CHAPTER : II
Shah Wali-u Allah (1702-1762/1114-1176) was the product of the early eighteenth century. It was the age when the Muslim world was passing through a serious political crisis. Muslim nations were under the suzerainty of either the Ottoman empire or Iranian empire. Both the empires, however, did face internal as well as external menaces and challenges. Russians had waged a war against the Ottomans in 1284/1867 C.E. and the Afghans attacked on the Iranian empire in 1134 A.H. conquering one of its important cities, Isfahan. The internal conflicts and rivalries between the Turks and the Arabs, the Shia and the Sunni in Iran and Afghanistan were deteriorating the solidarity of the Muslim nations. On the other hand, the Europe that had been tremendously developed in its intellectual and economic experimentation during the 17th century got a considerable penetration into the Ottoman and the Indian soil and influenced the socio-political environment of the Muslim nations. The influences expressed itself into the west’s imperialist establishments and organisations, throughout the Muslim lands.

2. Ibid., PP. 20-41.
subsequently. At the advent of Shah Wali-u Allah, the Indian subcontinent had fallen on the fortunes of its weak and feeble rulers and the uprisings of the hostile groups within the empire did accelerate its declining process.

The Reign of the Later Mughals: An Overview

The age of Shah Wali-u Allah witnessed the rule of eleven rulers, succeeding the throne after Aurangzeb (1028-1119/1618-1707 C.E.). None of them however, could regain the stability of the empire that had been set by the latter. Bahadur Shah (Muhammad Mu'zam), the eldest son of Aurangzeb ruled for about ten years (1702-1712 C.E.). Although himself a mild and forbearing his reign got immersed in confrontations. His innovation into Friday Khutaba by the words ‘Ali Wali-u Allah Wasi - ur Rasul’ hurt the feelings of the Sunni and they protested against it in large gatherings. The emperor ultimately had to withdraw this addition in Khutba. In the north the Sikhs, however, disrupted the peace. Jahandar Shah who succeeded the throne in 1712 was a feeble and pleasure loving king. He was exploited by his Wazir, Zulfqar Khan and spent most of his time in merry making with his concubine La’l

6. Ibid; (Shiekh Muhammad Ikram, P.336).
Kumari. The entire tone of his administration was vulgarised and his reign lasted for one year was first imprisoned and then put to death in 1703 C.E.\textsuperscript{7} Farrukh Siyar followed him in 1115/1713 and the fomers reign too was unhappy. He owed his kingship to the Sayyid brothers – Sayyid Ali and Sayyid Husain Ali -- who had been appointed the all powerful wazirs of the empire\textsuperscript{8}. Due to his own fickle nature Farrukh Siyar became a puppet in the hands of these two brothers and the other nobles like Nizam al Mulk and Mir Jumlah went into the background who could otherwise overcome the exploitation\textsuperscript{9}. The Sayyid brothers even sought the help from the Maratha under Balaji Vishwanath in order to pressurise the emperor for their ulterior motives\textsuperscript{10}. This selfishness of the brothers led them to blind and imprison the emperor till he died in 1719 C.E. The king makers then enthroned Rafi al Dawlah who too became their victim in both the administrative and the private matters\textsuperscript{11}. In September 1719, when he died Muhammad Shah succeeded him as the new emperor whose region lasted for about 29 years. He too was under the tutelage of the Sayyid brothers but this time their influence had been weakened and became popular due to their fatal treatment to Farrukh Siyar and entrusted the affairs of government to Ratan Chand. With the passage of time the resentment against the brothers increased and their power of making

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{7} Ibid; \textit{Tārikh Mashaikh Chest}, Part IV, Idara Adabiyyat Delhi, 1984, P. 63.
\item \textsuperscript{8} Syed Abul Hasan Nadvi; \textit{Op.Cit}, PP.50-51.
\item \textsuperscript{9} Shiekh Muhammad Ikram; \textit{Op.Cit}, PP.338-339.
\item \textsuperscript{10} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{11} Ibid; P.340.
\end{itemize}
and unmaking the king came to an end when Sayyid Hussain Ali was assassinated and Abdullah Khan was imprisoned\textsuperscript{12}. This did not however improve the conditions of the empire. The subsequent rise of the Maratha power and the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1738 on India were the stunning blows to his empire\textsuperscript{13}. In this critical situation there was a general hope in Nazam al Mulk for saving the empire. He fought in battle against Nadir Shah and even suggested the useful reforms to the emperor to improve the administration but the later did not pay the proper attention to them which led him to leave Delhi in despair in 1740 C.E. for Deccan where he played a good role in consolidating his state till his death (1748)\textsuperscript{14}.

One more worrying development resulting from the growing weaknesses of the central authority, was the establishment of hereditary vice royalties in some of the major provinces of the empire. The centre was now deprived of these provinces which had virtually become independent. During the reign of Muhammad Shah, hereditary viceroysalties were in Punjab, the Deccan, Bengal, Sindh and Oudh. In Punjab and Sindh, mainly owing to the intervention of external forces from the West this did not result in the immediate establishment of independent kingdoms, but in the Deccan, Oudh the some extent in Rohilkand it resulted in the rise of principalities, over which the central government had only nominal authority\textsuperscript{15}.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{12} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{13} Syed Abul Hasan Nadvi; \textit{Op.Cit}, PP.53-57.
\item \textsuperscript{14} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{15} Shiekh Muhammad Ikram; \textit{Op.Cit}, PP.344-348.
\end{itemize}
Ahmad Shah and Alamgir II were the last two emperors whose reign Shah Wali- 
u Allah's witnessed. Ahmad Shah who ruled from 1162-1168/1748-1754, was active young man but failed in making effective improvement in the empire. His wazir Safdar Jang following the policy of self aggrandizement and was devoid of far sighted statesmanship. He was dominated by Gazi-ud-Din II, grand son of Numan al-mulk. Safdar Jung left Delhi for Oudh to realise his interest there. Ahmad Shah was not, however, in good terms with the new wazir and got him disposed in 1168/1754. Alamgar II ascended the throne in 1168/1754, himself a man of good intentions, placed before him the pattern of Aurangzeb whose title he adopted. He was an old man of fifty years and could not face the predicament of the time that had reached the stage beyond his control. The Maratha had grown powerful and the British began their ascending in India during Alamgir II. The emperor was put to death by Gazi-ud Din as the formers had friendly terms with Najib al Dawlah, place his own puppet on the throne when Ahmad Shah Abdali replaced by Alpji-gen under the title of Shah Alam in 1759. His was the period when the Mughal empire was undergoing the final stage of the decline and during reign the emperor proved a puppet in the hands of others. When the nawabs of Oudh, Shuja’al Dawlah and Mir Qasim got defeat in the Battle Buxar in 1178/1764 at the hands of the British, Shah Alam could not but recognised the authority of British

16. Ibid; PP.357-358.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid; P.358.
19. Ibid; P.359.
and had an agreement with them accepting their salary and rendering them an authority to collect the revenues of Bengal, Bihar and Oudh provinces\textsuperscript{20}. He failed to exploit the success of Panipat Battle in 1175/1761, in which the Marhata got a defeat, to his side and to save the empire from its deplorable collapse\textsuperscript{21}. Though the emperor got ample time to rule yet his feebleness, being imprisoned in Allahabad for 10 years and returned to Delhi in 1185/1771 when the new crisis had spread all over the empire that rendered him helpless to confront the situation. He was blinded mercilessly in 1788 and till his death (1806) spend his life in this plight. The period witnessed the ugly scene of the empire and the hostile forces rose to the occasion\textsuperscript{22}.

The Role of the Sikh, the Maratha and the Jat Uprisings

Apart from the internal conflicts and rivalry among the rulers and nobles there were some hostile groups which rose in power against the Mughal aristocracy. The chief among those groups were the Sikhs, the Maratha and the Jats. The Sikhs were in good terms with the Mughal rulers until a conflict arose between the two by Guru Arjun’s acting as a rival political force of the empire\textsuperscript{23}. During the reign of Aurangzeb an effort was made to suppress their rebellion and discourage their hostile attitude towards the


\textsuperscript{21} Ibid; PP.57-58.


Muslim rulers\textsuperscript{24}. When Bahadur Shah 1st. was on the throne of Delhi, the Sikhs reasserted their power by bringing a man named Bandah resembling with Guru Gobind Singh as a reborn Guru of the Sikhs to lead them in a war of independence against the Muslims. Bandah took the title of Sacha Padshah and calling himself Govind Singh, summoned the Sikhs to join their Guru who had reappeared\textsuperscript{25}. In response to his call, many zealous assembled marched in arms to Sonipat, some twenty five miles away from north Delhi where the Faujdar came out utterly unprepared and was defeated. This success emboldened Bandah and brought many into his fold and in the company of 50,000 men he conquered Sadhaura near Ambala and committed grave atrocities\textsuperscript{26}. The Sikh attack on Sirhind in 1122/1710 was, however, more alarming and embodied gruesome atrocities. An European historian, William Irvine, refers to this tragic episode as following:

After a feeble defence of two days, the town was taken. Everyone who, for want of carts or other conveyance, had seen left behind, was made prisoner. only those Muhammadans who disguised themselves and laid in the houses of the Hindus, escaped injury. The scavengers and leather dressers and such like persons, who were very numerous among the Sikhs, committed excesses of every description. For the space of four days the town was given up to pillage, the mosques were defiled, the houses burnt, and the

\textsuperscript{24} Ibid; P.26.


\textsuperscript{26} Ibid.
Muhammadans slaughtered; even their woman and children were not spared. Some say that unborn children were taken from the womb and killed before their dying mother’s eyes\textsuperscript{27}.

Nadir Shah’s invasion on India in 1152/1739 also encouraged the Sikhs to spread more panic and violence. In 1178/1764 they captured Lahore and established their power from Jhelum to Jamuna\textsuperscript{28}.

The Maratha and the Jats were not less menace to the Mughal empire during the first half of the 18th century. Although Aurangzeb I during the later 26 years of his rule shattered the unity and power of the Maratha but the geographical situation of the empire did not enable him to destroy their power completely\textsuperscript{29}. Owing to their own weakness, and internal feuds the successors of Aurangzeb made the Maratha to regain their vigour and political strength. When there arose rivalry between Farruk Siyar and the Sayyid brothers and Sayyid Hasan Ali made the Maratha his friends in Deccan and agreed to pay \textit{chuth} and \textit{Sardashmukhi} from the State of Balaji Wishwa Nath. The Maratha alongwith Sayyid Hasan Ali made advances\textsuperscript{*} in 1132/1719 towards Delhi to attack it. The son of Balaji Baji Roa invaded Gujarat Bandlekhand and collected

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{28} Ibid., (Khaliq Ahmad Nizami).
  \item \textsuperscript{29} Ibid; P.28.
  \item \textsuperscript{30} Ibid; P.29.
\end{itemize}
revenues from their cities. As such the Maratha overshadowed completely the legitimate government in Gujarat, Malwa and Bundelkand carrying on their campaign further towards Bengal, Bihar and the Doab. Foreseeing the gravity of this ferocious advances of the Maratha Shah Wali-u Allah himself had to write Ahmad Shah Abadali for extending his help in rescuing them from the atrocities of the Maratha and saving the empire from its decline.

The rise of the Jats also posed a grave threat to the Mughal empire. Residing generally in proximity of the capital they were a constant terror to the people of Delhi. They did blunder, murder and inflict many other kinds of atrocities on the Muslims mercilessly. Harcharan Das, the author of *Chahar Gulzar-i Shujai* describe the suffering of the people on the eve of Jat attack as following.

The inhabitants of Delhi roamed from house to house, in despair and bewilderment, like a wrecked ship tossing on the waves, everyone was running about like a lunatic, distracted, puzzled and unable to take care of himself.

J. N. Sarkar in his estimate of the Jat terms their attacks on Delhi as horrible and
destructive\textsuperscript{34}

\textbf{Socio - Religious Conditions}

Like the political conditions the Social and religious environment on the eve of
Shah Wali-u Allah was not good. The society was hierarchical where \textit{umara}, jagirdars
and common people had built their own barriers of living. \textit{Umara} and nobles of the
Mughal aristocracy had been living a life of luxury, spending the public treasury
arbitrarily for their private comforts and political maneuvering\textsuperscript{35}. The jagirdars hardly
paid tax to the government and, on the other hand, they afflict sufferings to the peasants.
The mansabdars also failed to collect revenues from the public. As a result of this
lawlessness and economic deterioration got prevailed in the society. The common
people were at the mercy of jagirdars and mansabdar and the frequent sectarian and
coimnunual feuds also used to add their miseries\textsuperscript{36}.

Owing to the political and the economic crisis of the age the people had been
mislead on the name of race, sects and ‘conservatism’. The Turani and the Irani elements
became the points of contention among the rulers and the nobles of the empire.

\textsuperscript{34} Ibid., See also B.A.Dar, “Wali-u Allah and His Times”, Iqbal Review, Karachi,

Mashiakh-i Chast,Idarah Adbiyat, Delhi, PP.42-43.

\textsuperscript{36} Whah Wali-u Allah, \textit{Hujjat al-Allah al-Bālligha}, Delhi, P.44.
Rivalries and disturbances took place on their affiliations and patronage to the particular religious sect. Farrukh Siyar’s innovation into Friday Khutba with the words of ‘Ali Wasi-ur Rasul’ and the prohibition of the Shiah procession in the month of Muharram by Imad al Mulk, the grandson of Nizam al Mulk can be seen in the context of this inter-sectarian rivalry of the Muslims. Since the common masses had hardly any access to the righteous scholars of Islam, the corrupted scholars could not guide them on the right path nor reform their beliefs and rituals which had impact of the un-Islamic cult. The wrong customs like bowing before the Shiekh, frequent visiting to the graves, arranging lights there as a mark of respect and seeking help from the dead had crept into the religious life of the people. However, a large group of society had been influenced by Tawhid and other teachings of Islam, in its pure form, but due to the lack of proper support and encouragement from both the ulama and the rulers they could disseminate their faith and practices. Shah Wali-u Allah himself refers to this religious condition of his age as following:

Don't seek bia’ah from the contemporary mashaiakh and never enter into their discipleship. The reason for this is that now-a-days they are indulged in the various kinds of accretions and customs. Don’t get deceived by the (apparent) fame, public attendance and the abundance of disciples; nor be deceived by

39. Ibid.
their 'miracles'. The attitudes and fanaticism of the common masses are rooted into their customs and conventions and the customary things are never worth to trust (in comparison to the Divine teachings and guidance). The present day karamat-lovers have generally taken bewitchery and bewilderment as 'miracles'...

The precise estimate of the religious and social milieu of Shah Wali-u Allah's age by the modern scholar, Syed Sulyman Nadvi is also apt to mention, who writes:

The sun of the Mughal empire was about to set. The Muslims were indulged in accretions and customs with full vigour. The false mashaiakh and sufis had spread their masnands in the khanaqas of their elders and were using lights on their graves. The schools chiefly concentrated on logic and philosophy while the fuqaha only paid lip service to the subject. The research or in-depth study into this subject was taken a crime. Not to talk of the common masses even the elite (kawwas) had been unaware of the knowledge of the Quranic teachings the guidance of hadith and the secrets as well as benefits of the fiqh.

Shah Wali-u Allah: His Ancestors and Early Life

The family of Shah Wali-u Allah had migrated from Arabia to Iran and after


settling there for years it came to India. In India his fore-fathers settled in Rohtak, about thirty miles west from Delhi. According to Shah Wali-u Allah the first of his ancestors who migrated to India was Shiekh Shams-ud-Din Mufti. On the basis of Shah Wali-u Allah’s ancestry line, one of the contemporary historians, Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi, holds that Shiekh Shams-ud-Din would have come to India in the late seventh century or early eight century A.H. It was the time, says the historian, when the Tatar invasions had sacked the eastern world of Islam including the cities of Iran and Turkistan and the elites of those cities had to migrate to India to protect their religiousness and reassert themselves to overcome the hostile forces. He is known as the first Quraishite who settled in that town of India and introduced there the teachings and practices of Islam. Shah Wali-u Allah attributes great services of valor and religion to his ancestors which they rendered under the Muslim rulers of India. Shiekh Wajab al-Din, the grand-father of the Shah served as sufi and was the last man of his ancestors.

42. The reason of their migration to Iran is not known. The source and the biographers have not made a mention of it. However, on attaining the titles of honour like malik by some of his family members it can be assumed that the conducive political set up of Iran during those times might have proved the way for their migration to the country.


44. Ibid.

who adopted the government service. He had served in the army of Augranzeb 1st and depicted great feasts of bravery. He had three sons - Abdul Raza Muhammad, Shiekh Abdur Rahim and Shiekh Abdul Hakim. Shiekh Abdur Rahim was the father of Shah Wali-u Allah.

Shiekh. Abdur Rahim (b.1054/1644) on account of his achievements was distinguished among his brothers. Apart from his wide travels, he had attained higher education in fiqh, philosophy, Scholasticism (ilm al-kalam). In mysticism he was guided by Sayyid Abdullah Akbarabad and Shiekh Abdul Qasim Akbarabad and discussed the mystical issues with khawja Khurd, the son of Baqi Billah. After the completion of his formal education he was reluctant to earn his livelihood through the government job. When he was asked by his class-fellow, Mullah Hamid who was on the board of scholars revising the Fatwa-e Alamgiri to work with them on the project in lieu of certain remuneration, the Shiekh denied to enter into such services. It was the insistence of his mother that made him to join the service which he did not even

47. Ibid.


49. He was a Sufi of his times who left his home after the death of his father and learnt the Quran by heart from aqari who lived in jungle. Shah Wali-u Allah has given a description of his Sufi life in Anfās al-Arifīn.

50. He was the disciple of Shiekh Wari Muhammad Narnuli and Amir Abu al'la Hussiani Akbarabadi. The latter had a common sufi orders, Chistiyya and Naqashbandiyya. See Anfās al-Arifīn, PP.66-68.
continue later on. Accordingly to Shah Wali-u Allah, his father was almost adhering to the madhab of Abu Hanifah but in some matters he even resorted to the hadith or under his intuition could prefer the ruling of the other madhab. The Shiekh, says the Shah, had a great reverence for Shiekh Muhi-ud Din Ibn Arabi and was influenced by his Fusus al Hakim yet was reluctant to explain its contents before the common public as most of them could not understand it and might fall into the blasphemy and infidelity.

Abdur Rahim believed, under his own intuition, that he had reached a very high level of mysticism and was the qayim of the universe. Such a claim was asserted by the Mujadid Alaf Thani about his son Shiekh Ma'sum; the qayim of his time and his descendants also take this status as their prerogative.

Shiekh Abdur Rehman is also renowned for his founding the Madrasa Rehmiyya near Kotala Firuz Shah and the

53. Ibid; P.84.
54. S.Athar Abbas Rizvi, Shah Wali-u Allah and His Times (A Study of Eighteenth Century Islam, Politics and Society in India, Canberra, Australia, PP. 210-211.
55. It is said that the Madrasa was originally located in a building associated with Feroz Shah Mosque at Kotla Feroz Shah near Taqhiqabad (West Delhi). After Shah Wali-u Allah returned from Hijaz the Madrasa Was shifted to the centre of Delhi near Jamia Mosque. In the uprising of 1857 the Madrasa was reduced to runis. Now no trace of it is visible. See J.S.Bajon, Religion and Thought of Shah Wali-u Allah Dehlwi, Leiden.
syllabus of the madrasa was more or less identical with the traditional one which the ulama usually, studied during those times. The Shiekh married twice as after the death of the first wife from whom he had one son, he remarried the daughter of his disciple. Shiekh Muhammad Phulti. From his second wife two sons were born, Shah Wali-u Allah and Shah Ahl al-Allah. Shah Abdur Rahim died at the age of seventy seven in Ramzan, 1131 A.H. Shah Wali-u Allah was born on 4th Shawal, 1114 A.H/21st February 1903 A.D. in a village called Phulat. Before his birth, his father Shiekh Abdur Rahim had a vision while meditating at the tomb of Khwaja Qutb al-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki (d.634/1236) and was conveyed that a son would be born to him whom he should name Qutb al-Din Ahmad. At the time of his birth, the vision was not fresh in his mind so he named the child Wali-u Allah (the protege of Allah). No sooner the vision got recollected in him he renamed the child Qutb al-Din. It was, however, the former name (Wali-u Allah) that became famous and was also used by him frequently.

57. His name was Salah ud-Din who died in his youth. See Tārīkh Dāwat wa Azīmat, Part VI.
60. Ibid.
Shah Wali-u Allah grew up in a good environment of religion and learning. In the age of five years he joined his father's seminary and in the next two years completed the simple reading (nazirah) of the Qur'an. Apart from his offering the five times prayer, the Shah joined his father in tahjud raising his little hands like those of his father. This might have reminded his father of the vision seen prior to the birth of the child in which he saw the two tiny hands raised up with his own at the same time of night. Being himself a receptive and talented boy, the Shah acquired everything from his father and the other teachers. Sooner he began to study Arabic and Persian books. At the age of ten he started reading Sharh Mulla, a book on Arabic grammar, and could also understand the books on the elementary philosophy.

The Shah had to complete the syllabus of the Madrasa in the next five years. According to him he started the study of comments of Jami (d,1492) on al-Karya that deals with Arabic syntax at the age of ten. When he reached the age of fifteen he completed almost all the courses prevalent in the Indian traditional schools of the time. They include tafsir, hadith, fiqh, logic, ilm al-Kalam, mysticism philosophy, grammar, philosophy and medicine. Their syllabus was an extensive improvement to the one that

63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid.
66. Since the Madrasa had a prestigious Syllabus it included the courses of almost all sciences of traditional institutes of the time.

53
was taught in India during the early rule of the Muslims and Sheikh Abdur Rahim would have also played a role in improving the standard of the syllabus\(^67\). Texts which the Shah studied on the various subjects other than literature has been mentioned by the biographers but about the text of the latter very little is mentioned. Scholars assume that the Shah whose *Hujjat al-Allah al-Balligha* depicts the rich and marvelous use of Arabic language might have been the result of the good literary texts which the Shah would have studied at the seminary\(^68\). Another distinction of the syllabus was that it laid a greater emphasis upon the Quranic studies with lesser aid from the commentaries which, they thought, would create confusion in the mind of the reader\(^69\). While reminding of this quality of the studies, the Shah expresses his gratitude to God for being provided with an opportunity of having lectures on the (verbal) translation of the Quran and the occasions of revelation\(^70\). This opened new vistas of his thought and subtle points about the different sciences(*ulûm*) dawned upon his mind\(^71\). At the age of fourteen the Shah was married to a daughter of his maternal uncle, Sheikh Ubaid Ullah\(^72\). As

\[68. \text{Ibid; PP.100-102.} \]
\[69. \text{A.D. Muztar, *Op.Cit.*, P.41.} \]
\[70. \text{Ibid.} \]
\[71. \text{Ibid; P.42} \]
\[72. \text{Sheikh Ubaid-ullah was the son of Sheikh Muhammad of Phulat. This was the first marriage of Shah Wali-u Allah and he remarried when his first wife died whom one son, Sheikh Muhammad was born.} \]
he reached the age of fifteen he started teaching at his fathers seminary and the same year he had formally taken hui'ah by his father and initiated the practising of mystic rites as well. After he had helped his father in teaching for two years, his father died.

Shah Wali-u Allah took the responsibility of the madrasa after the death of his father and with the help of its old graduates he managed the school affairs efficiently. He gave lectures on the various sciences and provided instructions in theoretical and practical mysticism. In preparing his lessons, he made extensive study of the works of different authors and the schools of thought in fiqh and tasawwuf. His occasional sitting at the grave of his father in meditation bless him with inspiration and knowledge by which he could solve the problems of Tawhid, jadb and Saluk. Between the age of seventeen and twenty-nine, the Shah worked almost exclusively as teacher and continued his studying of the works on fiqh of four schools and works on hadith on which they were based. This made him a fiqh-muhaddith who is a scholar combining both jurisprudence and traditions.

**Journey to Haramain and Its Impact**

Shah Wali-u Allah’s journey to Haramain (Makka and Madina) in 1443/1730 is a

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73. Supra n.70.
74. Ibid.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid.
turning point in his career. The journey was a deep pursuit of the Shah to observe pilgrimage and taken under his knowledge at the great centers of religion. Journey to Hejaz, during those times was very difficult and risky due to the lack of proper facilities and the dangers of the European mariners in the way. To reach Surat, the sea port of India, one had to cross the towns of the Maratha and the Jat who used to commit atrocities on the Muslim. Under such circumstances his relatives did not allow him to go to Hejaz yet the Shah determined to realize his aim and left India in the month of Rajab 1143. His cousin Muhammad Ashiq and friend Nurullah Budhanwi accompanied him up to the sea-port. The same year he performed Hajj. His stay at the Harmanian was for about two years and he returned back to Delhi in Rajab 1145 A.H.

Shah Wali-u Allah performed hajj twice in Makka and the most of his time was spent in learning from the teachers of repute. The Shah himself had mentioned the names of three such teachers, belonging to Makka and Madina, from whom he learnt the

78. Although some hold that the Shah had the journey under the fear of the persons who opposed his translation of the Qur'an yet most of his biographers do not conform to this and on the contrary, view it as an advanced pursuit of his career. (See A.D.Muztar Op.Cit.).


80. Ibid.


82. Ibid; P.49.
knowledge of traditions, jurisprudence and mysticism. One of them was Shiekh Abu Tahir Muhammad Ibrahim al-Khurdi al Madni (d. Ramadan 1145/1733). He lived in Madina and had got a high position among the scholars of the time. He was an eminent traditionist and mystic who did influence the Shah by his great erudition and was regarded as a matchless teacher by him after his father, Shiekh Abdur Rahim. Shah Wali-u Allah learnt all the six books of Hadith with him and was given the permission to transmit his knowledge onwards. The Shah, simultaneously, left a good impression upon the Shiekh of his own erudition and the Shiekh had recognised him an authority on the meanings of the words of Traditions. The Shah was fully satisfied with the Shiekh’s lessons on the science of Traditions and it broadened his understanding about the differences between the Traditions and jurisprudence. The Shah like his father followed the Hanafi madhab and Shiekh Abu Tahir followed the Shafi’i school. With the latter he got an opportunity to study the Shafi’i madhab viz-a-viz the Hanafi madhab and came to know that there is no basic difference between them. From the Shiekh, the Shah got benefited in sufism as well. Shiekh Abu Tahir as initiated in sufism, by his father and the admirer of Ibn Arabi’s philosophy of sufism appreciated the Shah’s interests in the discipline and transmitted his sufi robe to the Shah which became a mark

83. Supra n. 67, P.109.
85. Ibid.

57
of authority to the latter to respect the Sufi orders and initiate the discipleship on his own.

Sheikh Wafdullah\(^{88}\) and Sheikh Taj ud-Din Hanafi\(^{89}\) were the other two teachers from whom Shah Wali-u Allah was benefited. Both of them were from Makka. With the former he read *Muwatta* of Imam-i Malik and received certificate (sanad) from him for reading, quoting and teaching of hadith and its sciences (*ulum*)\(^{90}\) from Taj ud-Din Hanafi, the Shah learnt the lessons on *Bukhari, Mawatta* and a few chapters of *Musnad al Darmi Kitab al Athar* (of Imam-i Muhammad) and got permission from him to relate hadith of *Muwatta*\(^{91}\).

Apart from his learning the sciences of various subjects from the scholars of Haramain, the Shah got many spiritual experiences and visions while he used to meditate at the holy precincts of Ka`ba and the tomb of the Prophet (SAW). By these mystical speculations he collected a treasure of gifts that led him to his spiritual perfection\(^{92}\).

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88. It is said that Sheikh Wafdullah was the pupil of Sheikh Hasan 'Ajmi, the traditionist and Sufi.
89. Sheikh Taj ud. Din Hanafi was the mufti of Makka and taught hadith and fiqh there in addition to his official duties. See *Anfás al Arifín*, PP.401-402.
Shah Wali-u Allah conforms to this that the hajj which in itself is a great blessing of Allah engendered many other blessings to him. One of them was that he was given the insight into the mysteries and the other was his meeting with the Prophet (SAW) in a vision\textsuperscript{91}. The blessings were given to him in a series of visions seen by him and were of far reaching importance in his future career. In one of his visions at Makka, the Shah saw that Imam-i Hasan and Imam-i Husain had called on him at his home, the former giving him a pen to point of which was broken but soon withdrawing his hand on the second thought, that Husain might mend the pen first for him and then he would have it\textsuperscript{94}. He was told that the pen was of their grand-father, Prophet Muhammad (SAW). The Shah was given the pen after Husain had mended it and they also gave him Prophet's mantle of white and green stripes\textsuperscript{95}. After the vision was over the Shah praised God for His mercy and felt inspired of devoted thoughts. In the other vision, seen again in Makka, the Shah saw the king gaining victories over the Muslims\textsuperscript{98} were made subject to annihilation and the resign of terror was spread over the land consequently the Muslim turned to him to know the Will of God at the moment. His answer was to break down the whole system. A civil war took place in which even Muslims were divided into rival groups. The victory however fell to the Muslims and the king of the unfaithful was killed and his forces dispersed\textsuperscript{96}. In the same vision the Shah saw himself being

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{93} Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{94} Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{95} Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{96} Ibid., \textit{798P.57}.
\end{itemize}
honoured with the distinction of *qa'im-i Zaman* (the religious pivot of the age)*. The visions seen in the precincts of the Prophet's tomb were about the nature of controversial issues of mysticism, jurisprudence and the *Khulafa al Rashidun*. These and the other visions which cleared his doubts have been recorded in his *Fauz al Haramain*.

The journey to the Harmain made a deep impact upon the Shah's thought. He was elevated both intellectually and spiritually. Sciences of hadith and fiqh were learnt by him extensively and to his best satisfaction. In India he learnt it form Maulana Muhammad Afdal of Sialkot which had not quenched his thirst*. Excluding Shiekh Abdul Haq Muhadith Dehlvi there was hardly any scholar who had made an outstanding contribution to the Science of Traditions in India. A contemporary scholar's view is worth considering who hold that the chief purpose of the Shah's Stay at the Harmain was to equip himself with the deep knowledge of Traditions*. For its attainment in a proper and satisfactory way he esteemed his teachers highly and even continued to correspond with them even after he was back to Delhi. The journey favoured him also with the inspiration to rejuvenate the sciences of Islam and play a role of *qa'im al-zaman*--a religious scholar and reformist in his future life in the subcontinent. Such

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97. Ibid.
98. Ibid.
contributions are evident from educational achievements at the Madrasa, literary works and in formulation of his school of thought as well as in his endeavors to revive the solidarity of Muslim polity in the subcontinent.

**Works of Shah Wali-u Allah**

From the time of his return back to Delhi on 14th Rajab 1145/31st Dec 1732 to his death on 29th Maharram 1176/30th August, Shah Wali-u Allah devoted most of his time to literary activities and teaching. To relieve himself from the routine tasks in his father's seminary he trained few pupils in various branches of religious sciences to teach while he spent his energies to deliver advanced lectures and to the writing of books. Gradually his financial position got improved and he was provided with a huge manision in Shahjahanabad (old Delhi) where he lived rest of his years with his family in a good house. A part of it was used as the seminary. A mosque was also attached to it, a place of meditation for the disciples of Shah besides its serving as a place of worship. The seminary became an important place of learning for about a century and it was managed well by the disciples of Shah Wali-u Allah. During his first year of reign, Alamgir II granted 51 bighas of land to the Shah in Haveli Palam for the Madrasa but during the uprising of 1857 A.D. it was burnt to ashes by the British.

102. Ibid.
103. Ibid.
Shah Wali-u Allah was a prolific writer and throughout his career, he wrote on almost all branches of traditional learning. They include tafsir, hadith, fiqh, kalam, aqa'id, sufism, history and politics. He also wrote poetry, letters and biographies. The scholars differ on the total number of the works written by Shah Wali-u Allah. An early biographer of the Shah, M. Rahim Bukhsh, writes that the number of the books is forty five\textsuperscript{104}. Muhammad Ayub Qadri\textsuperscript{105} and J.N. Jalbani\textsuperscript{106} gave their number fifty eight and fifty respectively. Maulana Muhammad Manzoor Numani\textsuperscript{107} says that the known and unknown books of the Shah comes upto one hundred. Hafiz Ibrahim Siyalkoti writes that it exceeds to two hundred\textsuperscript{108}. According to S.A.A. Razvi\textsuperscript{109} the number of known titles is seventy and half of it are very short treatises. The exact number of the treatises is still unknown and it has became increasing due to the scholars growing interest in the biography and achievements of Shah Wali-u Allah. The titles of the treatises which have become known through the endeavors of the Scholars are given as following:

1. \textit{Fatha al-Rehman}: It is a Persian translation of the Qur'an which Shah Wali-u Allah had started before his sojourn to Hejaz and got it completed after

\textsuperscript{105} See \textit{al-Rahim}, Pakistan, June 1964, P.17.
\textsuperscript{106} G.N. Jalbani, \textit{Life of Shah Waluyullah}, Delhi, P.32.
\textsuperscript{107} \textit{Al-Furqān}, (Shah Wali-u Allah Number) Bareli, 1360 A.H., PP.388-89.
\textsuperscript{108} See his \textit{Tārikh-e Ahl-e Hadīth}, Delhi, P.16.
\textsuperscript{109} S.A.A., Rizvi, \textit{Shah Wali-u Allah and His Times}, Australia (1980), P.221.
returning back to Delhi. It is in simple style neither too literal nor too idiomatic.
The translation is regarded one of the best translations of the Qur’an.

2. *Al Fawz Al Kabîr fi al Usûî al Tafsîr*: This is a brief treatise on principles of tafsîr in Persian. The book has been introduced as the text by the various traditional schools within India and abroad. It has been translated in Urdu by Maulana Rashid Ahmad Ansari and in Arabic by Muhammad Munir ud-din Damshaqi and in English by G.N. Jalbani.

3. *Al Muqaddimah fi Qawanin al Tarjamah*: This is a small treatise in Persian on the principles of translation. It is an independent work of Shah Wali-u Allah and should not be confused with the ‘Muqaddmah’ to *Fatha al Rehman*.

4. *Fatha al Kabîr bi ma la Bud Hafza fi Ilm al Tafsîr*: It is a small book in Arabic on the essentials of tafsîr. It is actually the fifth chapter of the *al Fauz al Kabîr* in which the extraneous and strange expressions of the Quran are treated. It is also regarded as the completion of his *Al Fauz al Kabîr*.

5. *Taw’il al Ahâdîth*: The book is in Persian and deals with the rational interpretation of the miraculous incidents, mentioned in the Qur’an about the lives of the Prophets. The books attempt to find the material cause of the incidents like the birth of the Prophet ‘Isa, the crossing of the Nile by Musa and bodily change of the Isra’îlis into monkeys. The book has been translated into English by G. N. Jalbani.
6. **Al-Musawwa fi Ahadith al-Muwatta:** It is a commentary on the Muwatta of Imam Malik, the founder of Maliki School of fiqh. The work is an attempt to rearrange the traditions in *Muawatta* and reconcile the differences between the Hanafi and the Shafi'i Schools of fiqh.

7. **Al-Musaffa fi Ahadith al-Muwatta:** The book is a commentary on Muwatta in Persian and treats the same theme i.e. to find the formula of the reconciliation of fiqh differences. The book is the Shah's posthumous work whose fair copy was made by his disciples in 1766, Sheikh Muhammad Ashaq and Muhammad Din after the Shah's death.

8. **Chahal Hadith:** It is a collection of forty traditions of the Prophet which cover the fundamentals of Islam.

9. **Al Dur al Thamin fi'l Mubashirat al-Nabi al-Amin:** This is a small treatise in Arabic, containing those traditions of the Prophet which were communicated to him in a dream.

10. **Al Fazl al Musin fi al Salsis min Hadith al Nabi al Amīn:** It is a small books in Arabic that deals with the authorities of the traditions of the Prophet. This treatise, according to Dr. Mazhar Baqah, is called *Musalsalat* also.

11. **Nawdir min Ahadith Sayyid al-Awa'il Wa'l Awalhi:** The work is Arabic and deals with some rare traditions.
12. **Shahr Tarajim Abwab al Bukhari:** The work is in Arabic and makes a critical study of the chapter of al-Bukhari, a famous collection of Traditions made by Imam Bukhari. It has rich annotation also.

13. **Al-Irshād ila Muchimal ilm al-īsnād:** It is a work in Arabic about the authorities of ahadith to apprise the people of the importance of this science.

14. **Hujjat al-Allāh al-Baligha:** This is regarded as the opus magnum of Shah Wali-u Allah written in Arabic. It deals with the philosophy of the Shariah and covers almost all disciplines of life. He has made an extensive use of Traditions in the book which makes it an authentic collection of hadith. The terminology used is almost the same used in the classical literature of Islam. The book has been used as text in the madaris of Arab world and those of the sub-continent. Some of its portions are studied in post-graduate courses in Arabic. Translation of the work have been done in Urdu by Maulana Ubaid Allah Sindhi, Abdul Haq Haqani and Wajidi. Recently Herman has made its English translation and was published from E. J. Brill, New York.

15. **Al Budūr al-Bāzigha:** This is in Arabic and serves as a counter part of the Shah’s *Hujjat-al Allāh al Bāligha.* It was after the latter and recapitulates in the terms discussed earlier although in brief and comprehensive manner. The book has been translated into Urdu as well as in English. Baljor considers the work as more important than the *Hujjat.*
16. **Tafhimāt-i Illāhiyyah**: The book is a collection of articles and letters composed at different times. It is both in Arabic and Persian and deals with themes of mysticism, theology and legal affairs.

17. **Hanā'īt**: The work is in Persian and deals with the historical development of Islamic mysticism. It also gives the account of the mystical experiences of the early brotherhoods and elucidates their importance without exempting the observance of the Shariah from the Sufi path. The book has been translated into Urdu by Muhammad Sarwar.

18. **Lamhāt**: The work is in Arabic and discusses the philosophy of mysticism with speculations on being, *a'yān thābita, tajalliyāt al-nafs al-kulliyā*, Classes of angels etc. It has been translated into Urdu and English.

19. **Sata'āt**: It is in Arabic and deals with the mystical philosophy. Most of its themes are about the life after death and the Divine manifestations working in the universe.

20. **Fuyūz al-Haramain**: The book is in Arabic dealing with the spiritual experiences and visions which he had in the precincts of Mecca and Medina which throws light on the nature of various religious issues and the future life of the Shah. Urdu translation of the work has been done by Muhammad Sarwar.

21. **Altāf al-Quds**: It is in Persian and treats the inner dimension of mysticism.

22. **Al Intibah fi Salāsil Awliyā’ Allah Wa Asānid wārithi Rasūl Allāh**: It is in Persian and gives an account of sufi orders.
23. *Al Qawl al Jamīl fi Bayān Sawa' al - Sābīl:* The book is in Arabic and deals with the qualification for a Sufi guide and the rules for the of a novice. It also contains an account of practices peculiar to various Sufi orders. Its Mulvi Khuram Ali Sahib.

24. *Al-Khair al-Kuthīr:* It is in Persian and treats the subject of mysticism. It is regarded as one of the so-called treatises of the Shah on the subject. Shah Muhammad Ashaqq, the disciple of Shah has written its commentary and its Urdu Translation has also been published.


26. *Qurrat al 'Aynayn fi Tafṣīl Shaykhayn:* The work is in Persian and discusses the controversies on the Shaikhism, Abu Bakr and Umar and refutes through the evidences of history apersions of the Shiah on them.

27. *Izālat al-Khaṣfa 'an Khilāf al al Khulāfā:* It is in Persian and deals with jurisprudence of the orders of succession of just four khulafā of the Prophet. The book has been translated in Urdu by M. Muhammad Abd al-Shakur Sahib Faruqi.

28. *Al Insāf fi Biyān al Sabab al Ikhṭilāf:* This is one of the important works of Shah Wali-u Allah. It is written in Arabic and deals with the evolution of fiqh schools (*madahīb*). It also discusses that the differences between the various
madahib are not in fundamentals and they are in matters of insignificant nature. The book has been translated in Urdu by Maulana Sadr-u Din Islahi.

29. *Iqd al Jid fi Ahkām al Ijtihād Wal Taqlīd*: The work is in Arabic and deals with the queries about *ijtihād* and *taqlīd*. The author maintains that the door of *ijtihād* is not closed, it can be exercised by the person who qualifies its conditions. He is also of the opinion that *taqlīd* is allowed to the person who is incapable to perform *ijtihād* and such persons can follow any of the four imams in their religious matters. The book has been translated in Urdu by M. Sajid Adb al-Rahman Sidiqui.

30. *Al 'Aqidat al Hasanah*: It is a small book written on the religious beliefs which are expounded by the Sunnis.

31. *Maqaddamat al Sunyyah*: It is a small treatise in Persian on the sunni religious beliefs.

32. *Surur al Mahzum*: It is a Persian translation of *Nūr al 'uyun fi Talkhīs al Siyār al Amin Wa-al Mamūn* of Ibn Sayyid al Nas. It is on the sirah of the prophet (SAW).

33. *Anfās al Arifin*: It is in Persian and has biographical notes about Shah Wali-u Allah’s fore fathers, teachers at Haramain and gives also a brief sketch of his own life. The work has been translated in Urdu by Syed Muhammad Faruq al-Qadri.
34. **Shafa al Qulūb**: It is in Persian and deals with mysticism.

35. **Sharah Hizb al-Bahr**: A Persian translation of famous invocations.

36. **Fath al Wudud li Ma'rifat al Junūd**: The work is in Arabic about the knowledge of beings.

37. **Awārif**: The work is in Arabic and treats the subject of mysticism.

38. **Sharh Rub'iyatain**: The Persian commentary on the two couplets of Khawja Baqi Billah.

39. **Divān of Shah Wali-u Allah**: It is a collection of Poems in Arabic compiled by Ishaq bin Muhammad Irfan of Bareli (d.1234 A.H/1818 A.D).

40. **Persian Poems**: Shah Wali-u Allah also wrote poetry in Persian which is found in *Hayāt-e Wali* and *Kalimat-e Tayyibat*.

41. **Sarf Mir**: A book on grammar in Persian.

42. **Shah Wali-u Allah Kay Siyas-i Maktubāt**: It is a collection of letters in Persian which Shah Wali-u Allah wrote to influential political persons of his time including Afghan noble, Ahmad Shah Abdali. These letters have been selected from the collection of 358 made by Shiekh Muhammad Ashiq and his son Abdur Rahman, by Prof. K. A. Nizami with Urdu translation.

43. **Letters contained in ‘Hayat Wali’**: These are 11 letters selected by the compiler from this collection of letters of Shah Wali-u Allah which is in his possession. These letters are in Arabic.
44. *Letters contained in 'Kalimat-i Tayyibat':* These are twenty four letters written in Persian and Arabic to various important personalities of the time.


49. *Al - It‘isām* (Arabic).


55. *Riṣāla Dar Radd-e-Rawāfīz* (Persian)


57. *Al Tanbih Ala Mayah tajīr Hāihi-al Muḥdīs wa al Fiqīh* (Arabic).

58. *A‘rāb al Qur‘an*

59. *Asar al-Muhaddithīn*

60. *Kasalah fi Mas‘alāh Ilm al Wajīb*


63. *Mansūr.*

Following are the books which have been attributed to Shah Wali-u Allah:

2. *Qawl-i Jili.*
3. *Risāla Awā'īl.*
4. *Fayz al Ām.*
5. *Qurrat al-Aīn fī Abtāl al Shah dal al Husain.*
8. *al-Balāgh al Mubīn.*
9. *Ishara e Mustamarrah.*
10. *Qawl-i Sadīd.*

**Religious Thought of Shah Wali-u Allah: An Overview**

Shah Wali-u Allah is renowned for establishing his religious thought. It is wide and multi-dimensional. In the Shah, religion (*Dīn*) received a profound interpretation and exploration. His expertise in the traditional sciences, on the one hand, and a deep awareness about the contemporary socio-political scenario, on the other hand, shaped his thought in a distinguished manner. It constitutes its own system which is characteristic of the philosophy of *aqa‘id* (Beliefs), laws of Din vis-a-vis its socio-
political vitality. Synthesis (*tābīq*) and reformist mode sets also a remarkable trends in his religious thought.

Philosophic aspect of Shah Wali-u Allah's religious thought is manifested at various levels. By philosophy is meant wisdom, *asrār* (secrets) and purposes of religion. According to the Shah both the esoteric and exoteric principles of religion foster the total growth of man. He attempts at finding philosophy and *asrār* of the fundamentals, principles and laws of religion. In it he elucidates the creation of man, his position, responsibility (*taklīf*), and his civilized growth. These themes are discussed by treating the basic principles and teachings of Islam. Here the Shah employs the mode of a *mutakalim* (theologian) yet of a distinguished nature. While reflecting on the beliefs of Islam he reinterprets them in such a way that even a common reader is moved by its effectiveness. In it he avoids the use of the Greek dialectics and metaphysics which has influenced the early Muslim theologians. Conversely he formulates a system of his own that is wide, understandable and tends towards that of a psychologist. In his


111. His *Hujjat Allāh al Bāligha* and *al-Badūr al Bāzigha* are the Chief representative works of this trait in Shah Wali-u Allah.

112. See *supra*, Chapter 1 of the present work.

interpretation of the beliefs of Islam particularly belief in Allah and Prophethood he says that God-consciousness is natural to both man and animal and it is found in their depending upon the protection and sustenance (rabubiyah) of God. The *aqli ma’ashi* (rational intellect) in man leads his intellectual and social development at an ordinary level. It is, however, the higher reason (‘*anayat-i Rehmani*) which is reared by the guidance and teachings of the Prophet whom Allah has revealed His knowledge and message. The latter forms the knowledge of higher level and it leads man to realise his talents properly for the material and spiritual happiness (sa’ādah)\(^\text{114}\). It is, according to the Shah, the will of man on which the latter follows good (birr) or wrong (iḥm) and here lies his freedom which is ultimately governed by Determinism of God. Freedom of will is to be accountable in the Hereafter (ākirah) vis-a-vis its deeds. Shah Wali-u Allah’s system of theology is, therefore, formed on the natural disposition of man from which emanates his God-consciousness being potent with the rational thinking for the common understanding of the universe, man finds his perfect growth as the supreme creation of God, by dint of the revealed guidance. Wali-u Allah’s approach to the beliefs and the basic teachings of Islam explores its vitality for the justice, perfection and the happiness of man\(^\text{115}\).

Philosophising the teachings of religion and exposing its secrets is also evident in Shah Wali-u Allah’s treatment to the discipline of tasawwuf. Tasawwuf which has

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114. Infra. Chapter III of the present work.

been extensively dealt with by the Shah, is conceived by him a mode or method of man's spiritual journey wherein he experiences various states (ahwāl) and stations (maqamāt). The Shah calls it the path of salāk wherein he attempts to attain the stage 'ihsān' which is the highest stage of the believer (mumin) on the earth. In the path the purification (tazakiyah) of the soul manifests in the methods and practices of azkar, marāqabah, majāhadah, jadh, mushādah al Haq and the absorption in Godly colour (sahghat al Allah)116. While exposing the objectives and secrets of mysticism, the Shah brings out its harmonious correlation with the Shari'ah. To him a sufi is always bound to follow Shari'ah. Although Shah Wali-u Allah himself was trained in the discipline of Naqashbandiyah order of tasawwuf by his father but he regarded with high esteem the other three sufi orders prevalent in the subcontinent – Sura-wardiyah, Qadriyyah and Chistiyyah117. His own philosophy of tasawwuf was subservient to the principles of Tawhid and the laws of the Shari'ah and he rejected those existing practices, customs and cults which contradict to the basic tenets of Islam118. In his writings, the Shah is seen building the system of tasawwuf on profound basis, on the one hand, and reforming it from the wrong and corrupted practices, on the other hand. His genius is at work when he responds to the two approaches of Tasawwuf – approach of Ibn Arabi and mujaddid AlfThani. His is remarkable one for attempting the

116. Infra; Chapter III of the present work.
118. Cf.S.A.A.Mawdudi, Tajdid wa Ahya' Dīn, Markazi Maktaba Dehi.
reconciliation of the two approaches to the subject\textsuperscript{119}. This aspect of the Shah's thought can be, thus, described as the philosophising the esotericism of religion in the language of sufism through which the stages of man's spiritual growth are explored.

Shah Wali-u Allah's religious thought is also marked by its formulation of a universal paradigm which some scholars term as 'holist trend' in his thought\textsuperscript{120}. This is devised by him in his concepts of \textit{al ray-i al kulli} (universality of purpose) and \textit{irtifaqāt} (civilizational devices). The former distinguishes man from that of the animal who has \textit{al ray al Juzwi} (individuality of purpose) and man finds his growth in the inductive, empirical and other methods to realise his objectives properly. \textit{Al-ray al kuli} motivates him towards \textit{irtifaqat} which are, as per his description, the four stages of the social development. In his first irtifaq man fulfills the basic needs of his life like food, sheltering, communication, marriage in an ordinary way or primitive manner\textsuperscript{121}. In the second irtifaq he fulfills his needs and necessities of life with \textit{zarāfah} (aesthetics) and \textit{hikmah} (wisdom). The sciences are devised to deal with the modes of dress, eating, householding, agriculture, business and is operation. Second virtues and morals form the way of life under this irtifaq\textsuperscript{122}. This irtifaq co-ordinates and controls the various interactions of the people in the form of the political organisation called state

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{119} \textit{Infra, Chapter III of the present work.}
  \item \textsuperscript{120} \textit{See Muhammad al-Ghazali, "Holistic Trend in Islamic Thought : Pioneering Contribution of Shah Wali Allah", Hamdard Islamics, Vol. XVIII, No.4, 1985.}
  \item \textsuperscript{121} \textit{Shah Wali-u Allah, \textit{Hujjat Allāh al-Bāligha}, Deoband, PP.113-130.}
  \item \textsuperscript{122} \textit{Ibid,}
\end{itemize}
This is necessitated to avert the aggression from the external forces and prevent the acts of injustice among its own citizens\textsuperscript{123}. The unity, co-operation and obedience to the head of the state (imām) are the main features of the third irtīfāq. When the several states exist at a particular time and quarrels took place among them or many issues and the body politic of the states is affected by the various crisis and problems. To overcome these inter-state quarrels and their harmful effects the necessity of the establishment of the higher political organisation emerges whose head is called imam-i 'azam\textsuperscript{124}. This is the fourth irtīfāq which constitutes the highest development of human socio-cultural, economic and political organisation and is also termed as khilāfah.

Although the formulation of this paradigm of his thought is the culmination of inductive reasoning and empirical observation but the traditional argumentation (the arguments from the Qurʾān and the Sunnah which the Shah rarely employs in the concept of irtīfāq) does also conform to its substance. The university of the paradigm is by dint of its comprehensive and vital traits.

The method of synthesis and reconciliation also contributes much to the distinguished nature of Shah’s religious thought. Synthesis (tatbīq) is found in his treatment to the sciences of the Quran and the hadith and specially in the fīqh-disagreements of the madahīb (schools of law)\textsuperscript{125}. It is also found in his approach to

\textsuperscript{123} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{124} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{125} See Infra, Chapter IV of the present work.
tasawwuf, *ijtihad* and *taqlid*. The Shah represents the moderate and reformist approach to these subjects. Synthesis employment, in an efficient and effective way, in the religious interpretations and explorations epitomises the Shah’s dynamism and productivity which has led a significant impact upon the subsequent Islamic scholars and reform movements of Indo-Pak sub-continent.

126. See Infra, Chapter V of the present work.

127. Ibid.