



SOCIO-ECONOMIC IDEAS OF SHAH WALIULLAH

**ABSTRACT
OF THE
THESIS**

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I Dream and They Make it Real

Dedicated To

My Beloved Parents and Family

Members & My Teachers

“Who Thought me from Primary to PhD”

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In the name of ALMIGHTY ALLAH, the cherisher and sustainer of the world, who taught us the use of patience. Islamic resurgence in most parts of the world is basically an outcome of the Muslims' efforts to establish Islamic society according to the tenets and aspirations enshrined in the Holy Quran.

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SOCIO-ECONOMIC IDEAS OF SHAH WALIULLAH

ABSTRACT

This doctoral thesis is an attempt to emphasize Shah Waliullah has a reformer in various fields of Islamic Society with special reference to his socio-economical thoughts. It was the period when the Islamic society was on its way to ultimate ruin and destruction. The political power of the Mughal dynasty was challenged by new forces and the corrupt Mughal kings were unmindful of their responsibility as rulers. Shah Waliullah was a witness to the political, religious, educational, economical and other conditions of the society and was conscious of the consequences to which it was exposed. He tried his best to halt and divert the process of destruction of Islamic values in the Muslim society with the zeal of a reformer. In this thesis a general survey of his achievements has been attempted with particular emphasis on his contribution to Islamic education. The present work seeks to investigate and study socio-economic ideas of Shah Waliullah with an attempt to discuss their efforts and endeavours with necessary analysis and exploration. This study has tried to collect the materials from the original sources and books of Shah Waliullah and other writers. The study has been conducted under six chapters excluding the introduction, which is summarized below:

The introduction forms the background of the study in which discussion on various aspects of Shah Waliullah's achievements has been attempted from the beginning of his career to its end. In practice people had forgotten the life to come after death. The enjoyment on this earth was the order of the day. The morals of the public were so debased that it was only the worldly interests with which they were concerned. The so called *Mujaheddin* had lost the spirit of fighting in the way of God. Some people had occupied the position of court poets enjoyed in the company of the rulers and nobles. Others entered the profession of mystics, *faqirs* and story tellers which had become their profession and the means of living. In short, lawful means of livelihood, which required hard work and sense of moral values, became absent and people were indulging in the art of idleness. In his analysis of the rise and fall of nations Shah Waliullah goes deep and links the moral degradation to the ills of the economic system prevailing in the society.

He addressed the different sections of the society and pointed out the state of affairs. He addressed the nobles, the soldiers, the people of learning, the scholars and divinity and also the people of different vocations drawing their attention to the moral weaknesses they were suffering from.

Shah Waliullah was one of the most influential figures among the reformers who were born in the Indian subcontinent. He was a brilliant intellectual, who possessed deep urge for social reform. Shah Waliullah was one of the greatest Muslim scholars of eighteenth century, who made an immense contribution to the intellectual, economic, social, political and religious lives of the Muslims in India, the effects of which persist to the present day. He lived during a time when the Muslim empire was losing ground on the Indian subcontinent, with the Muslim community divided and at odds. Seeking to give theological and metaphysical issues a new rational interpretation and laboring to harmonize reason and revelation, he tried to reconcile the various factions of the Indian Muslims, thereby protecting the empire from collapse.

The socio economic contributions of Shah Waliullah could be divided into six chapters. The first chapter provides a complete overview of social and economic condition of Indian Muslim society out of the Medieval orthodoxy, conservatism and traditionalism in the eighteenth century and brings about a change in its socio-economic thinking, compatible with the tenets of Islam, on the one hand, and responsive to the demands of the modern age, on the other. The times of this century were very uneasy, critical and ruinous for Muslims in all spheres - political, scientific, educational, etc. In this chapter, we have tried to mention the social and economic conditions of the Muslims of India in the eighteenth century under two sections *viz.* social conditions and economic conditions. In social points of views, Shah Waliullah's period was famous for political instability and degeneration which occurred due to moral and social downfall and consequently political collapse. On the other hand, we have highlighted the Indian economy including agriculture and small industry which were technically backward and stagnant. Shah Waliullah belongs to that period of the Mughal rule in India when, after the death of Aurangzeb Alamgir the process of all round disintegration of the empire had already set in, comprising of all aspects of the society; political, social, moral, religious, educational, economic and

others. During his life time Shah Waliullah tried his best to reverse the course of events by his writings and by taking an active interest in the political affairs of the country.

The Second chapter provides a complete overview of the biographical accounts of Shah Waliullah. The important literary works of his life have been discussed in this chapter. Wherein we have tried to explain the parental generation of Shah Waliullah who was descendant on his father's side from Umar bin Khattab (R.) the second caliph of Islam. This chapter also explains briefly contribution of each parental generation and further, the education, thoughts and struggles of Shah Waliullah from childhood to adulthood journey.

He was born on the 4th of Shawwal 1114 A.H/1703 AD. His birth was fore told to his father Shah Abdur Rahim in his vision. When he reached the age of seventeen years his father died. During the twelve years after the death of his father he was busy in his father's institution *Madrassa Rahimia* in giving lessons on theology, logic and philosophy. In the year 1143 A.H/. he visited the Holy cities of Makka and Madina. He stayed there for about two years, taking lessons in the science of *Hadith* from the renowned scholar Shaikh Abu Tahir. Then he returned home on the 14th of Rajab 1145 A.H./ December 20th the 1732 A.D. During his life Shah Waliullah saw the reign of ten Mughal rulers. The main events of this period are the massacre of the population of Delhi by Nadir Shah, rise of Sadat Bara, the imprisonment of Farrukh Sair, his torture and death, rise of Maratha and Sikhs and the destruction of Maratha power.

The Third chapter comprises of brief notes on Shah Waliullah's important works. If all his works were to be discussed then it would require a whole volume separately. Shah Waliullah has covered most of the Islamic sciences in his works in Arabic and Persian language. The most monumental task he performed was to translate the *Quran* from Arabic to Persian which was the language spoken by the Muslims at that time in India. His aim was that educated Muslims may have access to the *Quran* without depending on the scholars who had opposed his reform measures. Apart from the Holy *Quran*, Shah Waliullah also wrote authentic books on *Tafseer*, *Hadith*, the principles of *Hadith*, and on mystical subjects. But his most popular book of "*Hujatullah al- Baligha*" explains how Islam is suitable for all races, cultures and

people of the world and how successfully it solves social, moral, economic and political problems of human beings.

The fourth chapter presents the social contributions and thoughts of Shah Waliullah wherein he criticized particular class of the Muslim society for their sinful innovation and polytheistic practices borrowed from their non-Muslim neighbours in the light of *Quran* and *Sunnah*. Shah Waliullah gave attention to the need of reforming the Muslim society after Shaikh Ahmad Mujaddid al-Thani, who had denounced, in his several letters, the heterodox beliefs and practices that had crept into the Muslim Society.

The fifth chapter explains the economic ideas and contribution of Shah Waliullah, which were fragmented and scattered during his works and his numerous letters addressed to rulers, governors, nobles and friends. In his opinion, the main reasons for this development were the incident of the imperial treasury, contraction of state land the increasing number of fiefs, irregular payments to army and government officials, heavy taxation and declining production, and the royal court's luxurious life. This analysis reveals his belief that a sound economy was a prerequisite for a stable and strong state. In addition to studying an applied aspect of the economy, Shah Waliullah dealt with such theoretical issues as basic occupations, the need for the division of labor, the nature and functions of money, undesirable economic practices, an economic analysis of *riba al-fadl* and *riba al-nasi'ah*, and issues related to public finance and public expenditure. Shah Waliullah also presented a theory of development known as *al-irtifaqat*.

The sixth chapter provides the impact of socio-economic thoughts of Shah Waliullah on the society. In this chapter, we have shown how Shah Waliullah had tried to elucidate for the establishment of the greatest international power both morally and materially so that Muslim society could make itself the greatest power in the world. Shah Waliullah recognized that growth and change were essential for a healthy society; he did not believe that the Muslim society was strengthened by a blind following of one or another of the four schools of Muslim jurisprudence. Shah Waliullah was responsible for awakening in the community, the desire to win back its moral fervor and to maintain its purity.

Shah Waliullah was an unparalleled Islamic scholar, thinker and reformer in the Indian subcontinent. He spent whole life in the service of religion and education and worked for the interests of the Muslim society. His sole anxiety all the time was to see the Muslims as powerful, strong and ruling, based upon the Islamic system. He tried his best to restore the Muslims' power and reform the society and revive the pure religion and establish accurate and complete Islamic educational system.

Shah Waliullah's thought for the economy, which brought development to the people who were below the poverty line. He wanted to increase the purchasing power of the common man, which was so much needed during his days. He was not in favor of the economic model, which did not benefit the economically weak class. He also came down heavily on the policy dictated by the feudal-oriented system. He was more concerned about the value while the market economy of those days was concerned about price. He realized that the capitalist model of development was ruining the country so far as the interest of the common man was concerned. He did not approve the concentration of the sources of economy in a few hands and in its place, suggested an alternative arrangement in which the economy is largely beneficial for the humanity. He criticized the development of the country which was not for the masses but for a particular rich section of the society. For him the basic need of the society was to augment the production for the masses, which was the need of the hour. The problem of the common man, he emphasized was an equitable or just distribution of the wealth and that the sources of income should be utilized for the benefit of the masses. Shah Waliullah considered the economic model of those days utterly alien to the realities of the country, which was inhabited largely by the toiling masses. He wanted the market to be for the people and not the people to be for the market.

Shah Waliullah's thoughts on the economic conditions of those days provide yet another example of his masterly skill in integrating economic theory with ethical values. No doubt, he was definitely ahead of his time in suggesting solution for the ills of the society. All his emphasis was on the plea that the economy of the society should not be pushed into the hands of the capitalist class. It should be for the larger and needy section of the population of the country which included agriculturists, small traders, labor and people belonging to different vocations. Needless to say, he

also defines injustice and unfairness as the creation of imperfection in the market and the artificial raising of prices.

Shah Waliullah lived in Mughal-ruled Delhi, the capital of India, during a time of rising decadence and anarchism that eventually engulfed the whole empire. Regional forces from all over India were in revolt and trying to capture Delhi so they could establish their own hegemony. The frequent change of rulers weakened the dynasty, and those who did sit on the throne gradually lost the necessary wisdom, courage and political insight. Luxurious living, extravagance, an empty treasury, and heavy taxation only added to the inhabitants' unrest and anxiety. The ensuing disunity and disintegration was the largest challenge ever faced by the Mughals.

Shah Waliullah stands in the Indian subcontinent's history as a link between medieval and modern Islamic thought. Through his writings on various *Shāri'ah* sciences, he brought about a revolution in the Muslim minds, one that continues to inspire his readers even today. Focusing on the economic problems of his time, he reflected upon the economy's applied aspects and such theoretical issues as a person's basic occupation, the need for a division of labor, the nature and function of money, and undesirable economic practices. He also analyzed *riba al-fadl* and *riba al-nasi'ah* in economic terms and emphasized the need and importance of having a full treasury.

In addition, he formulated a theory known as *al-irtifaqat*. "Opening from simple village life" and ending with an "global society," he divided society's socioeconomic development into four stages, the first of which is dominated by the simple economic struggle and the last of which is developed to maintain a "now political organize on top of the global level" in order to "maintain" the various states' socioeconomic interests and establish mutual "quiet and fairness". The entire economic "thoughts" revolve around and are related to his concept of *irtifaqat*.

The relevance of Shah Waliullah's theory of human development to us today, as he himself points out, is that when we cannot control the fourth stage, we should adorn and improve the third stage; when we lose the third stage, we should concentrate on bettering the second stage and so on, until we regain the next higher stage. The national and international socioeconomic and political institutions can serve their inherent purposes only if they function properly and crime, corruption, exploitation, and oppression are eliminated. The increasing concern with improving

the human development index, as well as many modern-day writers' ongoing emphasis on adopting a value based system, only shows Shah Waliullah's continuing relevance. History of *irtifaqat* is, therefore, a lasting and still-relevant contribution to the social sciences.

Shah Waliullah was responsible for awakening in the community, the desire to win back its moral fervor and to maintain its purity. To raise a community's conscience, belief and faith from destruction was not a small achievement. His teachings created new awareness in the minds of Muslims of the subcontinent. He was a realist in his political thinking. He had a clear vision of society, religion, ethics, morals and politics. He presented such modern and golden principles of economics and politics that are still in use.

An inductive survey of human societies led Shah Waliullah to the conclusion that; any diversity of human societies' pursuits various levels of social development, variation in their fads and fashions, divergence of their customs and conventions, heterogeneity of their races, stocks and vernaculars, dissimilarity of their cultural patterns and religious rites, and their difference in terms of time and space notwithstanding, they all recognize the broad essentials of universal social culture as identified by him. Thus, on the basis of a more or less empirical understructure, Shah Waliullah tried to develop a universal paradigm of the society.

In short, the entire thought of Shah Waliullah is a rational theorization of the Prophetic experience of receiving Divine guidance and reforming society according to the terms of this guidance. This Prophetic reform at once affected the totality of human existential enterprise. The contribution of Shah Waliullah lies in his pioneering endeavour to establish an organic link between the diversity of life and environment within a holistic framework of the Islamic World view. In brief, he laid the foundation of an economic and social theory which is well balanced and which safeguards the economic and social interests of all the sections of the humanity at large.

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INTRODUCTION

Shah Waliullah was one of the most influential figures among the reformers who were born in the Indian subcontinent. He was a mystic, a brilliant intellectual, who possessed deep urge for social reform. He made an immense contribution to the intellectual, economic, social, political and religious life of the Muslim community in India, the effects of which persist to the present day. He lived during a time when the Muslim empire was losing ground on the Indian subcontinent, with the Muslim community divided and at odds. Seeking to give theological and metaphysical issues a new rational interpretation and laboring to harmonize reason and revelation, he tried to reconcile the various factions of the Indian Muslims, thereby protecting the empire from collapse.

The present work seeks to investigate and study socio-economic ideas of Shah Waliullah with an attempt to discuss their efforts and endeavors with necessary analysis and exploration. This study has tried to collect the materials from the original sources and books of Shah Waliullah and other writers.

The present thesis is divided into six chapters.

The first chapter provides a complete overview of social and economic condition of Indian Muslims society out of the Medieval orthodoxy conservatism and traditionalism in the eighteenth century and bring about a change in its socio-economic thinking, consist with the tenets of Islam, on the one hand, and responsive to the demands of the modern age, on the other. The times of this century were very uneasy, critical and ruinous for Muslims in all spheres - political, science, educational, etc. In this chapter, we have tried to mention the social and economical conditions of Muslims of India in the eighteenth century under two sections *viz.* social conditions and economic conditions. In social points of views, Shah Waliullah's period was famous for political instability and degeneration which happens to the cause of moral and social downfall and consequently political collapse. On the other hand, we have highlighted the Indian economy including agriculture and small industry which were technically backward and stagnant.

The second chapter contributes the biographical accounts of Shah Waliullah, wherein we have tried to explain the parental generation of Shah Waliullah who was

descended on his father's side from Umar bin Khattab (R.) the second caliph of Islam. This chapter also explains a brief contribution of each parental generation and further, the education, thoughts and struggles of Shah Waliullah from childhood to adulthood journey.

The third chapter explains the workings of Shah Wali-Allah, as a prolific and voluminous writer. Shah Waliullah has covered the almost range of Islamic sciences in his works in Arabic and Persian language. The most monumental task he performed was to translate the *Quran* from Arabic to Persian which was the language spoken by the Muslims at that time in India. His aim was that educated Muslims may have access to the *Quran* without depending on the scholars who had opposed his reform measures. Apart from the Holy *Quran*, Shah Waliullah also wrote authentic books on *Hadith*, the principles of *Hadith*, *Tafseer* and on mystical subjects. But the most popular book of "*Hujjatullah al- Baligha*" This book explains how Islam was found suitable for all races, cultures and people of the world and how successfully it solves social, moral, economic and political problems of human beings.

The fourth chapter presents the social contributions and thoughts of Shah Waliullah where he criticizing the particular classes of Muslim society of their sinful innovation and polytheistic practices borrowed from their non-Muslim neighbors in the light of *Quran* and *Sunnah*.

The fifth chapter explains the economic ideas and contribution of Shah Waliullah, which was fragmentary and scattered during his works and his numerous letters addressed to rulers, governors, nobles and friends. This chapter also revealed that a sound economy was a prerequisite for a stable and strong state. In addition to studying an applied aspect of the economy, Shah Waliullah dealt with such theoretical issues as basic occupations, the need for a division of labor, the nature and functions of money, undesirable economic practices, an economic analysis of *riba al-fadl* and *riba al-nasi'ah*, and issues related to public finance and public expenditure.

The sixth chapter provides the impact of socio-economic thoughts of Shah Waliullah on the society. In this chapter, we have shown that how Shah Waliullah had tried to elucidate for the establishment of the greatest international power both morally and maternally so that Muslim society could make themselves the greatest power in the world.

Shah Waliullah recognized that growth and change were essential for a healthy society; he did not believe that Muslim society was strengthened by a blind following of one or another of the four schools of Muslim jurisprudence. Shah Waliullah was responsible for awakening in the community, the desire to win back its moral fervor and to maintain its purity.

CHAPTER-1

Social and Economic Conditions of Indian Muslims in the Eighteenth Century

The Mughal Empire increased in strength for about 150 years after its establishment in India and reached a high degree of centralization. Its subjects, both Hindus and Muslims, owed loyalty to the Emperor, whose orders were obeyed as the commands of a person holding the highest authority in the land. As long as this attitude prevailed, the integration and power of the empire was assured. Aurangzeb was now the Emperor in Delhi and he was the repository of the powers vested in the central authority. He was “magnificent in his private habits, diligent in business, exact in his religious observances, an elegant letter writer and ever ready with choicest passages from the *Quran*.” After his death in 1707, the Mughal Empire entered its period of decline and was in the process of disintegration.

The history of the Mughal Empire from that period onwards presents a dismal picture of ruin, brought about by an unquestionable thirst for intrigue and treachery. Of the six emperors that succeeded Aurangzeb, two were under the thumb of Zulfiqar Ali Khan, a General who knew no scruples and four were willing tools in the hands of a couple of political adventurers, the Sayyid brothers.¹

Deterioration and disintegration had set in 1720, Nizamul Mulk succeeded in recouping the Deccan from the control of the central authority in Delhi. The Governor of Oudh, a Persian merchant by origin, had established his own dynasty, independent of the control of the Emperor in Delhi. The Hindu subjects of the Empire were at the same time asserting their independence. The Sikhs were rising as a power to be reckoned with. The Marathas having enforced their claim to blackmail (Chauth) throughout Southern India forced the Emperor to agree to the cession of Malwa, Gujarat and Orissa.²

The Rohillahs were soon to set up independent chieftainships. The weakening of the central authority had a damaging effect on the economic life of the Empire, whose revenues began to dwindle at an alarming rate. Security on the roads while travelling, so essential for the free flow of trade and industry, had been badly affected and this in turn tended to depress the economic prosperity of the people, giving rise to a serious law and order problem. The mighty Empire of the Mughals, so persistently

built up, was faltering and, split up into fragments; it had lost its certainty to successfully oppose the encroachments on its territories from its external foes and on its powers from internal foes.³

Everyone was concerned more with the accumulation of private wealth, than that of national power and glory. Noblemen and politicians were intrigued with the enemies of the realm, in order to squeeze out certain advantages for themselves, in case the intrigue and the adventure succeeded. “None of them was willing to face the Marathas and they minted excuses when ordered to proceed against the recalcitrant Raja of Jodhpur.” The example set by the upper echelons of society was proving to be contagious and the common people were infected by the malady of lack of loyalty and a general feeling of demoralization.⁴

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, sectarian antagonism had created a gulf between various sects of Islam in India, the inevitable consequence of which was that it was difficult for the Muslim Emperor to keep his grip over his subjects, who were preponderantly non-Muslims. “The raggedness of character, the determination and the will to meet and overcome all administrative and political difficulties, were no longer at the level achieved in the periods when the Empire was still in the process of expansion.” This antagonism had enabled open hostility to creep in the Muslims of India, who were a house divided against it, badly shaking the foundation and fabric of the Muslim rule.⁵

To add to this difficulty, there existed social and economic causes, which also worked to their detriment. Beginning as a small minority, Muslims had increased in numbers, but this advantage had been more than off set by the disadvantages it produced, breeding divisions and quarrels, rather than giving birth to strength through unity.⁶

The patronage extended to Muslims had resulted in increasing the prosperity of the Muslim *Zamindars*, noblemen, workers and artisans, but with the uneven dispersal of wealth among the various sectors of the society, this patronage had accentuated mat-distribution of wealth, bring with it evil consequences. The decadent conditions that were apparent to every eye at the beginning of the eighteenth century had brought to the surface chaotic trends and the entire edifice of the onetime glorious Empire was screened by a blinding fog of social, political administrative and economic disorder.⁷

Those who were supposed to run the Government machinery, thereby, ensuring justice and fair play, law and order, economic prosperity and social cohesion, had degraded themselves to the level of parasites, which fattened their personal power, to the utter neglect of their duties and responsibilities. Under such conditions, tyranny of the poor and unfortunate members of the society was the order of the day and bribery and extortion, favoritism and nepotism.⁸ The Muslims were as much subjected to these humiliations and tyrannies as the Hindus and the people holding the whip of authority in their hands lashed the backs of both with equal ferocity. "The Muslims had not only lost their leaders; but also their integration. From a well integrated community, they had degenerated into a helpless crowd."⁹

When a ruling class is bent on forcing the obedience from their subordinates, then, they are actually destroying the growth of intelligence and self-respect among their people. This briefly sums up the relationship that subsisted at this time between the classes and the masses. The edifice of social integration and unity among the Muslims of India was built on the foundation of a common faith, Islam, without which it would certainly topple over. When spiritual confusion blurs the vision of people, their political disintegration, invariably, follows soon. It is, therefore, the loyalty towards a leader and religious enthusiasm, that has, at many periods of history proved to be the best means of preserving social cohesion and integration. Agreement among the people tends to increase cooperation among them and those sharing common religious beliefs are better able to work in harmony than those quarrelling over their beliefs.¹⁰

At such a time, sometimes a religious reformer takes upon himself the duty of bringing about unity among his co-religionists over the essentials, leaving each side free to differ on non-essentials. Historic causes tend to answer their own needs and the same was for the Muslims of India at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The times cried out loud for a benevolent and bold religious reformer who could once again unite the Muslims against a common foe and the times produced one such a great person in Shah Waliullah.¹¹

Shah Waliullah of Delhi, the greatest Muslim scholars of eighteenth century in India, made an immense contribution to the intellectual, economic, social, political and religious life of the Muslim community in India, the effects of which persist to the present day. He lived during a time when the Muslim empire was losing ground on

the Indian subcontinent, with the Muslim community divided and at odds. Seeking to give theological and metaphysical issues a new rational interpretation and laboring to harmonize reason and revelation, he tried to reconcile the various factions of the Indian Muslims, thereby protecting the empire from collapse.¹²

Shah Waliullah contended that the root cause of the downfall of the Indian Muslims was their ignorance of the sacred scripture of Islam. He initiated a movement with the theme 'Back to the *Quran*' and translated the *Quran* into Persian to facilitate its understanding among all the Muslims of India. It is believed to be the first complete translation of the *Quran* from the Arabic by an Indian Muslim Scholar.¹³

Eighteenth century in the Indian sub-continent opened with two most important occurrences. One was the birth of an unparalleled Islamic scholar, thinker and reformer Shah Waliullah Dehlavi (1114-1176 H. /1703-1762 AD.) and another was the death of a righteous, pious and strong great Muslim ruler, Emperor Aurangzib Alamgir (reign - 1658-1707). The times of that century were very uneasy, critical and ruinous for Muslims in all spheres – political, science, educational, etc. In this chapter, we are going to mention the social and economic conditions of Muslims of India in the eighteenth century under two sections.

1. Social Condition

Shah Waliullah's period was famous for political instability and degeneration. The political degeneration generally becomes the cause of moral and social downfall. It is also true that moral and social degeneration causes the political downfall. In the times of Shah Waliullah the Emperors, especially Muhammad Shah (1719-48), Ahmad Shah (1748-54) and Jahandar Shah (1754-59) and common nobleman were afflicted with social and moral crimes and the general public was influenced by them.¹⁴

Enumerating the causes of the downfall of Mughal Empire, Vidya Dhar Mahajan writes, "Too much wealth, luxury and leisure soften their characters. Their harems became full. They got wine in plenty. They went in palanquins to the battle field. Such nobles were not fitting to fight against the Marathas, the Rajputs and the Sikhs. The nobility degenerated at a very rapid pace."¹⁵ Shah Abdul Aziz Dehlavi has given same examples and luxurious living of Mughal nobles, as he stated "The women of the houses of Nawab Qamaruddin Khan used to conclude their bath with a

dip in rose water. The indenture on pan leaves and flowers purchased for the womenfolk of another noble amounted to Rupees three hundred”.¹⁶

Another historian Ghulam Ali Azad says, “It was commonly known and stated by the people in Aurangabad that quite a large number of persons never cooked food in their own houses during the time of Amirul Umara (Hashim Ali Khan). The cooks of the Amirul Umara used to sell their share victuals with results that highly rich Pulau could be purchased for a few Paisas.”¹⁷ Individual’s moral and social behavior, customs and cultures and practices were borrowed from the non-Muslims.¹⁸ Many Hindus’ customs and cultures and nonsensical practices were continuously important to the Emperor’s and noble palaces and established as a Muslim culture.¹⁹

Unorthodox creeds and polytheistic practices disregarding the divine command to make religion exclusively for God had been taken from polytheist and *Shi’its*, which were, to say the least, more dangerous for the Muslim society than their other social and moral degeneration. Divine honors were paid to the graves of the saints, prostration was common before the so-called spiritual guides, shrines were venerated bedecked with costly bed sheets, and flowers, ablutions were offered for one’s ancestors, fairs were held in graveyards and musical concerts were held to honor the departed saints taken as guardian spirits in every part of the country. The doctrine of *Tauhid* (oneness of God), had come to acquire a peculiar, restricted connotation: that God was undoubtedly the creator and lord of the Universe, but he had delegated his authority to the saints and godly souls who distributed favors on his behalf or acted as intercessors between man and God.²⁰

It's in this connection that the statement of Luther of Stoddard is mentionable here, although his generalization is not free from objection, as he said, “As for religion it was a decadent as everything else”. The austere monotheism of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) had become overlaid with a rank growth of superstitions and puerile mysticism. The mosques stood unfrequented and ruinous, deserted by the ignorant multitude, which decked out in amulets, charms and rosaries, listened to squalid *fakirs* or ecstatic dervishes, and went on pilgrimage to the tom of a holy man: worshipped as saints and intercessors with that Allah who had become too remote a being for the direct devotion of these benighted souls. As for the moral precepts of the *Quran*, they were ignored or defined, wine-drinking and opium-eating were good-high universal, prostitution was rampant, and the most degrading vices flaunted,

naked and unashamed.”²¹ Describing the hopeless situation of Indian Muslim Society Sayid Sulaiman Nadwi said, “The Mughal Empire was about to Collapse”. Exotic beliefs and practices and innovation in matters of religion were common among the Muslims: impious *sheikhs* and *fakirs* had turned the shrines of the saints into purple seats for beguiling over credulous message.”²² The palace of Emperor and many nobles was influenced by Iranian Culture and accustomed with many *Shia*’ customs.²³

A new eighteenth century development in some provinces of India was the model of celebration of the anniversary of the *Muharram*. They formed processions displaying the placards and along with their mourning songs, abused and condemn the enemies of Imam Husain (d.61H./680 AD). Sometimes there were some quarrels between *Sunnis* and *Shi’ites*, but sometimes in some places the *Sunni*’s also participated in the programs.²⁴ Prostitutes were available and homosexual intercourse and debauchery was rife. The eighteenth century craze for licentiousness had prompted many members of the aristocracy to appear in their private musical gatherings in dresses as women-wastefulness and extravagance were the hallmark of aristocracy.²⁵

The number of other festivals and fairs offering opportunities for unbridled revelry and marry- making and outing were considerable. There was no imposition placed on the participants drinking habits during the festivities, and the nights were mainly devoted to Utter debauchery.²⁶ Muhammad Shah, Jahandar Shah and Ahmad Shah were so attracted to the unsocial practices that beautiful women were seen in their palaces even at a distance of a few miles.²⁷ To deal in usury and interest was also common in the Mughal Empire.²⁸ Gambling, adultery and wine drinking wase found, especially in the noble society.²⁹

In spite of social degeneration from every side and in almost all classes, there were many perfect spiritual persons available in the country, as Shah Abdul Aziz stated, “as many as twenty two leading and good guiding *sheikhs* of different mystical orders happened to be available, in the reign of Muhammad Shah (1719-48) in Delhi – it is something which rarely comes about,”³⁰ who sustained the hopes and spirits of the Muslim population of these, the most prominent was Shah Waliallah. As a greatest thinker and reformer of his times, Shah Waliallah observed the Indian Muslim society properly and diagnosed its diseases perfectly and then presented them with a proper treatment and advised for there relief. Shah Waliallah’s addresses and

advice regarding the social life is important and these are the true pictures among Indian Muslim society simultaneously. Some of them mentioned below:

“No society could survive without maintaining some resemblance equilibrium. A proper adjustment of income and expenditure and the avoidance of the extremities of poverty and wealth were the imperative laws of society. On the moral side, should a large number of people indulge in distilling liquor and carving idols, they would corrupt the religion of the other inhabitants”.³¹

Shah Waliullah drew the attention of the Indian nobles to the fact that the aristocracy's extravagance was the principle reason for the fall of the Persian and Byzantine towns and, in turn, for that of the empire. The townsfolk in those two empires had vied with each other for supremacy in pomp and prodigality. They lavishly spent money on palatial buildings, baths, garden, horses, handsome slaves, food, drink and clothing. Consequently, their agriculturists, merchants and artisans were taxed most crucially. Those who dared to rebel were crushed by the military. The same was true, as Shah Waliullah said, the condition for those Mughal towns where not only the aristocracy, but also ordinary people had been so prostrated by extravagant and reckless spending on effeminate luxuries that they were unable to get out of the vicious circle.³²

The luxurious living of the rulers was indeed and apt to illustration of that of the days of Chorus (*Kisras*) and *Kaisers*. But for these vices, there were other causes for these principle vices as well, namely the limitation of the reserved territory bankruptcy of the state exchequer, multiplicity of the *jagirdars* and the monopoly system. In short, the storm of misfortunes had started blowing from every where and , the upper class was mainly responsible. This was the condition of Delhi, the capital of the empire.³³

Addressing the Muslim soldiers Shah Waliullah said that they had been raised by Allah for the purpose of *jihad* in order to root out polytheism at its core. They were failing, however, to pursue their sacred duty. Their horses and arms were used to enrich themselves and *jihad* remained far from their minds. They drank, consumed Indian hemp, were clean – shaved (except mustaches) and oppressed the weak. In return, for such bad behaviors they gave nothing to society. The military would soon have to account for their deeds before their creator. Allah wishes them to act and dress like pious *ghazis* (fighters). They should wear beards, perform compulsory prayers

and protect the poor and the defenseless. *Ghazis* in battle should be eager for victory. Prior to traveling and fighting, they should pray. If all these customs are followed Shah Waliullah believed it would be impossible for Muslim soldiers to lose in a battle.³⁴

Turning to the artisans, Shah Waliullah asserted that, like members of other classes in Muslim society, they too had adopted the wicked ways. They had abandoned compulsory prayers and have begun to worship their own gods, making pilgrimages to the tombs of *Sufis* like Shah Madar³⁵ and Salar Mas'ud³⁶. They had invented innumerable devices for living and followed a multitude of superstitious and magical practices. Some of them had adopted a special type of dress and superstitiously ate certain foods; some drank alcohol and forced their women into prostitution to support their habit. These evils ensured that they would experience unhappy lives in this world and none too pleasant ones in the next. The morning and evenings of artisans should be occupied in prayer: their days in the pursuit of their legitimate and traditional professions; their nights set apart for their families; their earning should be greater than their spending and the remainder should be used for the comfort of the travelers.³⁷

Shah Waliullah posed the question to the descendants of leading *Sufis*: why had they splintered into various groups, each directed along a different path? He believed these *Sufis* had abandoned God's way and that of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), and they had assumed instead their own leadership, thereby challenging God. Not only misguided, in their religious practices, such *Sufis* posed as teachers and influenced others. Moreover Shah Waliullah asserted that they accepted disciples for money. They used the sacred knowledge for worldly gains and led their disciples away from Allah and the Prophet. To him, many contemporary *Sufis* are similar to bandits, thugs and imposters and enemies of the faith. Shah Waliullah continued with a general note of warning to all Muslims about teachers, they should be beware of those failing to attract people to the *Quran* and *Sunnah* of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), but drew them to themselves. The subtle teachings of past *Sufis* could not be discussed with laymen, for *Sufism* in general was designed to promote *ihsan* (inner development).³⁸

Addressing the *ulama* (learned) Shah Waliullah called them fools, preoccupied with Greek learning and the mastery of grammar. To him, these did not rate as a form

of learning. Real knowledge was confined to *Quranic* verses and the understanding of *Sunnah*. Therefore, the *ulama* should learn the *Quran* and understand its complex terminology and controversial verses. Likewise, it was the duty of all theologians to preserve the authentic *Hadiths* of the Prophet. They should attain a correct understanding of the Prophet Muhammad's (pbuh) methods used in prayers, ablutions, and *jihad*. Even his way of speaking and the control of his voice should be copied and the *ulama* should also have some knowledge of his ethical practices. The *Sunnah*, however, should not be elevated to the status of obligatory religious duties, like methods of performing ablutions and *salat* and *nisab* (a certain estate of number or measure for being the *Shar'i* tax obligatory), *Zakat* and the rules of inheritance. The history of the Prophet Muhammad's (pbuh) companions and Arabic grammar should be studied with theology in mind.³⁹

Addressing the preachers the Shah Waliullah said that they had been confusing people by quoting false *Hadiths* in their sermons. Ecstatic utterances, came from those who were not engrossed in the divine; rather people should learn '*Ihsan*' in order to receive divine inspiration.⁴⁰

Shah Waliullah's admonitions to common Muslims were equally severe. He said that they had turned to cupidity and avarice. Women had begun to dominate men and they in turn had ignored the natural rights of women. People considered the unlawful palatable and lawful bitter. Allah had commanded nothing that could not be performed by the average person. Shah Waliullah advised Muslims to satisfy their sexual urges in lawful marriages. Extravagance should be avoided by people in every social group. Only food that was permitted by the *Sharia* should be eaten. People should support themselves without becoming parasitic on the community or state. Allah would help each person to achieve self-sufficiency.⁴¹

Shah Waliullah condemned usury on economic grounds. He pleaded that the lust to become rich through usury undermined interest in agriculture, crafts and other productive professions. People were tempted to enrich themselves by realizing high rates of compound interest. This was an extremely unhealthy means of earning money. In pre-Islamic Arabia, he wrote, unending enmity and wars between different tribes and clans due to usury, prompted the *Quran* to make it illegal and forbidden.⁴² In this connection, Professor Athar Abbas Rizvi has given a wrong information from Shah Waliullah by misinterpreting his statement in *Hujjatullah al-Baligha*, as he

informed, “However, the Shah Waliullah did not totally forbid the taking or giving of Loans on interest, but asserted that it was the duty of authority enforcing the *Shari’a* to set a limit to the interest rate.”⁴³

Actually the Shah Waliullah did not say the above, but he stated: “The order in this matter is confined to the *Shari’a* (Law maker, means Allah and His prophet) either he limits the permission by low rate or strongly forbids the high rate or prohibits it totally, it is upon him.”⁴⁴ Neither Shah Waliullah nor any other authority has the right to make the interest permissible which has been forbidden by the lawmaker – Allah and his prophet. Shah Waliullah clearly said, “To deal in interest is rejected (*batil*)”.⁴⁵ Shah Waliullah has drawn the attention of the people towards gambling and said that they should reject gambling because this was the way to seize the wealth of others based on ignorance, illegal lust and fraudulence.⁴⁶

Shah Waliullah had criticized the innovation which had crept into the practice of the Muslims. Regarding the festival of the tenth day of *Muharram* Shah Waliullah said that ‘*Ashura* had been made the day of mourning by a particular community; he asked if they did not know that every day was Allah’s and his will was responsible for all happenings. If it was true that Imam Husain (d.61 H./680 AD.) had been martyred on the day, it was also true that not a single day had passed without the death of some beloved of Allah. Some people had also learned by reserving ‘*Ashura* for sports and games. On the *Shab-i-Barat*⁴⁷ Muslims, like heathens organized frivolous games and demonstration, said the Shah Wali-Allah. He challenged the Muslims to demonstrate the logic behind such a practice.⁴⁸ He also condemned them for wastefulness in marriages. Again, when a death occurred in a family, the members of that family were made duty bound to feed their relatives during the mourning period. This he said was an unlawful custom.

Criticizing the neglect of prayers, Shah Waliullah said that few men were so deeply involved in their professional affairs that they were unable to find more time to perform prayers; others were so busy with their own amusements that they had forgotten the prayer times. Many had neglected *Zakat*, although a large section of rich men provided food and clothing for a number of people, it was not done with a view to giving *Zakat*.

Disapproving the Muslims dependence on the *mansabs* and stipends, Shah Waliullah asserted that the rulers, being unable to bear the burden of their protégé’s

demands had no alternative but to harass the ryot.⁴⁹ Shah Waliullah has condemned the Muslims visiting the tomb of any pious man for seeking the fulfillment of any demand.⁵⁰ But as for him, the normal visiting of any grave is a permissible good deed (*mustahab*).⁵¹

Shah Waliullah has advised the Muslims to return to the Arabic language, Arabian dress and Arab style of living and preferring them to others.⁵² Above advice given by Shah Waliullah proved that he was not at all pleased with the Iranian and Hindu cultures which had entered the palaces of Empires and nobles of the Mughal empire and to a pure Muslim society.

2. Economic Conditions

The increasing revenue demands of the state, the oppression and rapacity of the *Zamindars*, revenue farmers and the depredation of the adventures made the life of the people miserable. However, the life of the Indian masses was by and large better than it was at the end of the nineteenth century.⁵³

Of the two mainsprings of the Indian economy, agriculture and small industry, agriculture was the most important. But it was technically backward and stagnant. Cultivation depended on climate and the single factor which dominated the Indian agriculture was monsoon dependency. The lack of rains resulted in famines. The peasants had to work hard to meet the demands of the state, the *Zamindars* and the revenue farmers. Despite the backwardness of the means of communication, in land and foreign trade was carried under the Mughals. The chief imports were: bullion, raw silk, horses, metals, ivory, precious stones, velvets, brocades, perfumes, drugs, porcelain. The exports were various textiles, paper, indigo, opium salt papper and miscellaneous goods.⁵⁴

The most important industry in India was the manufacturing of cotton cloth. The principal centers of cotton manufacture were distributed throughout the country. Dacca was reputed to produce delicate Muslin fabrics ‘the best and finest cloth made of cotton’. Bernier observes, “There is in Bengal such a quantity of cotton and silk, that the kingdom may be called the common storehouse for those two kinds of merchandise, not a Hindustan, but of all the neighboring kingdoms, and even of Europe”. Though Bengal was the premier center of silk production, silk weaving was practiced in Lahore, Agra, Fatehpur Sikri and Gujarat. Shawl and carpet weaving

industries flourished in Kashmir, Lahore and Agra, and shipbuilding flourished in Maharashtra, Andhra and Bengal. According to an English observer: 'In shipbuilding they (the Indians) probably taught the English for more than they learnt from them.' The Mughals in the eighteenth century encouraged trade and commerce. The Mughal, magnificent and luxury. Towns and cities grew out of this spirit. The riches carried annually to Delhi did not stagnate there. The production of each province and the performance of every art were in high demand.⁵⁵

The economic results of the foreign trade were beneficial to India. Foreign traders exported raw silk and salt papper from India cotton and silk goods, to the European markets. The imports arising out of foreign trade did not disturb the favorable balance of payments on account of the gold and silver bullion which the English and Dutch merchants brought to India. "India occupied a premier place in the world trade, in the beginning of the eighteenth century", Peter the Great of Russia was constrained to admit. Bear in mind that the commerce of India is the commerce of the world and he who can exclusively command, it is the dictator of Europe.⁵⁶

In India, the reorganization of the land revenue system is considered as one of the crowning achievements of Akbar as an administrator, but the credit does not go to him exclusively. In fact, it was Sher Shah Suri who made a systematic survey of the land under cultivation and laid the foundation on which Akbar raised the super-structure. After a careful survey, the land was classified in to four categories based on its fertility and cultivability and the revenue was fixed accordingly. The arrangement benefited the state as well as the peasantry. The fixed land tax provided certainty of revenue and prevented by fraud on the part of the revenue officers.⁵⁷

According to Lane Pool, the land tax had always been the main source of revenue in India, and become almost the sole universal burden since Akbar had abolished not only the Poll – tax and pilgrim's dues, but over fifty minor duties. The basis of the land revenues was the recognition that the agriculturist was the owner of the soil, the state being entitled to the surplus produce. In similarly *iqta* or land grant was also adopted. An equal rate was demanded from both the Muslim and Non-Muslim subjects. This was a complete departure from the Islamic principle of *Ushr* or *Kharaj*. It aimed at returning to the peasant, the power to enjoying his property and profit from his labor. The very successful land revenue system of British India was a little more than a modification of these principles.⁵⁸

Akbar also introduced a new and fairer system of taxation based on carefully estimated tables of crop yields. Tax collectors had their own district tables and used them to calculate how much grain the farmers should contribute. This contribution was then converted into its cash value, district by district, because food prices varied in different parts of the empire.⁵⁹

The industry was also very developed in this period. After citing various sources that give an account of Indian industry in the sixteenth century, Moreland remarked in 1920: "Making every allowance for these sources of error, it is still in my mind indisputable that in the matter of industry. India was more advanced relatively to Western Europe than see is today." A considerable amount of trade was carried on by overland route through the two Indian gateways, Qandahar and Kabul, with Balkh and Khurasan, Khwarizm and Persia. Turkey and Arabia, and even Tibet and China. But it is not known whether Indian traders had any concern to maintain a favorable balance of trade as the European mercantilists strived for it in this period. The Indian maritime trade was confined to the coastal areas only because of the Portuguese piracy. To quote Moreland again", in the closing years of the sixteenth century of Portuguese were indisputably masters of the Indian seas, not so much from their own strength as from the failure of the Asiatic nation to realize the nature of the sea power".⁶⁰

Shah Waliullah belongs to that period of the Mughal rule in India when, after the death of Aurangzeb Alamgir the process of all round disintegration of the empire had already set in, comprising of all aspects of the society; political, social, moral, religious, educational, economic and others. During his lifetime, Shah Waliullah saw the regime of the kings of the Mughal dynasty that had lost control over many provinces of the empire and two years after his death they, surrendered the administration of Bihar, Orissa and Bengal to the British company.

During his life time Shah Waliullah tried his best to reverse the course of events by his writing and by taking an active interest in the political affairs of the country. But he could only delay the doom's day. But could not avert it. Shah Waliullah mentions in his book. *Fuyuz ul Harmain* his dream about the destruction of the forces working against Islam and its followers and he also mentions the result of this struggle, which was to culminate in the destruction of every system prevalent at that time.⁶¹

The prophecy mentioned in the dream is confirmed by the events that followed. Here we are concerned with the economic system only and we have to examine the change in the system predicted by Shah Wali-Allah. While discussing the causes of the rise and fall of nations, Shah Waliullah attaches great importance to the economic factor. He asserts that an ideal society and a just economic system go together. They are interrelated and interlinked. He divided the life of mankind into two related compartments. One is concerned with the spiritual favors of God and closeness to him while the other pertains to the worldly boon or favors received from his Lord. So that one cannot be indifferent to earning one's living and the material wealth in this world.

With the downfall of the Mughal Empire the problems of maintaining law and order in the country were dangerously horrible pastures. They had affected the social, educational and economic conditions also. Without going into its details, we shall discuss here the general economic conditions prevalent during those days.

As we know, the feudal system was the order of the day at that time. Under this system the land of the country had become the property of the kings, nobles, *Jagirdars* and *Zamindars*. With this monopoly, they were treating the agriculturists as farm workers who had to work hard to satisfy their masters. They were like beasts of burden working from morning till evening, while also bearing the main burden of taxes. Even then it was difficult for them to make the earnable. Whenever the government needed the money they were the target of additional taxes. The defaulters were punished. The position of farmers was reduced to that of the beasts, donkeys and bulls that were used for ploughing, irrigation and harvesting the crops. The rich class lived in extreme luxuries while the life of the poor class presented a horrible contrast with their miseries. Shah Waliullah said that main caused of societal ills was the unjust economic systems prevalent in the country. The wealth of the state which was infact the property of the society had become the wealth of the individuals such as kings, nobles, landlord, and other such people, and the common man was at there mercy. There were people who were totally dependent on state grants such as poets, the so-called *Mujahideen*, *Sufi* and Scholars of divinity and others of their class who had become a burden on the state. They had no other means of income nor did they need any.

In fact, it was the capitalist created system of economy, which had ruined the country. It had resulted in an unjust distribution of wealth. The wealth of the country had become the property of a few people, which in fact, should have been the property of the society. Apart from these ills of the feudal system there was a large section of the population, which was wholly dependent on the state for its living. It had become accustomed to draw money from the Treasury without rendering any real service to the state on the plea that they were soldiers, *Sufis*, poets, scholars of divinity and belonged to a such group of people whom the rulers generally favored with grants without their rendering any service to the state. They had all become a burden on the economy of the society, though they had lost their utility. This section of the population had become lazy and the main burden of taxation fell on the working class. These poor people were exerting themselves and working hard as laborers for the protection of the wealth of the society. This class of people was agriculturists, traders, manufactures and people of different vocations. This was the main section of the society which was toiling hard produce as much as they could.

Analyzing the causes of the failure of the economy, Shah Waliullah says, “during these days the main causes of the failure of the economy are two fold: The first cause is that people have become accustomed to being a burden on the state. They belonged to the class of soldiers, the scholars of divinity, the poets and the so-called pious ones who want to live without work, being solely dependent on the state grant. They have become a burden for the economy of the society. The second cause is that the agriculturists, traders and people engaged in different crafts have to pay heavy taxes which is beyond their capacity, although the secret of the prosperity of the country and the improvement of the economic conditions lies in the reduction of taxes without which no industry can flourish and which is, in fact a great source of income for the state. This is an important point, which the people should bear in mind”.⁶²

Shah Waliullah’s thought was for the economy, which brought development to the people who were below the poverty line. He wanted to increase the purchasing power of the common man, which was so much needed during his days. He was not in favor of the economic model, which did not benefit the economically weak class. He also came down heavily on the policy dictated by the feudal-oriented system. He was more concerned about the value while the market economy of those days was

concerned about price. He realized that the capitalist model of development was ruining the country so far as the interest of the common man was concerned. He did not approve the concentration of the sources of economy in a few hands and in its place, suggested an alternative arrangement in which the economy is largely beneficial for the humanity. He criticized the development of the country which was not for the masses but for a particular rich section of the society. For him the basic need of the society was to augment the production for the masses, which was the need of the hour. The problem of the common man, he emphasized was the equitable or just distribution of the wealth and that the resources of income should be utilized for the benefit of the masses. Deeply analyzing the economic condition of the country, the causes of the failure of the economy. Shah Waliullah considered the economic model of those days utterly alien to the realities of the country, which was inhabited largely by the toiling masses. He wanted the market to be for the people and not the people to be for the market.

Shah Waliullah's thoughts on the economic conditions of those days provide yet another example of his masterly skill in integrating economic theory with ethical values. No doubt, he was definitely ahead of his time in suggesting solution for the ills of the society. All his emphasis was on the plea that the economy of the society should not be pushed into the hands of the capitalist class. It should be for the larger and needy section of the population of the country which included agriculturists, small traders, labor and people belonging to different vocations. In short, he laid the foundation of an economic theory which is well balanced and which safeguards the economic interests of all the sections of the humanity at large.

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62. Shah Waliullah, *Hujjatullah-al-Baligha, op.cit.*, p. 121.

CHAPTER-2

Biographical Accounts of Shah Waliullah

Ancestors of Shah Waliullah

Shaikh Shamsuddin Mufti was among the first ancestors of Shah Waliullah who migrated to India from Yaman in (thirteenth century) and took up residence at Rohtak.¹ He was a learned, pious and a pure hearted man. Though he did not hold a formal appointment of *muftiship*² from the government, in recognition of his profound learning, he was accepted as the *mufti* or consulting judge of the town (Rohtak)³. It is said that Shamsuddin Mufti opened a school at Rohtak and used to educate the people about Islam.⁴

Shaikh Mahmud married a girl of a Sayid family of Sonipath and had a son named Shaikh Ahmad. He died when his son Shaikh Ahmad was a kid. The orphaned child was brought up by Shaikh Abdul Ghani bin Abdul Hakim of Sonipat.⁵ Later on Shaikh Ahmad married the daughter of Shaikh Abdul Ghani and came back to Rohtak again and constructed a new building outside the fort of Rohtak.⁶ He had two sons the elder one Shaikh Mansur was a soldier⁷ and younger one Shaikh Muazzam was a *mansabdar* at the Mughal court⁸ and held the *jagir* of Shaikhpur. Shaikh Muazzam was a strong man of calm, cool and quite disposition whose, valour and highmindness were mentionable long after his death by the people who lived in his *jagir*. He married the daughter of Sayid Nurul Jabbar of Sonipat and was survived by three sons; Shaikh Jamal, Shaikh Firoz and Shaikh Wajihuddin.⁹

The third one Shaikh Wajihuddin was the grandfather of Shah Waliullah. He was a man of courage as well as known for his piety. He held a high rank in the army of King Shahjahan (1627-57) and sided with prince Aurangzeb in the war of succession that started among the sons of the King in 1657. In the battle of Khajwa (1659)¹⁰ which was fought between Aurangzeb and his brother Shah Shuja; Shaikh Wajihuddin showed immense intrepidity and subsequently saved Aurangzeb who then defeated Shah Shuja. After the victory, Aurangzeb offered to promote him to a high rank, but the Shaikh refused to accept it.¹¹

Apart from being a soldier, and a courteous, Shaikh Wajihuddin also a *Sufi*. He was kind enough to his servants and the poor.¹² At an old age during a journey he

was attacked by a gang of robbers. He drew his sword and fought till the end reciting *Takbir* (glorifying Allah), but succumbed twenty two wounds in that combat and was buried in Nunbaria.¹³ Shaikh Wajihuddin was the last man of the family who adopted government service as a profession.¹⁴ He married the daughter of Shaikh Rafiuddin, the disciple of Khawaja Baqi Billah¹⁵ and had three sons from her: Shaikh Abdur Ridha,¹⁶ Shaikh Abdur Rahim and Shaikh Abdul Hakim.¹⁷ Shaikh Abdur Rahim was the father of Shah Waliullah. On account of his great achievements in exoteric and esoteric sciences, he became the most distinguished of the three brothers.

Shaikh Abdur Rahim was born in 1054 H./1644 AD¹⁸ and received his education from his elder brother Shaikh Abdur Ridha Muhammad and studied *Sharh' Aqaid Nasafiyah*, *Hashiya Khiyali* and some other books under him. He took instructions from Mir Zahid Harawi (d.1690)¹⁹ in *Sharh al-Mawaqif* and other books of *fiqh*, *usul*, philosophy and scholasticism.²⁰ In mysticism, he was guided by Khawaja Hafiz Sayid Abdullah Naqshbandi,²¹ Khawaja Khurd bin Khawaja Baqi Billah, Khawaja Abdullah Akbarabadi and then Khalifa Abul Qasim Akbarabadi. He was a supporter of Muhiuddin Ibn Arabi (d.638 H./1240 AD.) and a believer in his thought of *Wahdat al-Wujud* (unity of being or ontological monism)²² while preferring the Naqshbandi order.²³ Shaikh Abdur Rahim studied and practiced medicine.²⁴ He was one of the scholars selected for the compilation of *fatawa Alamgiriya*,²⁵ but later on resigned from the board of compilers.²⁶

He himself followed the *Hanafi fiqh* (Law) but in certain particular matters, he used to act based on his own understanding of the *Quran* and *Hadiths* or in accordance with the dictates of other schools of Islamic Jurisprudence. Such exceptions included recitation of *Surah al-Fatiha* in congregational prayers (behind Imam) and in the funeral prayers (*Janaza*).²⁷ Shaikh Abdur Rahim's historical work was to establish a *Madrasah* in Delhi. It was situated near Kotla Firoz Shah in the Quarter of *Mahandiyan* where he lived. The *Madrasah* was known after his death as *Madrasah Rahimiyah*.²⁸

Shaikh Abdur Rahim married twice. His first wife, who died a year or so before his death,²⁹ bore him a son named Salahuddin.³⁰ He married for the second time at the age of sixty, the daughter³¹ of Shaikh Muhammad Phulati,³² one of his disciples.³³ She gave birth two to sons:³⁴ Shah Waliullah and Shah Ahlullah.³⁵

Shaikh Abdur Rahim did not write books except being a member of compilation board of *Fatawa Alamgiriya*. A collection of his letters has been arranged and edited by his son Ahlullah Phulati.³⁶ It was published by *Mujtabai* press, Delhi in 1915 AD. It is reported that he translated into a book of Taj Sambhli named *Al-Risala fi Suluk Al-Sadat al-Naqshbandiya* in to Persian.³⁷ He was died when he was 77 years old.³⁸

Early Life and Education

Shah Waliullah was born at dawn on Wednesday, in 4th of *Shawal*, 1114 H. corresponding to 10th February, 1703 AD, at Phulat³⁹ in the house of his maternal grandfather. Some of his friends worked out, by the chronogrammatical Cabjadi method, the name ‘Azimuddin as the date of birth’.⁴⁰

Shah Waliullah’s birth was foretold to his father Shaikh Abdur Rahim in a vision and hinted that he will reach a high rank and achieve true renown. One day when Shaikh Abdur Rahim was visiting the mausoleum of Khawaja Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki (d.634 H./1236 AD.), the Khawaja informed him in a vision that a son would be born to him and that he should name him Qutbuddin Ahmad. When Shah Waliullah was born from this mother, his father Shaikh Abdur Rahim forgot about the name of new born baby and thus he gave him the name Waliullah. Later on when he recalled the vision he renamed him Qutbuddin Ahmad.⁴¹ Initially in many of his books Shah Waliullah mentioned his name as Ahmad.⁴² Abdullah was his self adopted name. Abul Faiyadh was the name with which he was remembered in the world of divinity and lastly Abu Muhammad was his filionymic (*Kunyat*).⁴³

Shah Waliullah grew up under his father’s direct tutorship, guidance and supervision. His father was very kind to him and was his spiritual teacher also. His father used to speak in a manner that his words sink into the heart of the listener. Once Shah Waliullah wasted his day in sight seeking with his friends. On his return his father said, “Waliullah! Did you anything of lasting value during these hours”? Shah said that he recited *Durud*⁴⁴ so many times that day. From that day he lost all interest in excursions and thereafter never wasted time in that manner.⁴⁵ Shah Waliullah as a child was instructed by his father to be good in character, conduct and follow the *Sunnat* of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh). He was circumcised at the age of seven and

advised by his father to offer five times prayers and observe the fasts.⁴⁶ Apart from offering five times prayers he also joined his parents in the *Tahajjud* prayer.⁴⁷

At the age of fifteen he was initiated into mysticism at the behest of his father and he devoted himself to the mystic practices, particularly of the Naqshbandi Order. He studied the following books on different subjects as detailed by himself:

In *Hadith*, he studied the whole of *Mishkat*, a part of *Bukhari's Sahih* (from the beginning up to the chapter on cleanliness) and attended the classes where *Shama'il al-Nabi* was read by others in the presence of his father.

In *Tafseer*, he studied a part of *Baidawi*, and a part of *Mudarik*. But his greatest asset was the study of a part of the *Quran* in the school under the guidance of his father with particular emphasis on understanding the meaning and significance of the text, along with the study of the situational context with the help of commentaries. It proved of greatest help to him in understanding the Holy book. In *Fiqh*, he studied almost the whole *Sharh Waqayah* and the *Hidayah* except a few pages. Similarly, he got through all the common textbooks on *Usul al-Fiqh*, logic *Kalam*, mysticism, medicine, theosophy (*Hikmah*), etc. His originality and creative spirit became evident at a very early age. During this period of learning, he says, "I began to have ever-new ideas in these fields and, with a little effort, the scope of development increased enormously."⁴⁸

Journey to Hijaz

Shah Waliullah stated, "More or less twelve years I struggled to study and teach the religious and rational subjects. Then I had a great yearning to perform the *Hajj* and visit the Holy Mosques". At this time, he was overpowered by a desire to visit the *Hijaz*, in order to perform the *Hajj* and so he took a boat and was on his way to Mecca and Medina. Due to his sound and comprehensive education, he was already a good scholar of Islam and he looked upon his visit to the *Hijaz* as one more opportunity to pursue his studies further. He stayed in that country for about fourteen months and performed the *Hajj* twice. His thirst for knowledge took him to many scholars of Islamic learning, but he decided to accept Shaikh Abu Tahir bin Ibrahim of Medina as his teacher, mentor and guide.⁴⁹

This stay in the *Hijaz* was an important formative influence on his thought and subsequent life. There he studied *hadith*, *fiqh* and *Sufism* with various eminent

teachers, the most important influence being Shaikh Abu Tahir al-Kurdi al-Madani (d.1733). These teachers in Mecca exposed Shah Waliullah to the trend of increased cosmopolitanism in *hadith* scholarship that began to emerge there in the eighteenth century from a blending of the North African, *Hijazi* and India traditions of study and evaluation. While in the holy cities Shah Waliullah developed a particular respect for Malik's work, the *Muwatta*, on which he later wrote two commentaries, *Musawwa* (Arabic) and *Musaffa* (Persian).⁵⁰

Shah Waliullah performed *Hajj* for the first time in 1143H./1730 AD. Thereafter he spent some time, probably three months, in Mecca. In *Rabi al-Awwal* 1144 /1731AD., he visited the house in Mecca, where the Holy Prophet (pbuh) was born.⁵¹ In the month of *Safar* he had a dream which is significant in that it opened a new chapter in his life. As recorded in his autobiography, the period of twelve years before his journey to the *Hijaz* was spent in teaching books on religion and philosophy and in thinking over different problems of religion, *Fiqh* and mysticism. Most probably he wrote nothing during this period. The only thing that we know definitely in this respect is that he had begun dictating the Persian translation of the *Quran* which, however, remained incomplete.⁵² The period of writing started after his return which is symbolically prophesied in this dream, as recorded in *Fuyuz al-Haramain*. "It was 10 *Safar* 1144H./ 1731AD. in Mecca," he records that, "I dreamed that Hasan and Husain both came to my house. Hasan had a pen, the point of which was broken. He stretched his hand in order to give it to me saying that it belonged to the Holy Prophet (pbuh). But then he withheld it, saying: Let Husain mend it because it is now not as good as when Husain first mended it. Then a cloth (*Chadar*) which had white and green stripes was placed before them. Husain took it up saying that it belonged to his grandfather, the Holy Prophet (pbuh), put it over and around me."⁵³ In *al-Durr al-Thamin*, the following significant words are added at the end: From that day, my breast was expended for writing books on religious problems. Abd al-Aziz relates that the people who were familiar with Shah Waliullah's teaching before he left for the *Hijaz* noticed a great change in him: his lectures were now totally different in form and content. He continued his connection with his institution, but his mode of work now totally changed. He had trained several people in different branches of learning and handed over the work of teaching pupils in these subjects to them. He spent most of his time in writing books and discussing abstruse problems of religion.

He would sit down in the early hours of the morning and continue doing his work till late in the noon.⁵⁴

The Shaikh was a man of vast knowledge and profound insight and he discovered in Shah Waliullah a pupil of great promise. The pupil was devoted to his teacher and the later developed a special liking for him. Shah Waliullah records about the Shaikh, “He was gifted with the virtues of the godly faith, like piety, independence of judgment, devotion, attachment to knowledge and fairness in controversy.”⁵⁵

Even in minor matters of doubt, he would not offer any opinion, until he had pondered deeply and checked up all references. Having been taught and influenced by his father and Shaikh Abu Tahir, whom of were both men of broad sympathies and imbued with a spirit of tolerance, Shah Waliullah’s mind was influenced in his most impressionable years on the same lines. This was to be of immense benefit to him and his work and teachings were to give proof of the catholicity of his religious views. “During his stay in Mecca, Shah Waliullah saw a vision in which the Holy Prophet (pbuh) blessed him with the good tidings that he would be instrumental in the organization of a section of the Muslim community.”

Some of his relatives wrote letters to him, entreating him not to return to India, but to be permanently settled in the *Hijaz*. Shah Waliullah could not listen to these entreaties. He felt he had a mission to complete and that the centre from where he could disseminate his message was Delhi.⁵⁶

Recording his impressions about his stay in the *Hijaz*, Shah Waliullah writes, “During my stay in the *Hijaz*, I met many learned and interesting persons. I was fortunate to be a disciple of Shaikh Abu Tahir, who very kindly taught me many branches of learning. I performed the *Hajj* once again at the end of the year, 1145 .H./1732.AD., and reached home safe and sound on a Friday, the fourteenth.” After returning home, he was determined to embark on his life’s work to awaken the Muslims of India to the realities of their fallen situation. “He returned to Delhi on 9th July, 1732.”⁵⁷

Teaching Life

After completing his classical education in India, Shah Waliullah at a young age of fifteen started his life as a teacher at the *Madrasah* established by his father, Shaikh

Abdur Rahim. He helped his father in teaching work for two years.⁵⁸ After his father's death (1131 H./1718 AD.) when he was seventeen years old,⁵⁹ he took over the charge of the *Madrasah* and started his teaching and research activities with added zeal and passion continuously for twelve years.⁶⁰ During these period he studied and taught the students different religious and rational subjects and got an opportunity to reflect over a variety of issues. With deep and wide study, he became broad minded. Shah Waliullah said that after studying the *fiqh* and *usul* of four *mazhabs* and *Hadiths* from which they deduced those *fiqh* and *usul* and with the light of divine help his heart became satisfied with the method of those jurists who inclined towards *Hadith*.

On his return from *Hijaz* (1145 H./1732 AD.) after receiveing advanced education from renowned scholars, he rejoined the *Madrasah Rahimiyah* and started teaching the *Hadith* and *Tafseer*. Because of his journey to sacred places (*Haramain*) and obtaining certificates from the scholars of those places and his new methodology of teaching of *Hadith* and worthy lectures, his fame as a *Hadith* scholar spread far an wide, soon attracting a large number of students.⁶¹ Hakim Mahmud Barakati stated that the number of students of Shah Waliullah was very limited.⁶² Emperor Muhammad Shah (1719-1748) despite his numerous faults and failings, provided a spacious building to the Shah at Shahjahanabad⁶³ for his *Madrasah* and residence, where he restarted teaching his students.⁶⁴

In addition to teaching at his fathers school, *Madarsa Rahimiyah*, Shah Waliallah devoted much of his time to writing, which he continued till the end of his life. As result, we now have numerous books written by him on a number of subjects. He was gifted with a robust constitution and was capable of writing for long hours at a stretch without tiring. "Once he sat down to work after *ishraq*, he would not change his posture till midday. He was rarely ill."⁶⁵

Besides being a versatile scholar, Shah Waliullah pondered deeply over the social, economic and political problems of the Muslims of India and, having a mind that was sensitive and keenly aware of the Muslims suffering, he was deeply disturbed at the fallen condition of his co-religionists. He found individuals making up the Muslim society to be extremely self-centered and keen on personal aggrandizement to the utter exclusion of the interests of the nation as a whole. The weakened fabric of the social order had resulted in moral degeneration, the worst consequences of which were that the Muslims continued existing in their little grooves quite, unaware of the

dangers that obviously lay ahead of them. Shah Waliullah was alive to see these perils and he now devoted himself to kindling the light of awakening, so that the Muslims may become aware of these dangers and prepare to meet the challenge of the times ahead. About seven years after his return, Nadir Shah invaded India and his triumphant army sacked Delhi for a number of days. "India received such a crushing defeat at the hands of Nadir that the likes of it cannot be found in history. Delhi lay exposed to the pillage and savagery of Nadir and the atrocities committed, the respectable families had made up their minds to perform *Jauhar* (burning oneself) Shah Waliullah, however, wanted to prevent them from doing so by narrating to them the story of Imam Husain.⁶⁶

In fact, some twenty years before the devastation of Delhi in the year 1131 H/1718 AD. after the cruel murder of prince Farrukh – Sair, the country had turned into a veritable hell. There was no security and no order anywhere. The people of Delhi found life unbearable, insecure and humiliating. "Frequent panic among the citizens when ever any attack was expected, the flight of the rich; the closing of the shops, the looting of the unprotected houses by the ruffians of the city population who took advantage of the public alarm and confusion; the utter spoliation of the peasantry and the ruin of the surrounding villages by organized hordes of brigands or soldiers out foraging and consequent famine prices in the capital; the incurable intrigue, inefficiency and moral decay of the imperial court."

This was the pitiable state of the central authority at Delhi and the miserable lot of the Muslims of Delhi. Shah Waliullah had developed a sentimental attachment to that city and his mind was aggrieved at the sufferings of the Muslims of his day. While other minds were stricken with dependency and terror, Shah Waliullah faced them boldly. His analytical mind began to analyze the causes that had brought about this said state of affairs and he was already formulating bold policies which he wanted to place before the Muslims to follow, if they wanted to bring about their spiritual and material regeneration.

He began to write open letters to the Mughal rulers, bitterly criticizing them for their inefficiency, indolence and corruption, calling upon them to give up their life of selfishness and to shoulder the burden of their responsibility in a spirit of righteousness and manliness. Pleasure pursued by them would lead them to a temporary paradise and then would follow the inevitable nemesis of history. "Oh

Amirs, do you not fear God? You have so completely thrown yourself into the pursuit of momentary pleasure and have neglected those people who are committed to your care. The result is that the strong are devouring the weak. All your mental faculties are directed towards providing yourselves with sumptuous food and soft-skinned and beautiful women for enjoyment and pleasure. You do not turn your attention to anything except good clothes and magnificent palaces.”⁶⁷

Shah Waliullah also addressed the Muslim soldiers, persuading them to inculcate within themselves the spirit of *Jihad*. He criticized them for their un-Islamic practices, such as drinking wine and oppressing the people in order to extort money from them. To the artisans and workers and peasants, Shah Waliullah gave a message of awakening saying that they must realize that on their efforts depended the economic prosperity of the nation, and therefore, they must devote all their attention to their work in a spirit of dedication to the utter exclusion of immoral pleasures. “Spend your mornings and evenings in prayers. Devote the major part of the day to your professional work. Always keep your expenditure less than your income. Whatever you save, you must spend on helping travelers and the needy. Keep something in reserve for unforeseen expenses and sudden calamities.” At a time when moral values were discounted, the exhortation of Shah Waliullah came as the voice of moral regeneration.⁶⁸

His open letters to the princes, to the army, to the masses in general reveal a burning desire within him to arouse the Muslims from their lethargy and bring them back from the path of sin and deviation to the path of utility and righteousness. His insistence was on the theme that the Muslims learn to distinguish between things which are enjoined upon them by Islam and those that are forbidden by it. He was confident that until and unless every Muslim proves himself to be a useful citizen, earning an honest living, looking after his wife and children and putting some saving from his well-earned income into the national pool, the political life of the nation would be fragile, prone to snap at the slightest touch of calamity and adversity. A healthy mind can only live and flourish in a healthy body; similarly a healthy society can progress only by a healthy and honest living.⁶⁹

Wives and Children

Wives: Shah Waliullah Dihlawi married twice. When he was only fourteen years old (in 1128 H./1715 AD.) his father got him married⁷⁰ to Fatima the daughter of his material uncle Shaikh Ubaidullah Phulati (d. 1150 H./1737 A.D.).⁷¹ She died, of diarrhea after leading a domesticated life with the Shah for 21 years. The second wife of Shah Waliullah was Bibi Iradat, the daughter of Sayid Thanaullah Sonipati.⁷²

Children: The biographical documents prove that Shah Waliullah had more than ten children. Many of them died in their very childhood in the lifetime of the Shah before the birth of Shah Abdul Aziz.

Among Shah Waliullah's sons, the greatest scholar who has the highest number of works to his credit is Shah Abdul Aziz, who was also his intellectual heir.⁷³

Shah Abdul Aziz: He was the first son from the second wife of Shah Waliullah, and was born on 1159 H./1746 A.D.⁷⁴ His historical name was Ghulamun Halim and Alias Masita.⁷⁵ He received education in all subjects from his father as well as obtained some lessons from Muhammad Ashiq Phulati (d. 1187 H.) and Khawaja Muhammad Amin Waliullah. He was well-versed in *Tafseer*, *Hadith Fiqh*, *Tasawuf*, *Aqida*, Philosophy, logic, as well as in Arabic grammar, *Usul* and geometry. He was skilled in javelin throw, equitation and music. He was a noble teacher and served the Muslim nation and Islamic education continuously for 60 years.⁷⁶ Shah Abdul Aziz has written more than 20 books on different subjects.⁷⁷ He had three daughters and all were married and died during his lifetime. Shah Abdul Aziz died on 1238 H./1822 A.D.⁷⁸

Shah Rafiuddin: The second son from the second wife of Shah Waliullah, was born on 1163 H./1749 AD. He obtained primary instructions from his father then completed higher education under his elder brother Shah Abdul Aziz.⁷⁹ Besides his eruditeness in Islamic subjects he was an unparalleled specialist in mathematics. Shah Rafiuddin had 6 sons and one daughter. He died on 1233 H./1817 AD.

Shah Abdul Qadir: The third son of the second wife from Shah Waliullah, was born in 1167 H./1753 AD⁸⁰. He studied under his father and then his elder brother Shah Abdul Aziz and Muhammad Ashiq Phulati.⁸¹ After completing his classical education, he retired to a room attached to the Akbarabad mosque in Delhi and spent his life

there in studying and writing. He translated the Holy *Quran* in Urdu language with commentary named *Mudhih al-Quran*. He had a booklet in Urdu named *Taqrir al-Salah*. He was married and had one daughter, who got married to the son of Shah Rafiuddin named Shah Mustafa.⁸² Shah Abdul Qadir died on 1230 H./ 1814 AD.⁸³

Shah Abdul Ghani: The fourth and youngest son of Shah Waliullah from his second wife, was born in 1171H./1757 AD.⁸⁴ He memorized the Holy *Quran* at the age of nine (9) and started his classical education at the life time of his father and completed it under his elder brother Shah Abdul Aziz. He was very similar to his father in appearance, nature and dress. He was a man of illumination (*Kashf*) and miracles (*Karamat*).⁸⁵

He married the daughter of Shaikh Alauddin Phulati and had one son and two daughters. That son named Shah Mohammad Ismail (Shahid) (1193-1246./1779A.D.-1830AD.). was a great reformer, leader and commander of the holy *Jihad*. Shah Abdul Ghani died in 1203 H./1788 AD.⁸⁶

Shah Waliullah's death

He was now over sixty and in poor health. But he kept on working hard, as the candle must keep on burning, until the dawn took over. He died on the twenty-ninth in the month of *Muharram* in the year 1176 H./1762 A.D.⁸⁷

He lies buried in the family graveyard beside his father and his equally illustrious son, Shah Abd Al-Aziz, in the *Menhdiyan* cemetery of old Delhi, behind the modern central Jail.⁸⁸

Notes and References

- 1.(a). Shah Waliullah descended on his father 's side from Umar b.Khattab and on his mother's side with Ali b. Abu Talib. His ancestor from his father's side moved from Madina to Yaman (Prof. M.Y.M.Siddiqui; Shah Waliullah Dehlavi; Eng. tr. Prof.A.R.Qidwai, Aligarh, Islamic studies, nd., p.8).
 - (b). The genealogical table of his ancestor (from his father's side) show that they migrated from Yaman to Iran and in 13 century Shaikh Shamsuddin Mufti came in India (Fazl Haq Khairatadi, al-Surat al-Hindiyya, 'Baghi Hindustan' Ur.tr., Lahore 1974, p.12). The statement supported by Iranian names of some ancestors of Shah Waliullah, like Humayun, Shahryar etc. A.D.Maztar op cit .pp. 12-13.
 2. *Muftiship* (official expounder of Islamic law), G.N. Jalbani, *life of Shah Wali Allah*, Idarah-i-Adabiyat, Delhi, 1980, P. 4, A.D. Muztar, *op.cit.*, P.14, Prof.Y.M. Siddiqi, *op.cit.*, 2001, P.8, J.M.S. Baljan, *Religious and Thought of Shah Wali Allah Dihlawi*, Leiden, 1986, P. 1, Muhammad Sarwar, *Essay: Shah Wali Allah Tarikhi Pas Manzar*, *Al-Rahim Journal*, Hyderabad Pakistan, Vol., No. 4, 1963, P. 9.
 3. Hakim Mahmud Ahmad Barakati, *Shah Wali Allah aur unka Khandan*, Maktaba Jamia, Delhi, 1992, P. 73.
 4. After Shaikh Shamsuddin his desendent served the profession of Qadi and work in the field of Islamic jurisprudents in about 400 years (Anfas al-'Arifin, pp.330-333).
- Shaikh Shamsuddin Mufti's son→ Shaikh Kamaluddin Mufti→ Shaikh Qutbuddin→ Shaikh Malik→ Shaikh Qadhi Budh→ Qadi Qasim→ Qadhi Qaden→
- Shaikh Mahmud Qadi, he resigned the post of Qazi and joined the Army.
5. A.D. Muztar, *op.cit.*, p.15
 6. *Anfas al-Arifin*, p. 334, A.D. Muztar, *op.cit.*, p.16.
 7. It is presumed that the served under the king Jahangir (1605-1627), (A.D. Muztar, *Ibid.*, p.16)
 8. Probably at the court of the king Shahjahan (1627-57), (*Ibid*, p.16.)

9. *Anfas al-Arifin*, p.336.
10. Khajwa: In the district of Fatehpur.
11. *Anfas al-Arifin*, pp. 337-343.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 338.
13. Nunbaria, which is situated about two or three stages towards Delhi from the river Narbada. (AD. Muztar, *op.cit.*, p.23.).
14. *Anfas al-Arifin*, pp. 345-46.
15. Shaikh Rafiuddin: The son of Qutb-i-Alam bin Shaikh Abdul Aziz Al-Bahr al-Mawaj alias Shakbar a notable mystic. (*Anfas al-Arifin*, pp. 334, 345-55).
16. Shaikh Abur Ridha Muhammad. He was a learned man, good orator and expert teacher. He used to deliver lectures on *Tafsir al-Baidhawi* and *Mishkat al-Masabin*. He was a great *Sufi* and Firm believer in the doctrine of *Wahdat al-Wujud*. (*Ibid*, pp. 193-329). He died in 1101 H./1689. (*Ibid.*, p. 329), Rahim Bakhsh, *op.cit.*, pp. 320-331.
17. *Anfas al-Arifin*, p. 344.
18. His date of Birth calculated from the date of his death, which happened in 1113 H., then he was seventy years old. (A.D. Muztar, *op.cit.*, p. 24).
19. Mir Zahid Harawi was then the Muhtasib (Public Moral Censor) of Agra in the reign of Aurengzib.
20. *Anfas al-Arifin*, pp. 89-90, Rahim Bakhsh, *op.cit.*, p.211.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 40-82.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 181-82.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.
24. *Anfas al-Arifin*, pp. 107, 189.
25. There were twenty one members of the compiling board of Fatawa Alamgiriya, *Ibid.*, p.75.
26. *Anfas al-Arifin*, p. 75.

27. *Ibid*; p. 157.
28. Rahim Bakhsh, *op.cit.*, pp. 267, 414, 417, Hakim Mahmud Barakati, *Shah Waliullah aur unka Khandan*, pp. 41-43.
29. *Anfas al-Arifin*, p. 404, A.D. Muztar, *op.cit.*, p. 35.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 144-45, A.D. Muztar, *op.cit.*, p.35.
31. Her name was Fakhrun Nisha (*Ibid.*, p. 35, Hakim Mahmud Barakati, *op.cit.*, p. 54, Prof. Yasin Mazhar Siddiqui, *op.cit.*, p.9).
32. *Anfas al-Arifin*, pp., 358-373.
33. *Anfas al-Arifin*, p. 145.
34. *Ibid*, pp. 145-46, Hakim Mahmud Barakati, *op.cit.*, pp. 54-68.
35. Shah Ahlullah Phulati: He was born in 1119 H./1707 C.E. at Phulat and educated under his father Shaikh Abdur Rahim and elder brother Shah Waliullah Along with religious knowledge he was an expert in medicine. He died in 1186 H. (Hakim Mahmud Barakati, *op.cit.*, pp. 54-60).
36. Hakim Mahmud Barakati, *op.cit.*, pp. 64-65, AD. Muztar, *op.cit.* pp. 34-35.
37. A.D. Muztar, *op.cit.*, p. 35.

On Wednesday, 12th Safar, 1131 A.H.(23rd December,1718)

38. *Anfas al-Arifin*, p.19. AD. Muztar mentioned the corresponding date of his death 4th January, 1719, (*Ibid.*, p.35).
39. Phulat: A small town in the district of Muzaffar Nagar, U.P., 60 miles distance from Delhi (Hakim Mahmud Barakati, *op.cit.*, p.58) and twenty miles to the north of Meerut (A.D. Muztar, *op.cit.*, p.36).
40. Dr.Mazhar Baqa, p.126,(Sayid Muhammad Faruq Qadiri, Urdu t. *Anfas al-Arifin*, p. 403).

Shaikh Abdur Rahim was then nearly sixty years old and his wife had reached the age of sterility. Then he intended to enter a second marriage and his disciple Shaikh Muhammad Phulati gave his daughter to him.

41. *Anfas al-Arifin*, p. 110.

42. Shah Waliullah,, *Hujjatullah al-Baligha*, introduction, p.23.
 43. A.D. Muztar, *op.cit.*, p. 37.
 44. Durud: *Allahumma Salli 'ala Muhammad* (Prophet) and this kind of sentences.
 45. *Anfas al-Arifin*, p.149.
 46. *Ibid.*, p. 404.
 47. B.A. Dar, "Wali Allah: His life and Times Iqbal Review", Journal of the Iqbal Academy, Vol. VI, Pakistan, 1965, pp. 9-10.
 48. Nagendra Kr. Singh, *Encyclopaedia of Muslim Biography*, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Volume – V, New Delhi, 2001, p. 428.
 49. John L. Esposito, *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of the Modern Islamic World*, Vol. 4, New York Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1995, pp. 311-312.
 50. B.A. Dar, *op.cit.*, pp. 18.
 51. *Ibid.*
 52. *Ibid.*
 53. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
 54. Nagendra Kr. Singh, *op.cit.*, p. 428.
 55. *Ibid.*
- India was in a state of socio-economic and political turmoil and the life of property were in constant jeopardy.
56. A.D. Muztar, *op.cit.*, p.42.
 57. *Ibid.*
 58. Rahim Bakhsh, *op.cit.*, p. 413, 417.
 59. Prof. Yasin Mazhar Siddiqui, *Shah Waliullah Dehlavi: An introduction to his illustrious personality and achievement*, Institute of Islamic Studies, AMU. Aligarh, 2001, p. 17.
 60. Hakim Barakati, *op.cit.*, p. 37.

61. Then the New Delhi and now old Delhi: That area is called now Kalan Mahalla. (Hakim Barakati, *op.cit.*, pp. 46-47).
62. *Ibid.*
63. Hakim Barakati, *op.cit.*, pp. 12, 15, A.A. Rizvi, *op.cit.*, p. 220.
64. Prof. Yasin Mazhar, *op.cit.*, p. 15.
65. *Ibid.*
66. *Ibid.*
67. *Ibid.*
68. *Ibid.*
69. Hakim Barakti, *op.cit.*, p. 97, *Anfas al-Arifin*, p. 404.
70. Hakim Barakati, *op.cit.* p. 97.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 75, 97.
72. Sunipath: A village at a distance of some forty miles to the west of Delhi.

The second wife of shah shahib was Bibi Iradat, the daughter of Sayid Thanaullah Sonipati or Sayid Hamd.

Some people write name Syed Hamd Sonipati.
73. Hakim Barakati, *op.cit.*, p. 97.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
75. *Ibid.*, 100.
76. Prof. Yasin Mazhar Siddiqui, *op.cit.*, p. 18.
77. Hakim Barakati, *op.cit.*, p. 104.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
79. *Ibid.* P. 112.
80. *Ibid.*
81. *Ibid.*
82. *Ibid.* P. 113.

- 83 *Ibid.*
- 84. *Ibid.*
- 85. *Ibid.*
- 86. *Ibid.* P. 114
- 87 . Nagendra kr., *op.cit.*, p.433.
- 88. E.J.Brill, *TheEncyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol.II, London,1960, p.254.

CHAPTER-3

Works of Shah Waliullah

Shah Waliullah was a prolific writer a great scholar and reformer, he has covered almost the entire range of Islamic Sciences in his works in Arabic and Persian languages. Regarding his writings Abul Ala Maududi said, “If we look at the times and circumstances of Shah Waliullah on the one hand and at his excellent works on the other hand, we will be astonished as to how a man of this kind of extraordinary thought and scholarship was born at that epoch!”¹

Shah Waliullah's written legacy is enormous. His writings are in various forms like books, articles, booklets, letters, etc. and his pen has traveled on an immense field of knowledge, and produced books on a number of issues, ranging from religious matters to reformative and literary subjects. His contribution includes commentaries on the *Quran* and *Hadith*, their principles, *fiqh*, principles of jurisprudence, *ilm al-kalam*, wisdom (*hikmat*) and the philosophy of the *Shari'ah*, etc. But later on, with the launching of his socio-economic and political reform movements, he wrote mostly on matters relating to the intellectual and educational regeneration of the Indian Muslims.

The most monumental task he performed was to translate the *Quran* from Arabic to Persian which was the language spoken by the Muslims at that time in India. His aim was that the educated Muslims should have access to the *Quran* without depending on the scholars who opposed his reformmatory measures. The short sighted *ulama* gathered and wanted to kill him for his act of translating the *Quran* from Arabic to Persian but he continued with his task till he completed it.²

Apart from the Holy *Quran*, Shah Waliullah also wrote authentic books on the *Tafseer*, the *Hadith*, the principles, of *Tafseer* and *Hadith* and on mystical subjects. But the most popular book is *Hujjatullah al-Baligha*. This book explains how Islam was suitable for all races, cultures and people of the world and how successfully it solves social, moral, economic and political problems of human beings.³

His works may be classified into six categories. The first deals with the Holy *Quran*. It includes his translation of the Holy Book into Persian, the literary language

of the subcontinent of those times. According to him, the objective of studying the Holy Book is to reform the human nature and correct the wrong beliefs and injurious actions. The second category deals with the *Hadith*, in which he had left behind several works, including the Arabic and Persian commentaries on *Mu'atta*, the well-known collection of the traditions of the Holy Prophet (pbuh) compiled by Imam Malik. He attached great importance to this collection, even greater than those of Imam Bukhari and Imam Muslim. He was an outstanding *Muhaddith* and links of all the modern scholars of *Hadith* in the subcontinent may be traced to him. Foremost among them were his sons and successors Shah Abdul Aziz and Syed Murtaza Bilgrami respectively. Shah Waliullah wrote a number of books and pamphlets dealing with the *Hadith*. The third category deals with 'Fiqh' or Islamic Jurisprudence, which includes *Insaaf-fi-bayaan-i-Sabab-il-Ikhtilaaf*, which is a brief but a very interesting and informative history of the Islamic Jurisprudence of the last five centuries.

The fourth category deals with his works based on mysticism. The fifth category pertains to his works on the Muslim philosophy and *Ilm-al-Kalam*. He also wrote a pamphlet on the principles of *Ijtihad* (independent interpretation) and *Taqlid* (conformity). In his "Principles of *Ijtihad*" he clarifies whether it is obligatory for a Muslim to adhere to one of the four recognized schools of Islamic Jurisprudence or whether he/she can exercise his/her own judgment. According to Shah Waliullah, a layman should rigidly follow his own Imam but a person well versed in Islamic law can exercise his own judgment which should be in conformity with the practice of the Holy Prophet (pbuh). But the most outstanding of all his works is *Hujjatullah al-Baligha* which deals with such aspects of Islam that are common among all Muslim countries. In its introduction, he observes: Some people think that there is no usefulness involved in the injunctions of the Islamic law and that in actions and rewards as prescribed by God there is no beneficial purpose. They think that the commandments of Islamic law are similar to a master ordering his servant to lift a stone or touch a tree in order to test his obedience and that in this there is no purpose except to impose a test so that if the servant obeys, he is rewarded, and if the disobeys, he is punished. This view is completely incorrect. The traditions of the Holy Prophet (pbuh) and consensus of opinion of those ages, contradicts this view. The sixth category deals with his works on the *Shia-Sunni* problem which had become

somewhat acute in those days. His writings, on this subject have done a great deal in simplifying this problem. His theories pertaining to economics and socialism are of revolutionary nature. Writing about his works in the History of the Freedom Movement, Sheikh Muhammad Ikram states: Shah Waliullah wrote learned works and initiated powerful and beneficial movements, but perhaps no less important are the invisible qualities of approach and outlook, which he bequeathed to Muslim religious thoughts in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. His work is characterized by knowledge, insight, moderation and tolerance, but the quality on which he laid the greatest emphasis, in theory and in practice, was *Adl* or *Adalat* (justice, fairness). His works and views bear ample testimony to the ways he observed this principle in practice and he lost few opportunities of emphasizing in theory its role in maintaining the social fabric.⁴

His most famous works are:

1. Quranic Studies

1. Al -Fauz al-Kabir fi Usul al-Tafsir (Persian): Is a bilingual work, in Persian, but partly in Arabic, on the principles of exegesis. It follows his Persian translation of the Holy *Quran*, and similarly has been translated into many languages.⁵ Published by Matba Ahmadi, Hoogli in 1249 H/1833 AD; by Matba Mujtabai, Delhi in 1898, by Maktaba Salafiya, Lahore in 1951, by Qadimi Kutub Khana, Karachi, n.d.; Arabic translation by Muhammad Munir al-Dimashqi and completed by Ijaz Ali Deobandi, from Kitabistan, Deoband, n.d.; another translation by Salman Husaini Nadwi, from Lucknow, n.d.; another translation with annotation by Mufti Sayed Ahmad Palanpuri, published from Maktaba Hijaz, Deoband n.d. Urdu translation by Rashid Ansari, from Maktaba Burhan, Delhi in 1963; another translation by Muhammad Salim Abdullah, from Urdu Academy, Karachi, n.d.; English translation by G.N. Jalbani, under the title “The Principles of the Quran Commentary”, from Islamabad, in 1985.

2. Fath al-Rahman fi Tarjamat al-Quran (Persian): An excellent translation and commentary on the Holy *Quran*. Shah Waliullah felt that only direct knowledge of the *Quran* would lead this *ummah* to the right path. Therefore, he paid attention to translating the *Quran* into Persian, the official language of the Mughal court. He completed this in 1151/1738 under the title *Fath al-Rahman fi Tarjamat al-Quran*. His Persian translation of the *Quran* is one of the most important contributions to the

religious life of the Indian Muslims. According to Schimmel: ‘he rightly felt that the Muslims would be in a more easy position to live in accordance with the Holy Writ if they could understand its text instead of relying solely upon commentaries and super commentaries which often obscured the original, living word’. It may be noted that although many good translations in the Persian language were then available, the main characteristic of Shah Waliullah’s translation was its simplicity. It was meant for the common people and soldiers; earlier translations were delivered in a high flown language intended only for the literary circles.⁶ It was printed several times by Matba Hashemi, Meerut in 1254/H 1838 AD; by Matba Faruqi, Delhi in 1294 H./1877AD. along with Shah Abdul Qadir’s Urdu rendering; from Lucknow in 1902; by Nur Muhammad Karkhana Tijarat, Karachi, n.d.; by Taj Company, Lahore, in 1986.

3. Al-Muqaddimah fi Qawanin al-Tarjamah or Muqaddima dar Thanni Tarjamah (Persian): Is a brochure on the principles of translating the *Quran*. It is also included in Fathur Rahman. Urdu translation by Hafizur Rahman, published in Burhan, Vol-15, No. 1945, pp. 294-300.

4. Al-Zahrawin (Persian): Is a commentary on *Surah al-Baqarah* and *Surah Al-Imran*.⁷ It is in the manuscript form.

5. Fath al-Kabir bima la Budda min Hifzihi fi Ilm al-Tafsir (Arabic): Is a glossary of the intricate words of the *Quran* generally, it appears as an appendix to *al-Fauz al-Kabir*. It was published by Matba Ahmadi; Hoogli in 1249 H./1833 A.D; from Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, 1314 H./1896 AD.

2. Books on Hadith

1. Tawil al-Ahadith fi Rumuz al-Qasas al-Nabawiya (Arabic): It deals with the stories of different prophets mentioned in the *Quran*. It was published by Shah Waliullah Academy, Hyderabad, Pakistan in 1966; an Urdu translation published by Matba Ahmadi, Delhi in 1899; in al-Rahim Journal, Vol. 3 No. 12, May, 1966, pp. 881-96; English translation by G.N. Jalbani, from Hyderabad, Sindh in 1972 and by Kitab Bhavan, Delhi in 1981; another translation by J.M.S. Baljon, Under the title “A Mystical Interpretation of Prophetic Tales by an Indian Muslim; Shah Waliullah of Delhi’s Tawil al-Ahadith, from Leiden, 1973.

2. Al-Musanwa Sharh al-Muwatta (Arabic): It is a commentary on the *Muwatta* of Imam Malik (d. 179 H./795 AD.) dealing basically with the opinions of the *Hanafite*

and the *Shafi'ite* schools.⁸ It was lithographed on the margin of *Musaffa*, published by Faruqi Press, Delhi in 1293 H./1876 AD.; by Maktaba Rahimiya, Delhi, in 1346 H./1927 AD.; by Maktaba Salafiyah, Makkah, 1351 H./1932 AD.; is separate from Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiya, Beirut in 1403 H./1982 AD.; incomplete Urdu translation in Al-Rahim Journal, Vol. 1, No. 5 October, 1963 and 6, November, 1963.

3. Musaffa Sharh al-Muwatta (Persian): It is commentary on *Muwatta* Imam Malik⁹ which shows Shah Waliullah's depth of knowledge and insight into the science of *Hadith* and *Fiqh*. It was revised and edited after his demise by his pupil Khawaja Muhammad Amin in , 1179 H./ 1765 AD.¹⁰ It was published by Matba Faruqi along with Al-Musauwa in 1293 H./1876 AD.; as well as from Maktab Rahimiya, Delhi in 1346 H./1927 AD.; from Muhammad Ali Karkhana Islami Kutub, Karachi in 1980, Urdu translation by Sayid Abdullah published by Matba' Ahmadi, Calcutta in 1294 H./1877 AD; incomplete Urdu translation published in Al-Rahim Journal, Vol. I, No. 5, 1963 AD.

4. Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari (Arabic): It is a brief note of the scope and method of *Sahih al-Bukhari*. It expounds the principles which would be found helpful in understanding certain difficult portions of *Sahih al-Bukhari*.¹¹ The extract was included in the *Al-Fadhl al-Mubin*, published by Matb'a Nur al-Anwar, Ara in 1292 H./1875 AD.; along with Al-Irshad ila Muhimmat al-Isnad, from Matba Ahmadi, Delhi in 1307 H./1889 AD. It has been published along with Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari from different publications in such a way that both are one book.¹² Dr. Mazhar Baqa said, "As for me, *Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari* is not a separate booklet but it is the beginning chapter of Sharh Tarajim Abwab al-Bukhari."¹³

5. Sharh Tarajim Abwab Sahih al-Bukhari (Arabic): It is an annotation on certain chapters of the *Sahih al-Bukhari* as well as a way of finding proportional relations between the titles of chapters and the *Hadiths* mentioned under them.¹⁴ It includes *Tarajim Abwab Al-Bukhari* and was published by Dairatul ma'arif al-Nizamiya, Hyderabad in 1323 H./1905 AD.; Dairatul Ma'arif al-Uthmaniya, Hyderabad in 1368 H./1948 AD. and also appended as an introduction to the *Sahih al-Bukhari* and includes a marginal commentary of Maulana Ahmad Ali Saharanpuri, published by Asahh al-Matabi, Delhi in 1940 AD.

6. Al-Fadhl al-Mubin Fi al-Musalsal min Hadith al-Nabi al-Amin (Arabic): This book is also known as *Musalsalat*.¹⁵ It is a collection of *Hadith-i-Musalsal*¹⁶ and

includes ninety two *Hadiths* which were handed down by the groups of *Muhaddithin* of *fuqaha* of four *mazhabs* and *Asha'irah*, *Sufis*, *Makkiyah*, scholars of *Hadith* of eastern and western territories, *Ahli Bait*, *Ashraf* (forty *Hadiths* transmitted by Ali (R) which have been transmitted by his descendants), poets etc. It has been published by Matb'a Nur al-Anwar, Arab in 1292 H./1875 AD; by Kutub Khana Yahyawi, Saharanpur in 1391 H./1971 AD.

7. Arba'un Ahadith an Musalsalah (Arabic): It is a selection of forty *Hadiths* which Shah Waliullah transmitted from his teacher Shaikh Abu Tahir (d.1145 H./1732 AD.) from 'Ali bin Abu Talib (R.) through the chain of his descendants (Ashraf). It seems to be a part of the above mentioned *Al-fadhl al-Mubin fil Musalsal min Hadith al-Nabi al-Amin*.¹⁷ The collections were published by Matb'a Anwar Ahmadi; Lucknow in 1319 H./1901 AD.; with *Al-Fadhl al-Mubin fil Musalsal*, by Matb'a Nur al-Anwar, Arab, 1292 H./1875 AD.; Urdu translation by Khalifa Sayid Abdullah published by Matba Ahmadi Culcutta, n.d., another Urdu translation by Khurram Ali Balhari, from Lucknow in 1270 H./1853 AD.; was published by Mustafavi Press, Delhi in 1283 H./1866 AD. another Urdu translation by Maulana Abdul Majid Daryabadi with short comments under the title *Chahl Hadith Waliullah* i was published in 1387 H./1967 AD.

8. Al-Nawadir min Ahadith Sayid Al-Awwal Wal-Awakhir (Arabic):

It is a short collection of *Hadiths* on the authority of Shaikh Abu Tahir. According to Shah Waliullah 's own statement, "it included the *Musnad al-Jinn*, *Musnad al-Khadhir* and *Musnad al-Mu'ammardin* (long aged)". Shah himself expressed his doubt in the soundness of those *Hadiths* and said that "he had assembled them in that booklet and surprisingly not hinting at their soundness".¹⁸ It was published with the above mentioned *Al-Fadhl-al-Mubin* from Matb'a Nur al-Anwar, Arab in 1292 H./1875 AD.; from Kutub Khana Yahyawi, Shahrampur in 1391 H./1971 AD.

3. Books on Fiqh

1. Al-Insaf Fi Bayan Sabab al-Ikhtilaf (Arabic): Is a unique work on the topic, which deals with the evolution of the schools of *fiqh* and differences of opinion among *fiqh* scholars, as well as Shah's advices to follow the sound *Hadith* and the school which is supported by it sound *Hadith* Shah Waliullah expressed his intention to write this book *Al-Insaf* in his *Hujjatullah al-Baligha*.¹⁹ The book includes some

chapters of *Hujjatullah al-Baligha*²⁰ and has been published by Matba Siddiqi, Bareilly in 1307 H./1889 AD.; by Matba Mujtabai, Delhi in 1308 H./ 1890 AD; Al-Matba al-Ilmiyah, Egypt in 1327 H./1909 AD; with the edition of Rashid Ahmad Jalndhari, Lahore in 1971 AD; with the edition of Muhibbuddin al-Khatib, Cairo, in 1960 AD; with the edition of Shaikh Abdul Fatthan Abu Guddah, Beirut in 1397 H./1976 AD.; Urdu translation by Muhammad Abdullah Baliawi, titled Kashshaf, from Lucknow in 1886 AD.; Urdu translation by Abdush Shakur Faruqi, titled Wassaf, from umdatul Matabi, Lucknow in 1910AD.; Urdu translation by Mirza Hairat Dehlavi, from Matba Jivan, Pakistan, n.d.; another Urdu translation published by Matba Mujtabai Delhi, in 1935 AD.; another Urdu translation by Sadruddin Islahi, under the title *Ikhtilafi Masail men Itidal Ki Rah*, Maktaba Jama'at Islami, Rampuri in 1952 AD.

2. Izalat al-Khafa an Khilafat al-Khulafa: *Izalalat al-Khafa an Khilafat al-Khulafa* is another important work by Shah Waliullah , which was originally written in Persian. In this work, he presents guidelines to the rulers, noblemen, soldiers and government officials. It is a good source for understanding the Islamic political system as also the principles of an Islamic economy.²¹

Shah Waliullah divides this work into two parts. In the first, part he discusses the conceptual foundations and the legal and the constitutional framework of the *Khalifah* with its two categories of *Khalifah amah* and *Khalifah Khassah*. The second part of *Izalat al Khifa* deals with those aspects of the lives of the four early Caliphs, which point to the singular pattern in statecraft. Further, it sets out to refuting the political doctrines of the *Shia*. He highlights their singularity role in the reformation and guidance of the society and the expansion and promotion of the universal mission of Islam in their times.²²

This is a famous and comparable work of Shah Waliullah that deals with the justification of the order of succession of the first four caliphs of the prophet. In this book, Shah Waliullah proved the righteousness of those caliphs by the verses of the *Quran*, *Hadith* and historical evidences. There is a similarity between this book and the *Minhaj as-Sunnah* of Imam Ibn Taimiyah (d.728 H./1327 A.D.) in support of *Ahlus Sunnah* regarding caliphs and the refutation of *Shi'ites*. It was published by Matba Siddiqi, Bareilly in 1286 H./1869 A.D.; by Sohail Academy, Lahore in 1976; From Qadimi Kutub Khana, Karachi, n.d., Urdu translation by Muhammad Abdush

Shakur Mujaddidi, from Umdatul Matabi, Lucknow in 1329 H./1911 A.D.; also from Karachi in 1385 H./1965 AD.; another Urdu translation by Insha Allah, Hamidur Rahman and Ishtiaq Ahmad Deobandi, published from Quran Mahal, Karachi, n.d.

3. Iqd al-Jid Fi Ahkam al-Ijtihad wa-Taqlid (Arabic): It is an excellent work on the rules and regulations of *Ijtihad*²³ and *Taqlid*.²⁴ This book has been published by Matba Siddiqi, Bareilly in 1309 H./ 1891 AD.; by Maktaba Salafiya, Lahore in 1965; with a parallel Urdu translation, by Matba Mujtabai, Delhi in 1344 H./ 1925 AD.; Urdu translation by Muhammad Ahsan Nanautvi titled Silk Marwarid, by Matba Mujtabai in 1309 H./ 1891 AD.; Urdu translation by Abdush Shakur Faruqi, from Lucknow, n.d.; Urdu translation by Sajidur Rahman Siddiqi, by Quran Mahal, Karanchi in 1379 H./ 1959 AD.; English translation of selected passages by Muhammad Dawud Rahbar, in the Muslim World Journal, Vol. 55, No. 4, October, 1955 AD, pp. 346-58.

4. Al-Muqaddima al-Saniyah Fil-Intisar li al-Firqah al-Sunniyah (Arabic): This is the Arabic rendering of *Mujaddid Alf-Thani's* (d.1034 H./1624 AD.) Persian tract *Radd-i-Rawafidh* (Refutation of *Shi'a*) with certain comments.²⁵ Shah translated it at the insistance of his teacher Shaikh Abu Tahir Madani (d.1144 H./1731 AD).²⁶ It has been published by Abul Khair Academy, Delhi in 1983, Maulana Abul Hasan Nadwi stated that it has also been published from Delhi by Maulana Abul Hasan Zaid Mujaddidi.²⁷

4. Books on Ilm al-Kalam

1. Risalah-i-Danishmandi (Persian): Is a valuable tract containing detailed directions with regards to the methodology of teaching. It was published by Matba Ahmadi, Delhi in 1321 H./1903 AD; from Lucknow in 1894 at the margin of the Wasiyat Nama; Urdu translation by Muhammad Sarwar published from Lahore in 1964 AD, published in Al-Rahim Journal, vol. 2, No. 4, September, 1964 AD; another Urdu translation by Muhammad Akram nadwi, entitled Usul al-Dirasah wal-Ta'lim, in *al-Ba'th al-Islami* Journal, Lucknow, vol. 27, No. 4, October, 1403 H./1982 AD.

2. Al-Mawalat al-Wadhiyah fin-Nasihah wal-Wasiyah (Persian): It is also known as the *Wasiyat Nama*. This small treatise includes the commandments and advice relating to *aqida* (faith), education, Muslim culture etc. It was published by Matba Mutiur Rahman, Delhi in 1268 H./1851 AD. with annotation of Qazi Thanauallah

Panipathi; by Matba Masihi, Kanpur in 1273 AD; with Risalah Danishmandi, from Lucknow in 1873 AD and 1894AD.

5. Books on Tasawuf

1. Al-Intibah fi Salasil Awlia Allah (Persian): The first part of this book is related to *Tasawuf*. Its second part deals with the chain of books of *Hadith*. It was published by Sayid Zahiruddin Waliullah along with Urdu translation from Matb'a Ahmadi, Delhi in 1311 H./1893 AD.; by Maktaba Salafiya, Lahore in 1969; another Urdu translation by Sayid Muhammad Faruq Qadiri; along with the Urdu translation of Al-Qaul al-Jamil and Al-Durr Al-Thami, it has been published from *Tasawuf* Foundation, Lahore in 1420 H./1999 AD.

2. Al-Qaul al-Jamil Fi Bayan Sawa al-Sabil (Arabic): In this work, Shah Waliullah discussed the qualifications necessary for the *Sufi* guides and rules for the education of the novice are expounded in it. He has also given the practices, rules of recollection and contemplation prescribed by the *Qadriyah*, *Chishtiyah* and *Naqshbandiyah*. The work testifies a strong attachment of Shah Waliullah to his father whose views or advice are remembered on nearly every page. In short, the book is a guidebook for the travelers on the path of spirituality initiated by mystical orders²⁸. In *Al-Qaul al-Jamil*, he states that the goal of all *tariqas* is to the bringing about a habitude (*hay'a*) in the *nafs natiqa*²⁹ which they name *nisba* (relationship) since it establishes relation and connection with God. Its most distinguishing feature is its being a state (*hala*) in the *nafs natiqa* that engenders affinity with the angels and longing for the world of omnipotence. In this work Shah Waliullah has given the names of his spiritual guides, their authorizations and mantles bestowed on him and along with the names of the *Ashab-al-Kahf* (seven sleepers).

Shah's inclination towards harmonization and reconciliation is also evident in this work. He did not favour giving preference to any one of the juristic schools over the other and argued that the principles enunciated by all these schools should be accepted in principle but in the case of specific issues, only the juristic opinion nearest to a well known *Sunnah* should be followed.

It was published by Al-Matba al-Jamaliyah, Egypt, in 1290 H./ 1873 A.D.; by Matba Nizami, Kanpur 1291H./1874 AD Urdu translation by Khurram Ali Bilhauri, entitled *Shifa al-Alil*, by Matba Darakhshani in 1278 H./1861 AD.; Matba Nizami,

Kanpur in 1307 H./1889 AD.; recently, it has been published by Maktaba Rahmaniya, Lahore, n.d.; another Urdu translation by Muhammad Sarwar, has published from Sindh Sagar Academy, Lahore in 1946; and another Urdu translation by Sayid Muhammad Faruq Qadiri along with the Urdu translation of *Al-Intibah fi Salasil Awlia Allah and Al-Durr al-Thamin* has been published from Tasawuf foundation, Lahore in 1420 H./1999 AD.

3. Fuyudh al-Haramain (Arabic): This book contains the thought of *Tasawuf*, glad tidings, visions and revelations during Shah's stay in *Hijaz* and meditation beside the Prophet's grave. It was published by Matba Ahmadi, Delhi, 1308 H./1890 AD.; Urdu translation by Muhammad Sarwar entitled *Mushahadat wa Ma'arif*, was published by Sindh Sagar Academy, Lahore in 1947AD; and another Urdu translation was published by Iqbal Book Depot, Karachi, n.d.

4. Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiya (Arabic and Persian): It is a collection of articles³⁰ related to the various thoughts, orders and practices of *Tasawuf*. It is a mystical work which highlights the mystical experiences of Shah Waliullah . Both Arabic and Persian languages are used for the expression of ideas. The work is divided into sections called *tafhim* (instruction)³¹ These *tafhimat* are actually Shah Waliullah 's mystical visions and experiences and his letters and articles written to various people at various times in different contexts. The famous epistle *Maktub al Madani* is a part of the second volume of the book. This article is the detailed description of *Wahdat al Wujud* and *Wahdat al Shuhud* along with Shah Waliullah 's attempt at reconciliation concerning this controversial issue. In addition to ontological discussions, the work also includes the author's cosmological, anthropological and theological views. Apart from mystical and theological questions, legal affairs are also discussed and a mention is made of the visions the author was granted³². It has been published by Majlis Ilmi, Dabhel, from Madina Barqi Press, Bijnore in 1355 H ./1936 AD.

5. Altaf al-Quds (Persian): This is another metaphysical work, which deals with the esoteric principles of mysticism. Here Shah Waliullah deals with the important questions of mystical intuition (*Kashf*) and inspiration (*ilham*). He examines systematically the reality of both the external and internal perceptive qualities of a human being, as the heart, the intellect, the spirit, the self, the secret and the ego. A separate chapter is devoted to the metaphysical teachings of Shaykh Junaid Baghadi; where in, he presents a brief historical account of mysticism. The last chapter deals

with the subtle question of thoughts and their causes. Shah Waliullah specifies various external and internal causes, which affect the human mind and produce thoughts³³. It was published by Zahiruddin Waliullah, from Matba Ahmadi, Delhi in 1307 H./1889 AD.; along with Urdu translation by Abdul Hamid Sawati, published from Gujranwala in 1383 H./1963 AD.; Urdu translation by Hakim Muhammad Musa from Lahore in 1975AD; another Urdu translation by Sayid Muhammad Faruq Qadiri published from Tasawuf foundation, Lahore in 1491 H./1998 AD.; English translation by G.N. Jalbani, edited by Dr. Pendlbury, titled *The Sacred knowledge of the High Function of the Mind*; published from Octagon Press, London in 1982.

6. Ham'at (Persian): This work deals with the development of the *Sufi* orders, stages of mystical journey and Shah's own experiences and judgment. Here Shah Waliullah divides the history of *tasawwuf* into four phases. The first century, an era of companions and successors in which *Ihsan* was the main concern of *tasawwuf*, entered its second phase with Junaid Baghdadi. The third stage was entered by the reaching of *Sufi* to a stage of spiritual ecstasy. While the fourth one started with Shaykh -i- Akbar Muhiuddin Ibn Arabi (d.1240 AD.) in which greater emphasis was placed on the realities constituting *tasawwuf*.³⁴

In the *Hama'at* Shah Waliullah talks about the various practices of *Tariqa* like obedience (*ta'at*), *dhikr* (words used in remembrance), a *Muraqabah* (meditation) and *Karamah* (miracle) performed by (*Awliya*) which leads the *sufi* to realize his chief objective. Shah Waliullah also discusses mystical ways; one relating to ecstasy (*jazb*) and the other to *Suluk* (progression on the *sufi* path), along with the first stage of *jazb* called *Tawhid Af'ali* (Unity in Action)³⁵.

- (1) The *Tawhid Af'ali*; It is the discovery that the universe in all its movements and its actions depends on the direction and activity of one Person.
- (2) The second stage of the *sufi* progression is the *Tawhid i-Sifati* (Unity of Attributes). This refers to the recognition that there is unity in the various forms of the phenomenon as for instance, the idea of universal man enclosed in multiple human individuals.
- (3) The *Tawhid Dhati* (Unity of Being): At this stage he could perceive Being' and all manifestations and forms disappeared from his visual sight³⁶.

Shah Waliullah has given a history of different mystical orders, their founders and the transformations undergone by them from time to time since the days of the Holy Prophet (pbuh). He has enumerated the basic requisites and mainstays of the travelers on the path of spirit and also highlighted the procedures and exercises prescribed by subsequent renewers of the discipline in view of the changed conditions and temperaments of the people in their own times. He has outlined the practices he considered necessary for training during his own time and the things that need to be given attention or avoided. He also describes the differing capabilities of the people and the functioning of man's *lata'if* namely, the body, mind and will for spiritual ascent.³⁷

It was published from Lahore in 1941 A.D.: edited by Ghulam Mustafa Qasimi, from Hyderabad, Sindh in 1964 A.D.; Urdu translation by Muhammad Sarwar, titled *Tasawuf Ke Haqaiq aur uska Falsafa-i-Tarikh*, from Sindh Sagar Academy, Lahore in 1946 A.D. and 1999 A.D., from Maktaba Rahmaniya, Deoband in 1969 A.D.; from Jamhur Book Depot, Deoband in 1977 A.D.; with annotation by Nurul Haq Alavi, from Hyderabad, Pakistan in 1964 A.D.

7. Sat'at (Persian): It is a compendium of various cosmological concepts and mystic apprehensions. This work is on the systematic division of *Wujud* (being), representing Shah Waliullah's views concerning the *Tashkik al-Wujud* (hierarchy or gradation of beings). Existence in relation to determined being it is composed of existence and essence and has many grades, stages, and modes. The particular beings in the universe provide the foundation for the claim of *tashkik* (gradation) and *kathrat* (multiplicity) of being. Shah Waliullah also tries to solve the riddle of co- relation between the eternal and contingent in this work.³⁸

He has also freely used the technical terms of medical and physical sciences, drawn his arguments from these disciplines and profoundly elucidated certain Quranic verses. He has thrown light on the different forms and nature of celestial instructions discussed in the divine guidance and Prophet hood and the different forms then assumed and the various categories and shapes of divine epiphany. This is one of the most important work on mystical philosophy. Though it is a small tract, it throws sufficient light on the subject. It mostly deals with the life after death and the system of divine manifestations working in the universe. *Sata't* is divided into various sections dealing with the stages of Being, Universal Soul, Concept of Unity of Being,

Attributes of God, legislation, seven sciences, Divine teachings, Revelation and Inspiration, Divine Book, Cyclical process of man, Nature of punishment and rewards, perfect minds, *Hazirat-ul-Quds*, *Sair-wa-Suluk*, manifestations and its different forms, Fana and Baqa' and the light of heavens and earth.

It was published by Sayid Zahiruddin Waliullah i, from Matba Ahmadi, Delhi in 1307 H./1889 A.D.; reprinted from Baitul Hikmah Karachi, nd; with edition of Ghulam Mustafa Qasimi, by Shah Waliullah Academy, Hyderabad, Sindh in 1964 A.D.; Urdu translation by Muhammad Matin Hashmi, from Idara Thaqafa Islamiya, Lahore in 1986 A.D. and 1999 A.D.; English translation by G.N. Jalbani, from Shah Waliullah Academy, Hyderabad, Sindh, in 1970 A.D. and from Kitab Bhavan, Delhi in 1981 A.D.

8. Lamhat (Persian):³⁹ This booklet deals with being, reality, great person (*al-Shakhs al-Akbar*), holy circle (*Hazirat al-Quds*) and the universe. It was published with edition of Ghulam Mustafa Qasimi from Hyderabad, Sindh, n.d.; Urdu translation by Pir Muhammad Hasan, published from Idara Thaqafa, Islamiya, Lahore in 1966 AD. and 1984 AD; English translation by G.N. Jalbani, from Hyderabad, Sindh in 1970 AD.; another translation by Jalbani and D.B. Fry titled *Sufism and the Islamic Tradition*: Lamha and Sat'at of Shah Waliullah of Delhi; from London in 1980 A.D.⁴⁰

9. Hawami Sharh Hizb al-Bahr (Persian): Persian translation of and commentary on the famous Arabic invocations named *Hizb al-Bahr* written by Shaikh Abul Hasan Shazili. It was published by Matba Ahmadi Delhi in 1302 H./ 1884 AD.; by Matba Mujtabai, Delhi in 1350 H./ 1931 AD.; by Matba Rozana Akhbar, Delhi, n.d.

10. Kashf al-Ghain fi Sharh Rubaiyatain (Persian): A commentary on two *Sufi-Ruba'* is (quatrains) of Khawaja Baqi Billah on *Mujaddidi* order. It was published by Matba Mujtabai, Delhi in 1310 H./1892 AD.

11. Fath al-Wudud li Ma'rifat al-Junud (Arabic): Maulana Rahim Bakhsh listed it in the group of *Tasawwuf*,⁴¹ .Maulana Abul Hasan Nadwi and Dr. Mazhar Baqa said that they had not come across the book.⁴²

12. Awarif: Maulana Rahim Bakhsh listed it in the group of *Tasawwuf* and said that the book is in Arabic.⁴³ Dr. Mazhar Baqa mentioned the book with reference to Rahim

Bakhsh but said that it was in Persian.⁴⁴ Nawshahravi also mentioned it as a book of *Tasawwuf*.⁴⁵

13. Al-Maktub al-Madani (Arabic): It is a letter to Shaikh Ismail bin Abdullah Rumi comparing and conciliating between the doctrine of *Wahdat al-Wujud* of Shaikh Muhiuddin Ibn Arabi (d.638H./1240 AD.) and the theory of *Wahdat al-Shuhud* of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (d.1034 H./1624 AD.).⁴⁶ It forms a part of the *Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiya* of Shah Waliullah .⁴⁷ Urdu translation by Muhammad Hanif Nadwi under the title Maktub Madani was published by Idara Thaqafa Islamiya, Lahore in 1965AD.

14. Al-Risalah (Arabic): It was written in reply to certain mystical issues raised by Shaikh Abdullah alias Khawaja Khurd.⁴⁸

6. Books on Ethical Philosophy

1. Al-Budur Al-Bazigha (Arabic): This metaphysical work in its introduction deals with the basic metaphysical issues as *wujud* in general, the unity of God, the essence and existence of God and the relationship between God and the universe. Shah Waliullah considers the universe to be a manifestation of the divine attributes. He also gives detailed reasons and causes for the development and evolution of the various *Shariahs* and *milal* (religious communities). In *Budur al-Bazigha* Shah Waliullah's treatment of the problems of sociology and politics seems to be more inclined towards an approach of ethical philosophy. This is followed by a discussion of customs, their variables and different categories from psychological and ethical points of view. Shah Waliullah's analysis of this problem brings him to the conclusion that corrupt customs originate essentially from the psychological deviations of man and his resultant defiance of variance deeds.⁴⁹

As sequel to *Hujjatullah al-Baligha*⁵⁰ this work uses theology and philosophical terminology in discussing human and social behaviour. It has been published by *al-Majlis al-Ilmi*, Dabhel, in 1354 H./1935 AD.; Hyderabad, Sindh in 1970AD.; Urdu translation by Qazi Mujibur Rahman, Published from Lahore in 2000 A.D., partial Urdu translation published in *Al-Rahim Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 10, March, 1964 AD., pp. 17-30 and English translation by GN Jalbani, from Islamabad in 1985 AD.

2. Hujjatullah al-Baligha (Arabic): A unique work on the inner meaning of religion (*Asrar al-Din*). This is the Shah's *magnum opus*⁵¹ A work of encyclopedic character, dealing with various subjects such as theology, Islamic jurisprudence, metaphysics,

Tasawuf, politics, economics, civil administration, *Hadith* and *Usul-i-Hadith* etc. The book is prescribed as a course of study of *Al-Azhar* and some universities in Sudan.

I believe that this momentous work of Shah Waliullah requires greater details in respect of the description of the contents apart from giving its over all importance as a book of Islamic knowledge. It is in fact one of the source books of Islamic learning, which has influenced the thought and life style of Muslim society in many ways.

The work, which was completed in Delhi examines in detail, the different aspects of the development of *Hadith*, *fiqh*, *Kalam* and reason as the main criterion to arrive at a Judicious Judgment. In fact, Shah Waliullah has critically examined the teachings of Islam, exposing it to the test of reason boldly and unhesitantly. *Hujjatullah al-Baligha* is, in fact, a guide book for not only the scholars of divinity, but for all those who have interest in Islamic teachings.⁵²

The book is divided into two parts. The first part deals with seven topics, which are divided into seventy heads, all interrelated. They are connected in such a way that the reader can follow the contents of the second part only after fully understanding the theme of the first part. While quoting the sayings of the Prophet, he relies on *Bukhari*, *Muslim*, *Abu Dawood*, *Tirmidhi* and *Al-Muatta* only. He also discusses the differences among different scholars of Islamic Jurisprudence and tries to reconcile them. In this part of the book Shah Waliullah has also discussed the points of difference between the companions of the Prophet. He has also discussed the nature of differences between the followers of *Hadith* and the followers of reason. The second part is devoted to each important item of Islam's agenda for the life of mankind on an individual and collective level, in the sphere of personal ethics, and public morality, ritual observances and spiritual purification, business and trade, economics, psychology and sociology, state government and politics, law, jurisprudence and international relations and finally the universal paradigm of a society founded on religion.⁵³ In his book *Hujjatullah al-Baligha*, which is considered a masterpiece of Islamic literature, Shah Waliullah exposes in a scholarly and clear-cut manner the truth of Islamic tenets and the soundness of its principles. In this monumental work, he shows how Islam is the most rational religion and also the most practical and universal. A dispassionate study of his writings would show that his approach was essentially modern and not medieval.⁵⁴

There are six chapters in Hujjatullah al- Baligha closely related with the *Hadith*. They are:

- (a) The explanation of the categories of the Prophet's knowledge.
- (b) The way the community received the divine law from the Prophet.
- (c) The categories of books on *Hadith*.
- (d) The manner of understanding the legal meanings from *Quran* and the *Sunnah*.
- (e) Judging among the divergent *Hadiths*.
- (f) The difference between the people of the *Hadith* and those who exercise personal opinion.

The work was published by Matba Siddiqi, Bareilly in 1285 H./1868AD; from Bulaq, Egypt in 1296 H./1878AD; by Al-Matba al-Khairiyah, Cairo in 1323 H./1805AD; by Idarah al-Tiba'ah-Muniriyah, Cairo in 1352 H./1833AD; by Multazim al-Tabawal-Nashr, Dar al-Kutub al-Hadith, Cairo in 1952-53; by Kitab Khana Rashidiya, Delhi in 1953AD.; Urdu commentary by Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi, from Baitual Hikmah, Lahore in 1950AD.; another Urdu translation by Abu Muhammad Abdul Haq Haqqani, under the title Nimatullah al-Sabigha; from Karachi in 1373 H./1953 AD; Further from Kutub Khana Rahimiya, Deoband in 1965 AD.; another Urdu Translation by Khalid Ahmad Israeli, under the title 'Aayatullah al-Kamilah, from Kitab Khana Islami, Lahore, n.d.; another Urdu translation by Abdur Rahim, from Ahsan brothers, Lahore, n.d.; another Urdu translation by Muhammad Manzur al-Wajidi, from Maktaba Thanvi, Deoband in 1986 AD.; another incomplete Urdu translation with explanation by Mufti Sa'id Ahmad Palanpuri in 2 volumes and 1568 pages has been published by Maktaba Hijaz, Deoband in 142 H./759 AD.

3. Husn al-Aqidah (Arabic): It is known as *Al-Aqidah al-Hasanah*. This booklet included the fundamental creed of Islam, as accepted by the *Ahl al-Sunnah wal-Jama'ah*, based upon the *Quran* and the *Hadith*. It is actually a chapter of *Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiya* of Shah Waliullah.⁵⁵ It has been published by Matba Ahmadi, Delhi, n.d.; with commentary by Muhammad Owais Nagrami under the title *Al-Aqidah al-Sunniyah* by Nadwatul Ulama, Lucknow in 1962AD.; Urdu translation by Sayid Sajjad Ali Asifabadi, from Matba Rozana Akhbar, Delhi, n.d. The Book with commentary of Owais Nagrami is included in the syllabus of the Nadwatul Ulama

Lucknow.⁵⁶ A Persian translation of the work has been published by Matba Mufid-i-Am, Agra, n.d.

4. Al-Khair al-Kathir (Arabic): This work deals with the matters of faith, *Tasawuf* and physical world in a philosophical way.⁵⁷ It was published by Madina Barqi Press, Bijnore, Majlis Ilmi, Dehbel in 1352 H./1933 AD.; From Cairo in 1974 AD.; Urdu translation by Abdur Rahim, Published from Bombay, n.d. and English translation by G.N. Jalbani, published from Hyderabad, Sindh in 1974 AD.

5. Qurrat al-Aynain fi-Tafdhil al-Shaikhain (Persian): This book is on the superiority and excellence of the first two caliphs Abu Bakr Siddiqui (R) and Umar Faruq (R). It book was published by Matba Mujatbai, Delhi in 1320 H./ 1902 AD.; by Matba Rozana Akhbar, Delhi in 1899; by Maktaba Salafiya, Lahore in 1976; Urdu translation by Ahmad Ali, from Alavi Press, Lucknow in 1296 H./ 1878 AD.; by Mufid'Am Press, Agra in 1295 H./ 1878 AD.

7. Autobiography and letters

1. Anfas al-Arifin (Persian) : This book consists of the following seven tracts:

- (i) **Bawariq al-Walayah (Persian):** It contains the life sketch, spiritual practices and achievements of Shah's father Shaikh Abdur Rahim.
- (ii) **Shawariq al-Ma'arif (Persian):** It deals with the life account and mystical view and practices of his uncle Shaikh Abur Ridha Muhammad.
- (iii) **Al-Imdad fi Maathir al-Ajdad (Persian):** It contains Shah Waliullah 's genealogical table and brief notes about some of his ancestors.
- (iv) **Al-Nabzat al-Ibriziya fil-Lataif al-Aziziya (Persian):** It consists of a biographical account of Shaikh Abdul Aziz's⁵⁸ and his ancestors and descendants.
- (v) **Al-Atiya al-Samadiya fil-Anfas al-Muhammadiya (Persian):** This brochure deals with the life, mystical views and practices of the Shah's maternal grand father Shaikh Muhammad Phulati.
- (vi) **Insan al-Ayn fi Mashaikh al-Haramain (Persian):** It contains the biographical account of scholars, *Muhaddithun* and teaching of Shah Waliullah in Makka and Madina.
- (vii) **Al-Juz al-Latif fi Tarjamat al-bad al-Dha'if (Persian):** It consists of an autobiographical account and some reminiscences of Shah Waliullah . It has

been published separately with the *Sat'at* of Shah by Matba Ahmadi, Delhi, n.d.

The *Anfas al-Arifin* has been published by Matba Mujtabai Delhi in 1334 H./1915AD; by Matba Ahmadi, Delhi, n.d.: from Karachi in 1358 H./ 1939 AD.; Urdu translation by Mohd Faruq Qadiri, from Lahore in 1974, 1998; from Maktaba al-Falah, Deoband in 1393 H./ 1973 AD.; another Urdu translation by Muhammad Asghars Faruqi, from Lahore in 1977 AD.

2. Maktubat ma'a Manaqib Abu Abdullah al-Bukhari wa fadhilat-i-Ibn Taimiyah⁵⁹ (Persian): This work comprises of two articles on the achievements of *Imam Bukhari* and *Imam Ibn Taimiyah* while acclaiming and supporting them. It was published by Matba Ahmadi, Delhi, n.d.

3. Shah Waliullah ki Saiyasi Maktubat: It is a collection of 26 letters of Shah Waliullah which he wrote to various politically influential persons. They have been collected and compiled in a book with Urdu translation by Professor Khaliq Ahmad Nizami. It was published from Aligarh in 1950 and with more 17 other letters from Delhi in 1969AD. This book has been translated into Bengali by Muhammad Abul Bashar and published from Islamic foundation, Dhaka, Bangladesh in 1407 H./1986 AD.

The letters of Shah Waliullah have been collected and preserved by Shah Muhammad Ashiq Phulati (d.1187 H./1773AD.) and his son Abdur Rahman and compiled in two volumes. According to Sayed Athar Abbas Rizvi the first volume contains 281 and the second volume 77 letters.⁶⁰ A complete copy of first volume exists in the Raza Library, Rampur.⁶¹

1. Majmu'a Makatib (Persian): Out of the two volumes of Shah Waliullah 's letters the first of one was preserved by Shah Abdur Rahman Phulati and the second one by his father Shah Muhammad Ashiq Phulati. Urdu translation of the two volumes by Nasim Ahmad Faridi with introduction of Professor Nisar Ahmad Faruqi has been published by Shah Waliullah Academy, Phulat, from Bharat offset, Press, Delhi in 1491 H./1998 AD. The first volume consists 152 letters⁶² and the second volume contains 163 letters.⁶³

2. Maktubat al-Ma'arif (Persian): Maulana Rahim Bakhsh and Nawshahravi included it in the class of *Tasawwuf*.⁶⁴ Dr. Mazhar Baqa and Professor Yasin Mazhar

Siddiqi listed it in the group of letters.⁶⁵ It was published by Matba al-Ulum, Saharanpur in 1304 H./ 1886 AD. and by Matba Mujtabai, Delhi, n.d.

3. Letters mentioned by Rahim Bakhsh: He has mentioned 10 letters in his book, which were sent by Shah Waliullah to his teachers in *Hijaz*, Shaikh Abu Tahir Kurdi, Wafdullah Makki and others.⁶⁵ Rahim Bakhsh further claimed that a large collection of his letters was in his possession.

8. The Poetic Works

1. Diwan of Shah Waliullah (Arabic): This book compiled by Ishaq bin Muhammad Irfan, Bareilly, n.p., 1818 A.D. It is in the library of Nadwat-al-Ulama, Lucknow.⁶⁷

2. Persian Poetry: Shah's collection of *Rubaiyats* (quatrains) in Persian.⁶⁸ Maulana Rahim Bakhsh stated that, if all Persian poems of Shah Waliullah had been assembled in a place it would have been a Diwan of poems. For example he mentioned 10 poems in his book.⁶⁹

3. Al-Qasidah al-Hamaziyyah fil-Madh al-Nabawaiyyah (Arabic): This is another tract containing odes in praise of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh). Publication details are the same as that of Atyab al-Nugham.

4. Atayab al-Nugham (Arabic): It is a collection of odes eulogizing the Prophet which speak of Shah's poetic talent and love for the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh). It was published by Matba Mujtabai, Delhi in 1308 H./1890 AD. The Urdu translation of the poem by Pir Muhammad Karamshah Azhari has been published from Lahore in 1985 AD.

9. The Other Books

1. Surur al-Mahzun fi Siyar al-Amin al-Mamun (Persian): It is a concise rendering of the *Nur al-Uyun*, a well known biography of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) by Ibn Sayid al-Nas which was penned by Shah at the insistence of Mirza Mazhar Jan-i-Janan (d.1195 H./1780 AD.). It was published by Matba Mujtabai, Delhi in 1308 H./ 1990 AD.; Urdu translation by Khalifa Muhammad Aqil, from Darul Isha'at, Karachi in 1358 AD; another Urdu translation by Maulana Bakhsh Chishti, from Sitara-e-Hind, Delhi in 1315 H./ 1897 AD.; another Urdu translation by Ashiq Ali, entitled *Al-Zikr al-Maimun*, from Matba Muhammad, Delhi, n.d.

another Urdu translation by Abul Qasim Hasawi, titled Aynul Uyun, from Tonk in 1271 H./ 1854 AD.

2. Sarf Mir (Persian): It is a Persian rendering of the work of Mir Jurjani or morphology for teaching Shah's son Shah Abdul Aziz. It was published by Matba Muhammadi, Lahore in 1293 H./ 1876 AD.

3. Diwan Ash'ar (Arabic): Shah's collection of poems, compiled by his two illustrious sons, Shah Abdul Aziz and Shah Rafiuddin. The manuscript is available in the Nadwatul Ulama library, Lucknow.⁷⁰

4. Al-Sirr Al-Maktum fi Asbab Tadwin al-Ulum (Arabic): This brochure deals with the reasons and knowledge. It was published from Delhi in 1321 H./1903AD. Urdu translation by Imam Khan Nawshahravi has been published in Al-Rahim Journal, Vol. 2, No. 2, June – July., 1964AD.

The other Books whose names are only known without details are:

1. Al-Itisam⁷¹.
2. Hashiya Risalah Lubs Ahmar (Persian)
3. Wasiyat Nama Nazam Kardah Sa'adat Khan (Persian)
4. Waridat
5. Nihayat al-Usul (Persian)
6. Al-Anwar al-Muhammadiya (Persian)
7. Fath al-Islam (Persian)
8. Kashf al-Anwar (Persian)
9. Al-Zikr al-Maymun
10. I'rab al-Quran
11. Ajviba'an Thalathi Masail
12. Risalah fi Ma'salah' Ilm al-Wajib
13. Risalah-i-Dihlawi
14. Asrar-i-Fiqh
15. Al-Anfas al-Muhammadiyah⁷²
16. Mansur
17. Al-Nukhbah fi Silsilat al-Suhbah.⁷³

Notes and References:

1. Abul Ala Maududi, *Tajdid wa Ihya-i-Din*, Maktubat Jamat Islami, Rampur, 1954, p.98.

This task was appreciated by Allah so much so that the *Quran* is translated in many languages.

2. <http://www.inter-islam.org/Biopgrahies/Shah Waliullah.html>.
3. *Ibid.*
4. <http://www.darulhasan.com/index/php/articles/general/biographies> /1832 - biography/Shah-Waliullah-ra.
5. For discussion on the book see infra, chapter VI, Section II, pp.276-91.
6. Muhammad Mazhar Baqa, *Usul fiqh aur Shah Waliullah*, Baqa publication, Karachi, 1986, p.136.
7. Dr. Mazhar Baqa, *op.cit.*, p. 136, Abul Hasan Nadwi, *op.cit.*, p.296.
8. See Al-Fadhl al-Mubin, *op.cit.*, pp. 38-40.
9. Al-Nawadir min Ahadith al-Awail wal-Awakhir with Al-Fadhl al-Mubin, p.67.
10. *Hujjatullah al-Baligha*, Vol.I, Urdu trans., by Abdul Haq Haqqani, Karachi, 1884, p.390 (chapter: *Hal al-Nas Qabl al-Miat al-Rabi 'ah*).
11. The chapters and subjects of *Hujjatullah al-Baligha* from the pages 316-355, 357-60 and those of *Al-Insaf* from the page 15-68, 87-96 are same. There are same differences in the chapter of *Hal al-Nas Qabl al-Miat al-Rabi 'ah*. That is, 18 pages from 69-86 of *al-Insaf* which begins with the speech of Ibnul Humam and ends with *Sewa al-Adab* ' are not available in the same chapter of *Hujjatullah al-Balighah*. For details see the *Hujjatullah al-Baligha*, chapters from 80-84, with sub chapter of *Taqlid*, pp.1/339-391 and *Al-Insaf fi Bayan Sabab al-Ikhtilaf*, ed. Shaikh Abdul Fattah Abu Guddah, Dar al-Nafais, Beirut, 1397h./1977, pp.15-112.
12. Abdul Hayy, al-Hasani, *Nuzhat al-Khawahir*, Vol.6, Hyderabad, 1999, p.863.
13. M.M. Sharif, *A History of Muslim philosophy*, Vol. II, India, 1966, p. 1557-1558; See Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi, *Savoir of Islamic Spirit*, Vol. IV, Shah Waliullah,

Lucknow, 1983, pp. 289-301; M.Y.M. Siddiqui, *A Social History of Islamic India*, Lucknow, 1958. pp. 19-26; A.D. Muztar, *op.cit.*, pp. 175-190; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shah_Waliullah.

14. *Ijtihad*: Independent investigation of Laws from its sources (*Quran, Sunnah* then *Ijma* and *Qiyas*) by spending highest exertion accordance with the methodology laid for such exercise. (Shah Waliullah, *Iqd al-Jid fi Ahkamal-Ijtihad wa al-Taqlid*, with Urdu tr. By Muhammad Ahsan Nanatuvi, entitled Silk Marwarid, Matba Mujtabai, Delhi, 1310 H., p.6.
15. *Taqlid*: The unquestioning acceptance of the rulings of earlier jurists of one's own school. (Ali Bin Muhammad al-Amidi, *Al-Ihkam fi Usul al-Ahkam*, ed. Shaikh Abdur Razzaq Afifi, Al-Maktab al-Islami, Beirut, 1402 H./ part 4, p. 221), Imam Abu Abdullah Ibn Qayim al-Jauziya, Alam al-Muaqqi in an Rabb al-Alamin, ed. Muhammad Mutasim al-Baghdadi, Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi, Beirut, 1416, 1996, Vol. 2, p. 175.
16. Maulana Abul Hasan Nadwi ascribed the book Raddi Rawafidh to the Shah himself (*Ibid.*, p. 299). We do not know whether that is a printing mistake.
17. Dr. Mazhar Baqa, *op.cit.*, p. 141, Abul Hasan Nadwi, *Ibid.*, p. 303, Prof. Yasin Mazhar, *op.cit.*, p. 19.
18. Abul Hasan Nadwi, *op.cit.*, p. 299, without publication details.
19. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 17-338.
20. *Hayat-i-Wali*, *op.cit.*, p. 577, *Tarajim Ulama-i-Hadith Hind*, *op.cit.*, p. 35.
21. For discussion on the Musaffa see infra, chapter IV, Section I, pp.274-275.
22. Dr. Muhammad Ishaq, *op.cit.*, p.178.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 224.
24. Nadir Maktubat Shah Waliullah, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 15-473.
25. Abul Hasan Nadwi, *op.cit.*, p. 292.
26. Al-Khair al-Kathir arranged by Shah Muhammad Ashiq Phulati in 1161 H./1847 (Prof. Yasin Mazhar, *op.cit.*, p. 23). Shah Waliullah mentioned the name of this book in his *Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiya* and drew the attention to some mistakes made by himself in this book (*Al-Tafhimat*, p. 1/49)

27. Shaikh Abdul Aziz: Maternal great grand father of Shah Waliullah not his illustrious son. See *Anfas al-Arifin* , *op.cit.*, p.347, Abdul hasan Nadwi, *op.cit.*,p.300.
28. Every article placed under the headline of Tafhim (means to make understand).
29. Shah Waliullah, Maktub Madni, Urdu trans. By Maulana Mohammed Hanif Nadwi, Lahore, 1965; <http://www.muslimphilosophy.com/ip/rep.htm>.
30. ta'at, (taat) obedience to the Shariah is considered by Shah Waliullah as the primary requisite for transferring the path of Sufism. By obedience to Shariah he means adherence to authentic beliefs and established regulations of Islam. Here the traveler in the mystical path is obliged to follow them on the model of the companions (sahaba), the Tabi'in and the Tab'-a-Tabi'in.
31. Baljon, J.M.S., *Religion and Thought of Shah Waliullah Dehlavi*, Leiden, 1986, p.83-84; see Shah Waliullah, Hama'at, Urdu trans./ Mohammad Sarwar, Tasawwuf ki Haqiqat Aur Uska Falsafa i-Tarikh, Lahore, 1964.
32. Siddiqui, M. Yasin Mazhar, *op.cit.*,p.41.
33. Baljon, J.M.S.,*op.cit.*,p.13.
34. Shah Waliullah, *Sata't*, eng trans. by G.N.Jalbani, Hyderabad, 1970, pp.23-24.
35. A.D. Muztar mentioned that the book was in Arabic (*op.cit.*, p. 184). Possibly that is printing mistake.
36. Abul Hasan Nadwi, *op.cit.*, p. 299, Dr. Mazhar Baqa, *op.cit.* p. 138. A.A Rizvi mentioned in the bibliography of his book that it had been published from Hyderabad Sindh, n.d. *op.cit.*, p. 415.
37. Hayat-i-Wali, *op.cit.*, p. 577.
38. *Tarajim Ulama-i-Hadith-i-Hind*, *op.cit.*, p. 45.
39. *Saviours of Islamic Spirit*, p. 296, *Usul-i-Fiqh aur Shah Waliullah*, p. 14.
40. *Hayat-i-Wali*, p. 577.
41. *Tarajim Ulama-i-Hadith-i-Hind*, p. 44.
42. *Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiyah*, pp. 2/216-36.

43. Hakim Abdul Hai, *Nuzhar al-Khawatir*, p. 6/410, Abul Hasan Nadawi, *op.cit.*, pp. 293-94, Dr. Mazhar Baqa, *op.cit.*, p. 142.
44. Dr. Nighat Rasheed, “*Shah Waliullah’s Social Thoughts in political perspective*”, Journal of the Institute of Islamic Studies, No. 37, The Institute of Islamic Studies, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, 2008, p. 115.
45. Abul Hasan Nadwi, *op.cit.*, p. 291, AA Rizvi, *op.cit.*, p. 223, Prof. Yasin Mazhar, *op.cit.*, p. 24.
46. Encyclopedia of Islam, Vol. II, p. 254.

The idea of writing this book came to Shah Waliullah as a divine inspiration In Mecca, which was followed by the persistent request of his disciple and friend Shaikh Muhammad Ashique, who was the son of Shah Waliullah’s maternal uncle Shaikh Obaidullah.
47. Athar Abbas Rizvi, *Shah Waliullah and His Times*, p. 221.
48. Dr. Nighat Rasheed, “*Shah Waliullah’s Social Thought in Political Perspective*”, p. 115.
49. For transmitters or transmission. (Imam Ibn al-Salah, Muqaddimah fi Ulum al-Hadith, Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyah, Beirut, 1978, pp. 138-39.
50. Publication details are same of Sharh Tarajim Abwab al- Bukhari.
51. *Ibid.*
52. Abdul Azim, Islahi, *Islamic economic Thinking in the 12th A.H./18th Century* CE King Abdulaziz University, Jeddah, 2011, pp.56-57.
53. Abdul Hayy, *Nuzhat al- Khawatir*, p.6/408.
54. For discussion on Al-Musauwa see infra, chapter IV, Section I, pp.270-74.
55. M. Aminuddin, “*Shah Waliullah: A versatile Genius*”, 24-30 December, Radiance views Weekly, 1989, p.11.
56. *Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiyah*, pp. 1/144-48.
57. Abul Hasan Nadwi, *op.cit.*, p. 293.
58. *Usul Fiqh aur Shah Waliullah*, *op.cit.*, p. 140, Shah Waliullah Dehlavi, *op.cit.*, p. 26.

59. Abul Hasan Nadwi, *op.cit.*, p. 293.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 224.
61. Nadir Maktubat Shah Waliullah, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 15-473.
62. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 17-338.
63. *Hayat-i-Wali*, p. 577, *Tarajim Ulama-i-Hadith Hind*, p. 35.
64. *Usul Fiqh aur Shah Waliullah*, p. 140, Shah Waliullah Dehlavi, *op.cit.*, p. 26.
65. In the group of *Tasawuf*, *supra*, p. 78.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 513.
67. Abdul Hasan Nadwi, *op.cit.*, p. 293.
68. *Hayat-i-Wali*, pp. 511-12.
69. *Nuzhat al-Khawahir*, pp. 6/410-15.
70. *Hayat-i-Wali*, pp. 511-12.
71. Abul Hasan Nadwi, *op.cit.*, p. 293.
72. Shah Waliullah Aziz said that al-Itisam was an invocation which had been written by his father in Arabic. (Fatawa Azizi, Matba Mujaibai, Delhi, 1311 H., p. 181).
73. Probably this book is a part of *Anfas al-Arifin* which name in *Al-Atiya al-Samadiya fil Anfas al-Muhammadiya* See *supra* p. 79.

CHAPTER-4

Social Contributions of Shah Waliullah

Besides criticizing particular classes of Muslim Society, Shah Waliullah also condemned the sinful innovation and polytheistic practices borrowed by the Muslims from their non-Muslim neighbours; the indifference of the scholars and the Muslim rulers to promote the knowledge of *Hadith* and *Sunnah* and their failure to oppose the superstitious beliefs and practices of the masses. The religious scholars of his time who were normally preoccupied with logic and philosophy ignored these un-Islamic practices either because they regarded them as of no consequence or did not want to antagonize the community. Shah Waliullah gave attention to the need of reforming the Muslim society after Shaikh Ahmad Mujaddid Alf Thani, who had denounced, in his several letters, the heterodox beliefs and practices that had crept into the Muslim Society.¹ Endeavours designed to reform the Muslim society for restoration of its moral health, initiated by Shah Waliullah were brought to completion by his sons and their disciples, particularly Syed Ahmad Shahid and Shah Isma'il Shahid. The former was a disciple of Shah Waliullah's son Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz, while the latter was Shah's grandson.²

Here, we have given a few examples from the *Tafhimat-i-Ilahiya* and *Wasiyat Nama* by Shah Waliullah .

“One of the vicious customs prevalent among the Hindus is that when the husband of any woman dies, they do not allow her to re-marry. The Arabs were never given to any such practice, either before or after the advent of the messenger of God, (pbuh). May Allah bestow his grace on the man who may succeed in eradicating this evil practice followed by the community. If one is not able to abolish its usage among the people at large, one should at least try to restore the practice followed by the Arabs, in his own family and clan, and if this is also not possible, one ought to regard it as a wicked practice and hate from heart. This is the lowest stage of repudiating anything not approved by the Shari'ah.

“Another unseemly practice followed by us is to have an unusually large amount of dowry. The Prophet of God, on whom be peace and blessings, (and by following whose practice, we can succeed in this world and the next), used to fix a dowry

amounting to twelve and half *awquiyah* which was equivalent to five hundred *dirhams* for the members of his household. Yet another improper practice adapted by us is to be extravagant on joyous occasions and traditional celebrations. The Apostle of God, on whom be peace and blessings, is reported to have approved of a repast on the occasions of marriage '*aqiqa*'. We ought to follow his example and desist from all other festivities and should not be lavish in our celebrations.

"We also have the queer habit of squandering money on occasions of bereavement by way of observing *sayyum*,³ *Chahallum*,⁴ *shashmahi* ⁵ and *Salana*⁶ *fatiha*⁷ although none of these were prevalent among the earliest Muslims in Arabia. It would be better if we do not observe these ceremonies and offer condolence to the bereaved family during the next three days and provide victuals to the family members of the deceased for a day and the night that follows. After three days the women of the clan should apply *itr* to the clothes of dead man's female relatives and if the widow is alive, all mourning should be terminated after the expiry of the period of '*iddat*'.⁸

Syed Abul 'Ala Maududi has rightly observed in one of his articles on the significance of Shah Waliullah's reformatory endeavour that:

"These passages show how deeply Shah Waliullah had pondered over the social conditions of the Muslims of his day, compared these with the past usages, and pointed out the evils most extensively. Such a critique necessarily creates an anxiety for reform in those who are well-meaning as well as able to draw a distinction between the wholesome and harmful customs and usages. The more, the people are enlightened by Islamic consciousness, the more they come to hate the un-Islamic influences in the society and develop an intense impulse to reform the society of all its abuses of ignorance. The next stage for this urge to reform and regenerate is to chart out a well-defined programme for the reconstruction of the society for giving it a correct direction. This is what we find Shah Waliullah doing with complete precision according to a comprehensive plan presented in his critique of the Muslim society".⁹

The social thought of Shah Waliullah, apart from being an excellent account of the great thinker's intellectual contribution, reflects his holistic vision of life. Shah Waliullah regards life as a manifestation of divine unity which pervades all its facets. His thought synthesizes revelation, reasoning and empirical knowledge to construct a

universal paradigm that seeks to integrate man's existential concerns with the moral and spiritual purposes of life, blending these seemingly disparate elements into a meaningful whole suffused with divine grace and beneficence. To allow the great sage to speak for himself, the book contains an English rendering of significant passages, pertaining to social matters, from his magnum opus, *Hujjatullah al-Balighah*.¹⁰

In order to understand Shah Waliullah's conception of the society fully, one has to go through his science of society, which is much wider in scope and application than the sociology expounded by the so-called fathers of this science in the west; persons like Herbert Spencer and Comte, who flourished more than a century after him and have gained a position amongst the leaders of thought in modern philosophy.¹¹

Human nature bends towards mutual living and interdependence, which in fact, is the biological association with others for development, preservation and survival. It has been truly remarked that man is a gregarious animal. Just as ethical and moral conduct is possible only in social life, so is the survival of the species which is, possible only selectively and is, therefore, closely connected with the problems of the individual, his psychological nature and his ethical conduct in the society and its administration. It follows that no philosophical or scientific system is possibly complete without the due consideration of society, its formation, development and administration. Shah Waliullah's system is basically a society-oriented system.¹²

His concept of society is organic. Society in his view is not an aggregate unit, but a living organism, with its various parts being interlinked, interdependent and their movement, interactive. It is subject to health and soundness, progress and advancement, weakness and regression and decay and death- Just as the coordination and integration of the various faculties of the human being form a better personality and an effective and a strong mind. Coordination and integration are also the qualities that make up a healthy and a sound social unit.

"What is habit to an individual becomes the custom of a society. The individual's memory of customs (and sites) gives rise to the traditions of the society. As the individual evolves, so does the society or community."¹³

Taking a holistic view of life, Shah Waliullah tries to identify the essential unity pervading human life. His philosophy represents an attempt to establish a close link between the social, cultural, economic, and political aspects of human existence. With a basically theocentric view of the individual, who is the primary actor in a social organization, it is natural that a transcendental moral law should provide the organization's mainstay. This law ought to be comprehensive and immutable and should serve as the final touchstone for determining good and evil, virtue and vice, love and hate.¹⁴

The most outstanding and distinctive virtue of human society, in Shah Waliullah's view, is justice, which is both an individual and a collective trait. He contends that being guided by the principle of justice is an essential moral distinction of human beings. This individual moral consciousness is further augmented at a collective level, where its preservation is even more necessary. For him, justice includes all human endeavors: in dress, manners, and modes, it is the etiquette; in income and expenditure, it is the economy; and in state affairs, it is politics.¹⁵

Like many other social philosophers and theorists from Plato to Comte, Shah Waliullah's ultimate aim was the establishment of an ideal moral, altruistic, and perfectly civilized society. This however, cannot be achieved, without attaining a high level of God-consciousness and spiritual purification. In contrast, Comte thought that a "perfect society would come about by the proper application of a new moral science, the study of society." He envisioned a "scientifically designed common wealth, wherein social control would be entrusted to the 'Religion of Humanity' with sociologists as its priests". Comte insisted that a strictly rational, as opposed to religious course should be followed to alleviate the ills of postindustrial European society. He posted that one application of this "rational strategy" could be the incorporation of physical and natural sciences methodology in the service of social relationships.¹⁶

In a sense, Shah Waliullah can be considered as a great macrosociologist who made a lasting contribution to the progress of human thought, for he was "a grand theorist concerned with historical trends and human destiny, who worked out a social philosophy that explained a broad range of phenomena and constructed a model of a future good society. Exponents of modern sociology do not generally acknowledge anyone other than Comte and Marx as "Social Philosophers." As Shah Waliullah's

original and innovative social thought fulfills Biesman's criteria, he should be recognized as a social philosopher.

The difference between the approaches of western social philosophers and that of Shah Waliullah can be better appreciated by noticing that the former take specific western experience for granted. The west's historical experience as regards to the social, economic, religious, and political variables, has provided western sociologists with a rich and varied material with which they could construct a constellation of social ideas. Shah Waliullah, however, proceeds with a totally different view; the construction of an entire system, thought, including the social aspects, on the foundations of the historical concretization of Islam under the Prophet and his four immediate political successors.¹⁷ This organic nature is not peculiar to any particular society; it is common to all human societies, in fact to humanity as a whole.

Just as there are four stages of individual life; childhood, adolescence, manhood and maturity, Shah Waliullah divides the society into four stages for studying the process of development. He names these stages *Irtifaqat*. This division is neither final nor factual, since an organic whole cannot be divided into parts as such. In fact, it is a division for the purpose of study. All the stages are interlinked and overlap in their functions. The meaning of *Irtifaq* as understood by its application and use by Shah Waliullah is collective or cooperative effort. It is derived from "*Irfaq*", which means gentleness or the use of gentleness. It means that though the beneficial things abound in the world, they do not come to man for his use by their own accord, rather he has to approach them with gentleness.¹⁸

Human society evolves and develops during its life on this planet. Its evolution and development is more or less analogous to that of the individual. As an individual passes through various stages of his life, he has to pass through the stage of childhood and then through the stage of adolescence and then through the stage of youth, then through the stage of maturity and so on. So does humanity pass through similar stages of evolution in the course of its life on earth; according to Shah Waliullah. These stages are discussed by him in detail under the caption of *al-Irtifaqat* Modes patterns of satisfying needs.¹⁹

At the same time Shah Waliullah was studying the structure, and formulating a theory for the preservation of Muslim society in general and the Muslim community

in particular. He divided the history of the growth of human society into four stages. The first of these stages is that of a primitive society that has a minimal code of social behaviour; the second stage is marked by the growth of urban society that is first led as a good state by its philosophers, but later degenerates into factions and needs centralized control; this necessitates the third stage, that of monarchy to establish order in the place of chaos; and the final stage is that of the universal state which requires a *Khalifa* with effective authority to hold down various rulers in the decadent civil society.²⁰ These traits, as briefly mentioned earlier, are:

The first stage- Primitive Society

In the beginning man's needs are few and confined to only food, clothing and shelter, etc. Nature requires the fulfillment of these three essential needs for the survival and preservation of life. In order to fulfil them man discovers and evolves means of producing and acquiring the needful, such as the cultivation of land, digging of wells, etc. Eventually, he tames certain animals and prepares some sort of clothes for covering his body, either from animal skins or tree trunks etc. For protection from danger, he builds a shelter from straw or any other available material. Man keeps women with him legally or illegally and protects them carefully. An example of this first stage is the life of Adam. The evolution and development of society and his own nature is natural to man, because he has been created with a specific purpose by Allah "God's intention in creating Adam was that he should become his vicegerent on earth and attain the height of his genus perfection. As regards to him being prohibited from eating from the tree of Paradise, the prompting by Satan of evil, though, his being reprimanded and finally his expulsion from paradise all this was a form of the cause, according to the coming out gradually from the world of similitude's to that of mortals."²¹

The *Irtifaqat* are natural and in accordance with man's destiny. As he is created for the purpose of achieving a perfect state of his genius. He gradually evolves from an the animalistic level as his intellect develops, his needs become more complex and multiply. With additional needs, additional effort is required for their fulfillment and satisfaction, so nature pushes man towards the next stage of development. In case of external or internal impediments, God sends Messengers from within the human society, which is confronted with the obstacles debarring its

progress. These obstacles can be internal, as in the case of the majority lacking sound disposition or external in the form of bad customs, etc. These Messengers are men who are by nature capable of a higher kind of perfection, and act as the agents of God in bringing order and perfection in the society and curing of its evils and removing obstacles. Their approach and the divine law imparted to them for the establishment of order in society is different due to the difference in the circumstances. As mentioned earlier, the advent of the Prophet Adam was the time when humanity was at its earliest stage, with few and simple needs. So the *Sharia* of Adam was also simple and basic.

I. The consideration of the General Interests

Mans need's are not confined to what is merely natural, for he feels within himself the necessity for far noble and superior things. Mere satisfaction of the natural wants like hunger, thirst and sexual urge, etc., does not prepare him for action, but there are some intellectual wants with in him as well, which encourage him to search for certain gains and avoid certain loss as his reasoning suggest. Accordingly, he has always intended to perform actions which not only benefit him, but the welfare of the people in general. At times, he desires to establish a beneficial social order in a town, and wishes that his character and his self be refined. While looking at the future and distant gain, he, at times, willingly tolerates the present and immediate loss, and sometimes, taking into consideration the future and distant loss, sacrifices his near and immediate gain. All his endeavours are directed towards the achievement of honor and glory.²²

II. His love for Beauty and Elegance

The nature of man, unlike that of an animal is not merely composed of his needs and their satisfaction , but he, in all his actions, seeks elegance and beauty. As an example, an animal needs food only for the satisfying its hunger and for the maintenance of its life, but man, even in his food seeks taste and delicacy. He wishes to have fancy dresses, a elegant house and a beautiful wife.²³

III. The Capability of Invention and Imitation

Just as the nature of man's needs is different from that of an animal, similarly, the nature of inspiration which he receives from God is also different. Unlike the

animal, man according to his capabilities receives different kinds of inspirations for different kinds of needs at different times. Taking advantage of those inspirations, he invents useful ways and means for his benefit and welfare. The thought of certain needs does not even occur to certain minds, and to some it does occur, but they do not know the right way of their fulfillment. Someone else receives an inspiration and he discovers a certain useful method which all the others learn from him.

In this first stage, in addition to other things, it is also necessary for men to follow someone whom they find more wise and powerful, make him their leader, so that he may help them develop their primary social order, and on certain occasions repulse their enemy from them. It is but natural for them to select someone from among themselves as their guide and then go with his guidance. In the development and growth of a society, imitation plays a very important role. Had it not been an inborn quality of man, the society would have taken a very long time to develop fully. Man is prepared for imitation, because in respect of reason, there is enough difference among people. Besides, in the quest for beauty and elegance, invention of useful schemes, obedience to rules and regulations, and the freedom to think and meditate, every one is different. This, however, becomes the job of a few select persons, possessing vision and understanding, and who are generous, brave, just and virtuous. They live a life of prosperity and decency and are prepared to work for the development of the civilization. The rest of the people are to follow them. This kind of human stage is considered to be the foundation stone of man's social life, because no group of persons, however small it be, and removed far away from the villages and the towns, or living in deserts or on the mountain-tops can be found free from this initial stage of social organization. In other words, this stage is of such a nature that it is absolutely necessary for people to go through it without and so doing, it is not only difficult but impossible for them to lead a social life.²⁴

The second Stage –Urban Society

When man progresses from the first stage of his life and his basic needs are secure, that is, he has acquired means for their fulfillment, his intellect evolves, his love of beauty and elegance, which is inherent in his aesthetic characteristic, develops and he looks at his surroundings not only from the point of view of his physical needs, but also from an aesthetic point of view. He develops taste in food and drink, he desires

beautiful and elegant dress and beautiful women not only for satisfying his sexual needs, but a woman of his choice, and a house with some sort of comfort and proportion etc. The second stage of life is more complex as compared to the first one in which there is an ethical code, and some basic social institutions. This division corresponds to his division of ethical units, namely, personal life, domestic life, vocational life, business contracts and relations, and exchange of goods with others, the department of cooperation.²⁵

This is attained by people living in urban areas and civilized cities within the virtuous realms. These realms are “virtuous” because their social environment acts as a constant incentive for the development of human beings with excellent morals and wisdom. As human social organization expands and engenders increasing needs and requirements, people have diverse experiences that, in turn, give rise to varying social practices. Over time, these practices become permanent social customs and form part of their collective social behavior. Its culmination is reflected in the practices of kings and rulers, who acquire and possess higher standards in the amenities of life. In addition, they are visited by gifted individuals from all over the world. This allows them to acquire moral practices, which are then seen in the living patterns of their subjects. These societies may then be classified as virtuous realms.²⁶

To examine and test the problems of the first stage on the touchstone of right experiences is the primary principle of the second stage. In the light of experience gathered, every form of such a stage is chosen and adopted in a manner so as to bring maximum possible gain and minimum possible loss. If any custom or system is found clashing with that principle, it is to be discarded. Here the ethical values are to be examined afresh. In case they are fair and fine, well and good, otherwise suitable changes are to be brought in them in accordance with the general principle. Every aspect of these ethical values should conform to the consideration of the general interest, under which general welfare is given preference over individual welfare. Man by nature is inclined to know his future, and this tendency, to a certain extent, is found among all the people of the world. For that, one should avail the interpretation of dreams, geomancy and astronomy. It is also necessary that he should try to make his speech eloquent and render his talk in a clear and understandable fashion. Further the household administration should be well- maintained by considering the following things.²⁷

I. The Rights and Rules for Husband and Wife

When a man has to perpetuate his progeny, he has to marry and give birth to children, and for that it is necessary that both the husband and the wife should remain in peace and amity. In the breeding of children, the wife's share is by nature more obedient and submissive. The qualities of man are quite different. He excels women, in reason, understanding and in the knowledge of vocations. He is well versed in doing the hard jobs, has the courage to face difficulties, and is by nature inclined to rule. However, both of them despite their individual traits are dependent on one another for the smooth running of the household. As man, by nature is jealous and possesses all the passions of manhood, it is necessary that he should have a lawful wife, otherwise there would be fights and feuds among men. Their marriage ceremony should be performed in public so that anyone else who had an intention of marrying her should give it up for ever. After marriage, it is the duty of both husband and wife to cooperate with each other in making their life prosperous and happy and should equally share the weal and woes. At times, some unpleasant incidents take place which makes their living together impossible. In that case it is better to separate from each other through divorce, so as to spend their remaining lives without worry and fear.²⁸

II. Upbringing of Children

They should give good upbringing and proper education to their children and take special care of their progress and development. Unusual attention should be paid to their health, and suitable atmosphere be created for the improvement of their character. In return, it is the duty of the children, when they become mature, to take into account those troubles and hardships which their parents had endured for their sake. They must respect and honour them, obey their orders, speak to them gently.²⁹

III. Mutual Dealings and the Relations with the Near and Dear Ones

It is a fact that there are persons in the society who are unable to fulfil their needs due to poverty and lack of means. Besides, certain diseases do disable some persons preventing from working them. In such adverse conditions, it is the duty of the rich and the well-to-do to help them as far as possible. That is the reason why the wise and

prudent persons of the world have considered the extension of sympathy and help to the distressed and the afflicted as a necessary requirement of the society. In short, the action towards the needy and dependent should be so fast and quick that each one of them should take the loss or gain of the other as his own. Such relationship is naturally found among close relatives, and it is due to this reason that at the time of death of one, the other becomes the heir of his property. This mutual help of the relatives at the time of need is known in the *shari'ah* as *Sila-i-rahim*, and is the most important duty.³⁰

The first *Irtifaq* is an initial stage in the ladder of man's progress, when the human species had not developed properly. People were living in the jungles and small villages and following their headmen. As time passed, the human race, which was small in number increased by leaps and bounds. This gave rise to a variety in the activities of their lives and substantial increase in their mutual transactions. Their small villages took the shape of big towns and cities and a good social order came into being, under which they began to spend their lives. This civil life is another name for the second *Irtifaq* and example of it is found in the life of the Prophet Idris.³¹

All the four stages of human society to follow one another in a chronological order. It never happens that the second stage may come before the first. Society sets its foot on every other rung of the ladder after it has placed it on the first one. However, it is not necessary that every second rung of the ladder may not be set foot on until the first one had become complete and perfect from every point of view. What Shah Waliullah says is that there are certain factors in every stage of society. Some of them happen to be the pillars of that stage without which the next stage of society cannot come into existence; and some factors are such, which, if they are wanting, do not affect the existence of that stage of the society, except that it would be empty of elegance and fineness. It is, however, possible for the society to reach the next stage only if the pillars of the preceding one are present there, namely, freedom from natural wants, like food and water, clothing and shelter. The factors which are to be rendered elegant and fine in the first stage can be produced even after setting foot on the second rung of the ladder. Sometimes, man after having reached the highest stage becomes more capable of bringing perfection, refinement and elegance to the lower stage.³²

This indicates that division of labor and an interdependent economic system, that is a rudimentary and basic organization, comes into being. The society evolves into an organism. The city states of the ancient civilizations and the Middle Ages are an example of this stage in human development. While the tribal societies prior to the city states are the first stage of development.³³

1. The Third Stage (Nationalism)

This stage is a natural development of the preceding two stages. As the institutions evolved in the second stage develop further, they become complex, needs multiply, rights and duties change and increase. Organization of the institutions evolved, becomes an issue to be tackled as the intellect advances further. Now that the basic physical needs are taken care of, a certain degree of taste is developed in the process as also the acquisition of ways and means of fulfillment and intellect fit in for further progress towards the goal of perfection. The third stage is the stage of nationalism, which is concerned with the administration of the social units the i.e. The cities and the towns. The tribe is replaced by the city in the second stage, and in the third stage large the communities, composed of a number of cities and towns, form a nation. This social unit, namely the nation has a large number of individuals in its composition, but as a result of development and progress of the intellect, it works as a living organism. “Accordingly, if an individual feels some pain, somewhere the wider nation feels it, as the whole body feels when a part of it is injured. At this stage the needs of man go beyond computation, and he wants to excel in all spheres of life. As it is not possible for him to fulfil all the needs in a better and reformed manner single-handedly, he has to live and cooperate with others in social life. At this stage, though each one has separate occupation, mutual cooperation and help is, however, necessary which eventually results in the formation of political order among men. This is badly needed at this stage. For the maintenance of mutual transactions and dealings, human beings first need the same kind of an exchange system, which leads to the introduction of coinage (i.e. gold and silver coins). Eventually, on account of the multiplicity and diversity of occupations, everyone gets busy in trying to improve his art and profession and it is here that the society becomes fully developed in the proper sense of the word.³⁴

In the *Hujjatullah al-Baligha*, Shah Waliullah has given an account of the formation of this stage: “Indeed when men carry on these transactions with each other and different men specialize in different vocations, produce and supply for each other’s needs etc., co-operation etc. comes into being it necessarily signifies that there exists a kind of a link, a unity between various groups of people like farmers, merchants, weavers etc.”³⁵

It is these groups of people that by reason of that unifying link form the body of the state in actuality. The real state is not the same as the city walls, fortresses and trading centres. If there are many towns in the vicinity of each other, they are called a state. From the point of view of a unifying link a state is just like a person or an organism, while every group of people and every member is like a link or a part of the body of that person. Unity is essential in a state, and it must be first of all be preserved, improved and developed to yield its full benefits. The system of the government through which this objective is attained is the real leader (*imam*) or governor of the state, who according to Shah Waliullah, is not at all in the form of an individual, except, of course, in case of a capable person of a strong and powerful personality, who is absolutely suitable for this task and undertakes it thereby leveling him as the head of the state, though only in outward and appearance.³⁶

A standard government and at advanced level of struggle for perfection is that which has efficient and effective means for fulfilling the requirements of a good judiciary, executive, defense and public welfare. There are several divergent and conflicting views about the structure and functioning the government; the best form of government in Shah Waliullah’s opinion is that which fully accords with the situation, the time and the requirements of the people concerned. An effective form suggested by him is that in which the responsibilities are divided as considered necessary, since the capabilities of individuals are limited. Nevertheless, these should be sufficiently centralized to prevent internal chaos and strife. Each department should have an executive head with sufficient powers and rights to run that particular department. The head of the government of course should be the final authority and centre of all the departments, so that the coordination and co-operation of the departments as well as an efficient and disciplined administration is secured. The example of the second and third *Irtifaq* is provided during the life of the Prophet Solomon.³⁷

I. Qualifications of a Ruler

In case of an increased population, it is not, however, possible that all the people should always obey the just and fair order and not go against it. It is, therefore, necessary that there should be a ruler for them, elected by their wise heads, who, however, should be so able and powerful, as to compel them to follow the prescribed law and, thus, check the spread of insecurity and dis-order. Such a ruler is expected to possess the following qualifications: He should be a man of good character, brave and strong hearted, otherwise people will dislike him, and the enemies and the mischief makers not fear him. Besides, he should be tolerant and forbearing and have the ability to run the country's administration properly. He should be respectable and noble, always anxious for the good and welfare of his subjects. He should know how to win the hearts of the people, and make himself acceptable among them by his sincerity and the performance of his duty. In other words, as the hunter, in order to hunt his prey, avails of all his guiles and arts, similarly, he should spare no pains in winning the love of his subjects. It is proper for the ruler to give generous treatment to his subjects, but he should show no remissness punishing the offenders. However, no hasty steps should be taken until the offence of the offender is clearly proved. Those who work in the government selflessly and honestly ought to be given every kind of encouragement. In short, the ruler should be of an enlightened nature, and so experienced and possessed of insightful, as to understand the inner self of a man at his very first sight, and so far sighted as to know the result of the state affairs before their actual happening.³⁸

When the ruler is unable to manage the administration singl-handedly, he surely needs a team of efficient and selfless persons in the various departments of the government who should be very much conscious of their responsibilities and the discharge of their duty. At the time of appointment, care should be taken to avoid assigning any post to a person who, later on may be difficult to remove or who may be found unfit. The best plan for him at that time is to distribute the work, and powers if he is sharing with other people according to work exigencies. There are also people, who some how enter the government for their selfish motives. They should be brought around some how to behave properly and be loyal to the government, otherwise they should be compelled to retire. The ruler should not forget that he cannot

expect from the servants of his government anything beyond their individual in born capacity, as that is impossible.³⁹

The heavy work of the government requires large sums of money, for which a treasury is established, the income of which comes from various kinds of taxes. It is the duty of the rich and the wealthy not to avoid the payment of proper taxes, because whatever is collected in the treasury is spent for the good of the common people, and the purpose of the government is to establish the welfare of the public and nothing else. But while levying taxes, justice should be done, and no extraordinary burden be imposed on the income of the subjects. Taxes should be recovered only from the wealthy, or from those who own such property which's found increases every day and who are traders and owners of industries. But even that taxes may be levied on them only when their income were to exceed beyond the level at which they can derive satisfaction from the necessities of life.⁴⁰ In the third stage, the government has to consider all the points mentioned above and, in order to keep the society sound and healthy, it has to do take the following five steps:

- (1) Greed, niggardliness and malevolence often give rise to differences among individuals in a society. If they are not suppressed, they will result in fights, murders, loot and plunder. It is therefore, the duty of the government to arrange for the just settlement of their disputes, and to be so strong and powerful in itself as to be able to remove their differences and enforce its own decisions.
- (2) Some people develop bad habits, carry bitter rivalries and give into their basic desires. They should be threatened to desist from their evil designs, otherwise the existence of the society would be at stake.
- (3) There are also individuals who are always busy in disrupting the social order. They intend to lay hands on the properties of others or to seize political power to fulfil their selfish ends. Such mischief-makers and disruptionists also associate with them many persons trained in fighting and warfare. It is, therefore, the duty of the government or the party in power, to be always ready to wage war against such miscreants for the preservation and safeguard of the human society and nation.

- (4) Thinkers and wise men always have a noble aim and objective before their eyes for the maintenance of the human society in the best possible form, and their intention is that the society should work for the achievement of that goal. It is, therefore, necessary for the government to endeavour and work hard towards the attainment of the same.
- (5) Men, on account of their attachment with the worldly affairs generally forget their moral and religious commitments and become negligent. It is therefore, the duty of the government to make them give up their negligence and make them feel responsible towards morality and religion, through advice and admonition. The example of this *Irtifaq* and of the second one is provided in the life of the Prophets Sulaiman (Solomon) and Moses.⁴¹

4. The fourth stage (Internationalism)

The fourth stage of social evolution comes at a later stage when these national governments evolve into a full fledged entity. Thereafter, out of necessity, they organize themselves into an International organization for the sake of their survival and safety from external dangers.⁴²

As Shah Waliullah believed in the essential and the organic unity of humanity, the *al-Insan al- Kabir*, his system of socio-political evolution, has its logical end in internationalism or a league of nations, which is the fourth stage of society, though desirable, but not yet realized. With due increase in human population, just as at the national level, there are smaller units of administration with their own administrations, substations subservient to the central executive authority, in the same way a higher level of human progress and development of relations between several nations is inevitable. Just as on the personal level the individual is in need of domestication and the families are in need of city or town establishments, which ultimately evolve into states and nations; the final goal of human perfection is an international organization. A stage comes when needs become very complex and numerous in that the inter- dependence of nations become necessary. Shah Waliullah's transcendental aim and the evolutionary dynamic nature of his system of society necessitates the concept of internationalism. For real peace and tranquility an international communal organization is a must. Shah Waliullah was conscious of the

non-existence of such a state in the past and at the present, but nevertheless believed striving for it is natural, desirable and inevitable.⁴³

His social Philosophy is neither dogmatic nor stringent. The mixture of the sufistic with the orthodox. He favoured revolution. In fact, he thought that when a society gets corrupted to extent that progress and development are debarred and reformation by evolution is not possible, it becomes necessary to bring about a revolution.

“A social institution in which a people are deprived of their primary needs of life, is like an abscess in the body which, the sooner it is removed the better it would be. The people who know wherein lies the general welfare feel it as their bounden duty to bring about a revolution. But it should be kept in mind that the bringing of a revolution is a very distressing and a hard job, like the sacrifice of life and property, where one at times is required to part with his beloved country. Such sacrifices can be made by those who are very sensitive, self-confident and have the ability and courage to face the situations, no matter how serious, with patience and endurance. For the success of such a revolution, sometimes one has to struggle through protests, at times through raising slogans, etc., and on certain occasions one has to put up an actual fight. Whatever sacrifice is made in this direction is reckoned as the best of actions.”⁴⁴

Divine purpose is the ultimate end of all happenings, whether ordinary or extraordinary. The Prophets are divine messengers for purposes of guiding those whose reformation is intended. Every Prophet is given a system of law to establish order among the people concerned, in accordance with the universal purpose. Islam is the best and the most perfect of all religions, whose ultimate purpose is to establish the fourth stage of human development.

“To become the greatest international power in the world, which could stand the challenges of time. It is, the sacred duty of all the Muslims throughout the world to work hard and spare no pains for the establishment of the Islamic international organization which could successfully face the combined opposition of evil forces. The completion of favour takes practical shape only when such a great force is created.”⁴⁵

This is a stage in which mutual relations between various nations take place. When the frontiers of a country are extended far and wide and human population exceeds beyond bounds, the country is divided into various provinces, administered by governors. Every province has its own means of income and its own army to defend it. As all the people are not of the same temperament, and they also differ in their abilities, there always take place fights and feuds among them leading them to follow the wrong course. They begin to harbour malice and jealousy which incite them to usurp the property of others. When conditions turn ugly, people feel the necessity of a very powerful ruler, one who can safeguard their interests. If he is available and is himself law abiding, others, less powerful, will, willingly or unwillingly, surrender and obey his order, thus enabling people to live their social life in peace, safety and prosperity.⁴⁶

I. Duties of a Powerful Ruler:

Such a powerful ruler at times finds it unavoidable to take up arms and fight. In every community there are people bent upon creating mischief and disorder. They blindly follow their low desires and become the source of disruption in the society. They must be compelled to obey the law by the use of force; and those who later on would prove to be a cancer in the body of the community should be ruthlessly persecuted and wiped out. Even after the government is firmly established, events do take place which make it necessary for the ruler to take up the sword in his hand, because the people of bestial nature take to looting and plundering as their profession, and thus, spread insecurity and disorder everywhere in the country.⁴⁷

As it is known, wars cannot be carried on without necessary provisions. It is, therefore, necessary that the ruler's (government) treasure should always remain full, and he should have adequate force at his disposal to put down mischief, and avail of it at times of emergency. For such a ruler, it is necessary to be well informed of the occasions of war and peace. He should so weaken and reduce the force of his enemies as to eliminate the possibility of their future opposition, and should establish an espionage system in the country to keep himself acquainted with the activities of the enemy and then take due precautionary measures in time. The enemy must be so suppressed and subdued as to give the proof of its submissiveness both in words and

actoins. Its verbal statements will not be sufficient until and unless they are supported by clear evidences of its sincerity in practice.⁴⁸

Agreement of people on Irtifaqat

All nations, despite their territorial and religious differences, agree upon these *Irtifaqat* in, principle. They acknowledge their soundness and consider it necessary to follow them. All this is the result of the natural requirement of man's specific form.⁴⁹

Let us take it for granted that a man is born in some barren land and, as such, is deprived of formal education, but, in spite of that, he needs to satisfy his hunger, thirst and sexual urge; besides, he will need some shelter to save himself from heat, cold and rain. Sexual urge, however will compel him to keep some legal or illegal matrimonial connection with any woman, which will bring in its wake the birth of children, whose number will multiply by the passage of time. From family and tribe, it will take the shape of a large community and the nation. This increase in population will surely give rise to various kinds of connections and then their maintenance and this is how a society comes into being and is gradually developes.⁵⁰ In short, the four stages in the life of man are as follows:

- (1) The jungle life, when the society was too small characterised by living in huts and hamlets.
- (2) The life of towns and cities when the society appreciably developed.
- (3) When the society assumed the form of a nation with a very large population.
- (4) And when the society, having made all round developments, took the shape of an international organization.⁵¹

Causes of Corruption

The above institutions, which came to be established for the fulfillment of the needs of man, tend to become corrupt and obsolete with the passage of time. Many kinds of evils creep in, rendering them useless and harmful. The main reason for their corruption is that the leadership of people goes into the hands of those who ignore the absolute good and the consideration of general interests which are required for the welfare of the masses, and take to the satisfaction of their low desires. Majority of them happen to follow them with the result that the foundation of civilization and culture becomes badly shaken. To save the society from extinction, nature on such

occasions brings into existence certain persons who root out that corruption and reform the society afresh. Shah Waliullah has, however, made this matter very clear at many places, that the moral and ethical side of man's life is largely dependent upon his economic conditions, as he says: "The social virtues of men are completely destroyed at a time when they are forced to live under hard and difficult financial stringencies; and it is only for the sake of bread that they are made to work like beasts of burden. When mankind is faced with such a calamity, God paves the way to save it. Accordingly, he inspires one of his chosen ones to rise and do the needful. The destruction of the Pharaoh, Caesar and Chosroes was the result of that inspiration."⁵²

Shah Waliullah, as has already been mentioned, did not fear or hesitate in telling the truth, and exposed the misdeeds of the government of his times. Referring to their luxurious living and the absence of moral values, he says: "When the Persian and Roman Empires continued for long, the rulers and the high ups lost themselves in the ease and comfort of life, and completely forgot the hereafter. Their luxurious living went to such an extent that if any chief did not have a crown worth lakhs of dinars to wear on his head, people used to find fault with him. You see the prevailing conditions of your country which are in no way better than theirs."⁵³

It is clear that these provisions of comfort and luxury cannot be available without spending large sums of money. In consequence, heavy and intolerable taxes were being levied upon the labour class, the peasantry, the business community and the craftsmen, for the payment of which they worked like animals day and night, and as such, the helpless and the poor had no time to remember God and the hereafter.⁵⁴

Apart from the luxurious living of the highest, and the imposition of heavy and burdensome taxes, the other cause of the break-up of society is that some persons like *repa*ys and the '*Ulama*' who consider themselves entitled to government stipends do not work at all, and thus, become an unpleasant burden upon the state exchequer. Giving of gifts and grants to the ascetics and the poets has also become a habit of the rulers now-a-days. Society's well being lies in the lightening of the taxes and the employment of civil and military staff according to requirement.⁵⁵

Proper distribution of labour

Besides, some people follow the professions they are not fit for, and this in turn cuts at the very root of social development. There is a man who is very hungry but unfortunately he takes a profession which does not satisfy his hunger. Naturally, he will be inclined to beggary and other low and hateful practices. Again, there are people who, in spite of being robust and strong, do not work hard and rush in to indecent occupations.⁵⁶

The other strong reason for the decomposition of society is that, if there is a population of ten thousand, the majority does not busy itself in the increase of production, with the result that the population starves. As such, there is a need for the proper distribution of labour. Similarly, if the majority indulges in luxurious living, it will become a burden on the nation and a contagion which will go on infecting slowly and gradually the whole population, eventually reducing it to a state of being bitten by a rabid dog.⁵⁷

Economic Conditions Influence Man's Character

However, Shah Waliullah cites one more fact in particular, that the society corrupts and disintegrates when some people take to exploitation and monopolization. They attempt to seize the properties of others, and thus, closing all the avenues of their income and livelihood. Social economy has a greater impact upon the character of man. It is, therefore, necessary that for the maintenance of character and moral values, a just economic order be established in the human society. Until and unless this kind of order is established, the beauty of social character will never appear. One aspect of life invariably affects the other, as all of them are closely connected. And it is indeed these economic conditions which determine a man's character.⁵⁸

According to Shah Waliullah, human society can never become completely perfect, but it can come near to perfection. Individuals are like the limbs of a body and as Zaid, for example, can never be perfect in his health from every point of view, for there will certainly be some imbalance and need for equilibrium somewhere in his body, similarly is the case of a human society which can never be in a state of balanced health.⁵⁹

He was, however, of the opinion that the knowledge of man natural requirements of men can give a correct lead in the fixation of aims and objects of a society. It should then be its sole purpose to fulfil them and make provision to meet man's primary needs, such as the need for food, clothing and shelters. Bearing all these facts in mind, Shah Waliullah has laid much emphasis upon the improvement of the economic conditions of man and for that he advised that everybody should do something with his own hands to earn, so that he may not be a burden on the government and the people.⁶⁰ His appeal to people in general: "O children of Adam! whosoever from you has bread to eat, water to drink, shelter to dwell in, clothes to cover the body and in addition to these all has a wife also then he is given everything in the world. It now behoves him to remain content, and follow the course of moderation in his living."⁶¹ These are the basic needs of man; if these are fulfilled, he gets almost all the things of the world. In support of this he gives a quotation from the Tradition of the Holy Prophet: "Man has no right save of three things: a house to dwell in, clothes to cover his body, and bread and water for his belly."⁶²

Shah Waliullah takes the meaning of the word '*Afw* in the Holy *Quran* to be that which exceeds the necessary needs of life. By restricting needs to "necessary" he has indeed suggested a very useful solution to the economic problems.⁶³ Divine wisdom requires, he says, that human society should not lag behind the second and third stages of social development. This is the reason why no Prophet has never asked his people to abandon society and go to stay in jungles and on mountain-tops, as it is against the very interests of man himself.⁶⁴

Apart from that, the character of man does not come to light and is not known but only when there is a clash with the people. Without contact and without any association with different kinds of people and varying social orders, the beauty of man's character does not become clear.⁶⁵ At times, some persons leaving the primary things of the first stage half-done begin to give more attention to those of the second one with the result that society does not become stable. Man's good lies in this that when the fourth stages were to go out of his hands, he should hold steded fast to the third one. Similarly, if he were to lose the third one, he should stick to the second one and so on. But because people have no adequate knowledge of the different stages of social development, so they stick to the stage they are acquainted with, with the result that society degenerates, and the whole social structure starts cracking.⁶⁶ It is the

responsibility of the people living in populated cities to remain in animity and friendship with each other. Every phase as a whole must see that the property of everything in them is raised on friendship and affection.⁶⁷

Islam must Prevail

It, however, cannot be denied that under the conditions prevailing today the formation of an international organization seems to be difficult, but the Muslims must always have that aim in view and avail of every opportunity and situation to transform that idea of pan-Islamism as conceived by Shah Waliullah into dead reality. This objective can certainly be achieved if the Muslim countries come closer to each other, dissolve their differences and as far as possible work together as a single unit on an international basis. Until the international government of the Muslims comes into being, it is necessary for them to work zealously and enthusiastically for the stability and fortification of their national governments. Every nation, should make itself strong enough a form of religious, moral and political point of view. It should always remain vigilant, and well prepared for fight, keep itself adequately informed of the latest developments in the modern methods of warfare, and infuse the spirit of *Jihad* into the hearts of its people.⁶⁸

Unfortunately, no proper attention now a days, is being paid to the teachings of the Holy *Quran* with regard to the making of this worldly life strong and successful by taking advantage of all the possible means. Self-defence and necessary preparations against a possible attack of an enemy and making life prosperous and strong is one of the duties Islam has enjoined on the Muslims. For example, there come these words in the Holy *Quran*: “Against them make ready your strength to the utmost of your power, including steeds of war, to strike terror into the enemies of God and your enemies.”⁶⁹ At another place God says: “If they had intended to come out, they would certainly have made some preparation therefore.”⁷⁰ Again, there is a verse: “The unbelievers wish you were negligent of your arms and your baggage, to assault you in a single rush.”⁷¹

According to a tradition, the defence of Muslims is better and more rewarding than the obligatory prayer and fasts; and one day’s patrolling of the frontiers is better than one month’s prayers and fasting. At present, the world is not devoid of the third

stage of social development, and if it is ever deprived of it, that would be a catastrophe.⁷²

The fact to which Shah Waliullah draws our attention is that since the religion of Islam has come for the establishment of the greatest international power and when its domination is to continue forever, it can be rightly ensured only when the Muslim nations make themselves strong both morally and materially, draw closer and work together as far as possible. It is high time the Muslims realise the importance and necessity of unity, forget their past jealousies and work for the solidarity of Islam and lose no time and effort to make themselves the greatest power in the world.⁷³

Endnotes and References

1. G.N.Jalbani, Teachings of Shah Waliullah of Delhi, Kitab Bhavan, New Delhi , 1988, p. 165.
2. In this connection the *Sirat-i-Mustaqim*, the discourses of Syed Ahmad Shahid compiled by Shah Ismail Shahid and other works like Saiyid Ahmad Shahid. *His life and Mission* by Mohi-Uddin Ahmad can be seen.
3. Ceremony performed on the third day of a dead relative.
4. Ceremony performed on the fortieth day after death.
5. Ceremony performed after six months of death.
6. Annual ceremony to remember the dead person and supplicate for normally all these ceremonies are accompanied by a feast of the relatives and distribution of food to the poor.
7. A gathering for the recital of the Quran to supplicate for the dead person.
8. A probationary period of four months and ten days during which a widow is not allowed to re-marry.
9. *Al-Furqan* monthly, Shah Waliullah Number. Vol. VII, 1359 A.H., P. 84.
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18. *Hujjat Allah al-Balighah*, p.37.
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29. *Ibid.*,
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33. Saeeda Khatoon, *op. cit.*, p.60.
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39. *Ibid.*,
40. *Ibid.*,
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44. *Ibid.*,
45. *Ibid.*,
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47. *Ibid.*,
48. *Ibid.*
49. *Ibid*
50. *Ibid*
51. *Ibid*
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53. *Ibid*
54. *Ibid.*,
55. *Ibid.*,
56. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
58. *Hujjat Allah al-Baligha*, p.125.
59. *Al-Budur-ul-Bazighah*, pp.48-49.
60. *Tafhimat*, p.218.
61. *Ibid.*, p.218.
62. *Hujjat Allah al-Baligha*, p. 85.
63. *Fath-ur-Rahman*, *Surah al-Baqarah*, verse 219.
64. *Al-Budur-ul-Bazighah*, p. 109.
65. *Hujjatullah*, p.51.

66. *Al-Budur-ul-Bazighah*, pp.89-90.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
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69. *Surah Anfal*, Verse 60.
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CHAPTER-6

Impact of Socio-Economic Thoughts on the Society

Shah Waliullah had a multy faceted and versatile personality. His real greatness lies in the commutative effect produced by his writings, with the contribution of persons trained by him and by the achievements of the school of thought founded by him. In religious matters, he struck a mean between extremes; in social affairs, he strove to introduce in the Muslim society the simplicity and purity of early Islam; in the sphere of economics, he advocated the revolutionary Islamic socialism and in the political field, he forged a united Muslim front against the non-Muslim forces which were threatening to storm Muslim India.¹

Shah Waliullah's encyclopedic conception of knowledge has, however, made him a disputed figure. Almost all the religious groups in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent vice with one another in establishing that there is the view point which represents the Shah Waliullah's Philosophy; or more correctly the Shah Waliullah's philosophy represents their particular view point.² But as has been said above, none of them can really claim that it has implemented in its system of thought the Shah Waliullah's philosophy in spirit and letter as a whole. Their claims are true only in terms of partial implementation.

Besides high living and internal dissensions, Muslim society, in Waliullah's opinion, suffered from a rigid conformity to the interpretation made in other ages and other areas. Shah Waliullah recognized that growth and change were essential for a healthy society; he did not believe that the Muslim society was strengthened by a blind following of one or another of the four schools of Muslim jurisprudence. In this respect, he did not differ from Sarhindi, nor from Ibn al Wahhab in Arabia, who also considered the blind following of the medieval authorities to be an element of weakness in Islam. Perhaps the greatest impact that Waliullah's thought had on the Muslims of India lay in his views concerning the rights of an individual to form an independent judgment on a legal issue, that is, to exercise the right of *ijtihad*. To most of the orthodox theologists the individual scholar had no such right; the last word on the subject had been said by the end of the tenth century, and since then the "gates of *ijtihad*", the gates on the path leading to independent judgment, remained closed. So,

as long as the rigid conformity existed, the social elasticity which his sense of balance recognized as essential for good health could not exist. He tried to introduce this elasticity through his interpretation of the principle of independent judgment.³

In fact the most striking things about Shah Waliullah's ideas was that, though himself a complete theologian, he still thought of the society in sociological terms. Religious injunctions, that he maintained, were to be observed not necessarily because they had a divine origin, but because of the benefits they were calculated to offer both to the individuals and the society. Islamic commandments, he wrote, are not tests merely to reward those who pass and to punish those who fail. Their purpose is social, to bring benefits to the society and to the individuals who make up the society. There was nothing unislamic about this view. Indeed, a celebrated historian Ibn Khaldun had written much of the same thing four centuries earlier. If religion encompasses all things as Islam teaches, then it must certainly encompass. By his revival of this emphasis, and because of his own tremendous reputation as a scholar and a pious Muslim, Shah Waliullah provided a non theological foundation upon which the later thinkers could build lenient theological premises and insure a way from sticks ones. If the Islamic commandments exist to provide social benefits, then the test of a commandment is how successfully it does this. In a world in which cultural patterns are being buffeted from all sides this becomes a very severe test.⁴

Shah Waliullah hoped, to break the rigorous hold of the medieval jurists on Islamic thought and introduce sufficient elasticity in Islam in India to permit it to adopt itself to the changing times and conditions. Though he wanted a reform, but he did not seem to have wanted any major change. Nevertheless, he pointed out the ways by which individuals, more involved in the ripening social changes than the Muslim theologians, could logically advocate reforms in excess of anything of which he dreamed. What Waliullah considered as "Sufficient" elasticity later reformers considered as hopelessly insufficient; actually, two strong movements developed as a result of Shah Waliullah's teaching. One that most directly connected with him became increasingly conservative and literal in its approach; the other became increasingly liberal and abstract in its Islamic interpretation. His own efforts to rejuvenate the Muslims of his time, except, perhaps, in an ephemeral manner in the political field were largely failures. Yet for all this, his influence remains supremely great on Indian and Pakistani-Muslim thought.⁵

Shah Waliullah was responsible for an awakening in the community, the desire to win back its moral fervor and to maintain its purity. To raise a community's conscience, belief and faith from destruction was not a small achievement. His teachings created new awareness in the minds of Muslims of the subcontinent. He was a realistic in his political thinking and had a clear vision of society, religion, ethics, morals and politics. He presented such modern and golden principles of economics and politics that are used till date. Shah Waliullah tried to synthesize the two streams of liberalism and religious extremism of Akbar and Mujaddid alf-Sani Simultaneously. After his death in 1762, his work was continued both by the members of his family and by his close followers, the chief of whom was his son, Shah Abdul Aziz.⁶ According to Shah Waliullah, the phenomenal world is a supplement to the revelation guidance provided by Allah through the Prophets. Therefore, true knowledge attainable by man by means of reasoning or empirical enquiry is bound to be in conformity with Divine revelation. Because revelation is nothing but an important part of the Supreme. Divine decree of which another portion is operative in the cosmos as law of nature.⁷

The main thrust of Shah Waliullah's philosophy is the identification of a purposeful correlation between social, ethical, cultural, economic, political and spiritual dimensions of man's existential enterprise. As pointed out at the outs, the main foundation of Shah Waliullah's knowledge and wisdom had been the *Quran*, who's learning he initiated in the early stage of his scholarship. He not only benefitted tremendously from this infinite source of knowledge himself but also facilitated this for posterity by translating the Book of Allah into easy and lucid Persian, according to the diction of the time.⁸

He developed the same holistic and comprehensive approach to understanding of the *Quran* which is the hall-mark of his thought. He contributed towards the historical endeavour of explaining the *Quran* with particular reference to its central themes. These themes are reducible to five main headings, in the opinion of Shah Waliullah:

- (i) *Ahkam*: Injunctions containing approvals and disapprovals in varying degrees;
- (ii) *Mukhasamah*: the dialectics employed in the *Quran* to substantiate fundamental truths and refute the claims of infidels of various categories;

(iii) *Tadhkir bi ayyam Allah*: Reminding man about the past career of humanity and the lessons to be drawn from it;

(iv) *Tadhkir bi ala'illah*: Reminding man about the limitless bounties that have been bestowed upon him by his Creator and Sustainer, the acknowledgement of which is the foremost obligation of man;

(v) *Tadhkir bi al mawt wa ma ba'd al-mawt*: Reminding man about his ultimate destiny and underlying the need to prepare himself for his permanent home.⁹

Shah Waliullah saw an organic link between the *Quran* and the Prophetic *Sunnah*. The *Sunnah* provided for him the normative pattern for the actualization of the *Quranic* dispensation in history; that is when the Book of Allah unfolded itself in time and space, it was the *Sunnah* of the Prophet. Thus, the *Sunnah* was the *Quran* incarnation. All the subsequent endeavors of the early doctors in the fields of *tafseer*, *hadith*; *fiqh* and *usul* were ex-post facto theorizations for a systematic understanding of the actual grand norm of Islam. This grand norm is embodied in the Prophet's experience of receiving revelation from Allah and application of its ideals and ethics to the religious, social, cultural, economic and political dimensions of the society of believers raised by him under the Divine mandate. Thus, Shah Waliullah understands the *Quran* in the context of the *Sunnah* and understands the *Sunnah* in the context of the all embracing social reforms presided over by the Prophet (pbuh).¹⁰

Shah Waliullah's career as a thinker commenced with his teaching assignment and culminated in the appearance of his various books. He exhibited an evolutionary growth both as a thinker and writer. One's inability to recognize and appreciate this phenomenon is often confusing, especially on account of the multiplicity of his views, which are; at times, conflicting. Repetition is another jarring point about his thought. This incongruity appears at its sharpest in his works on *Tariqa*, gnosis, philosophy and *Tasawuf* which have not been divided properly into chapters or themes. Yet they do bring into light the new aspects of his thought and reinforce the points made by him. His focused work such as *Hujjatullah al-Baligha* and *Izalat al-Khifa* do not suffer from the repetition of views.¹¹

Shah Waliullah's thought is marked by a sense of balance, originality and comprehensiveness. As to the note of balance, it reflects an amalgam of the views of classical authorities. His originality is reflective of the divine favors done to him. His

comprehensiveness is a pointer to the all-embracing nature of the Islamic intellectual legacy. These features also adorn Shah Waliullah's stance on *Shariah* and *Tariqa*. These no doubt, represent unadulterated Islamic thoughts. Shah Waliullah, therefore, firmly believed that his thought will survive, a point borne out by the latest studies. For no critical analysis of any discipline related to *Shariah* and *Tariqa* can be carried out without reference to Shah Waliullah's thought. A study of his thought is indispensable for any such academic undertaking.¹²

Shah Waliullah's teachings brought about a far-reaching effect on the rigid conformity. A rapid thaw set in the rigidity of *Hanafis*. It was divided, as Dr. Mazhar Baqa has observed, into two groups;

(1) The people who could not bring themselves to conform to his ideology; they remained as they were¹³ and (2) those who were influenced by him. The latter were further divided into two;

(a) Those who remained as *Hanafis* but accepted the theory of the supremacy of the *hadis*; they are called Deobandis¹⁴ and it is held that the sons of Shah Waliullah, were the fore runners of this group; and (b) those who renounced *Hanafism* as well as conformity (*taqlid*); they are called *Ahl-e-Hadis*, and Shah Isma'il Shahid, is supposed to be the founder of this group.¹⁵

Shah Waliullah's impact on the religious history and thought of the sub-continent of Indo-Pakistan can be viewed in the claims pronouncing association with him by almost every school of thought. Thus, the *Deobandis*, the *Ahl-e-Hadis*, the *Barelvis* and the neo-*Mutazilites* who form the main composites of the Indo-Pakistan Muslim society today, notwithstanding that they look doubtfully at one another's theory and practice, acknowledge the authority of Shah Waliullah. To command reverence from all the factions, contentions to one another otherwise, is indeed a great achievement of Shah Waliullah's philosophy. But it must be said that this unanimous approval for him springs from the fact that none of the votaries is consistent in following his thoughts. Each of them finds a special attraction in one or the other aspect of his philosophy. In other words, not the whole but a part of his thoughts, peculiar to each one's needs, is acceptable to them.¹⁶

As it would have been to meet the needs of these four subjects of the Indian Islam, Shah Waliullah's religious philosophy consists of four major composites: (1)

spiritualism (2) conventionalism (3) traditionalism and (4) rationalism. Now spiritualism is of a special interest to the *Barelvis*, conventionalism to the *Deobandis*, traditionalism to the *Ahl-e-Hadis*, and rationalism to the neo-*Matazites*. A brief description of each community versus Shah Waliullah is given as under:

1. The most salient feature of the *Barelvi* thought is its attachment to and an advocacy of *Tasawuf* or spiritualism which includes their belief that the spirits of the dead saints can be invoked for help. Hence a visit to the tombs of pious men is a regular feature of their religious life. They believe in the healing potency of the *Quranic* verses. Therefore, to them, writing and using of amulets is not only lawful but also advisable. They hold that the living saints make the best mediators between man and God; the best course, therefore, for seeking communication with God is to become the disciple of one of them. The saint chosen for this purpose is commonly known by the name of *pir* or *murshid* or *shaikh*. To them the swearing of spiritual allegiance is obligatory to each and every Muslim, man or woman, because the path to truth can only be had through their agency. Now, Shah Waliullah was himself a *sufi* of high order. In *Tasawuf* he was the disciple of his father, Shaikh ‘Abdur Rahim, who is said to have attained many stages of spiritualism. At the *Hijaz* he received the cloak of *sufis* from Shaikh Abu Tahir, his teacher of *hadith*. He initiated disciples in mysticism. He wrote amulets for curing diseases and gave them away to whosoever needed them.¹⁷ Spiritual inspiration occupies a conspicuous place in his writings, and he feels proud of being a *sufi*. He visited the grave of his father and sat there often in pious meditation. Now all that is said and practiced by the *Barelwis* is endorsed, to very great extent, by the mystic thought and practice of Shah Waliullah. However a ringing note of disapproval for invoking the dead saints for help is heard when he says in unambiguous words ‘whosoever visits Ajmer or the tomb of Salar Masud, and invokes help for the attainment of his needs, commits a greater than a murder or an act of fornication.’¹⁸ This opinion of Shah Waliullah regarding visits to the tombs of the saints for invoking help, can really be embarrassing to the *Barelwis*, but it is alleged that an investigation into the works of Shah has revealed that the lines quoted above are spurious and have been appended to

his book, *Tafhimat* by some opponent of the *Barelwi* thought after his death.¹⁹

This shows that Shah Waliullah still holds good to the *Barelwis*.

2. The *Deobandis* are in the fore front in acclaiming Shah Waliullah as their guide. They maintain that as the school of *Deoband* was founded by men who originated from the seminary of Shah Waliullah's descendants, they are the real heirs of the Shah Waliullah thought and movement. The *Deobandi* schools incline heavily towards the *Hanafi* schools of Islamic law, a common point between the *Barelwis* and the *Deobandis*. But the *Tasawuf* of Shah Waliullah is not, as in the case of the *Barelwis*, the pre-determining factor of their appreciation for his philosophy. It is rather his philosophy of *fiqh* that has basically attracted them to him. Shah Waliullah was sagacious enough to recognize the *Hanafi fiqh* in Indo-Pakistan and Transoxania because it was followed by the majority of the population of these lands.²⁰ But, as has been discussed earlier, he was not in favor of accepting the rulings of any jurist until they were presented on to the *hadith* and found valid.²¹ *Deobandis* find an increased interest in this counsel of his which provides them with an opportunity to exercise their preference for staying suspended between tradition and convention.
3. Next comes the *Ahl-e-Hadis*. They acclaim Shah Waliullah as one of the founders of their school in India. The factors which inspire them to own him for themselves are to be found in his thoughts on the supremacy of the *hadis* to *fiqh*. As the name of their community is indicative, they renounce conformity in any garb. Nothing but a *hadis* is an authority to them after the *Quran*. They maintain a strict segregation from the concomitants of *Tasawuf*, such as visits of the graves of the saints, invoking their intercession for the redemption of sins, or supplicating them for help in worldly affairs and believing in saints and *pirs* as the intermediate agency between God and man. They turn to Shah Waliullah, for they find that his instinct feels repulsion from conformity.²² He disapproved supplication at the graves of the saints, and stood firmly for the cause of the *hadith*. Here too, in the case of the *Ahl-e-hadis*, we see that only one aspect of Shah Waliullah's movement proves fascinating to them; and that is his traditionalism.
4. Neo-*Mu'tazilites* turn to Shah Waliullah for his realism that runs throughout his thoughts. Shah Waliullah believed in the truths of Islam in the light of reason.

Commands of Islam have social values. They are not the orders of a tyrant who wants to test the obedience of his subjects. 'For him "reason and argument" had perhaps a more fundamental significance, but they inspired the formula of neo-*Mutazilite* modernism of Sayyid Ahmad Khan, who had received his early education in the seminary of Shah Waliullah's successors in Delhi, of Shibli's scholasticism and of "religious reconstruction" in the thought of Iqbal. In his exegesis of the *Quran*, which raised such-a-storm of controversy, Sayyid Ahmad Khan leans heavily on the work of this eighteenth century theologian'.²³

Related to rationalism is the feature of Shah Waliullah's philosophy which seeks to ascribe material causes to miracles. It opened new vistas of thinking before the future commentators of the *Quran*. In his book the *Tawil-al-Ahadis*, Shah Waliullah maintains that miracles are infect ordinary incidents, but they look as unusual happenings because their causes are either obscure or rare or unfamiliar to the common man.²⁴ Finding a material cause for every wonder and remarkable incident is such an essential feature of his realism that he continued with this exercise even though sometimes the cause for supposed a miracle itself became a supernatural phenomenon. For example, he said that the opening of the passage through the Nile through which Moses passed with safety was caused by a strong wind.²⁵ In another place he said that the bodily change of the Israelis, who violated the Divine injunctions of Sabbath, into monkeys, was brought about by some obnoxious fish that they had eaten.²⁶ Whether a strong wind can cause a passage of a river and the eating of putrid fish can turn a man into a monkey or not, does not affect our thesis. What is discernible here is that Shah Waliullah has much to offer to the neo-*Mutazilites*. They have indeed made improvement on the basis provided by him. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's commentary of the *Quran* affords a remarkable study of Shah Waliullah influence of this school of thought. Again the religious writings of our worthy contemporary, Mr. Ghulam Ahmad Parvez, bear ample evidence that the author has drunk deep at the fountain of Shah Waliullah rationalism.

An inductive survey of human societies led Shah Waliullah to the conclude that; any diversity of pursuits characterizing human societies on various levels of social development, variation in their fads and fashions, divergence of their customs and conventions, heterogeneity of their races, stocks and vernaculars, dissimilarity of their cultural patterns and religious rites, and their difference in terms of time and

space notwithstanding, are the broad essentials of universal social culture as identified by him.²⁷

Thus, on the basis of a more or less empirical under structure Shah Waliullah tried to develop a universal paradigm of society. He conceived the emergence of this paradigm, to be an outcome of the normal pursuit of the natural socio-cultural aims of individual and society. He marshals numerous examples based on an inductive observation of the universal social phenomena to substantiate his contention that all civilized societies emerging since the genesis of man, displayed common elements of human social culture. These elements are universally traceable because they essentially stem from the urges rooted in immutable human nature and are directed to achieve their commonly cherished aims. It is the pursuit of these aims which provides the basis for continuity in culture and civilization and the identity of universal social phenomena. He traces the natural growth of the social organism as stemming primarily from man's pursuit of his instinctive animal and human needs in biological, anthropological, cultural and economic spheres of life. This pursuit by a man of his essential needs gives rise to the preliminary stage of social development called the first *irtifaq* by Shah Waliullah. Variation and multiplicity of human needs pave the way for further progress and expansion in social organization both physically and culturally. Moreover, these natural pursuits of human social needs warrant invention of a variety of basic vocations which opens avenues for social cooperation, the main stay for economic organization. This gives rise to a higher stage of social and cultural development of society, namely the second *irtifaq*.²⁸

Further, collective concern of the society for cementing its inner cohesion, and maintaining self-protection from potential threat to its vital interests from within and outside, leads to the creation of an agency charged with a number of collection obligations on behalf of the society. This sets in the primary stage of political organization of the society where by, it attains the third *irtifaq*. This political organization is necessitated by the pragmatic need of every society to avert aggression from external forces and to prevent acts of injustice among its own members. Therefore primarily political organization emerges to discharge two main functions; defense from external threats by maintaining a formidable physical force and protection of the society from internal sources of injustice through organizing an elaborate mechanism of judicature.²⁹

Emergence of plurality of political entities at the primary level gives rise to natural discord and dispute which requires the establishment of a higher political organization to oversee and control matters of their common concern so as to regulate them on the basis of justice and peaceful co-existence. At this stage human society attains the fourth and final level of *irtifaq* which constitutes the pinnacle of human socio-cultural, economic and political organization.³⁰

The point of culmination in the socio-political thought of Shah Waliullah is the *Khilafah*, the emergence of which is synchronized with the society's attainment of the fourth *irtifaq*. He stipulates a given level of culture and civilization for a society before it achieves a stage of perfection namely; *Khilafah*. But he does not approach this stage of perfection in human social evolution through the process of purely traditional argument derived from the *Quran* and *Sunnah*. On the other hand, he constructs a theory of society on empirical and rational foundations, and arrives at a meeting point between inductive reasoning, empirical observation and traditional sanctions. Thus, *Khilafah* in Shah Waliullah's philosophy emerges as a natural outcome of a free and healthy pursuit by man of his socio-cultural aims as dictated by his natural and temperate disposition, provided it is unhampered by moral perversion or any other deviation from the natural course.³¹

The relevance of Shah Waliullah's theory of human development to us today, as he himself points out, is that when we cannot control of fourth stage, we should adorn and improve the third stage; when we lose the third stage, we should concentrate on bettering the second stage and so on, until we regain the next higher stage. The national and international socio-economic and political institutions can serve their inherent purposes only if they function properly and crime, corruption, exploitation and oppression are eliminated. The increasing concern with improving the human development index, as well as many modern day writers' ongoing emphasis on adopting a value based system, only shows Shah Waliullah's continuing relevance. His theory of *irtifaqat* is, therefore, lasting and still a relevant contribution to the social sciences.³²

It will be clear from the foregoing that the contextual evolution and cultural relativity are the prominent marks of the social philosophy of Shah Waliullah. He conceives and constructs the evolution of society like one organic whole.³³ In his view, the society is a dynamic organism which evolves naturally. This evolution is

relative to a variety of factors and circumstances that accompany it. The Islamic form of society is no exception to this rule. Shah Waliullah does not regard society “as an aggregate of units, held together by an external force, or artificial means of social contract, but as a veritable living organism. It obeys the laws of its own evolution. It has an end and a purpose. It works on lines almost analogous to those of the individual who is subjected to states of health and ailment, progress and regression, life and death.”³⁴

Social customs may constitute a momentous support, as well as a great impediment. They yield positive and beneficial results, if they are formed by guides of human society being in the happy possession of the seven cardinal virtues and if God renders the rest of the people disposed by nature to accept their lead, making “their minds like mirrors, in which images of other mirrors are reflected”.³⁵ If man had not an inner stimulus to follow another man, he would not have adopted ethical qualities, and would not have passed through the excellent phases of socio-economic development. The world would have regressed in its evolution, and the majority of men would not have gotten beyond the stage of animal life. So the best customs are those by which the ethical qualities of individuals are improved and which are conducive to the reformation of the society. They should be wide instead of being narrow in their application. They should not be so rigid that the slightest disregard of a minute detail in practice may lead to unbearable public disapproval. They should pursue a middle course between extravagant luxury and an extremely austere way of life such as the customs of the civilized people of the *Hijaz*³⁶ in pre-Islamic times and the residents of small towns in our country.³⁷

An additional advantage that customs may offer is that they can be helpful in putting a person’s faith into practice. This is particularly true of people who are fully occupied with their work and lack inner stability; if there were no customs, they would not concern themselves with the message of Islam.³⁸ However, a custom may equally well produce detrimental effects. At least, three cases of this are imaginable to wit:

1. It may prevent the emergence of ethical qualities in man, if it does not suit the nature of a particular individual. “Thus, if it is based on pettiness or on following a leader, it will prevent a man who is a strong personality from magnanimity, and domination; and if it is based on magnanimity and domination, it will prevent the man

who is evil or stricken with misfortunes from reforming his ways, since it is only appropriate for such a person if it descends to the level of submissiveness and pettiness.”

2. It may cause moral decadence if a custom is violation of good manners. This is the case with “customs permitting fornication and sodomy and those allowing women to adopt the fashion of men and men to adopt the fashion of women.”

3. It may impair proximity to God, because of it being based either on going to extremes in earning a livelihood, or on plunging into pastimes like flute-playing, chess, hunting, keeping pigeons, etc.³⁹

When implementing his socio-economic principles, Shah Waliullah demonstrated with different classes of contemporary Muslim society, the abuses typical of their occupations or modes of life. He accused the rulers of the country of living in the same lavish style as the kings of Persia and Byzantium in the days of the Prophet (pbuh). In consequence of this, they were “forced to levy an exorbitant rate of taxation upon the cultivators, merchants, and the like. The latter suffered from great hardships. They were reduced to the level of asses and bullocks, and were not even allowed an hour to rest from their labors so that they could find no time to pay any heed to the life to come.”⁴⁰

Born in an age of decadence and chaos, Shah Waliullah strove for a world full of peace and prosperity. He made a singular contribution to the socio-economic thought of medieval India and visualized a Muslim society in which the individuals enjoyed the fullest freedom, consistent with the maximum good of all. In such an ideal Islamic state, the ruler was to be governed by the Holy *Quran* and the *Sunnah*. No economic exploitation was to be tolerated in such a state and the individual was free to earn his living by fair means. He formulated certain principles necessary for the revival of human values.⁴¹

In his book *Hujjautllah al-Baligha* he laid down those principles *i.e.* labor is the real source of wealth and only those who put in the physical and mental labor for the sake of betterment of the society deserve to possess wealth. People, he believed are equal and the position of the ruler of a state is no more than that of a common citizen in the matters of justice and freedom. Things like right to freedom, security and property are essential for all, irrespective of religion, race or colour.⁴²

Shah Waliullah was a luminary who during the stormy period of Indian history showed the bewildered Muslims with the right path, of peace and glory. His unique contribution lies in the fact that he begins with an analysis of the macro level of an average cultured and civilized society and then spells out the features of a universal paradigm of society and state. He tries to make a point that the healthy evolution of culture, both in the individual and collective spheres, is, of necessarily, conducive to the attainment of *iqtirabat*. When this attainment assumes a vigorous collective form at an organized level and is re enforced by an army, the judiciary, and the other necessary tools of public order, the natural result is the emergence of an Islamic state. This event, on the universal plane, represents the culmination in the cultural evolution of human society. With its emergence, the divine mercy and favor to humanity is consummated to the degree of perfection, for its attainment allows humanity to achieve the highest levels of peace and tranquility through organized unity between the various social groups and under a just order. This ensures their felicity in this world and brings a promise for eternal bliss in the hereafter.⁴³

Next Shah Waliullah talks about economy. He says that professions are inter-dependent and complimentary. Neither any profession is low nor high. Man opts for a particular profession because of his inclination and circumstances. Shah Waliullah was, perhaps the only Muslim scholar of medieval India who realized the importance of economic equilibrium in a social and political set-up, and advocated its maintenance in the society and strongly criticized the accumulation of wealth which leads to all sorts of evils in the world. He had visualized a social order based on economic equality, fraternity and brotherhood which are the principles governing Islamic socialist practices during the time of pious Caliphs.⁴⁴

He says that when the barter system became obsolete the need and value of stable currency was felt. That is how the structure of trade and commerce was greatly changed. The need for mutual cooperation accelerated the pace of industry and trade. Its development was greatly dependent upon a stable government and a political system.

Shah Waliullah says that in order to protect the collective interest's of the people and create a better understanding and harmony among them, a powerful and a good government and political system is required. This power enjoys sovereignty as it keeps a balance between various forces. This he calls *Imamat* and it is the third

important feature in his scheme of values and is dependent upon five different considerations. In the chapter that deals with phenomena of government (*Imamat*) Shah Waliullah gives various reasons in its favor.

(i) He says that conflicts erupt among people due to jealousy and miserliness; only a strong state agency can resolve them effectively or people would take the law into their own hands.

(ii) Some people are easily dominated by animal instincts and they become easy prey to evil machinations. It is the duty of the state to discipline such people and reform them.

(iii) Those who indulge in unlawful activities and accumulate wealth by exploitation, loot and plundering should be dealt with sternly even if the state has to declare a war against them.

(iv) In order to organize the society on sound principles of equality and justice, it is necessary to establish and develop a strong judiciary.

(v) As human soul is very weak and human flesh is weaker, it is always possible that he forgets the aim of his life and is lost in his material pursuits. It is obligatory on the state to strive for people's guidance and enlightenment through various ways and means.⁴⁵

Mercantilist nations were impressed by the fact that the precious metals, especially, gold were in universal demand as the ready means of obtaining other commodities; hence, they tended to identify money with wealth. As the best means of acquiring bullion, foreign trade was favored above domestic trade, and manufacturing over processing, which provided the goods for foreign trade, was favored at the expense of the extractive industries. State action, an essential feature of the mercantile system, was used to accomplish its purposes. There is no denying the fact that mercantilism caused a spur in the development of Europe in general and particularly the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, English and later on also the French economies, underwent a growth shock. They benefited from internal and external economies from the ensuing scale effects. Mercantilists helped create trade patterns such as the triangular trade in the North Atlantic, in which the raw materials were imported to the metropolis and then processed and redistributed to other colonies. The importance placed on bullion was also a central target, even if many mercantilists had themselves

begun to de-emphasize the importance of gold and silver. These European countries took over the torch of development; the centre of the European world was displaced from the Mediterranean and moved to the Atlantic. In economic and political terms, this Atlantic world took over the hegemony and would keep it for a long time.⁴⁶

The greatest loss in development of mercantilism was a shift of paradigm. Till early modern age, economics was governed by religion and ethics. But the new paradigm, strengthening state and economy at all costs, used by Mercantilists was adopted from Machiavelli (1469-1527) and Jean Bodin (1520-96) who freed politics from all moral and ethical considerations and held the state accountable to no one. Baeck is correct when he says: “Looked at from the stand point of intellectual history, the most important novelty of mercantilist thought is that it marked the retreat of the moral economy. The evacuation of ethical principles and the differentiation of things economic from their normative context, truly distinguishes mercantilist writings from those of preceding Mediterranean tradition. The ethical paradigm that had reigned over the thinking about economics from the ancient Greeks to the school of Salamanca,⁴⁷ was dethroned by the Atlantization of the modern world and its doctrines’. Surprisingly, ‘Keynes in his celebrated work “General Theory” attempts to rehabilitate the mercantilist doctrine, though having a quite different social philosophy’.⁴⁸ All nations, despite their territorial and religious differences, are agreed upon these *Irtifaqat* in principle. They acknowledge their soundness and consider it necessary to follow them. All this is the result of the natural requirement of man’s specific form.⁴⁹

In short, the entire thought of Shah Waliullah is a rational theorization of the Prophetic experience of receiving Divine guidance and reforming society according to the terms of this guidance. This Prophetic reform at once affected the totality of human existential enterprise. The contribution of Shah Waliullah lies in his pioneering endeavor to establish an organic link between the diversity of life and environment within a holistic framework of the Islamic World view.

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35. *Al-Budur*, p. 87.
36. Who preserved moderate standards which kept a happy balance between the austere way of life of the Bedouins and the pompous status of living of Persians and Romans of those days (*Hujjat Allah al- Baligha*, Delhi, 1954/5, II, p. 126).
37. *Al- Budur al- Bazigha*, p. 87.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 195.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 88 and *hujjatullah al-Baligha*, Vol.I, p. 49.

40. In a paper entitled '*A comparison between the Quranic views of 'Ubayd Allah Sindhi and Shah Waliullah*'. I have pointed out that this remarkable conclusion at the end discloses that in the eyes of Shah Waliullah the fatal effects of the exploitation by the aristocracy are primarily of a religious nature; they are not directly connected with the economic conditions of the people. So it is indeed very questionable whether Ubayd Allah Sindhi's appeal to the Delhi reformer as a witness of his own outright socialistic convictions is altogether legitimate (Islamic Studies Islamabad 1977 vol. XVI³, 183).
41. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
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43. Muhammad al Ghazali, "*Universal Social Culture; An Empirico-Revelational Paradigm of Shah Waliullah*"; The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences, Vol. II, 1994, p. 23.
44. Dr. Nighat Rasheed, "*Shah Waliullah's Social Thoughts in Political perspective*", Aligarh, 2008, pp. 116-117.
45. Shah Waliullah's contribution, *Radiance*, 30 Nov-6 December, 1986, p. 11.
46. Abdul Azim Islahi, "*Muslim economic thinking and institutions in the 10thAH/16th Century CE*", Saudi Arabia, 2009, pp. 95-96.
47. A group of Spanish theologians and canonists formed the famous school of Salamanca. In the second quarter of the sixteenth century the University of Salamanca became the centre of an important scholastic revival. It adopted the juridical and normal concepts of Thomistic theology to Modern times and kept its metaphysical aspects in the background.
48. Abudul Azim Islahi, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
49. *Al-Budur-ul-Bazighah*, p. 94.

Conclusions

Shah Waliullah lived in Delhi, India's capital, and then ruled by the Mughals. The Mughals were next to the Ottomans in power and prestige, at least until the beginning of the 18th century. But soon decadence and anarchism engulfed the whole empire. Regional forces from all over India were on the path of revolt, seeking to annex Delhi and establish their own hegemony. Frequent changes of kings weakened the regime, and Mughal rulers lost their wisdom, courage and political insight. Luxurious living, extravagance, an empty treasury and heavy taxation added to the unrest and anxiety of their subjects. In this way, disunity and disintegration were the biggest challenges faced by Muslim rule in India.

Shah Waliullah advised the Muslims to return to the Arabic language, Arabian dress and Arab style of living and preferring them to others. Above advice given by him proved that he was not at all pleased with the Iranian and Hindu cultures which had entered the palaces of Empires and nobles of the Mughal Empire and to a pure Muslim society.

He kept himself away from the court of the king and active politics but he could not keep himself aloof from the political arena. When he saw that regional forces were about to put an end to centuries old Muslim rule in India and establish their own hegemony, he wrote to the ruler of Afghanistan for direct assistance. Although the latter acceded to his request, the Mughal ruler of the time did not avail himself of this opportunity to correct both this own behavior and reinforce his rule. Thereafter, Shah Waliullah chose an academic career to carry out reform and renovation. Since unity of the Muslim *ummah* was the most pressing need of the time, he called upon the removal of rigidity among the followers of Islam by inviting them to rely in their matters on the *Quran* and *Sunnah*. He stressed *Tawhid* as the basis of this unity. He criticized heretic *Sufism*, but approved that form of *Sufism* which did not conflict with the authentic teachings of Islam.

Shah Waliullah was born in the beginning of 18th century (1114 H./1703 A.D.) which was a very uneasy, critical and ruinous period for the Muslims in all spheres-political, social, religious, educational etc. He lived in an age when the Muslim society and the government were heading towards decline. Shah Waliullah completed

his education under Shaikh Abdur Rahim (d. 1131 H./1718A.D.) and other scholars in India and served as the teacher in *Madrasah Rahimiyah* which was established by his father in Delhi. During this long teaching he studied deeply and widely and taught the students different religious and rational subjects, so he got the opportunity to reflect over a variety of issues. After studying the *fiqh* and *usul* of four *mazhabs* and *hadiths* from which they deduce those *fiqh* and *usul* and with divine help his heart became satisfied with the methods of the jurists who depended on *hadith*.

Commenting on Shah Waliullah 's role as a *Sufi*, Prof. Gibb has rightly said: "he has contributed essential elements to the present currents of thought in Islam". He did not merely lay the foundation of a new *Ilm al- kalam*, but he was striving to restate the bases of Islamic theology in a manner which broke away from the formalism of orthodox manuals, and after all, he had laid new stress upon the psychological and ethical elements in the religion. Shah Waliullah was a prolific warrior of Islam. He bravely challenged the problematic contemporary situations. Shah Waliullah did not hesitate to analyse the formidable political atmosphere. His encyclopedic knowledge and steadiness in practical life are the great models for the Muslim world. As Allamah Muhammad Iqbal remarks, "he was the first Muslim to feel the urge for rethinking the whole system of Islam without any breaking away from its past". The fact to which Shah Waliullah draws our attention is that since the religion of Islam has come for the establishment of the greatest international power and when its domination is to continue forever, it can be rightly ensured only when the Muslim nations make themselves strong both morally and materially, draw closer and work together as far as possible.

Shah Waliullah's thought was for the economy, which brought development to the people who were below the poverty line. He wanted to increase the purchasing power of the common man, which was so much needed during his days. He was not in favor of the economic model, which did not benefit the economically weak class. He also came down heavily on the policy dictated by the feudal-oriented system. He was more concerned about the value while the market economy of those days was concerned about price. He realized that the capitalist model of development was ruining the country so far as the interest of the common man was concerned. He did not approve the concentration of the sources of economy in a few hands and in its

place, suggested an alternative arrangement in which the economy is largely beneficial for the humanity. He criticized the development of the country which was not for the masses but for a particular rich section of the society. For him the basic need of the society was to augment the production for the masses, which was the need of the hour. The problem of the common man, he emphasized was an equitable or just distribution of the wealth and that the sources of income should be utilized for the benefit of the masses. Shah Waliullah considered the economic model of those days utterly alien to the realities of the country, which was inhabited largely by the toiling masses. He wanted the market to be for the people and not the people to be for the market.

Shah Waliullah's thoughts on the economic conditions of those days provide yet another example of his masterly skill in integrating economic theory with ethical values. No doubt, he was definitely ahead of his time in suggesting solution for the ills of the society. All his emphasis was on the plea that the economy of the society should not be pushed into the hands of the capitalist class. It should be for the larger and needy section of the population of the country which included agriculturists, small traders, labor and people belonging to different vocations. Needless to say, he also defined injustice and unfairness as the creation of imperfection in the market and the artificial raising of prices.

Shah Waliullah stands in the Indian subcontinent's history as a link between medieval and modern Islamic thought. Through his writings on various *Shāri'ah* sciences, he brought about a revolution in the Muslim mind on that continued to inspire his readers even today. Focusing on the economic problems of his time, he reflected upon the economy's applied aspects and such theoretical issues as a person's basic occupation, the need for a division of labor, the nature and function of money, and undesirable economic practices. He also analyzed *riba al-fadl* and *riba al-nasi'ah* in economic terms and emphasized the need and importance of having a full treasury.

In addition, he formulated a theory known as *al-irtifaqat*. "Opening from simple village life" and ending with an "global society," he divided society's socioeconomic development into four stages, the first of which is dominated by the simple economic struggle and the last of which is developed to maintain a "now political organize on top of the global level" in order to "maintain" the various states'

socioeconomic interest and establish mutual “quiet and fairness”. The entire economic “thoughts” revolve around and are related to his concept of *irtifaqat*.

Shah Waliullah decided an academic career to carry out reform and renovation. Since Muslim unity was the most pressing need of the time, he called for the removal of rigidity among Muslims by inviting them to rely on the *Quran* and *Sunnah*, stressed *tawhid* as the basis of unity, and criticized what he considered to be “heretical” *Sufism*. In his discussion of public finance, Shah Waliullah classifies countries as “pure Muslim” and “mixed” societies. According to him, the former will require fewer public expenditures and sources of income than the latter.

The relevance of Shah Waliullah’s theory of human development to us today, as he himself points out, is that when we cannot control of the fourth stage, we should adorn and improve the third stage; when we lose the third stage, we should concentrate on bettering the second stage and so on, until we regain the next higher stage. The national and international socioeconomic and political institutions can serve their inherent purposes only if they function properly and crime, corruption, exploitation and oppression are eliminated. The increasing concern with improving the human development index, as well as many modern-day writers’ ongoing emphasis on adopting a value based system, only shows Shah Waliullah’s continuing relevance. History of *irtifaqat* is, therefore, a lasting and still-relevant contribution to the social sciences.

Apart from the Holy *Quran*, Shah Waliullah also wrote authentic books on *Hadith*, the principles of *Hadith*, *Tafseer* and on mystical subjects. But the most popular is the book of *“Hujjatullah-al Baligha.”* It explains how Islam was found suitable for all races, cultures and people of the world and how successfully it solves social, moral, economic and political problems of human beings.

His works may be classified into six categories. The first deals with the Holy *Quran*. It includes his translation of the Holy Book into Persian, the literary languages of the subcontinent of those times. According to him, the object of studying the Holy Book is to reform human nature and correct the wrong beliefs and injurious actions. The second category deals with *Hadith*, in which he had left behind several works, including the Arabic and Persian commentaries on “*Mu’atta*”, the well-known collection of the traditions of the Holy Prophet (pbuh) compiled by Imam Malik. He

attached great importance to this collection of traditions by Imam Malik, even greater than those of Imam Bukhari and Imam Muslim. He is an outstanding *Muhaddith* and links of all modern scholars of *Hadith* in the subcontinent may be traced to him. Shah Waliullah wrote a number of books and pamphlets dealing with *Hadith*. The third category deals with '*Fiqh*' or Islamic Jurisprudence, which includes "*Insaaf-fi-bayaan-i-Sabab-il-Ikhtilaaf*" which is a brief but a very interesting and informative history of the Islamic Jurisprudence of the last five centuries. The fourth category deals with his works based on mysticism. The fifth category pertains to his works on Muslim philosophy and *Ilm al-Kalam*. He also wrote a pamphlet on the principles of *Ijtihad* and *Taqlid*. In his "Principles of *Ijtihad*" he clarifies whether it is obligatory for a Muslim to adhere to one of the four recognized schools of Islamic Jurisprudence or whether he can exercise his own judgment. In the opinion of Shah Waliullah, a layman should rigidly follow his own Imam but a person well versed in Islamic law can exercise his own judgment which should be in conformity with the practice of the Holy Prophet (pbuh). But the most outstanding of all his works "*Hujjatullah al-Baligha*" which deals with such aspects of Islam that are common among all Muslim countries. In its introduction, he observed: Some people think that there is no usefulness involved in the injunctions of Islamic law and that in actions and rewards as prescribed by God there is no beneficial purpose. They think that the commandments of Islamic law are similar to a master ordering his servant to lift a stone or touch a tree in order to test his obedience and that in this there is no purpose except to impose a test so that if the servant obeys, he is rewarded, and if the disobeys, he is punished. This view is completely incorrect. The traditions of the Holy Prophet (pbuh) and consensus of opinion of those ages, contradict this view. The sixth category deals with his works on the *Shia-Sunni* problem which had become somewhat acute in those days. His writings, on this subject have done a great deal in simplifying this problem. His theories pertaining to economics and socialism are of revolutionary nature and he may be considered as the procuress of Karl Marx. Writing about his works in the History of the Freedom Movements, Sheikh Muhammad Ikram states: Shah Waliullah wrote learned works and initiated powerful and beneficial movements, but perhaps no less important are the invisible qualities of approach and outlook, which he bequeathed to Muslim religious thoughts in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. His work is characterized by knowledge, insight, moderation and

tolerance, but the quality, on which he laid the greatest emphasis, in theory and in practice, was *Adl* or *Adalat*. His works and views bear ample testimony to the ways he observed this principle in practice and he lost few opportunities of emphasizing in theory its role in maintaining the social fabric.

Shah Waliullah was responsible for awakening in the community, the desire to win back its moral fervor and to maintain its purity. To raise a community's conscience, belief and faith from destruction was not a small achievement. His teachings created new awareness in the minds of Muslims of the subcontinent. He was a realist in his political thinking. He had a clear vision of society, religion, ethics, morals and politics. He presented such modern and golden principles of economics and politics that are still in use.

An inductive survey of human societies led Shah Waliullah to the conclusion that; any diversity of human societies pursues various levels of social development, variation in their fads and fashions, divergence of their customs and conventions, heterogeneity of their races, stocks and vernaculars, dissimilarity of their cultural patterns and religious rites, and their difference in terms of time and space notwithstanding, they all recognize the broad essentials of universal social culture as identified by him. Thus, on the basis of a more or less empirical understructure Shah Waliullah tried to develop a universal paradigm of society.

Cooperation and division of labor has been one of the most discussed topics of economic thought. He considered it as the foundation of a healthy and balanced development of the economy. He highlighted its basic elements. To him the implications of the Islamic provision of *fard kifayah* is also a kind of division of labor and non-concentration of all into one job. In case of *riba'l-fadl* and *riba'l-nasi'ah* accruing due to an exchange of gold for gold and silver for silver, he considered *thamaniyah* as the *illah* and in case of food stuffs he considered only those which are storable and preservable. While discussing the economic significance of various provisions of *zakah*, such as, its reasonable rate, time of collection, productive *zakah* bases, consideration of growth and labour involvement etc., In his discussion of public finance, Shah Waliullah classified countries as purely Muslim and pluralistic. Accordingly, there will be less or more requirement of public expenditure and sources of income. Shah Waliullah presented a theory of socio-economic development based

on human nature. His theory works in a straight forward fashion. He also expanded it to other worldly spheres to seek nearness to Allah and spiritual progression as the ultimate goal of human beings.

Shah Waliullah is not only unique in his theory of socio-economic development among Muslim scholars but is a pioneer of the theory known in the West as the 'stages of history' approach to development. Here is an account of the same: over the last two and half centuries, a number of Western economists have adopted this 'stages of history' approach to development.

The development of humankind in the third and fourth stages without the necessary and just institutions and void of human values will only lead to exploitation of the weaker nation and oppression of the masses and ultimately the breakdown of the whole system, just as he complained during his own time and that has been experienced in every period. Shah Waliullah's theory is also distinguishable from others in so far as he does not consider the development of humankind into a fourth stage and the establishment of an international socio-economic institution as the climax of humanity. Instead, this should lead to nearness to the Creator of this world through good deeds and following the life patterns of the Last of the Prophets. Improvement in this relation will improve the condition of *al-irtifaq* and vice-versa.

Thus, there is no end of history in Shah Waliullah's theory of mankind's development. The relevance of his theory of development today, as he himself pointed, is that where we miss the control of fourth stage, we should adorn and improve the third stage and where we lose the third stage, concentrate on the betterment of the second stage and so on till we regain the higher stage of it. National and international socio-economic and political institutions can serve their right purpose only if their diseases are cured and crime, corruption, exploitation and oppression are eliminated. The increasing concern about improvement of the human development index and emphasis on the adoption of a value based system on the part of many contemporary writers only shows the relevance of Shah Waliullah's ideas in the modern age. His theory of *al-irtifaq* is a lasting contribution to the social science, one that is very much relevant today.

In short, the entire thought of Shah Waliullah is a rational theorization of the Prophetic experience of receiving Divine guidance and reforming society according to

the terms of this guidance. This Prophetic reform at once affected the totality of human existential enterprise. The contribution of Shah Waliullah lies in his pioneering endeavour to establish an organic link between the diversity of life and environment within a holistic framework of the Islamic World view. In brief, he laid the foundation of an economic and social theory which is well balanced and which safeguards the economic and social interests of all the sections of the humanity at large.

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Conclusions

Shah Waliullah lived in Delhi, India's capital, and then ruled by the Mughals. The Mughals were next to the Ottomans in power and prestige, at least until the beginning of the 18th century. But soon decadence and anarchism engulfed the whole empire. Regional forces from all over India were on the path of revolt, seeking to annex Delhi and establish their own hegemony. Frequent changes of kings weakened the regime, and Mughal rulers lost their wisdom, courage and political insight. Luxurious living, extravagance, an empty treasury and heavy taxation added to the unrest and anxiety of their subjects. In this way, disunity and disintegration were the biggest challenges faced by Muslim rule in India.

Shah Waliullah advised the Muslims to return to the Arabic language, Arabian dress and Arab style of living and preferring them to others. Above advice given by him proved that he was not at all pleased with the Iranian and Hindu cultures which had entered the palaces of Empires and nobles of the Mughal Empire and to a pure Muslim society.

He kept himself away from the court of the king and active politics but he could not keep himself aloof from the political arena. When he saw that regional forces were about to put an end to centuries old Muslim rule in India and establish their own hegemony, he wrote to the ruler of Afghanistan for direct assistance. Although the latter acceded to his request, the Mughal ruler of the time did not avail himself of this opportunity to correct both this own behavior and reinforce his rule. Thereafter, Shah Waliullah chose an academic career to carry out reform and renovation. Since unity of the Muslim *ummah* was the most pressing need of the time, he called upon the removal of rigidity among the followers of Islam by inviting them to rely in their matters on the *Quran* and *Sunnah*. He stressed *Tawhid* as the basis of this unity. He criticized heretic *Sufism*, but approved that form of *Sufism* which did not conflict with the authentic teachings of Islam.

Shah Waliullah was born in the beginning of 18th century (1114 H./1703 A.D.) which was a very uneasy, critical and ruinous period for the Muslims in all spheres-political, social, religious, educational etc. He lived in an age when the Muslim society and the government were heading towards decline. Shah Waliullah completed

his education under Shaikh Abdur Rahim (d. 1131 H./1718A.D.) and other scholars in India and served as the teacher in *Madrasah Rahimiyah* which was established by his father in Delhi. During this long teaching he studied deeply and widely and taught the students different religious and rational subjects, so he got the opportunity to reflect over a variety of issues. After studying the *fiqh* and *usul* of four *mazhabs* and *hadiths* from which they deduce those *fiqh* and *usul* and with divine help his heart became satisfied with the methods of the jurists who depended on *hadith*.

Commenting on Shah Waliullah 's role as a *Sufi*, Prof. Gibb has rightly said: "he has contributed essential elements to the present currents of thought in Islam". He did not merely lay the foundation of a new *Ilm al- kalam*, but he was striving to restate the bases of Islamic theology in a manner which broke away from the formalism of orthodox manuals, and after all, he had laid new stress upon the psychological and ethical elements in the religion. Shah Waliullah was a prolific warrior of Islam. He bravely challenged the problematic contemporary situations. Shah Waliullah did not hesitate to analyse the formidable political atmosphere. His encyclopedic knowledge and steadiness in practical life are the great models for the Muslim world. As Allamah Muhammad Iqbal remarks, "he was the first Muslim to feel the urge for rethinking the whole system of Islam without any breaking away from its past". The fact to which Shah Waliullah draws our attention is that since the religion of Islam has come for the establishment of the greatest international power and when its domination is to continue forever, it can be rightly ensured only when the Muslim nations make themselves strong both morally and materially, draw closer and work together as far as possible.

Shah Waliullah's thought was for the economy, which brought development to the people who were below the poverty line. He wanted to increase the purchasing power of the common man, which was so much needed during his days. He was not in favor of the economic model, which did not benefit the economically weak class. He also came down heavily on the policy dictated by the feudal-oriented system. He was more concerned about the value while the market economy of those days was concerned about price. He realized that the capitalist model of development was ruining the country so far as the interest of the common man was concerned. He did not approve the concentration of the sources of economy in a few hands and in its

place, suggested an alternative arrangement in which the economy is largely beneficial for the humanity. He criticized the development of the country which was not for the masses but for a particular rich section of the society. For him the basic need of the society was to augment the production for the masses, which was the need of the hour. The problem of the common man, he emphasized was an equitable or just distribution of the wealth and that the sources of income should be utilized for the benefit of the masses. Shah Waliullah considered the economic model of those days utterly alien to the realities of the country, which was inhabited largely by the toiling masses. He wanted the market to be for the people and not the people to be for the market.

Shah Waliullah's thoughts on the economic conditions of those days provide yet another example of his masterly skill in integrating economic theory with ethical values. No doubt, he was definitely ahead of his time in suggesting solution for the ills of the society. All his emphasis was on the plea that the economy of the society should not be pushed into the hands of the capitalist class. It should be for the larger and needy section of the population of the country which included agriculturists, small traders, labor and people belonging to different vocations. Needless to say, he also defined injustice and unfairness as the creation of imperfection in the market and the artificial raising of prices.

Shah Waliullah stands in the Indian subcontinent's history as a link between medieval and modern Islamic thought. Through his writings on various *Shāri'ah* sciences, he brought about a revolution in the Muslim mind on that continued to inspire his readers even today. Focusing on the economic problems of his time, he reflected upon the economy's applied aspects and such theoretical issues as a person's basic occupation, the need for a division of labor, the nature and function of money, and undesirable economic practices. He also analyzed *riba al-fadl* and *riba al-nasi'ah* in economic terms and emphasized the need and importance of having a full treasury.

In addition, he formulated a theory known as *al-irtifaqat*. "Opening from simple village life" and ending with an "global society," he divided society's socioeconomic development into four stages, the first of which is dominated by the simple economic struggle and the last of which is developed to maintain a "now political organize on top of the global level" in order to "maintain" the various states'

socioeconomic interest and establish mutual “quiet and fairness”. The entire economic “thoughts” revolve around and are related to his concept of *irtifaqat*.

Shah Waliullah decided an academic career to carry out reform and renovation. Since Muslim unity was the most pressing need of the time, he called for the removal of rigidity among Muslims by inviting them to rely on the *Quran* and *Sunnah*, stressed *tawhid* as the basis of unity, and criticized what he considered to be “heretical” *Sufism*. In his discussion of public finance, Shah Waliullah classifies countries as “pure Muslim” and “mixed” societies. According to him, the former will require fewer public expenditures and sources of income than the latter.

The relevance of Shah Waliullah’s theory of human development to us today, as he himself points out, is that when we cannot control of the fourth stage, we should adorn and improve the third stage; when we lose the third stage, we should concentrate on bettering the second stage and so on, until we regain the next higher stage. The national and international socioeconomic and political institutions can serve their inherent purposes only if they function properly and crime, corruption, exploitation and oppression are eliminated. The increasing concern with improving the human development index, as well as many modern-day writers’ ongoing emphasis on adopting a value based system, only shows Shah Waliullah’s continuing relevance. History of *irtifaqat* is, therefore, a lasting and still-relevant contribution to the social sciences.

Apart from the Holy *Quran*, Shah Waliullah also wrote authentic books on *Hadith*, the principles of *Hadith*, *Tafseer* and on mystical subjects. But the most popular is the book of *“Hujjatullah-al Baligha.”* It explains how Islam was found suitable for all races, cultures and people of the world and how successfully it solves social, moral, economic and political problems of human beings.

His works may be classified into six categories. The first deals with the Holy *Quran*. It includes his translation of the Holy Book into Persian, the literary languages of the subcontinent of those times. According to him, the object of studying the Holy Book is to reform human nature and correct the wrong beliefs and injurious actions. The second category deals with *Hadith*, in which he had left behind several works, including the Arabic and Persian commentaries on “*Mu’atta*”, the well-known collection of the traditions of the Holy Prophet (pbuh) compiled by Imam Malik. He

attached great importance to this collection of traditions by Imam Malik, even greater than those of Imam Bukhari and Imam Muslim. He is an outstanding *Muhaddith* and links of all modern scholars of *Hadith* in the subcontinent may be traced to him. Shah Waliullah wrote a number of books and pamphlets dealing with *Hadith*. The third category deals with '*Fiqh*' or Islamic Jurisprudence, which includes "*Insaaf-fi-bayaan-i-Sabab-il-Ikhtilaaf*" which is a brief but a very interesting and informative history of the Islamic Jurisprudence of the last five centuries. The fourth category deals with his works based on mysticism. The fifth category pertains to his works on Muslim philosophy and *Ilm al-Kalam*. He also wrote a pamphlet on the principles of *Ijtihad* and *Taqlid*. In his "Principles of *Ijtihad*" he clarifies whether it is obligatory for a Muslim to adhere to one of the four recognized schools of Islamic Jurisprudence or whether he can exercise his own judgment. In the opinion of Shah Waliullah, a layman should rigidly follow his own Imam but a person well versed in Islamic law can exercise his own judgment which should be in conformity with the practice of the Holy Prophet (pbuh). But the most outstanding of all his works "*Hujjatullah al-Baligha*" which deals with such aspects of Islam that are common among all Muslim countries. In its introduction, he observed: Some people think that there is no usefulness involved in the injunctions of Islamic law and that in actions and rewards as prescribed by God there is no beneficial purpose. They think that the commandments of Islamic law are similar to a master ordering his servant to lift a stone or touch a tree in order to test his obedience and that in this there is no purpose except to impose a test so that if the servant obeys, he is rewarded, and if the disobeys, he is punished. This view is completely incorrect. The traditions of the Holy Prophet (pbuh) and consensus of opinion of those ages, contradict this view. The sixth category deals with his works on the *Shia-Sunni* problem which had become somewhat acute in those days. His writings, on this subject have done a great deal in simplifying this problem. His theories pertaining to economics and socialism are of revolutionary nature and he may be considered as the procuress of Karl Marx. Writing about his works in the History of the Freedom Movements, Sheikh Muhammad Ikram states: Shah Waliullah wrote learned works and initiated powerful and beneficial movements, but perhaps no less important are the invisible qualities of approach and outlook, which he bequeathed to Muslim religious thoughts in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. His work is characterized by knowledge, insight, moderation and

tolerance, but the quality, on which he laid the greatest emphasis, in theory and in practice, was *Adl* or *Adalat*. His works and views bear ample testimony to the ways he observed this principle in practice and he lost few opportunities of emphasizing in theory its role in maintaining the social fabric.

Shah Waliullah was responsible for awakening in the community, the desire to win back its moral fervor and to maintain its purity. To raise a community's conscience, belief and faith from destruction was not a small achievement. His teachings created new awareness in the minds of Muslims of the subcontinent. He was a realist in his political thinking. He had a clear vision of society, religion, ethics, morals and politics. He presented such modern and golden principles of economics and politics that are still in use.

An inductive survey of human societies led Shah Waliullah to the conclusion that; any diversity of human societies pursues various levels of social development, variation in their fads and fashions, divergence of their customs and conventions, heterogeneity of their races, stocks and vernaculars, dissimilarity of their cultural patterns and religious rites, and their difference in terms of time and space notwithstanding, they all recognize the broad essentials of universal social culture as identified by him. Thus, on the basis of a more or less empirical understructure Shah Waliullah tried to develop a universal paradigm of society.

Cooperation and division of labor has been one of the most discussed topics of economic thought. He considered it as the foundation of a healthy and balanced development of the economy. He highlighted its basic elements. To him the implications of the Islamic provision of *fard kifayah* is also a kind of division of labor and non-concentration of all into one job. In case of *riba'l-fadl* and *riba'l-nasi'ah* accruing due to an exchange of gold for gold and silver for silver, he considered *thamaniyah* as the *illah* and in case of food stuffs he considered only those which are storable and preservable. While discussing the economic significance of various provisions of *zakah*, such as, its reasonable rate, time of collection, productive *zakah* bases, consideration of growth and labour involvement etc., In his discussion of public finance, Shah Waliullah classified countries as purely Muslim and pluralistic. Accordingly, there will be less or more requirement of public expenditure and sources of income. Shah Waliullah presented a theory of socio-economic development based

on human nature. His theory works in a straight forward fashion. He also expanded it to other worldly spheres to seek nearness to Allah and spiritual progression as the ultimate goal of human beings.

Shah Waliullah is not only unique in his theory of socio-economic development among Muslim scholars but is a pioneer of the theory known in the West as the 'stages of history' approach to development. Here is an account of the same: over the last two and half centuries, a number of Western economists have adopted this 'stages of history' approach to development.

The development of humankind in the third and fourth stages without the necessary and just institutions and void of human values will only lead to exploitation of the weaker nation and oppression of the masses and ultimately the breakdown of the whole system, just as he complained during his own time and that has been experienced in every period. Shah Waliullah's theory is also distinguishable from others in so far as he does not consider the development of humankind into a fourth stage and the establishment of an international socio-economic institution as the climax of humanity. Instead, this should lead to nearness to the Creator of this world through good deeds and following the life patterns of the Last of the Prophets. Improvement in this relation will improve the condition of *al-irtifaq* and vice-versa.

Thus, there is no end of history in Shah Waliullah's theory of mankind's development. The relevance of his theory of development today, as he himself pointed, is that where we miss the control of fourth stage, we should adorn and improve the third stage and where we lose the third stage, concentrate on the betterment of the second stage and so on till we regain the higher stage of it. National and international socio-economic and political institutions can serve their right purpose only if their diseases are cured and crime, corruption, exploitation and oppression are eliminated. The increasing concern about improvement of the human development index and emphasis on the adoption of a value based system on the part of many contemporary writers only shows the relevance of Shah Waliullah's ideas in the modern age. His theory of *al-irtifaq* is a lasting contribution to the social science, one that is very much relevant today.

In short, the entire thought of Shah Waliullah is a rational theorization of the Prophetic experience of receiving Divine guidance and reforming society according to

the terms of this guidance. This Prophetic reform at once affected the totality of human existential enterprise. The contribution of Shah Waliullah lies in his pioneering endeavour to establish an organic link between the diversity of life and environment within a holistic framework of the Islamic World view. In brief, he laid the foundation of an economic and social theory which is well balanced and which safeguards the economic and social interests of all the sections of the humanity at large.