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!”

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 reformatory 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.

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.

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 in 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**


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. 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.


4. Al-Zahrawin (Persian): Is a commentary on Surah al-Baqarah and Surah Al-Imran. 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


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


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. 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. 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.”

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. 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. It is a collection of Hadith-i-Musalsal 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 Yahyavi, 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. 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, Arah, 1292 H./1875 AD.; Urdu translation by Khalifa Sayid Abdulllah 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’ammadin (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”. It was published with the above mentioned Al-Fadhl-al-Mubin from Matb’a Nur al-Anwar, Arah in 1292 H./1875 AD.; from Kutub Khana Yahyawi, Shahranpur 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. The book includes some

2. **Izalat al-Khafa an Khilafat al-Khulafa:** *Izalat 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.

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 singulars pattern in statecraft. Further, it sets out to refuting the political doctrines of the *Shia*. He highlights their singulary role in the reformation and guidance of the society and the expansion and promotion of the universal mission of Islam in their times.

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


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. Shah translated it at the insistance of his teacher Shaikh Abu Tahir Madani (d.1144 H./1731 AD.) 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.

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 Thanaullah
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 Naqshbandiyyah. 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 orders. 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 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 1947 AD; and another Urdu translation was published by Iqbal Book Depot, Karachi, n.d.

4. **Al-Tafhima t al-Ilahiya (Arabic and Persian):** It is a collection of articles 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). 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 granted. 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 Baghdadi; 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 thoughts. 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 1975 AD; 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. Pendibury, 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 intermed 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.

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).

(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 enclose 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 sight.
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


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,


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*. Maulana Abul Hasan Nadwi and Dr. Mazhar Baqa said that they had not come across the book.

12. *Awarif*: Maulana Rahim Bakhsh listed it in the group of *Tasawwuf* and said that the book is in Arabic. Dr. Mazhar Baqa mentioned the book with reference to Rahim
Bakhsh but said that it was in Persian.\textsuperscript{44} Nawshahravi also mentioned it as a book of *Tasawwuf*.\textsuperscript{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.).\textsuperscript{46} It forms a part of the *Al-Tafhimat al-Illahiya* of Shah Waliullah.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 Wali Allah’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.\textsuperscript{49}


2. Hujjatullah al-Baligha (Arabic): A unique work on the inner meaning of religion (*Asrar al-Din*). This is the Shah’s *magnum opus*\textsuperscript{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.\(^\text{52}\)

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, juridicature and international relations and finally the universal paradigm of a society founded on religion.\(^\text{53}\) 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.\(^\text{54}\)
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 Palmari 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. 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
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. It was published by Madina Barqi Press, Bijnore, Majlis Ilmi, Debelh 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 Faruqh (R). It 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’s 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 Taimiyah** *(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. A complete copy of first volume exists in the Raza Library, Rampur.

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 letters and the second volume contains 163 letters.

2. **Maktubat al-Ma’arif (Persian)**: Maulana Rahim Bakhsh and Nawshahravi included it in the class of *Tasawwuf*. Dr. Mazhar Baqa and Professor Yasin Mazhar
Siddiqi listed it in the group of letters. 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. 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, Bareli, n.p., 1818 A.D. It is in the library of Nadwat-al-Ulama, Lucknow.

2. **Persian Poetry:** Shah’s collection of Rubaiyats (quatrans) in Persian. 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.

3. **Al-Qasidah al-Hamaziyah fil-Madh al- Nabawaiyah (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 1358AD; 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:

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


3. Ibid.


5. For discussion on the book see infra, chapter VI, Section II, pp. 276-91.


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-Ikhtilafl, ed. Shaikh Abdul Fattah Abu Guddah, Dar al-Nafais, Beirut, 1397h./1977, pp. 15-112.


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 Ahkam-Ijtihad wa al-Taqlid*, with Urdu tr. By Muhammad Ahsan Nanatuvi, entitled Silk Marwarid, Matba Mujtabai, Delhi, 1310 H., p.6.


21. For discussion on the Musaffa see infra, chapter IV, Section I, pp.274-275.


28. Every article placed under the headline of Tafhim (means to make understand).
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.
35. A.D. Muztar mentioned that the book was in Arabic (op.cit., p. 184). Possibly that is printing mistake.
38. Tarajim Ulama-i-Hadith-i-Hind, op.cit., p. 45.
40. Hayat-i-Wali, p. 577.
41. Tarajim Ulama-i-Hadith-i-Hind, p. 44.
42. Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiyyah, pp. 2/216-36.

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.


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.


50. Publication details are same of Sharh Tarajim Abwab al- Bukhari.

51. *Ibid*.


54. For discussion on Al-Musauwa see infra, chapter IV, Section I, pp.270-74.


65. In the group of *Tasawuf*, supra, p. 78.


68. *Hayat-i-Wali*, pp. 511-12.


70. *Hayat-i-Wali*, pp. 511-12.


72. Shah Waliullah Aziz said that al-Itisam was an invocation which had been written by his father in Arabic. (Fatawa Azizi, Matba Mujtabai, 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.