>52</sup> Abdul Jabbar Shah accepted the invitation and was installed the ruler of Swat on 24 April 1915.<sup>53</sup> The real power however, was in the hands of Sandakai Baba.<sup>54</sup> According to Roshan Khan, the real founders of Swat State were Sandakai Baba, Masam Khan and his brother Habib Khan.<sup>55</sup> Among these three persons, Sandakai Baba played a greater role in the formation of Swat State. Among the public, he enjoyed greater acceptance and legitimacy as compare to others. In fact, the tribal support gave him decisive edge over other leaders. This paved the way for the formation of the state as a distinct administrative unit in the Pakhtuns borderland areas. Sayed Abdul Jabbar Shah had neither any *dalah* nor belonged to Swat.

Thus, in Upper Swat all affairs went well quiet, and Sayed Abdul Jabbar Shah was endeavouring to consolidate his position.<sup>56</sup> The two grandsons of Saidu Baba overcame their differences and tried to collect '*ushr*' from the people. This was unacceptable to the locals who called Abdul Jabbar Shah and Sandakai Baba for help. Sandakai Baba, meanwhile, announced *jihad* against the Mianguls.<sup>57</sup> Later on, both the Mianguls fled and stayed in Saidu, some of their forts were burnt. Sandakai Baba and Sayed Abdul Jabbar Shah were victorious and now people accepted their government and also started paying *ushr*.<sup>58</sup>

Sandakai Baba made efforts to suppress the Mianguls completely, but this was not an easy task because on the left side of the Swat River some people and the Sarssadari Mians supported the Mianguls.<sup>59</sup> Miangul Abdul Wadud settled on their land near Chakdara and his brother Miangul Sherin Jan settled in Buner.<sup>60</sup> Sayed Abdul Jabbar Shah was consolidating his power while Sandakai Baba and Haji Sahib of Turangzai initiated *jihad* against the British. Around this time, Sherin Jan also returned from Buner and both the Mianguls settled in Dalbar near Chakdara.<sup>61</sup> With the union of the Nawab of Dir, the Mians of Sarssadari and the tribes of Musa Khel and Aba Khel, the Mianguls re-established themselves in Saidu.<sup>62</sup> The coordination between Sandakai Baba and Sayed Abdul Jabbar Shah was loosening, because Sandakai Baba wanted *jihad* against the British government but the latter wanted peace with the colonial government.<sup>63</sup> Abdul Wadud befriended Sandakai Baba, Masam Khan and Habib Khan to get the throne with their help.<sup>64</sup>

Zarin Khan of Nikpi Khel who was a powerful and influential figure, always favoured Nawab of Dir against Abdul Jabbar. On 15 November



1916, he was murdered in Bandai by the mixed gang of Nikpi Khel, and some servants of Abdul Jabbar Shah.<sup>65</sup> Urgent message was sent to Sandakai Baba who was in Tirai to come and solve the matter.<sup>66</sup> Miangul Abdul Wadud went back to Saidu to take active measures against Abdul Jabbar Shah. Abdul Jabbar Shah also came to Kabal (Swat) and he sent a letter to Political Agent stating that the best solution of the difficulties of Swat would be occupation by the colonial government.<sup>67</sup> His connections with the British government did not augur well for his rule in Swat. In fact, he also lost support of many of his close aides including Sandakai Baba. During this time propaganda was started that Sayed Abdul Jabbar Shah was a Qadyani.<sup>68</sup> Sandakai Baba and some other *Mians* and *Mullas* of Swat propagated that he was a Qadyani and as such not fit to be ruler of Swat.<sup>69</sup> According to Miangul Jahanzeb:

“He was always very polite, rather a paternal looking man. He was a good scholar and orator. But he was a stranger to these parts; and though he came, and very swiftly set up some kind of state administration.<sup>70</sup>”

Abdul Jabbar Shah became unpopular due to a number of other factors as well. He was asked by the *jargah* to relinquish power and hence he left Swat and went back to Sithana.<sup>71</sup> Sandakai Baba who first played a role in installing Abdul Jabbar Shah the ruler of Swat now did the same in installing Miangul Abdul Wadud as the ruler of Swat. He thus played the role of king maker and king breaker. This clearly indicates that he had installed Abdul Wadud. In this regard Muhammad Asif Khan states that Miangul Abdul Wadud was the founder of Swat State. According to Khan Roshan Khan the real founder of Swat State is Sandakai Baba, Masam Khan and his brother Habib Khan.<sup>72</sup> It is true that all these were instrumental in the formation of Swat state but the position of Sandakai Baba was ahead due to his public acceptance and greater legitimacy. The co-founders of the Swat state were those who united against the Nawab of Dir and brought an end to his rule over the right bank of Swat.

### **Downfall of Sandakai Baba**

When Miangul Abdul Wadud was installed the ruler of Swat, internally, he had three difficulties: the first one was Sandakai Baba who was very popular in Swat, the second one was his brother Sherin Jan because some of Saidu Baba's followers supported him, and third one was Sayyad Abdul Jabbar Shah who was the ex-ruler of Swat.<sup>73</sup> He was not much afraid of outside enemies; rather he was wary of the enemies inside the state.<sup>74</sup> Sandakai Baba and Sherin Jan were more dangerous for Abdul Wadud. However, Sandakai Baba position as the king maker and

king breaker and greater influence over the people termed him to be the rival number one of Abdul Wadud.

On the death of Sherin Jan during an encounter, Miangul Abdul Wadud's position became strong. But Sandakai Baba was still around with great influence over the people even Khan Bahadar Sultanat Khan of Jura was his disciple. Some other *khans* also supported him.<sup>75</sup> Miangul Abdul Wadud wanted to get rid of him but all the people of Upper Swat and most of the *khans* were very much in his favour.<sup>76</sup>

On 18 March 1918, when the Nawab of Dir was busy in Bajaur, Miangul Abdul Wadud took advantage and attacked Shawa fort. Hence the people of Swat requested Sandakai Baba for help and he came to Shamizi. The murder of Sherin Jan was used as an excuse against the Nawab of Dir by Sandakai Baba and Haji of Turangzai and others *mullas* in Swat, Dir, Jandol and Gundab. The defeat of Nawab of Dir strengthened the position of Abdul Wadud. Afterwards, he turned against Sandakai Baba and forced him out from the state.<sup>77</sup> Abdul Wadud was of the view that:

A Pir and a ruler cannot last together. So, one, and one only, should be the Ruler. And if you are the Ruler, you have to limit the influence of the Pir. And if you can't remove his influence, you can at least remove him.<sup>78</sup>

Consequently, because of the machination of Abdul Wadud, Sandakai Baba left Swat and went to Kohan Dir.<sup>79</sup> He tried to instigate the tribes and Nawab of Dir to fight against Abdul Wadud. He did not attack Swat but he kept up pressure on Abdul Wadud by terming him an infidel-*kafir*. At last he died a natural death on 6 February 1927 in Kohan Dir. With his death Abdul Wadud became an undisputed leader of Swat. Afterwards, he firmly ruled Swat.<sup>80</sup>

### **Conclusion**

On the basis of above facts, it can safely be concluded that *Babas*, *Mullas* and other popular religious figures played important and active role in the establishment of Swat state. The role played by Sandakai Baba was more political in nature than religious. He wielded tremendous influence on the people through which he changed the course of economic, social and political history of the area. In fact, many religious figures have also been used by the local interest groups and British government also. However, many among them led not only religiously

emotional and spiritual crowds but also armed struggle and political movements. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century a political triangle emerged in Swat: On the one side was Sandakai Baba who was like king maker and king breaker. On the other corner of this triangle was Miangul family who became powerful through political manoeuvrings. The third place in the triangle was occupied by Abdul Jabbar Shah who lost his power and prestige to Mianguls. However, the position and influence of Sandakai Baba was much entrenched among the tribes. Later, his position was challenged by Mianguls by manipulating local tribes and khans. The local tribes were the real stakeholders but in the policy formulation they possessed little influence. They acted like recruits and mercenaries. In a nutshell, political development in Swat during the nineteenth century were shaped and re-shaped by the religious figures like *Mullahs* and *Baba*. They decided the fate of people and some of them were also used like a pawn by the British government. The rise and fall of Sandakai Baba is no exception. He could be termed as the founder of Swat state due to his untiring efforts at the initial stage. He can rightly be called as the founder of Swat state among other political and social figures.

### Notes & References

<sup>1</sup> Ulegh Beg was the brother of Umar Shaikh Mirza, father of Zahir-ud-Din Muhammad Babur. It is stated that Malak Suleiman Shah provided him Yusufzais' tribal *lashkar* and put every kind of help at his disposal. But in the end he deceived the Yusufzais in Kabul and killed almost 700 leading tribal Malaks during a feast in his palace. Afterwards, the Yusufzais migrated to Peshawar under Malak Ahmad Khan. This event has been mentioned by many writers like Sir Olaf Caroe, Mountstuart Elphinstone, H. W. Bellew, Akhun Darwaiza, Roshan Khan and many others. See for details Himayatullah Yaqubi, *Mughal-Afghan Relations in South Asia: History and Developments* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 2015).

<sup>2</sup> Allah Bakhsh Yusufi, *Yusufzai Afghan* (Urdu) 2nd edn. (Karachi: Muhammad Ali Educational Society, 1960), p. 288.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 289.

<sup>4</sup> Muhammad Nawaz Tair, 'Dibachah' to Pir Muazam Shah, *Tawarikh Hafiz Rahmat Khani*, with *Dibachah* by Muhammad Nawaz Tair, 2nd print (Pashto/Persian) (Peshawar: Pukhtu Academy: 1971), p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Sultan-i-Rome, 'Merger of Swat State with Pakistan: Causes and Effects', *MARC Occasional Papers No. 14* (Geneva: Modern Asia Research Center, Graduate Institute of International Studies and University of Geneva, April 1999), p. 4.

<sup>6</sup>Saran Zeb Khan Swati, *Tarikh Riyasat-e-Swat* (Pukhtu) (Peshawar: Azeem Publishing House, 1984), p. 55.

<sup>7</sup>Sultan-i-Rome, 'Merger of Swat State with Pakistan Causes and Effects', p. 5.

<sup>8</sup>Sultan-i-Rome, 'Swat A Critical Analysis', *IPCS Research No.18* (New Delhi: Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, January 2009), p. 3.

<sup>9</sup>Rafiullah Khan, *Religion and Politics During the Reigns of Walis of Swat* (Islamabad: Department of History, Quaid-i-Azam University, 2008), p. 38.

<sup>10</sup> Usually, *Mullas* and *Babas* were given important land between two separate tribes or sub-branches of a particular tribe. The logic given for this division was that since Pakhtuns were very much sensitive and aggressive as far as land issues were concerned therefore, in case of disputes these religious figures will act like a barrier for reducing tribal clashes. It was expected that they would play the role of intermediaries for bringing about reconciliation. Their tracts of land were given the name of *seray*. Mountstuart Elphinstone, *An account of the kingdom of Caubul, and its dependencies, in Persia, Tartary, and India (1842), and India (1842)* Vol. II, (London: University of Nebraska, 2009), P. 177.

<sup>11</sup>For detail about Abdul Ghaffur, see Sultan-i-Rome, "Abdul Ghaffur (Akhund) Saidu Baba of Swat: Life, Career and Role" *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Vol. 40, Part 3 (July 1992), p. 299.

<sup>12</sup>Swati, *Tarikh Riyasat-e-Swat*, p. 77. Also see Fredrik Barth, *The Last Wali of Swat: An Autobiography as told to Fredrik Barth*, reprint (Bangkok: White Orchid Press, 1995), p. 14.

<sup>13</sup>W.R. Hay, *Monograph on Swat State* (Simla: Government of India Press, 1934), p. 1; Swati, *Tarikh Riyasat-e-Swat*, p. 77.

<sup>14</sup>Barth, *The Last Wali of Swat*, p. 14.

<sup>15</sup>Sultan-i-Rome, "Abdul Ghaffur (Akhund) Saidu Baba of Swat: Life Career and Role", p. 300.

<sup>16</sup>Sultan-i-Rome, *Swat State*, p. 25.

<sup>17</sup>Swati, *Tarikh Riyasat-e-Swat*, p. 75.

<sup>18</sup>Sultan-i-Rome, *Swat State*, pp. 38-39.

<sup>19</sup>Hay, *Monograph on Swat State*, p. 4.

<sup>20</sup>Sultan-i-Rome, *Swat State*, p. 26.

<sup>21</sup>Lindholm, *Generosity and Jealousy: The Swat Pukhtun of Northern Pakistan*, p. 39.

<sup>22</sup>Hay, *Monograph on Swat State*, p. 1.

<sup>23</sup>According to Hay he died in 1886 which is incorrect. See Sultan-i-Rome, *Swat State*, p. 42.

<sup>24</sup>Sultan-i-Rome, *Swat State*, p. 42.

<sup>25</sup>Hay, *Monograph on Swat State*, p. 2.

<sup>26</sup>For detail about him, see Sultan-i-Rome, "The Sartor Faqir: Life and Struggle against British Imperialism", *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Vol. 42 Part 1 (January 1994), p. 93.

<sup>27</sup>Yusufi, *Yusufzai Afghan*, p. 618.

<sup>28</sup>Yusufi, *Yusufzai Afghan*, p. 618.

<sup>29</sup>Sultan-i-Rome, *Swat State*, p. 27.

<sup>30</sup> Sultan-i-Rome, 'The Sartor Faqir: Life and Struggle against British Imperialism', p. 94.

<sup>31</sup>Sultan-i-Rome, 'The Malakand Jihad (1897): An Unsuccessful Attempt to oust the British from Malakand and Chakdara', *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Vol. 43, Part 2 (April 1995), p. 175.

<sup>32</sup>Sultan-i-Rome, *Swat State*, p. 27.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, 50.

<sup>35</sup>Khan Roshan Khan has mentioned his name as Ahmad Jan; Saranzeb Swati mentions his name Ali Ahmad and Confidential file *List of Leading Mullas on the Border of The North-West Frontier Province Corrected to 31<sup>st</sup> December 1920* FN 424, Tribal Research Cell Peshawar, mentions Wali Muhammad which is incorrect. See Abu Atta Ihsan-ul-Haq Natvi Taloon, *Ulama-e-Shangla aur Un ki Ilmi Khidmat* (Urdu) (Peshawar: Al-Huda Printers, 2014), p. 198; Sultan-i-Rome, "Merger of Swat State with Pakistan: Causes and Effects", *MARC Occasional Papers No 14* (Geneva: Modern Asia Research Centre, Graduate Institute of International Studies, and University of Geneva, April 1999), p. 33.

<sup>36</sup>Taloon, *Ulama-e-Shangla aur un ki Ilmi Khidmat*, p. 198.

<sup>37</sup>Swati, *Tarikh Riyasat-e-Swat*, p. 102.

<sup>38</sup>Khurshid, "Sandakai Mullah: Career and Role in the Formation of Swat State, Pakistan", Stable URL, <http://www.valleyswat.net> (accessed on 24 August 2017), p. 2.

<sup>39</sup>Taloon, *Ulama-e-Shangla aur Un ki Elmi Khidmat*, p. 199.

<sup>40</sup>*List of Leading Mullas on The Border of The North-West Frontier Province Corrected To 31<sup>st</sup> December 1920*, FN 424, Tribal Research Cell Peshawar.

<sup>41</sup>Swati, *Tarikh-e-Riyasat Swat*, p. 102.

<sup>42</sup>Khurshid, "Sandakai Mullah: Career and Role in the Formation of Swat State, Pakistan", p. 2.

<sup>43</sup>Khan Rohshan Khan, *Yusufzai Qaum ki Sarguzasht* (Karachi: Roshan Khan and Company, 1984), p. 335.

<sup>44</sup>Sultan-i-Rome, *Swat State*, p. 52.

<sup>45</sup>Sultan-i-Rome, *Merger of Swat State with Pakistan: Causes and Effects*, p. 33.

<sup>46</sup>Khan, *Yusufzai Qaum ki Sarguzasht*, p. 335.

<sup>47</sup>CNWFPD, No. 16 for week ending 17 April 1915, DCOP, BN 4, SN 49, Provincial Archives at Peshawar.

<sup>48</sup>CNWFPD No. 15 for week ending 10 April 1915, DCOP, BN 4, SN 49, Provincial Archives at Peshawar.

<sup>49</sup>Muhammad Asif Khan, *Tarikh Riyast-e-Swat* (Urdu) 5th edn. (Mingawara: Shoaib Sons Publishers and Booksellers, 2016), p. 140.

<sup>50</sup>Khurshid, "Sandakai Mullah: Career and Role in the Formation of Swat State, Pakistan", p. 4.

<sup>51</sup>W.R. Hay, *Monograph on Swat State* (Simla: Government of India Press, 1934), p. 4.

<sup>52</sup>Taloon, *Ulama-e-Shangla aur un ki Ilmi Khidmat*, p. 35.

<sup>53</sup>Sultan-i-Rome, *Swat State*, p. 56.

<sup>54</sup>Swati, *Tarikh-e-Riyasat Swat*, p. 108.

<sup>55</sup>Khan, *Yusufzai Qaum Ki Sarguzasht*, p. 337.

<sup>56</sup>CNWFPD, No. 19 for week ending 8 May 1915, DCOP, BN 4, SN 49, Provincial Archives at Peshawar.

<sup>57</sup>Sultan-i-Rome, *Swat State*, p. 66.

<sup>58</sup>CNWFPD, No. 31 for week ending 31 July 1915, DCOP, BN 4, SN 49, Provincial Archives at Peshawar.

<sup>59</sup>CNWFPD, No. 47 for week ending 20 November 1915, DCOP, BN 4, SN 49, Provincial Archives at Peshawar.

<sup>60</sup>CNWFPD, No. 48 for week ending 27 November 1915 DCOP, BN 4, SN 49, Provincial Archives at Peshawar.

<sup>61</sup>CNWFPD, No. 49 for week ending 04 December 1915, DCOP, BN 4, SN 49, Provincial Archives at Peshawar.

<sup>62</sup>Sultan-i-Rome, *Swat State*, p. 67.

<sup>63</sup>CNWFPD, No. 50 for week ending 11 December 1915, DCOP, BN 4, SN 49, Provincial Archives at Peshawar.

<sup>64</sup>Swati, *Tarikh-e-Riyasat-e-Swat*, p. 109.

<sup>65</sup>CNWFPD, No. 47 for week ending 18 November 1916, DCOP, BN 4, SN 50, Provincial Archives at Peshawar.

<sup>66</sup>CNWFPD, No. 49 for week ending 2 December 1916, DCOP, BN 4, SN 50, Provincial Archives at Peshawar.

<sup>67</sup>CNWFPD, No. 01 for week ending 06 January 1917, DCOP, BN 4, SN 53, Provincial Archives at Peshawar.

<sup>68</sup>From Major J. W. Thomson-Glover, Political Agent, Dir, Swat and Chitral, to the General Staff Officer, to the Chief Commissioner, N.W.F.P. Peshawar, Date Malakand, the 14th July 1930, SN 33, FN 29-S.St: I, from. 13-12-1927 to 25-1-31, *Swat Affair*, Tribal Research Cell Peshawar.

<sup>69</sup>CNWFP, No. 4 for week ending 27 January 1917, DCOP, BN 4, SN 53, Provincial Archives at Peshawar.

<sup>70</sup>Barth, *The Last Wali of Swat*, p. 30.

<sup>71</sup>From Major J. W. Thomson-Glover, Political Agent, Dir, Swat and Chitral, To the General Staff Officer, to the Chief Commissioner, N.W.F.P Peshawar, Date Malakand, the 14th July 1930, S.N. 33, FN 29-S.St: I, from. 13-12-1927 to 25-1-31, *Swat Affair*, Tribal Research Cell Peshawar.

<sup>72</sup>Khan Roshan Khan, *Yusufzai Qaum ki Sarguzasht* (Karachi: Roshan Khan and Company, 1984), p. 337.

<sup>73</sup>Sultan-i-Rome, *Swat State*, p. 89.

<sup>74</sup>Barth, *The Last Wali of Swat*, p. 47.

<sup>75</sup>Barth, *The Last Wali of Swat*, p. 47.

<sup>76</sup>Barth, *The Last Wali of Swat*, p. 47.

<sup>77</sup>From Major J. W. Thomson-Glover, Political Agent, Dir, Swat and Chitral, to the General Staff Officer, to the Chief Commissioner, N.W.F. P Peshawar, Date Malakand, the 14th July 1930, SN 33, FN 29-S. St: I, from. 13-12-1927 to 25-1-31, *Swat Affair*, Tribal Research Cell Peshawar.

<sup>78</sup>Barth, *The Last Wali of Swat*, pp. 47-48.

<sup>79</sup>Taloon, *Ulama-e-Shangla*, p. 219.

<sup>80</sup>Sultan-i-Rome, *Swat State*, p. 93.