

# **A Persian manuscript of Durr-i-Maqāl: A versified account of the British Military Expeditions in the former North-West Frontier Province (1858 to 1863)**

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## **Abstract**

*A Persian manuscript entitled Durr-i-Maqāl, a poetical work of Mirza Abdul Haq Arvi has recently surfaced in the Swat valley. It is a voluminous and versified account of the military expeditions of the British Indian Empire carried out against the Hindustan Mujahidin (the so-called Hindustani fanatics) stationed at Panjtar, Sitana, Mangal Thana, and Malka between 1858 and 1863. The manuscript is substantially devoted to the Ambela war of 1863, in which various tribes of Buner, Swat, Dir, Bajur, Chitral and upper Indus valley participated against the British forces. Unlike the British military and Intelligence reports, wherein the bravery of Colonial officers is exaggerated, Durr-i- Maqāl, on the contrary, impartially records the casualties of the English army and Mujahidin. Moreover, this is perhaps the only recorded document of the bribery of thirteen thousand rupees received by the local chiefs of Buner from the British government in lieu of the destruction of Malka. An attempt is made here to present a summary of this important MS and to find out the facts so for shrouded in mystery.*

**Keywords:** Durr-i-Maqāl, versified account, British expeditions, Ambela war.

## **1. Introduction**

The Mujahidin Movement of the former North West Frontier Province<sup>1</sup> owes its origin from Sayyid Ahmad, a native of Rayi Baraili, who left his ancestral land for waging religious wars (*Jihad*) against the Sikh Empire of Panjab in the 19<sup>th</sup> century of the Common Era. He migrated to the Yousafzai country in 1824, and with the cooperation of the native chiefs, fought a bloody battle against the Sikhs near Nowshera. The war that

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<sup>1</sup> Now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan

ensued in 1827, ended with the defeat of Sayyid Ahmad and the massacre of his followers (Wylly 1912: 68 & 69, Hunter 1876: 15& 16). In another engagement, the Sayyid defeated the Barakzai Chiefs of Peshawar and took control of the city in 1829 (Paget 1874: 51). To consolidate his position in the Yousafzai country, as well as to appoint fresh recruits, Sayyid Ahmad with the consent of Fateh Khan, the chief of Khudu Khel (now in district Buner) chose the village of Panjtar as a base for the future operations. However, in 1831, the Sayyid and his faithful disciple Shah Ismail, got martyrdom in the decisive battle of Balakot (Hunter 1876: 18). For some times, his cohort was active against the Sikhs in Hazara, but the increasing pressure of the British Empire pushed them to their former colony at Panjtar. With the passage of time, they shifted to Sitana and Mangal Thana on the right bank of River Indus, where Sayyid Akbar Shah, the former treasurer of Sayyid Ahmad, warmly received them (Paget 1874: 52, Scott 1906: 105).

The Sayyid family of Sitana proved to be the loyal companions of Mujahidin and stood with them in every occasion. However, soon this colony incurred the displeasure of the British Indian Empire, and some punitive expeditions directed against the Mujahidin, between 1857 and 1862, which resulted in the destruction and burning of the villages of Panjtar, Mangal Thana and Sitana (Nevill 1912: 41). The Sayyid family once again accommodated the Mujahidin in their ancestral village of Malka in the Mahaban Mountains of Chamla valley. In the autumn of 1863, the British government decided to destroy Malka and terminate the war like activities of Mujahidin forever (Neville 1912: 50, Paget 1874:84). With this motive, the Yousafzai field force was formed at Peshawar, which proceeded through the Rustam and Surkawai route and reached to the Ambela pass in October 1863. However, the movement of the force was checked by a confederacy of the tribes of Buner, Swat, Dir and Bajaur for three months and a sever battle that ensued at the Kotal or mountain pass of Surkawai is known as the Ambela campaign to the British and *Ghaza-i-Buner*<sup>2</sup> to the natives.

The Ambela campaign is one of the memorable events in the British Military history. The incidents of the war have been recorded in

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<sup>2</sup> Correctly Ghazwa-i-Buner. However, in our MS it is always written as Ghaza-i-Buner.

many official documents, personal diaries of the military officers who participated in the expedition, or published in military reports. Such reports are hitherto considered as the primary source of information regarding that decisive battle. However, the recently surfaced MS of *Durr-i- Maqāl*, adds new data to our knowledge about the confederacy of the native force against their common foe, and the sacrifices they offered for the cause of Hindustani Mujahidin.

## **2. Historical importance of the manuscript (MS)**

The manuscript (hence after: MS) records the details of various skirmishes and conflicts occurred between the Hindustani Mujahidin and British forces on different occasions, until the culmination of Ambela expedition of 1863. The author of the MS, being an eyewitness of the Ambela war, has listed the names of the leading chiefs of different areas of the Yousafzai and elsewhere who participated in the *Ghaza-i-Buner*. Aside that, one of the chief features of the MS is that it does not only praise the courage and sacrifices of the Mujahidin and their native allies, but also admires the good administration of the British military camp of Ambela, and the discipline, obedience and devotion of the *Firangi* forces. Moreover, it also mentions the names of many officers of the *Firangi* force such as Reynell Taylor, the then Commissioner of Peshawar, Major Hugh James, the Civil Commissioner, Lieutenant R. Sandeman, the assistant Commissioner, Neville Chamberlain, the Military Commander, and Major Wilde, Lieutenant Anderson, and Jamadar Hari Chand etc.

Similarly, it also reveals that the Mujahidin had rallied around Sayyid Mubarak Shah, the son of the late Sayyid Akbar Shah of Sitana, and Molvi Abdullah, the Bengali Commander of Hindustani Mujahidin, whereas the tribes of Swat, and upper Indus valley participated under the banner of the Sahib of Saidu Sharif, commonly known as the Akhund of Swat. The other tribes came under the command of their respective chiefs such as Ghazan Khan of Dir, Faiz Talab Khan of Bajaur, Sher Dil Khan and Suhbat Khan of Thana and Aladand, while the forces from Afghanistan were leading by Sahibzada Fazl Mehdi and Sayyid Kamal Bacha, alias the Haji Sahib of Kunar. Although, some of these personalities have been reported by the British authorities yet there were other tribal warriors whose bravery, sacrifices and martyrdom are only narrated in this MS.

In addition to the daily incidents of Ambela war, the MS also preserve the names of several chiefs of Buner, Rustam, Swabi and Mardan, who sided the British forces by receiving a bribe of thirteen thousand rupees and paved the way for the burning of Malka, the base camp of Mujahidin in the Amazai territory of Buner. On the contrary, the role played by the Akhund of Swat and the great sacrifices offered by the Sayyid family of Sitana and Malka, is highly appreciated.

### 3. Author of the MS

The MS is deprived of its title page and other preliminary notes but fortunately it still retains the last chapter with very important information about its name as “Durr-i- Maqāl”, compiled in 1280 A.H (AD 1863) by Mirza Abdul Haq, with the benevolence and kindness of the “*Sahib Ghaus-us-Zaman, Qutab-ud-Dawran, Sahib Saidu Sharif*”, (the Akhund of Swat)<sup>3</sup>. The author has not added the details of his birthplace and nationality, however, the work of some of the near cotemporary Muslim historians incorporate useful information about him. In this connection, Ghulam Rasool Mehr, a prominent authority on the life and movement of Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi, is of the view that Molvi Abdul Haq Arvi, the author of “Durr-i- Maqāl”, was an emigrant from Bihar (eastern India) to the North-West Frontier. For some time, he remained the chief scribe of Sayyid Akbar Shah, the first elected king of Swat. He also took part in the Ambela war of 1863 and composed his book on the *Ghaza-i- Buner*<sup>4</sup> in versified form, like the *Shahnama*<sup>5</sup> (Mehr 1956: 306). Mehr further says

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<sup>3</sup> His original name was Abdul Ghafoor and was also known by the title of Akhund Sahib of Swat, Sahib of Swat and Saidu Baba (see Asif Khan 1962: xli), while Sahib Ghaus-us-Zaman, Qutab-ud-Dauran and Sahib Saidu Sharif, were his other titles used by the author of the MS. The Akhund of Swat had established himself at Saidu Sharif, about 1845 and died there in 1877 (see *Who's Who in the Dir, Swat and Chitral Agency*, Confidential Report of the British Military and Secret Department, 1939: 1).

<sup>4</sup> The Actual title of the MS is Durr-i- Maqāl as recorded on its folio No. 142. However, Ghaza-i- Buner is also mentioned on Folio. No.7a. the latter title is frequently used by Ghulam Rasool Mehr in his *Sarguzasht-i-Mujahidin*. Besides these, the term “*Jangnama*” is also used on Folios 141a & 142a, of the MS.

<sup>5</sup> The *Shahnama* of Firdusi in which the life and conquests of Mahmud of Ghazni has been recorded.

that the original MS has owned by Sayyid Abdul Jabbar Shah Sitanavi<sup>6</sup>, from whom a fair copy kindly obtained. The last years of Molvi Abdul Haq Arvi's life spent at Aladand Dherai<sup>7</sup> (Swat), where he breathed his last (Mehr 1981: 30)

#### **4. Discovery and conservation of the MS**

The present MS was perhaps added to the personal library of the Akhund of Swat at Saidu Sharif, however, for nearly a century and half, it remained out of the sight of scholars and historians. Even the court historians of Swat State have not cited it as a primary source of information in their books.<sup>8</sup> Fortunately, in the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, this MS was resurfaced in the house of the late Mr. Attaullah, the first secretary of the Swat state.<sup>9</sup> His son, Mr. Ziaullah advocate presented it to the Head Quarter of the Italian Archaeological Mission to Pakistan at Saidu Sharif Swat, for conservation.<sup>10</sup> The credit of the restoration of this

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<sup>6</sup> He was a descendant of the Sayyid Akbar Shah of Sitana and remained the ruler of Swat for some time before the accession of Miangul Gul Abdul Wadood in 1917. (We visited to his relatives of Malka village in search of the MS once laying in his possession, but Sayyid Muhammad Shamshir Bacha of his family could not find it). One MS of Sayyid Abdul Jabbar Shah was known as *Kitab-ul-Ibra*, of which the first part is now published in Urdu version.

<sup>7</sup> On folio No. 7a, of our MS, there is some end notes of Movli Abdul Haq about the composing or reciting of the Ghazwa-i-Buner in the hujra or guestroom of Sher Dil Khan, the former Khan of Than, while Suhbat Khan of Aladand is praised for his hospitality and heroism. This shows that the author of the MS had great attachment with these influential Khans.

<sup>8</sup> Muhammad Asif Khan's *The Story of Swat* (1962), doesn't mention the name of Abdul Haq Arvi and his MS, though most of the information he has given on pp. xlvii-liiii, of his book, seems to have been copied from folios nos. 38a-42a of Durr-i- Maqāl.

<sup>9</sup> Mr. Attaullah belonged to Hafiz Abad, Gujranwala District of Panjab, Pakistan. He was B.A. L.L.B, and had been the secretary of Swat State since 1926 (see *Who's Who in the Dir, Swat and Chitral Agency*, Confidential Report of the British Military and Secret Department, 1939: 6). He was the first person to make correspondence in English with the British Political Agents of Malakand on behalf of the Swat State. Some of his letters have recently surfaced in the Malakand archives (see Olivieri 2015: documents no. 186).

<sup>10</sup> Information based on verbal communication with Prof. Dr Sultan-i-Rome, Chairman Department of History, Government Jahanzeb P.G. College, Saidu Sharif Swat.

historical document goes to the late Dr. Domenico Faccenna, the then Director of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Swat, who not only preserved it from further deterioration, rather prepared a set of photographs for the future academic research.

However, his untimely demise prevented him to fulfil the desired task (see Olivieri 2015: 5, fn. 25), and the set of photographs arranged and numbered, remained unstudied for many years in the library of the Italian Mission at Saidu Sharif. Presently we have no idea of the whereabouts of the MS as it was returned to its deceased owner, while the photographic record left in the library, is the only source on which the present study is based on.<sup>11</sup> Although some of the folios of the MS were torn out and a discontinuity in the historic events exists, as we will see, yet the surviving portion provides sufficient information about the Hindustani Mujahidin and their struggle against the British government.

## 5. Contents of the MS

The preserved portion of the MS incorporates about 142 folios, marked by several Persian poems with black ink on both sides of the plain paper. There is no page numbers or perhaps the original pagination is obliterated, however, the last word of the preceding folio is copied in the start of the next in some cases. During the process of conservation a new arrangement of page numbering was made from serial no. 01, followed by 01a, until the last folio of 142a.<sup>12</sup> Each poem is titled as *dastan* or story, and incorporates various events, its causes, the incidents occurred and the conclusion. In the culmination of each poem, the author sometime demands for wine or simply grapes water from an imaginary barmaid to refresh him for the narration of the next incident yet to be composed. The poems are precise, meaningful and encasing a lengthy event in few couplets. Apart from mentioning the names of persons and places, the author has also added sufficient detail of the geography of the Mujahidin

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<sup>11</sup> We are grateful to Prof. Dr Luca Maria Olivieri, the present director of the Italian Archeological Mission, for the permission to study and publish a summary of this important MS.

<sup>12</sup> Ghulam Rassol Mehr on the contrary, has quoted the folios of his own copy of this MS, in the *Sarguzasht-i-Mujahidin*.

camps at Panjtar and Sitana and the strategic positions occupied by the British force at the Kotal of Ambela. Sometime the genealogy of races and tribes (Khel) of the Muslim fighters of Ambela war is also discussed in detail.

The existing folio No. 01 to 02 of the MS (of Faccenna documentation) is the continuation of a poem narrating the story of prophet Joseph, who was saved by Allah Almighty from the conspiracies of his brothers and bestowed with a distinguished position in the kingdom of Egypt<sup>13</sup>. This is followed by the story of Prophet Jonah (Yuns), who was nourished in the belly of Whale fish by Allah<sup>14</sup>. By reminding these events, the author stresses on the strong belief in one God because his supreme power can decide the good and bad fortune of his creations.

The succeeding poem deals with the praise of Almighty Allah, and his blessings and bestowing upon the humanity. Some historical events mentioned in the holy Quran are also quoted here, for instance the story of Pharaoh<sup>15</sup> and Nimrod<sup>16</sup> who stood against the will of Allah, and thus vanished forever. It is followed by a poem in the praise of the holy Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H), and by another *dastan* of the formula for becoming a strong believer in Allah. Here Abdul Haq, the scribe of the MS prays to Allah for the forgiveness of his sins<sup>17</sup>.

## **6. The story of Sayyid Ahmad Barilvi [folios 04-7a]**

The actual story, on which the MS is based on, starts from the poem of folio No. 04, and highlights the then prevailing circumstances in India due to which Sayyid Ahmad of Baraili, decided to migrate elsewhere. Besides mentioning other events, the MS says that there were differences in the social and moral customs and traditions between the two nations (Hindus and Muslims),<sup>18</sup> therefore it was difficult for the Muslims of Hindustan to

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<sup>13</sup> This is the translation of the 12<sup>th</sup> chapter (Surah) of the holy Quran.

<sup>14</sup> The translation of the 10<sup>th</sup> chapter of the holy Quran is given here.

<sup>15</sup> Emperor of Egypt in the time of Prophet Moses

<sup>16</sup> King of Nineveh, in the time of Prophet Abraham

<sup>17</sup> Folio. 3a of our MS

<sup>18</sup> This statement shows that the two nation's theory existed before Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan promulgated it.

live together with the infidels. Moreover, the accessioning of Ranjit Singh on the throne of Lahore, and the capturing of India by the *Firangi Sipah* (British forces), was another important reason for the migration of Sayyid Ahmad and his followers. In this critical situation, he went to the performance of *Hajj*, and then came back via Khurasan. Soon he arrived to Panjtar<sup>19</sup>, where Fateh Khan the chief of Khudu Khel received him with great honour.

With the support of Fateh Khan the Sayyid constructed the caravan inn, a school, a mosque and other buildings, and made Panjtar as the base for warlike activities. People from every class gathered around him, and a *Lashkar* (armed force) thus formed for meeting the onslaughts of the infidels in this area, as well as to stand against the followers of Jesus (British) and usurper of India. Meanwhile, fresh waves of emigrants also arrived and settled at Sitana<sup>20</sup> for receiving training against the expected campaigns<sup>21</sup>.

The next poem records the events of AH 1274/1857 AD, when the Mujahidin were stationed at Sitana, under the patronage of Shahzada Sayyid Mubarak Shah.<sup>22</sup> However, a war ensued between Sayyid Mubarak Shah and the Hutmanzai (Utmazai) tribes of the neighbouring villages of Kaya and Khabal, in which Sayyid Umar, the uncle of Shahzada was shot dead.

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<sup>19</sup> A village in the Khudu Khel area of district Buner

<sup>20</sup> A large village of the Sayyid family on the right bank of River Indus, destroyed in 1858 by the British force (see Adye 1867), and drowned in the Tarbela water reservoir in 1974.

<sup>21</sup> The detail of the battle of Sayyid Ahmad with the Sikh forces and the Barakzai chiefs of Peshawar, the killing of Khadi Khan of Hund, the attempt for the assassination of Sayyid Ahmad by the Yousafzai and the Balakot incidents are not found in the MS because some of its pages are either missing or perhaps removed in later period. For further detail on these issues, see Scott 1906: 103-113, Hugh 1865:43-4, & Hunter 1875.

<sup>22</sup> Since he was the son of Sayyid Akbar Shah, the former king of Swat state and crown prince, therefore he was known as Shahzada to the author of the MS.

## **7. The destruction of Panjtar, Mangal Thana and Sitana by the British Forces [folios 09-12]**

The MS then goes on to record that the Hutmanzai nation was not so strong to oppose the Sayyid family of Sitana, therefore, they secretly dispatched letters to the *Firangi* officers so to chastise their rivals<sup>23</sup>. The British force soon responded to their call and advanced to Chinglai for the destruction of Muqarab Khan<sup>24</sup> of Panjatar and the Mujahidin centres of Mangal Thana and Sitana.<sup>25</sup> Some of the local Khans, such as Qadar Khan of Toru, Sarbiland Khan of Huti, Khuidad Khan of Ismaila, Shahdad Khan of Hund, Ibrahim Khan of Zeda, Amir Khan of Khadarzai and Ajab Khan and Aziz Khan (of Suddam)<sup>26</sup>, also joined with the British Commissioner of Peshawar in this expedition. The destruction of Panjtar was followed by the annihilation of Mangal Thana, a stronghold of Sayyid Abbas Mian, and a safe shelter of the Hindustani Mujahidin. Although, Sayyid Abbas and his companions had already escaped, yet the *Firangi* did not spare the fort and raised it to the ground. The army remained busy in the destruction until evening and spent the night there<sup>27</sup>, while in the morning, there were only smoke and fallen houses<sup>28</sup>.

At the dawn of the succeeding day, the Commissioner, while staying at Mainai<sup>29</sup>, casted his eyes on the destruction of Sitana. When Shahzada Mubarak Shah got this news, he soon convened a meeting of his companions and it was unanimously declared that Sitana should be evacuated and all the men will move to Shahnoorlari<sup>30</sup>, while the families

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<sup>23</sup> Such statement is also given by Wylly 1912:79-80.

<sup>24</sup> The son of Fateh Khan, and chief of Pajtar. For the defeat and escape of Muqarab Khan see (Wylly 1912: 77-78).

<sup>25</sup> For further detail see Paget 1874: 64-80

<sup>26</sup> Ajab Khan and Aziz Khan were brothers and influential chiefs of Rustam and Suddam. They also accompanied the British army in Ambela Campaign of 1863.

<sup>27</sup> The detail of this event is also given in *Frontier and Overseas Expeditions from India*, Vol. I, pp. 223-224, as if copied from the MS of Durr-i- Maqāl. See also Wylly 1912: 79.

<sup>28</sup> This detail is also given by Paget 1874: 75

<sup>29</sup> A village near Topai in the district of Swabi. A contingent of British force was stationing there on that occasion (see Nevill 1912: 43).

<sup>30</sup> Name of a mountain in the Mahaban series.

and children should go to Malka.<sup>31</sup> The Commissioner quickly proceeded to Khabal and entered Sitana. The village and its settlement were destroyed with cannons and gunpowder. The scene was observable from the Shahnoorlari, situated above Sitana, therefore some of the Mujahidin attacked on the British force and fought so bravely that even the British Commanders praised them<sup>32</sup>, though many of them got martyrdom.

## **8. Settlement of the Mujahidin in Malka [folios 12a-19a]**

After the destruction of Sitana, the Mujahidin shifted to Malka, and settled there with Shahzada Mubarak Shah and a new camp thus established. The local people also supported the Mujahidin with food and money. With the assistance of the natives of Malka the construction of some buildings took place, such as gunpowder factory, a grain store, horse stables<sup>33</sup>, quarters for the Mujahidin and a place for the king etc.<sup>34</sup> The foundation of purely Islamic community were laid and recitation of the name of Allah became the daily routine. Abdullah<sup>35</sup> was selected as the Amir of war, since his ancestors formerly held the same position, while weapons of war such as guns and cannons and gunpowder, arrows and bows, and swords were acquired for the expected attack on their camp. Shahzada Mubarak then decided to punish some of the Hutmanzai for their conspiracy, however, the guilty persons made good their escaped to the British administered area across the River Indus, while the other chiefs of Kaya and Khabal, namely Abdul Hameed, Abdul Aziz, Maazullah Khan and Muhib Ullah Khan welcomed him. They also supported the Shahzada in the reconstruction of the devastated fort of Sitana.

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<sup>31</sup> This event is also recorded by Bellew 1864: 98 & Paget 1874: 95

<sup>32</sup> See also Paget 1874: 77.

<sup>33</sup> See figs. 06 & 06a

<sup>34</sup> The same description of Malka is also given by R. Taylor the Commissioner of Peshawar on the occasion of its destruction on the 22 December 1863 (see Paget 1874: 131 & Parry 1888:290)

<sup>35</sup> He is also known to the English writers as the commander of the Hindustani fanatics (see Paget 1874: 92).

The success of the Shahzada at Kaya and Khabal alarmed Akram Khan of Tanawal.<sup>36</sup> He fled away from his Qila Baloch<sup>37</sup> to Darband<sup>38</sup>, and sought the help of British authority against the Shahzada. The British Officer of Hazara quickly moved his forces to Darband and Tarbela, and laid siege on the bank of River Indus. On the other hand, the Commissioner of Peshawar by the name of Tailar<sup>39</sup> was strengthening his force by inviting contingents from every districts including Kohat. The combined force equipped with heavy war weapons, ration, and beast of burden such as horses, Camels, Mules, and Elephants reached Menai, and secured both the banks of River Indus. The local Khans of the area also made their presence to the Commissioner for cooperation.

Looking to his weak position, the Shahzada requested to his uncle Syyad Umran and Molvi Abdullah for writing letters of invitation to every chiefs of the area for joining the holy war<sup>40</sup>. One letter was also sent to Abdul Ghafoor, the Sahib of Saidu Sharif, with the request to pray for these people since the *Firangi* has come to Amb, Darband and Tarbela with the mission of the destruction of this land. The chiefs of this land are also supporting the *Firangi*, and the Khans of Amazai, especially Muza Khan is a paid servant of the Commissioner. Moreover, the chiefs of Menai and Topai have also paid allegiance to the infidel force. Now it is the duty of every Muslim to rise for the holy war in this critical situation. When the Sahib read the letter, he proclaimed that today is the holy war and Shahzada is the real leader of the Muslims and worthy of this position since his family is holding this prestigious seat from very long ago.

## **9. The plan for the destruction of Malka [folios 19a-30a]**

The Commissioner was planning for a raid on Malka, and for this purpose, he was inspecting the arrangements of the force and local Khans. When

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<sup>36</sup> The son of the late Jahandad Khan and reigning king of the Amb state

<sup>37</sup> The Baloch Ghar fort of the former Amb State.

<sup>38</sup> The Capital of the then Amb State

<sup>39</sup> Correctly Reynell Taylor

<sup>40</sup> Sayyid Umran had also written a letter to Ahmad Khan of Bagra, but the British forces captured it before it could reach to the Khan (see Paget 1874: 92).

his contingent reached to Gyara Bara<sup>41</sup>, they saw the Mujahidin above the mountains and ready for an attack. The Commissioner stepped back, but the horse of Khuidad Khan of Ismaila frightened and slipped down in the water. Although the Mujahidin did not harass the Khan, yet the Commissioner pressed him for this negligence. On the next morning, the infidel force was on the bank of river, and the Commissioner desired to send a reliable person to the Jadun tribes, for keeping them aloof from the Shahzada. A good amount of money was also promised for giving access to the British force to Malka in lieu of a complete safety to their land and property. However, the Jadun rejected the offer by saying that if the *Firangi* ever tried to penetrate; they will rise for the cause of their religion<sup>42</sup>.

The response from Jaduns disappointed the Commissioner and he issued order for the formation of the force. All the forces gathered in a vast plain and formed their ranks and files with the sound of drums. The force was consisted of cavalry and infantry, and all the recruits including the black and white skinned officers, obeyed the order. With weapons like cannons, rifles and spears, they paraded, and the mounted guards were roaming around for safety. The Commissioner then left his camp at Topi and reached Swabi hurriedly because he had to lead the forces to Malka through the Darahind.<sup>43</sup> The Shahzada was stationing at Sitana and receiving the message about the advance of the *Firangi*. He reached to Malka and advised the Amir of Mujahidin for the preparation and defence of the area through the blockade of the routes. The British force reached to Khudu Khel with proclamation for bringing food items to the stores of the troops. However, a group of devoted Mujahidin attacked on the grain store, looted and burnt it at the night.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Name of a place

<sup>42</sup> This poem is also included in Mehr 1956: 338.

<sup>43</sup> The Daran Pass of the British writers. See Paget 1874: 87. There is a very close relation between the writing of Paget 1874: 87, and the MS. For the Daran Pass see Bellew 1864: 13

<sup>44</sup> This was certainly the commiserate store established at Naokilla (see Paget 1874: 87). Naokilla is the modern Nawekaly situating near Parmoli and Shiva bus stop. Presently this village is commonly known as Sher Khan Shaheed village because of the grave of Sher Khan, an officer of the Pakistan army who got martyrdom in the Kargil war of 1998.

The Commissioner became very much astonished and worried about this action of the Mujahidin. He changed the plan of crossing the Darahind, and ordered that the force should move through the Surkawai route. Meanwhile Ajab Khan<sup>45</sup> also arrived and convinced the Commissioner for the invitation of Zaidullah Khan of Daggar, Habib Khan and Aasim Khan of Aishazai tribe<sup>46</sup> and Ahmad Khan of Bagra, to Surkawai for negotiation. Then these leading chiefs accepted the offer and started via Barkali and joined Ajab Khan at Nawakali<sup>47</sup>. The Commissioner then assured the chiefs of Buner about a high reward they will receive for allowing the force to cross Surkawai. A deal of thirteen thousand rupees was also discussed for their additional services<sup>48</sup>. The Commissioner also declared to them that the British force has no concern with the Bunerwals except the destruction of Malka, and after the accomplishment of this task, the *Firangi* force will return without any delay.

#### **10. The start from Nawakali to Surkawae and Chamla [folios 30a-38a]**

The Commissioner and the force moved from the base of Darahind towards the east in the direction of Surkawae for the first time<sup>49</sup>. Ajab Khan and the chiefs of Buner were leading the *Firangi* force to Ambela<sup>50</sup>, while his brother Aziz Khan<sup>51</sup> of Sudam had a soft corner for his relatives of Buner. They reached to the Kotal of Ambela in evening time in the

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Although the British writers never recorded the plundering of the grain store by Mujahidin, yet it seems that this event certainly took place on the night of the 19<sup>th</sup> October 1863, and on the next morning, the plan of crossing the Daran pass was postponed for the Rustam to Surkawai route

<sup>45</sup> The Khan of Rustam and supporter of the British force.

<sup>46</sup> See also Mehr 1956: 341.

<sup>47</sup> It was here that the base camp of operation was established by the British force (see Paget 1874:18).

<sup>48</sup> This fact has never disclosed in the writings of the British authors such as Paget 1874, and others.

<sup>49</sup> Because the British force never used this route for any expedition or penetrating to the Buner valley.

<sup>50</sup> Ambela is always written as Hamela in the MS.

<sup>51</sup> Aziz Khan and Ajab Khan were the two brothers and they had received awards from the Commissioner. See. Paget 1874: 134).

moonlight. Meanwhile some of the Mujahidin raided the *Firangi* with guns and the battle thus ensued. The Commissioner was viewing the increasing number of Mujahidin with great surprise from the top of Kotal. He was interrogating Ajab Khan, about this unexpected disaster. On the next day, the *Firangi* force selected its positions at the Kotal<sup>52</sup> and some of the contingents started for going to Koga under the command of Sanman.<sup>53</sup>

However, the Barkazai and Noorzai opposed them from mount Ghuru and a hot contest started from both sides with slogans<sup>54</sup>. The three brothers of the Barakzai clan jumped into the battlefield with swords, and got martyrdom. When their father came to know about their fate, he took the arms, fought gallantly and died. Three persons of the *Firangi* artillery were also killed and they were Major Katar<sup>55</sup>, Kaptan (Captain) Kailak and Chein.<sup>56</sup> The Mujahidin also captured some horses of the enemy while nine men of the Norazai tribe lost their life in the encounter. The night passed without comfort and the English force gave the dead bodies of the Bunerwals at the morning<sup>57</sup>. Most of the dead were belonging to Ghadezai, Salarzai, Norozai, Ashezai and Dawalzai tribes, and some persons from the village of Panjpao and Malandarai.

The Commissioner then called the chiefs of Chamla for negotiation, and within few moments, Feroz, Maazullah Khan and his son Abdullah Khan came to him with different kinds of gifts, including

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<sup>52</sup> These positions were the Crag Piquet and Eagle's Nest Piquet, the two peaks opposite to each other on the Ambela pass (see figs 03- 03e). The Eagle's Nest is mentioned in the MS as *Ashyana Uqab*, *Ashyana Murgh*, and *Shaheen Nasheen* with the same meaning of Eagle's Nest or home of Eagle, located in the Guru Mountain. The Crag Piquet was known to the author of the MS as *Sangar* and *Qatal garh* or place of slaughter. It is located opposite to the Eagle's Nest, and below the conical peak of mount Lalu (see figs 02 & 02a).

<sup>53</sup> Correctly Lieutenant R. Sandeman, the then assistant Commissioner of Peshawar (see Paget 1874: 91).

<sup>54</sup> This was certainly the battle of the Eagle's Nest Piquet (see Paget 1874: 96-98).

<sup>55</sup> The Lieutenant Carter of Parry 1888: 289, or could be T.T. Carter of the Royal Engineer (see Paget 1874: 119).

<sup>56</sup> Perhaps Clifford and Lieutenant Richmond who killed in the war of the Guru Mountain on the 26<sup>th</sup> October of 1863 (see Adye 1867: 48).

<sup>57</sup> This statement of the MS is also recorded by Adye 1867: 50.

chickens, ghee and eggs etc. They also showed a short passage to Malka through the top of the mount Lalu<sup>58</sup>. The Commissioner gave the task of taming the Chamlawal to Mazullah Khan, while Abdullah remained in the camp as hostage. Moreover, Rahmat Khattak, the son of Tawas Khan and Muhammad Zaman Popalzai were sent to Surkawai, Khuidad Khan and Amir Khan, Ibrahim Khan and Muhabat Khan of Turo to Sherdara. Shahdad Khan of Hund was sent to Lundkhwar, Sarbiland Khan to Parmuli, and the others to Khanpur<sup>59</sup> for knowing the situation there, while Ajab Khan and Aziz Khan remained in the British camp.

Shahzada Mubarak entrusted the security of Malka to his uncle Sayyid Umran and nominated guards on Sarpaty<sup>60</sup>, while the task of securing the peaks of Chamla, Nawagai, Jadun, Amazai and Khudu Khel were given to his other uncle Shah Mehmood and Sayyid Azam. He started for Ambela with the Molvi and a contingent of the Mujahidin. On reaching to Katgala, the force spread in three directions of the valley. The Isazai, Aishazai, Panjpao, and Gadezai laid siege on Mount Lalu, while the fighters of Noorazai, Salarzai, Dawlatzai, and Chagharzai, occupied the mount Guru. The food was supplying from Malka but some time they got insufficient meal or remained without food. Meanwhile, the Aishazai attacked on the *Firangi* with full force, but the enemy succeeded in climbing to the opposite summit of mount Lalu<sup>61</sup>. In this fierce battle, Sayyid Azam lost his life, and Mujahidin were repulsed by the *Firangi*.

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<sup>58</sup> Bellew 1864: 12, has recorded that from Rustam one can pass to Parmuli by Machi, Naranji, Mirshahi and Shpol-Banda to Lalu Banda and then down to Koga.

<sup>59</sup> Khanpur is a village between Sherdara and mount Lalu. See figs. No.01 &01a

<sup>60</sup> A mountain near Malaka.

<sup>61</sup> This was probably the battle on the Crag Picquet on 30<sup>th</sup> October 1863 (see Paget 1874: 103).

## **11. Request to the Sahib of Saidu Sharif for joining the holy war [folios 38a-39a]**

At the same day, a brave man of Buner came with a letter to Abdul Ghafoor, the Sahib of Saidu Sharif<sup>62</sup> for seeking his support against the *Firangi*. The letter stated that the *Firangi* have occupied Chamla and intends to capture Buner and Swat valley. The Sahib is therefore requested to come with a large force, sufficient food, arms and ammunition, good quality of horses and trained youth to the battlefield. The religious class of the Sayyid and Miangan, may be persuaded for coming against the *Firing* force, and letters should be send with your signature to the chiefs of Bajaur, and upper Swat. Moreover, Mirji<sup>63</sup> should be sent to the people of Thana, Aladand Dheria and Ranezai, for making their presence in Ambela.

The Sahib proclaimed *Jihad*, while his disciple Abdur Rahman Kabuli, persuaded the people for going to Ambela against the *Firangi*. The inhabitants of Babozai were invited to Mingora, and it was decided that on Friday the procession would start for Ambela. The tribes of Aka Khel and Maruf Khel assembled on Friday, while another letter also came to the Sahib from Buner on the same moment. The Sahib requested Molvi Ahmad Ji, the Qazi of the mosque for offering the prayer of the day, and then the procession of volunteers started through the bank of River, and reached to Barikot<sup>64</sup> where they waited for Mirji and the Khan Khel of Thana and Aladand until Monday.

Mirji Khan of Nikpi Khel was roaming at Thana and Bar Khan Khel and convincing Mhrullah Khan, Shah Nazar, and Zardad, Massam, Shah Nawaz, Abbas Khan and Hasham Khan and Shahbaz Khan of the Khan Khel and Ali Khel clans, and Samat and Feroz of Sonyari, Noor Ali, Muhammad Nakhastin of the Bazid Khel. Moreover, Noor Muhammad Khan and Mehmud Khan of Samel Khel and Bazid Khell were also persuaded and they all went to Barikot and joined the Sahib. Mirji then

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<sup>62</sup> on Folio. 39a, of our MS the name of the Sahib of Saidu Sharif is mentioned as Abdul Ghafoor. He is also praised for the sanctity, simplicity and spiritual influence.

<sup>63</sup> Mirji was the disciple and minister of the Akhund of Swat. See Paget 1874: 145).

<sup>64</sup> For the location of Barikot and the route followed by the Sahib, see Map on fig. 11.

went to the chiefs of Jandul<sup>65</sup>, while the Sahib and the procession moved through the Karakar pass to Buner. On that day, the third letter from the people of Buner came and the Sahib said to the messenger that his force is reaching to Ambela very soon. The two Khans of Ranezai, namely Sher Dil Khan and Suhbat Khan of Thana and Aladand also started for Ambela and reached to Bar Qala<sup>66</sup> after one day. They spent the night at Karakar, and on the following day reached to Torwarsak and met the Sahib. From there the Khans went to Ambela with some of their troops and joined the war at the same moment when the *Firigi* force was making fresh raids on the mount Lalu and mount Guru.

This was a real bloody battle in which Painda Khan and Ismail of the Daulatzai, Diwan Shah of Mandazai, and Qubat Shah of the Barkazai clan got martyrdom during the hand to hand fighting with the enemy. This incident was followed by the beginning of the Great War<sup>67</sup> in which Suhbat Khan and Sher Dil Khan actively participated. The boldness of the Akka Khel and Maruf Khel also won great appreciation because Tajjali Noor and his few companions attacked on the British force without any hesitation. Similarly, Haleem Shah of the Dulatzai also crushed many constables of the enemy, but due to his white skin and *Firangi* like appearance, his own fellow attacked him with sword. However, he pardoned the attacker, and henceforth, Haleem Shah is known as Mujahid Haleem. Many warriors of the Akozai, Shamoza, Adenzai, Musa Khel, Babozai, Aba Khel, Khan Khel of Ranezai, Nikpi Khel and Maturzai and Ismaizai tribes perished or wounded on that occasion.

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<sup>65</sup> The British force was also aware about the summoning of different tribes of Swat, Bajaur, Dir, and the force of Ghazan Khan, since this was reported to the British Government by General Chamberlain through his letter of the 25<sup>th</sup> October, 1863 (see Adye 1867: 50).

<sup>66</sup> A modern Police check post is now built on the site of Bar Qala, on the summit of Mount Karakar.

<sup>67</sup> The *Jang-e-Azeem* of the MS.

## 12. The arrival of the Sahib of Saidu Sharif to Ambela [folios 39a-76]

The Sahib finally arrived in a procession of fighters and stayed at the roofless mosque of the Kotal<sup>68</sup>. He sent his troops against the *Firangi*, and engaged himself in prayers from morning to evening. Meanwhile the Molvi and Shahzada came to him and negotiated about their religious beliefs and doctrines. The Sahib listen to them and said that there is no room left to discard the Molvi, because he is the leader of all the Muslims and knows the art of warfare very well. The Sahib also considered the Molvi as his own son and prayed for his success (see fig 07).

The arrival of the people residing on the banks of River Indus delighted the Sahib because he had a plan for a secret attack at the night of Friday. Then the Mujahidin confined the enemy from three sides and with one cry of Tahsneen, the sudden midnight attack took place.<sup>69</sup> However, his proclamation also alarmed the enemy and they at once fired their *gharabin* [Sharpnels]. The men of the Akozai tribe attacked the enemy, and brought silence to their camps. The three persons of Bacha Khel, namely Ilyas, Ammara, and Yousaf had rushed to the enemy camp, while the Khan Khel of Ranezai was showing heroism in the open battlefield.

During this hot contest, Jamadar Najaf and Jamadar Qayam received the bullets and breathed their last. Kaaji of Bami Khel and Noor Ali, the *Muazzin* (*azan* speaker) of the mosque of Saidu Sharif also died, while Salab Din of the Mian Khel of Thana, Said Azam of Chamla Nawagai, and some persons of the Akozai received serious wounds. The rest of the Bunerwal deceived the Mujahidin and took no part in this holy war; rather paved the way for the failure of the midnight attack.

Another secret attack was planned on the next night, however, all the efforts dashed to the ground by a mysterious call of an unseen force alarming the Mujahidin about the sever attack of British force with heavy weapons on their camps. The strange voice frightened many Mujahidin and most of them fled from the battlefield. The chiefs of Thana and

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<sup>68</sup> This was a temporary mosque located on the Gharu mountain pass which was also formerly a border line between the Chamla valley and Buner and known as Buner Kandao (see Bellew 1864: 12).

<sup>69</sup> The event of midnight attack is recorded by the English writers (see Adye 1867: 53).

Ranezai shifted the Sahib to a safe place due to the expected attack of the enemy. The British force did not advance but the panic they created in the darkness deprived the Mujahidin from a good number of fighters. The Bunerwals also escaped and proclaimed that the Sahib has deserted and the *Firangi* are victorious. In fact, the Sahib was standing on the northern hill, but the propaganda spread everywhere. Meanwhile, fresh troops of people arrived to Ambela from distant lands. One of these new comers was Mian Jahan alias Ghulm Mahiuddin of the village of Dherai Jolagram, a descendant of the Sahib of Banur,<sup>70</sup> and another was Fazal Mehdi, the Sahib Zada of Kunar, who came with a large number of his devotees.

A delegation of the Bunerwal chiefs, consisting of Zaidullah Khan of Daggar, Ahmad Khan of Bagra, and others came to the Sahib on behalf of the Commissioner Peshawar for the termination of the war on the condition of the destruction of Malka and expulsion of Mujahidin. The Commissioner also dispatched a letter to the Sahib for the conditional reconciliation; however, the Sahib and Shahzada did not accept the terms because the complete destruction of Malka could devastate the Mujahidin and their allies. After the termination of this fruitless meeting, the Sahib declared that for further attacks, there should be a strategy. It was decided that letters should be dispatched to all the Sayyid, Afghanans and Molvi living on the banks of rivers and hilly area, for the provision of reinforcement. On the other hand, Sher Dil Khan, took the responsibility of collecting the the people of Swat and surrounding areas.

When the news of this critical situation reached to Swat, every Khel of people such as the Shamezai, the two Khel of Sibujin<sup>71</sup>(Sabat Khel and Khuba Khel), Mula Khel and Hassan Khel, reached to the Kotal. The people residing the banks of Indus River followed them, while more troops also came from Puran and Chakesar through the Kana and Gharando route.<sup>72</sup> The Chief of Chakesar was Suhbat Khan while the people from Kohistan were coming with the music of flutes. Moreover,

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<sup>70</sup> Sahib Banaur or Hazrat Adam Banauri was a great sufi saint of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in India. He was born at the Banaur town of Chandigarh district, India.

<sup>71</sup> Of the Sehboochnia valley of James Abbot. See Abbot 1854: 330

<sup>72</sup> The Barando river that issues from the hills between Shangla and Buner and passing through Chagharzai, Daggar and Tor Ghar and joins the River Indus at the village of Dadam in Tor Ghar

the *Lashkar* of Adenzai, Shamuzai, Hutmanzai, Shaya Khel, and Noora Khel also made their presence at Ambela.

The other Khel, which participated in the war, are the Umarzai, Dauri Khel, Ismail Khel, the whole of Nikpi Khel, Bushri Khel, Janki Khel, Barat Khel and Khudu Khel, Aba Khel, Asha Khel and Isa Khel of the Mandan branch. Among the Matuzai there were Musa Khel, Babuzai and Aba Khel, Bahlol Khel, Bami Khel, Barat Khel and Aka and Maruf Khel. Of the other Khel, there were Qazi Khel and Ashkhani Khel of Shingardar, Samail Khel of Manyar, Amir Khel of Barikot, Abazai and Khadakzai, Fateh Khel and Kamel Khel of Badwan<sup>73</sup> Ali Khel of Aladand Dherai. The Hutmanzai and Barma Khel of Batkhaila, Usman Khel of Dherai Julagram and Sultan Khel of Matkanai, Totakan and Hisar, came for fighting against the *Firangi* force.

### **13. The Attack on the grains store of the British force [folios 76-87]**

The Mujahidin of the Salarzai and Hutman Khel, made a night attack on the grain store of the British force at Surkawai, and took away wheat, maze, ghee, honey, salt, eggs, chickens, dough, candy, onion, sugar, cheese and boxes.<sup>74</sup> It was a sufficient damage to the English force and humiliation for the local chiefs stationed at Sherdara on behalf of the British force. This incident greatly displeased the British force, and they were now bending upon the destruction of Koga. The Commissioner directed his subaltern to clear the rear path<sup>75</sup> from enemies and for the smooth communication of the heavy cannons. This was the noontime when the Mujahidin reached to that mountain and faced the enemy, and the another battle took place. The Mujahidin shot one Major of the *Firangi* force, while Mehdi, Fazal Hadi and Mir Hamza of Palai, fought hand to hand with the enemy and died bravely. Sayyid Jaffar, of Sarsarin and Maasam of Thana also died during this battle. At the dawn of the next day, the *Firangi* hired some of the Hutman Khel of the British administered area, for the transportation of their dead to the camp.

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<sup>73</sup> Badwan is now in Lower Dir, near Chakdara.

<sup>74</sup> See also Adye 1867: 67.

<sup>75</sup> The path behind the conical mount of Lalu leading from Surkawai (see Fig. 03).

The arrival of Mirji from Jandul and Tahasneen from Nawagai pleased the Sahib because they were accompanying by many chiefs including Nawab Khan from the house of Mehtaran,<sup>76</sup> and Sayyid Sanaullah Khan and Khudadad Khan of Bajaur with a huge crowd of volunteers. Almost one thousand men from Shamozaï were seen on the mountain passes with singing in the company of Abbas Khan of Munda, Aman Khan of Toor, and a group of the Sayyids and Akhund Khel, coming to the battlefield. They were following by Saadat Ali Khel, and Zainullah Khan, Qasam and Mirbaz, and Abdul Ghaffar of Sunyarai. The people from Patan, Palas, Chilas, Dantour and Tibbet also came for the destruction of the *Firangi*, while the contingents from Hazara, Chach, Pakli, and troops of the Wazir and Bangash tribes also came to Ambela

This combined procession reached to the Kotal of the Sahib and he dispatched some of them to Ambela and the other above the mountain. The two Khans of Ranezai and Muhammad, Sayyid Hahib, Ghulam, Aslam, Mir Muhammad and Sayyid Abbas also found their way to Ambela, and joined Asaf, Khursand Khan, Shah Nazar Khan, Khan Shah Nawaz and Saadat of the Ali Khel tribe and the men of Samat Khel and Khan Khel of Sunyari. The security of the base camp of mount Lalu was taken by Mihrullah, Qudrat Ali Badshah, and Mulla Ghulam of Thana. They were also assisting by Mir Ahmad, Mir Alam, Sikander and Noor Ali of Aba Khel and Khasi Khel, Saddiq of Sultan Khel, Shah Afzal, Muhammad Wali and Habibullah Khan of Haqdad Khel, Bahram Khan of Mir Khel from Barikot, and Mabol, Yaqut, Hazrat Jamal and Sayyid Jalal. There were also Muhammad Shah, Kashmir Khaki and Painda Shah of the Ismail Khel of Manyar, and Namawar, Mir Khan, Naseem, Mir Ahmad Jawan, Noor Muhammad, Saifullah, Mirdad and Nawab from the Abazai clan. From the Shaya Khel clan, there was Iraqi, and Muazzam, and from the Musa Khel were Zaidullah Khan, Azizullah, Mir Alam, Shamar, Saadat, Nasri, Banaras, Barakat, Mir Ahmad Marwat, Ghulam, Sadeeq Khan and Mazrub Khan and Sayyid Awal Baba. The people of Shamozaï were consisting of Hussain, Dawran, Maazul, Rahim Ullah, Mir Alam, Qadar, Sayyid Alam, Noor Alam, Baaz Khan and Shah Wadan. Moreover, Zardad Khan, Umar Zarin, Azad Khan were belonging from the Adenzai,

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<sup>76</sup> Perhaps the royal family of Chitral

while Amir, Hikmat, Sardar and Hussain Ali, Aziz, Mir Hamza, Abdul Akbar, Noor Wali, Yaqoob and Shaikh Maqbool had come from Ismail Khel.

Asafi and Azad were coming from Hutmanzyan and Amir Rajab, Pacha, Gul, Najam and Haya Noor from Khadsh Khel, while two hundred persons of the Ali Khel and three hundred more had come with Suhbat Khan and Sher Dil Khan Kacho Khel from Ranezai. Murad, Saadullah Khan, Amanat Khan, Aslat Khan, Shah Nawaz and Feroz were from the Mali Khel, and Ismail, Aziz of the Fateh Khel and Abdul Khalil, Asim Khan and Manawar, Shamar, Ayub and Muhammad Hassan of Mir Khan Khel made their presence in the war. Aleem Khan, Saadat, Toti and Astam belonged to Spin Khel, and Hasham, Muhammad Gul and Ghazan from the Ibrahim Khel. Sayyid Rasool, Arjumand, Abdul Aziz and Biland were coming from the Madi Khel, and Arsala Khan, Ubaid, Khan, Sadeeq, Mehboob Khan, Azim, Shahbaz, Khan Zaman, Maroof and Mir Alam were representing Ghaifi Khel. Yaqoot and Madaar belonged to Mulla Khel and Dilwar, Naz Muhammad and Baghi were the men of Marcha Khel. Suhbat, Bahram Khan, Nawab, Mir Khan and Mir Afzal were coming from Baba Khel. Jamal, Amir Aman, Sayyid Ghulam, Aziz, and Habibullah belonged to Landa Khel, Ghulam Nabi and Ghulam Rasool of Mubara Khel, Maruf Shah, Hakim, Mehmud, Muhammad, Maasam and Muasam, and Gul Muhammad of Marwan Khel. From the Dadu Khel, there were Memun, Sarbali, Akhtary and Munjra, and from the Kari Khel were Zarif, Azad Khan and Nawab. From Samail Khel were Yusuf and Aziz, Mruf Shah, Mehboob Shah and Yaseen Khan.

Besides these, there was Nasar and Mir Afzal of Abazai, Noor Shah Ali of Khadakzai, Hammat, Muhabbat, Abbas Khan and Maazullah Khan of Nikpi Khel, Mubaras Khan of the Jura Khel had come with Ahmad Ji, Hamza Khan, Hussain, Mir Alam, Arsala, Mabul, Sayedullah, Zaidullah, of the Nikpi Khel. The chiefs of the Asha Khel were Ahmad, Sayyid Khan, Manars, Ajab Khan, Fateh Khan, Gujar and Shamar. Whereas, the Sebuji clan was represented by Bahram, Gujar, Baidullah Khan, Gul, Mir Alam, Rushdullah Khan, Mir Abbas, Zalam Khan, Ghaus Alam, and Said Muhammad Marwat. From the Shamezai came Muhammadi, Allah Yar Khan, Hussain, Muhammad Gul, Jamal, Qadar, Mir Alam and Anwar Shah, and from the Ibrahim Khel there was Ajab Khan and Jalil with many others. From the Jinki Khel were Feroz and Ghazan, Qaisar, Shah Zol and Faiz Talab.

From the Bashari Khel came Zaman, Munawar, Abdul Akbar, Mira Khan, Zaray, Mujaddid and Bazdaa. The men who came from Babozai were Mujahid, Mulla Abbas Khan, Toray, and Shah Afzal, and from the Aka Khel and Maruf Khel were Abdullah Khan Namdar, Mir Alam, Hamid and ali Noor, Ayaz and Ibrahimay. Arsala, Haji Qutail, Mir Abdullah and his son, Zardad, Gujar, Baghi, Ghulab, Ashraf, Mir and Mullah Khitab, Muhib, Jallat, Khanghi, Rajjab and Bahram have come from Bami Khel. From the Aba Khel there was Hikmat and Bahram Khan, Zardad and, Gujar, Rajjab, Mir Alam Shamar and Maqsood Khan, Umara, Malak Aman, Bahram Khan, Aqad Khan, Hayat, Sher Zaman and Noor Zaman. From the Bahlol Khel and Ali Khel, were Gujar and Shah Muzat, Bahadar Khan, Gul, Shamar, Abudllah Khan and Mastan.

#### **14. The plan for another attack of the Mujahidin [folios 87-93a]**

It was discussed in a night meeting that the Akozai would harass the enemy at every step and for this purpose; they divided the people of every Khel into two halves for taking positions against the infidels. Suhbat Khan of Ranezai and the warriors of Bajaur along with Sayyid and Mihrullah Khan faced the *Firangi* at the mount Lalu and made their names memorable. The rock where they fought is henceforth, known as the Mihrullah Khan rock. Suhbat Khan also fought bravely in the middle of the flames of guns and cannons. The war had started at the midday and continued the whole night without any break. Sher Dil Khan was riding on horse with sword in hand and fought like a lion. Abbas Khan of Munda and the men of Tarkani also bravely used their swords against the *Firangi* on that Sangar.<sup>77</sup>

The *Firangi* was besieging Mujahidin at the cost of men and resources, while Katur of the Khan Khel received serious wounds from the attack of Major Feat.<sup>78</sup> However, the Mujahidin occupied the Sangar and pushed the enemy back. This attack was so sudden that the British artillery

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<sup>77</sup> Sangar means breastworks. See Roberts 1901:288.

<sup>78</sup> Perhaps Subedar Pyat of Paget 1874: 104.

forgot the operating of the cannons and run away<sup>79</sup>. Mujahidin took possession of the cannons but they were not familiar of its use. The fighters from Shamozaï were taking lead during that war despite the heavy wounds they received at body. The *Firangi* were wise and cunning and had the discipline and spirit of hard work for the reward of money and positions. This was the reason that platoons soon harassed the Shamozaï youths and created great panic. A fierce battle ensued once again on the Sangar in which the British force defeated the Shamozaï<sup>80</sup> and retook their breastwork.

It was the sever cold season and Mujhaidin constructed a sheltered place for the Sahib on the same spot of the Kotal where he was staying. It was also declared that the same shelter will be using as a *Khanqah* or place of learning and teachings. The Sahib then entered there with recitations and enlightened the place. This house soon became a sanctuary for both the upper class and common people alike. Meanwhile Miangul Abdul Hanan, the young son of the Sahib started from Saidu Sharif for Ambela to see his beloved father. When he reached to Kat Gala and appeared at the limits of Salarzai, he sent his messenger to the Sahib for seeking his permission. However, the Sahib did not permit rather warned him to go back and hence the Mian Gul returned to Saidu Sharif with broken heart.

## **15. The Occupation of Sangar and the retreat of the English force**

**[folios 93a-99]**

The defeat of the Mujahidin at the Sangar was not the final victory of the *Firangi*. The Muslims once again proceeded to Sangar with *Nara-i-Haidari*<sup>81</sup>, and so frightened the English force that they stepped back from their position in terror. The Mujahidin pursued the *Firangi* for some distance and occupied that place<sup>82</sup>. The slogans of the Mujahidin filled the whole valley of those mountains and there was the sounds of drums and

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<sup>79</sup> This was perhaps the occupation of the Crag Picquet for the first time.

<sup>80</sup> Perhaps the retaking of the Crag Picquet by the British force is narrating here.

<sup>81</sup> Slogan of war

<sup>82</sup> This was certainly the occupation of the Crag Piquet for the 2<sup>nd</sup> time.

music of joy. The Khan Khel was also among the invading force of the Mujahidin. Six persons of the enemy's position, also run away, but they were pursued and killed by Ghulam Mahiuddin of Derai Julagram. A good number of weapons and other goods fell into the hands of the Muslims. However, due to the internal dissention of Bunerwal, the platoons of enemy again united so to repulse the Muslims and to regain what they had lost. Now the war spread to every tree and rock of the hill and the bullets of the enemy were responding with stones by the Mujahidin. There was also hand to hand fighting in which Abbas Khan of the Tarkanyans, showed extraordinary courage and reminded to the *Firangi* that Chamla was not like London<sup>83</sup>. An English officer by the name of Hu James<sup>84</sup>, who was serving in the city of Calcutta as advisor and expert of war tactics, came hurriedly to Surkawai and joined the war. The exchange of firing with guns and zumboorukh was the routine of the war, and during the hot contest, the English Generals by the name of Chamer Lain<sup>85</sup> and Adin Bachcha<sup>86</sup> received severe wounds. Instead of injury, Chamer Lain was addressing his troops to encourage them against the Muslims.<sup>87</sup>

The Mujahidin had besieged the Sangar like the snake coils around the treasure. Sarbali of the Ali Khel, Mir Alam of Musa Khel and Bazmir and Noor Ali of the the Khan Khel of Thana embraced martyrdom during the war. Ghulam Mahiuddin took the revenge of Noor Ali by killing some of the infidels through stones and wooden sticks. The occupation of Sangar by Mujahidin lasted until the second night, due to the devotion of the Akozai, Baizai Khan Khel, Sebuji, Shamezai, and Ranezai, especially of its two chiefs Suhbat Khan and Sher Dil Khan Kachu Khel. However, the Bunerwal chiefs were making intrigues and paving the way for the defeat of the Muslims.

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<sup>83</sup> It is written as Landan in the MS.

<sup>84</sup> Certainly, Hugh James who returned from furlough on 19<sup>th</sup> November and took over the Political Charge of Civil Commissioner from Colonel R. Taylor at Ambela (see Paget 1874: 116, and Adye 1867: 50.).

<sup>85</sup> Correctly Neville Chamberlain, the commanding officer of the British force

<sup>86</sup> Adin Bachcha is perhaps the Persian equivalent of Anderson, a Lieutenant of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Panjab Cavalry (Paget 1874: 111).

<sup>87</sup> The address of N. Chamberlain is recorded in Paget 1874: 118-119.

## 15. The story of 3<sup>rd</sup> war and the defeat of Mujahidin [folios 99-122a]

On the succeeding day, the British forces advanced to the Sangar early in the morning for liberating it from Mujahidin. There were red and black skinned constables, collected from different areas, and each of the contingents had their own style of formation. The cannons of the enemy were shooting the Mujahidin because they had only *Chaqmaq* or matchlocks to rely on. Soon a hot fight ensued with slogans. The Muslims were on the top position and the enemy below those rocks<sup>88</sup> but the sword holders could not stand against the gunpowder and drunken soldiers of the *Firangi* force. In this contest, Buland of the Ashezai, Qadar of the Shamezai tribe and several other persons from Jandul died due to severe injury, and the Mujahidin once again received defeat and descended below, while the Sangar was re-occupied by the British troops.

Despite the crushing defeat, the number of Mujahidin was increasing by new contingents coming from distant land, especially Sayyid Kamal Bacha of Kunar with a force of four hundred people and Aziz Khan of Nawagai came with a force of three hundred men of the Tarkanyan clan. Syyyad Kamal Haji Sahib<sup>89</sup> was famous for his sanctity and his force was consisting of the people of Asizai, Hassan Khel and Madah Khel. Two or four persons were always carrying him in palanquin because of his old age.

Ghazan Khan of Dir also came with a large force of Malezai, Painsa Khel, Sultan Khel and Nasruddin Khel tribes. The Khan of Nasruddin Khel is Munawar Khan of the village of Rabat, while the men of Tarkanyan were Muhammad, Ghulam Rasool and Hamidullah Khan and they came under the command of Faiz Talab Khan and Feroz Khan of Jan Batai. The Sulatn Khel people came with Mehmud, Abdul Azim, Muhammad Hussain, Muhammad Qadeem, Nizamuddin, Nafiullah, Ghulam Ahmad, Abudur Rahman Shamar, Abdul Kamal, Bahramand, Abdullah, Atta Muhammad, Samiullah, Abdur Rauf, Abdul Qadeem, and Abdul Hamid. There were also persons of the Ilyas Khel and Abbas Khel

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<sup>88</sup> See also Adye 1867: 85-

<sup>89</sup> Sayyid Kamal Bacha of Kunar was commonly known as the Haji Sahib of Kunar (see Paget 1874: 112).

and the crown prince of Kashghar. Every Khan came with his own force and their arrival enlightened the Kotal.

Ghazan Khan of Dir was bending upon the destruction of the *Firangi*. Then the Akozai and the Khan of Dir isolated and consulted something. A man by the name of Khany approached to them, perhaps for creating a dissention between the Khans and the rest of the people, but the Akozai did not like his proposal and rejected him with laughing and jokes<sup>90</sup>. The Khan of Dir proclaimed that he has come only for war and along with the Akozai they prepared for a raid on the *Firangi* without any delay. The Sahib prayed for their success and then retired to his Kotal for worship. At the noontime of the next day, the Khan of Dir entrusted some tasks to Ghulam Rasool and Rahmat Ullah Khan. The Akozai secured its position in that valley, while Suhbat Khan assured Ghazan Khan of every assistance. The Bunerwals did not actively participate and considered themselves inferior against the might of the enemy. The Muslims also felt the expected defeat because they knew that the residents of this country (Buner) have already paved the way for the failure of Muslims.

The Commissioner also prepared his force and attacked the Muslims in the morning, and took the life of three persons. The Mujahidin were leading by Jamadar Juma Khan, who took his matchlock (Chaqmaq) and run away against the enemy. Molvi Ibrahim also moved forward but struck by a bullet of the Cannon. Soon a series of the exchange of firing started from both sides of the mount Lalu. The officers of the British artillery were Wail<sup>91</sup>, Ajiseen, Hariseen, and Jamadar Hari Chand, and they were firing cannon against the Mujahidin. The Bunerwal showed cowardice and escaped from the battlefield because they saw the real day of judgement<sup>92</sup>. They easily fled away since they knew every short cut route in the mountain with which they were familiar<sup>93</sup>. This act of the

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<sup>90</sup> The proposal of the conditional reconciliation from the British force was perhaps brought by this Khany of the Musa Khel

<sup>91</sup> Most probably Lieutenants-Colonel A. Wilde, C.B.(see Paget 1874: 87).

<sup>92</sup> This was perhaps a pre-planned scheme since a jirgah of the Bunerwal had already assured the Commissioner that the Bunerwal would take no prominent part in the action (see Paget 1874: 123).

<sup>93</sup> See Also Adye 1867: 86.

Bunerwals greatly enraged the Mujahidin. However, praise is upon the two cannons<sup>94</sup> of the Mujahidin, which gave good response to enemy.

The *Lashkar* of Ghazan Khan of Dir and Akozai tribe assembled on mount Lalu for facing the *Firangi*. A hot contest then started from the two sides and the Akozai again showed bravery by fighting like the lions. The war had started from the morning and continued until late noon. The quick movement of Mujahidin astonished the English forces, and many of their military men killed and wounded. However, Ghazan Khan became notorious at the evening because he noticed that the Bunerwals have deceived the Mujahidin and run away while he (Ghazan Khan) and his men are fighting for their land. Thus, he consulted with other Khans and they all deserted from the war. They reached to the village of Ambela at the night and from there secretly went towards their homes<sup>95</sup>.

When the Sahib came to know about this, he proclaimed that now the hypocrites are separated from the true believer. However, the dissention in Bunerwals was the real cause for the unity of the enemy and suffering of the Muslims. The Khan Khel came to the Sahib and asked for the next plan. Sayyid Mir<sup>96</sup>, the King of Kunar, and his force of the people of Gameer and Katar were always present in the middle of the valley and above the mount Lalu, and some of the Mujahidin were doing the duty of taking meals to their companions. The food was chiefly obtained from the donation made by the residents of Buner and surrounding area to the Kotal of the Sahib in the shape of chickens, goats, cows, wood, grass, wheat, maize, and barley and cash amount, and utensils for cooking.

At the time of *Chasht* (the time between morning and noon), the Akozai assembled for a *Jirga*, because the chiefs of Buner, like Nawab, Bahdur, Zaidullah Khan, Asim and Habib<sup>97</sup>, and other faithful supporters

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<sup>94</sup> One of these cannons is believed to have owned by the descendants of the Hindustani Mujahidin of Asmas in the Torghar district. We also visited that village and found that the cannon and some bombshells, which were previously laying in the Asmas rock shelter, are now shifted to an old house of the village (see figs 10 & 10a)

<sup>95</sup> The English writers have also stated that Ghazan Khan and his companions had deserted from the Ambela war on the night of the 16<sup>th</sup> December 1863 (see Paget 1874: 129 & Adye 1867: 88).

<sup>96</sup> Sayyid Amir was also mentioned as the great rival of the British (see Paget 1874: 214).

<sup>97</sup> These names are also recorded by Paget 1874: 101

of the *Firangi* had approached them for vacating Ambela. They were also carrying the double barrel English guns to the *Jirga* and frightening the people from the might of the *Firangi* forces. On the other side, the Commissioner was leading his force and someone at Ambela cried that the *Firangi* is coming. The elders of the council became discomfited, while the Bunerwals went away from the place of fighting. The British forces came without any opposition to Ambela, put fire to the village and burnt it all.<sup>98</sup>

Now only the Amir of Mujahidin and his devoted companions were in the valley for opposing the *Firangi*, and the rest of the people had retreated from the occasion. The Amir nominated Nasir Muhammad and Kaleem ud Din, as commanders, and gave a detailed speech for attacking the enemy without the support of the native people. The Mujahidin and the British troops came face to face and with a fire of the cannon, they gave the signal for the start of war.<sup>99</sup> The Mujahidin were suffering and the native Bunerwal were not coming to their help despite the advice and persuasion of Qazi Maqbool. Even Jahandad Khan of Khanpur Dir, also left the battlefield by making some excuses.

The English force secured the mountain and descended below. The Mujahidin faced them with swords in hands.<sup>100</sup> Mirji Khan hurriedly went to Swat and roamed from village to village to secure reinforcement but in vain. On one occasion, the Mujahideen defeated the enemy and drove them back to their camps. However, several of them died and their heads turned to the direction of the Qibla by the order of Allah, while their corpses found its way to *Ganj-i- Shahidan*<sup>101</sup>. Beside the Muslims, two distinguished officers<sup>102</sup> and two hundred constables of the British

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<sup>98</sup> This was certainly the event of the 16<sup>th</sup> December 1863 (Paget 1874: 128).

<sup>99</sup> This was perhaps the event of the 16<sup>th</sup> December 1863, when the Mujahidin fired on the British force through matchlocks and zumburuks (Paget 1874: 128 & Adye 1867: 88).

<sup>100</sup> Paget 1874: 128, also states that the Mujahidin were holding swords in hands and attacking the English troops.

<sup>101</sup> Ganj-i-Shahidan is the name of the graveyard of the martyrs of the Ambela war. It is located near the Government girls school of Ambela on the right side of the road coming from the Ambela junction to Swat (figs. 04 & 04 a).

<sup>102</sup> Of these officers, one was Lieutenant Alexander of the 23<sup>rd</sup> Regiment of Pioneer (Paget 1874: 128).

platoons also killed. The enemy had firmly occupied Ambela and its surroundings. Someone said that the Shahzada is also martyred but when the enemy evacuated the valley at the evening time, then he appeared safely. At the evening, all the Mujahidin who came from far away were found dead.<sup>103</sup>

## **16. The Request of the Commissioner for reconciliation [folios 123-130]**

Soon after this bloody contest, the Commissioner Hu James<sup>104</sup> sent a Molvi to the Sahib with a message that Mujahidin are defeated several times and instead of more wars, the English officers want to destroy Malka and terminate the war. For this purpose, two platoons of the British force would go to Malka with some of their cavalry and few elders of the Bunerwal. The Sahib first refused, but on the instigation of the Akozai and other Bunerwals, he consented for the reconciliation, and sent Bahadur of the Ismailzai to Hu James for discussion. Meanwhile, the burial of some of the martyrs took place in the *Ganj Shahidan*, and the others on the top of the Sangar.

Bahadur came back from the English camp and informed the Sahib about the delegation of the Bunerwal met with Hu James last night for ending the war. The Shahzada and the people of Buner then started negotiation on this sensitive situation, while some of the Mujahidin were patrolling on the Sangar and casting their eyes on the movement of the enemy. From one of their positions, they loudly reciting *Subhanallah* (prays be to Allah) and from the other as *Alahmadullilah* (Thanks Allah), while in response to that, the other group used to recite loudly *bayarhamakumullah* (with the mercy of Allah) and from another place by saying *beyadikumullah* (everything is in the hands of Allah).

When the terms of reconciliation unanimously agreed, then the Shahzada dispatched a letter to the chiefs of the Utmanzai for the

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<sup>103</sup> They were certainly the Hindustani Mujahidin since the statement of Paget 1874: 128, reveals that among the two hundred dead, 40 were the Hindustanis.

<sup>104</sup> Major Hugh James, the civil Commissioner of Peshawar who weekend the alliance of Mujahidin through intrigues (see Paget 1874: 121).

appreciation of their services, and another to his closed relative Sayyid Najeeb for the dispersing the tribes from Malka, and ensuring the security of his uncle Sayyid Umran. It was also stated that the goods, which are housed in the cave of the mountain should be protected<sup>105</sup>, because the English force will proceed to Malka very soon. The Sahib facilitated the Mujahidin by giving the hand of their Amir to Hashim Ali of Chagharzai, with the instruction to take care of them in the village of Budhal<sup>106</sup>. The Amir of Mujahidin was pleased with this decision and secretly informed Molvi Fayaz Ali of Asmast about the situation.<sup>107</sup> The Sayyid family and the Mujahidin of Malka then shifted to Budhal before the advance of the *Firangi* force.

### **17. The fate of Malka [folios 130-142]**

The British force spent two nights in Ambela and then started for the destruction of Malka with the assistance of the chiefs of Bunerwals. The force was consisting of two platoons and carrying their cannons on two elephants. They reached to Malka and secured the area. The houses of the village were oiled and burned, from which smoke was rising in the air. The night was also spent there in strict security. The people of Amazai were present at the occasion, and saw the valley in blue flames. Alas, the Muslim subdued and the infidels won the battle because of the treachery of the people of Buner who sold their faith to the aliens, and flamed Malka<sup>108</sup>. On the next day, the British force reached to Surkawai. The Commissioner sent a message to the Sahib that his forces are leaving the area today, but no more turbulence should be reported on this frontier otherwise, the forces would again interrupt in the matters. However, it was mere exaggeration of the Commissioner and in fact the war of Ambela has broken the backbone of the British forces. Most of the *Firangi* officers and

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<sup>105</sup> No detail of such concealed goods of the cave is available.

<sup>106</sup> Budhal is the village in the Chagharzai valley of Buner.

<sup>107</sup> Perhaps the Asmas or Asmast camp of the Hindustani Mujahidin was already established in the Black mountains, the present Tor Ghar district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. See 9a & 09a

<sup>108</sup> See Also Adye 1867: 90.

constables have slaughtered on that Sangar, which has now earned the name of *Qatal Ghar*<sup>109</sup>.

The Sahib was staying at Ambela in the company of Subbat Khan and Sher Dil Khan Kacho Khel, and the Molvi and Shahzada. The retreat of the the British forces was soon sighted by the Akozai from *Ashyana-i-Murgh*.<sup>110</sup> With a proclamation, every Khel rushed to the Kotal of the Sahib with salutation. They were consisting of the people from Badakhshan, Qandahar, Khurasan and Samarqand, Balkh, Bukhara and Iran, Rome, Turkey and Tajikistan<sup>111</sup>, and Khybari from Khyber, and people from Kashghar.

Now the time had come for the leaving of the Sahib via Karakar to his own area. On his advice, the place of his stay at the Kotal was converted into a *Khanqa* (learning institution) and a *Hujra* (resting place) for the benefits of the people. Soon this *hujra* became a bright treasure of knowledge and learning<sup>112</sup>. The Sahib and his companions decided to go to the shrine of Pir Baba via Daggar and to stay there for a night. A saddled Mare was presented to the Sahib for this journey. He descended from the Kotal and left the place in the grief of separation. From here, the party proceeded to the shrine of Pir Baba, with the recitation of *darood* and prayers, and then moved to Juwar for onwards journey to Saidu Sharif. When he stepped at Saidu Sharif, the darkness converted into bright day and the people called *azan* due to pleasure. The path was enlightening with torches while he was proceeding in the company of the Molvi and Shahzada.

The Shahzada appreciated the services of the Sahib and the hardship he bore in the war. The Molvi said that he is an emigrant from Hindustan with few friends, yet he assured the Sahib of every possible assistance in the time of need. He also stated that as there is no place for him in Malaka, therefore he and his companions are going to Budhal with

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<sup>109</sup> The name of Qatal Garh or place of slaughter, is still fresh in the memory of the people of Buner and Swat

<sup>110</sup> The Eagle's Nest Piquet of the British force

<sup>111</sup> These people are recorded as Badakhshanan, Qandharyan, Khurasanyan, Samarqandyan, Balkh wa Bukhara, az Iran wa Rome, az Turk wa az Tajak in our MS

<sup>112</sup> A concrete mosque was constructed on this place during the tenure of the Swat state, which is still known as the mosque of Babaji Kandao (see figs. 05 & 05a)

the kindness of the worthy Sahib. With this statement, the discussion ended from both sides with a salutation. And it is now *Hazar wa do sad wa hashtad sal* (1280A.H/ AD 1863) when this *Durr-i- Maqāl*, was versified by Mirza Abdul Haq, due to the bestowing and prayers of the Sahib, who is the respected saint and bright star of this period and resides in Saidu Shahrif<sup>113</sup> (figs. 08 & 08a)

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<sup>113</sup> Apart from the events of Ambela war, the MS also records some information about the war of Sultan Muhammad Memandi against the British force at Shabqadar.

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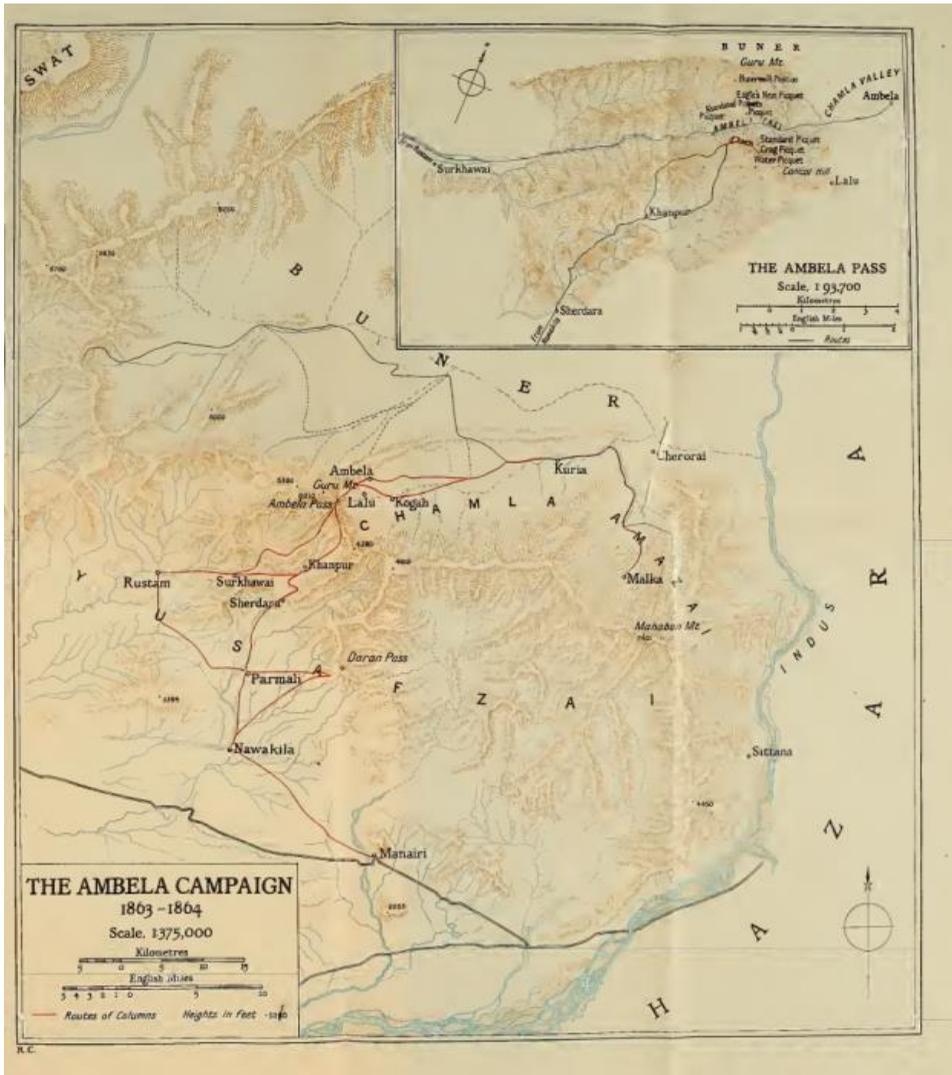


Fig. 01 - Map of the route followed by the British force from Nawekaly to Ambela: (Taken from “Maps and Plans illustrating Fortescue’s History of the British Army, Vol. XIII”).

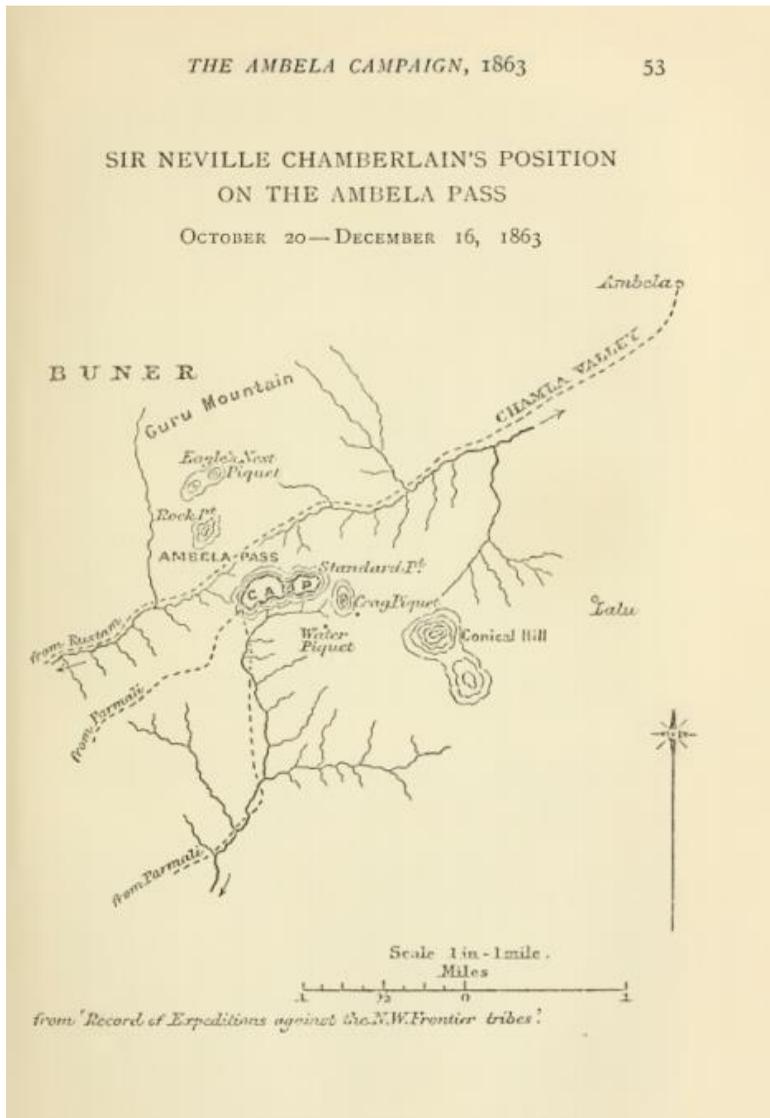


Fig. 01a - Sketch showing the Surkawi Route from Rustam to Ambela, and the location of Eagle's Nest and Crag Piquet of the British force (Taken from Neville 1912: 53).



Fig. 02 - Pencil sketch by John Adye, showing the Crag Piquet of the British camp [*the Sangar and Qatal ghar of our MS*] and the scene of battle at the conical hill of Lalu (Taken from Robert 1901).



Fig. 02a - Sketch showing the Crag Piquet, the conical hill of Lalu and the plain of Ambela below (Taken from Adye 1895).



Fig. 03 - Ambela: The Crag Piquet/ *Qatal Garh*, the conical hill of Lalu, and traces of the old road.



Fig.03a - Ambela pass: The Crag Piquet (opposite the Eagle's Nest) and the conical hill of Lalu at the background.



Fig. 03b - Surkawai: View of the Kotal of Ambela separating the mount Lalu from mount Ghuru at the left.



Fig. 03c - Surkawai: The Kotal of Ambela, and mount Ghuru to the left.



Fig. 03d - Surkawai: A view of the Eagle's Nest Piquet on Mount Ghuru.



Fig. 03e - Surkawai: A view of the Eagle's Nest piquet from the Crag Piquet.



Fig. 04 - Chamla, the *Ganj-e-Shahidan* or the graveyard of the Martyres of Ambela war. A view from the Southern side.



Fig.04a - *Ganj-e-Shahidan*: A view from the Northern side.



Fig. 05 - Buner: The Mosque of Babaji Kandao constructed on the Kotal of the Sahib Saidu Sharif. A view from the West.



Fig. 05a - Babaji Kandao Mosque and the Police post. A view from the Chamla side



Fig. 06 - Malka: The renovated houses of Hindustani Mujahidin.



Fig. 06a - Malka: Remains of the horse stable of Hindustani Mujahidin.

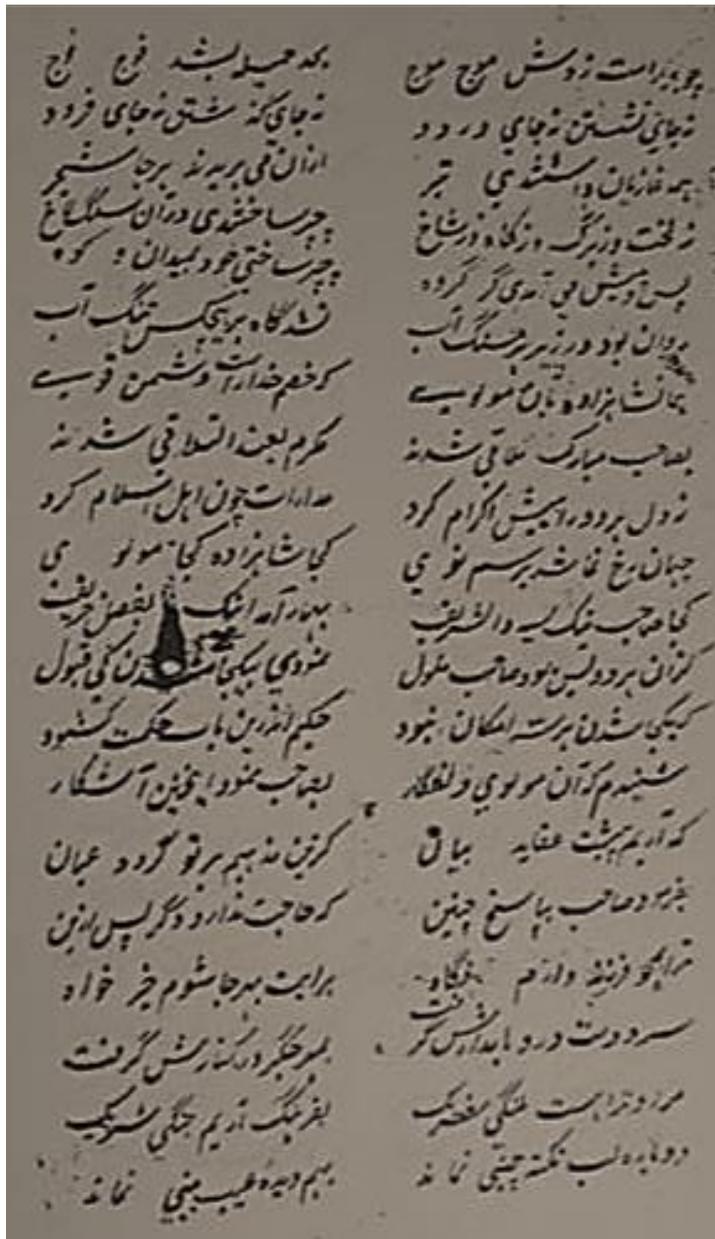


Fig. 07 - Folio No.52 of the MS mentioning the meeting of the Sahib of Saidu Sharif with Shazada Mubark Shah and Molvi Abdullah for discussing the religious doctrines.

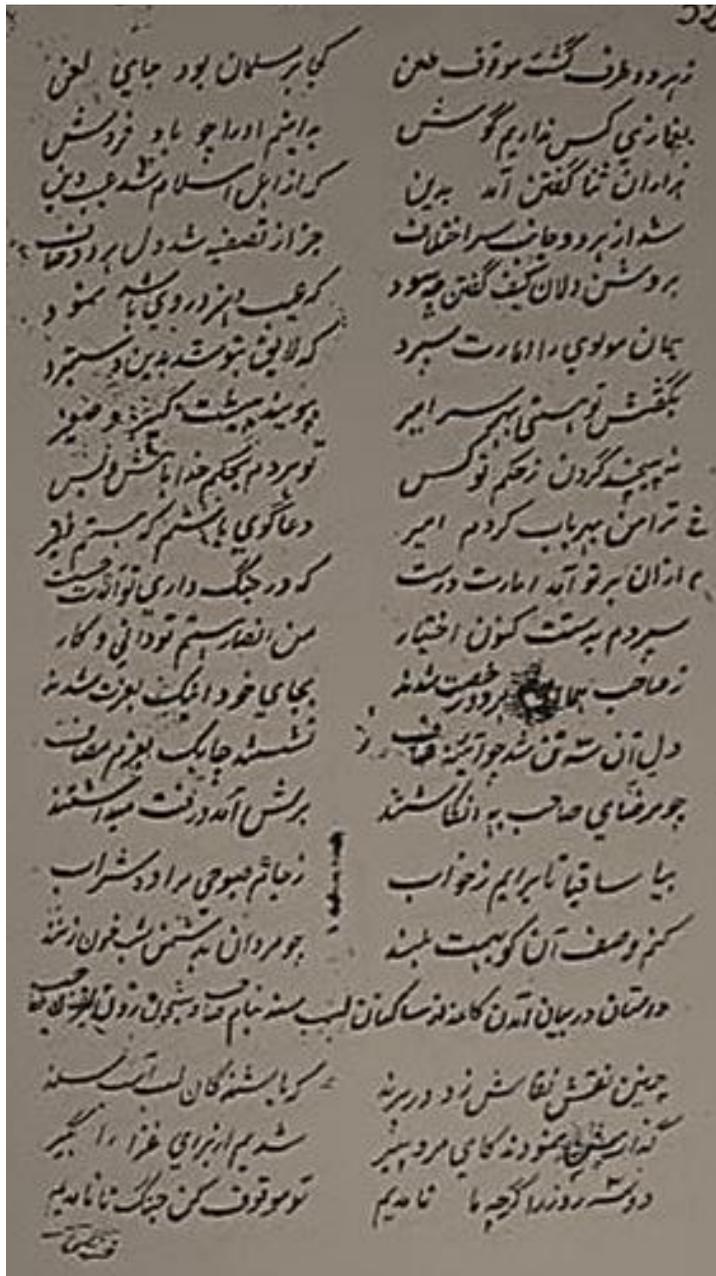


Fig. 07a. - Folio No. 52a of the MS showing the continuation of the meeting of Sahib Saidu Sharif with the Shahzada and Molvi.

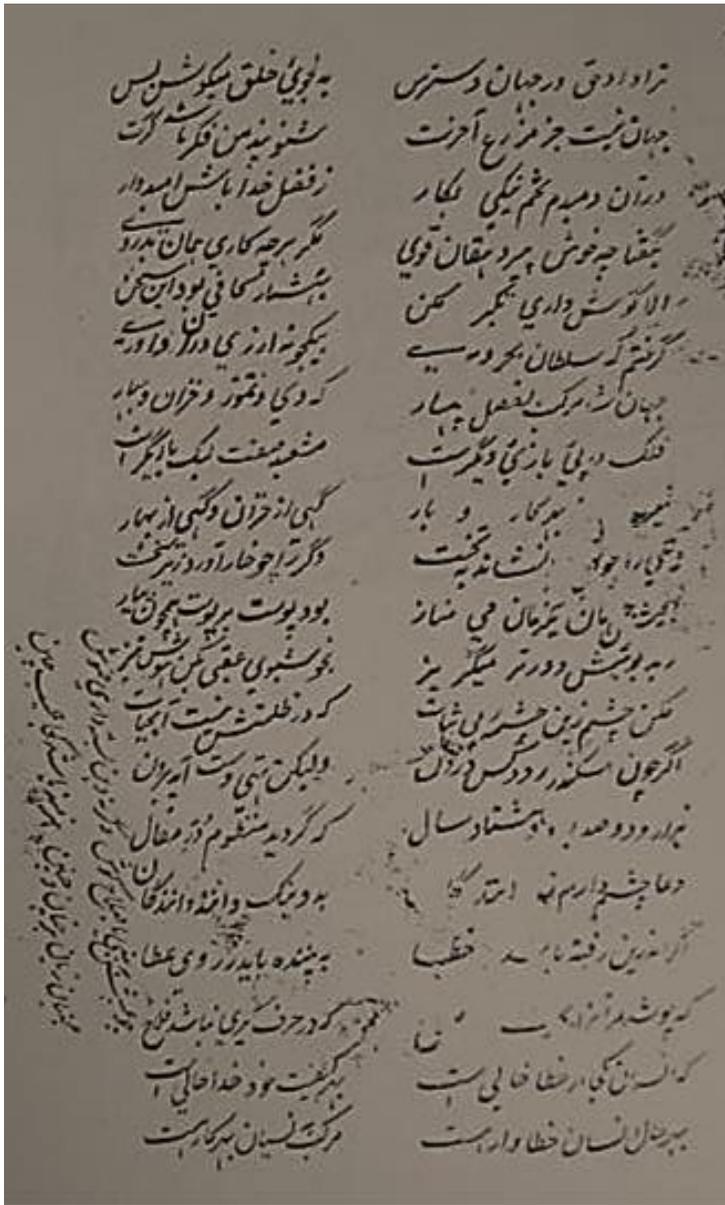


Fig. 08 - Folio No. 142 showing the name of the MS and date of compilation in couplet No. 15.

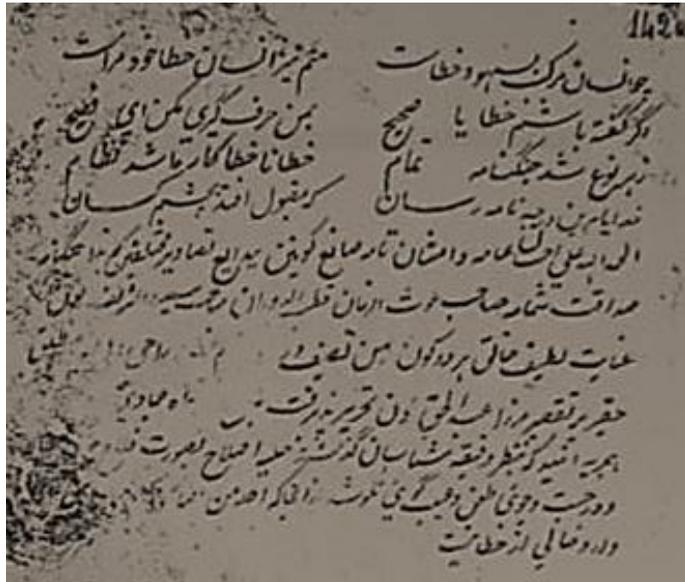


Fig. 08a - The last folio of the MS showing the name of the scribe and titles of the Sahib Saidu Sharif.



Fig. 09 - View of the Asmast/rock shelter of Mujahidin village in district Tor Ghar.



Fig. 09a - Interior view of the Asmast of Mujahidin village.



Fig. 10 - Small cannon supposedly used in the Ambela War.



Fig. 10a - Cannon ball and bombshells from Asmast.



Fig11 - Map showing the location of different area mention in the MS.