

Examining the Reformist Contributions of Shāh Walī Allāh to the Society of Indo-Pak Sub-Continent: A Historical Perspective

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Abstract

The society of Indo-Pak Sub-Continent has experienced ups and downs throughout its history in terms of politics, economics, social and educational. Death of Emperor Awranzēb Alamgīr (d. 1707 C.E.) (Ruled 1658-1707 C.E.) was the turning point of the Sub-Continent when its decline was started. In the same decade Shāh Walī Allāh (1703-1762) was born in 1703 C.E. when the society was falling down in every sphere. At this point, he started thinking continuously to bring it out from this terrible situation. Accordingly, he put his reformist efforts in terms of spreading awareness from religious to national affairs among his followers and successors along with practical measures. This paper examines Shāh Walī Allāh's those contributions to the society in a historical manner and explores the possibilities of peace and prosperity in a society.

Keywords: Social Reforms, Shāh Walī Allāh, Indo-Pak, Political Situation, Economic & Social Issues.

Introduction:

Eighteenth century in Indo-Pak sub-continent has witnessed two utmost important incidences. One was the birth of unmatched Islamic academic, philosopher and reformer i.e. Shāh Wali Allāh (1114 – 1176 A.H./1703 – 1772 C.E.) and the other was the demise of virtuous and great Muslim head of state, Emperor Awranzēb Alamgīr (ruled 1658-1707 C.E.).

The subcontinent was passing through a very critical and uneasy times. In this article it is to be discussed political, socio-economic, academic, theoretical – juristic situations in the country under four sections.

Political Situation of Indo-Pak at the Time of Shāh:

During the lifespan of Shāh Walī Allāh eleven Mughal rulers ascended the throne in rapid succession, those rulers and their reign period were as below:

1. Aurangzeb'Alamgīr (r.1168-1118 A.H./1658-1707).
 2. Muhammad Mu'azzam Shāh, Shāh'Ālam I (r. 1118-1123/1707-1712), he was killed by Farrukh Siyar.
 3. Mu'izzuddīn Jahāndār Shāh (r. 1123-1124/1712-1713).
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4. Farrukh Siyar (r. 1124-1131/1713-1719), he was also killed.
5. Rafī' al-Darajat (r. 1131-1131/1719-19), he remained only for three months.
6. Rafī' al-Dawlah (r. 1131/1719), he ruled only six months and died.
7. Muhammad Shāh, known as Rangīlā (r. 1131-1161/1719-1748).
8. Ahmad Shāh bin Muhammad Shāh (r. 1161-1167/1748-1754).
9. 'Izzuddīn, 'Ālamgīr II (1167-1172/1754-1759).
10. Shāh Jahān III (1172-1172/1759-1759).
11. Shāh 'Ālam II, Jalāl al-Dīn (1172/1759)¹.

This rapid change shows that eleven thrones were collapsed back to back in just a half century of the life period of Shāh Walī Allāh, one of the causes of uncertain situation of the continent at this stage is as follows:

Bahādur Shāh I was the elder son of 'Ālamgīr and he got control over government after defeating his brother Muhammad 'Azīm while the other son of 'Ālamgīr, Dara Shikōh formed another government. Muhammad Shāh became king in 1131/1719, he ran his kingdom twenty nine years and six months. During the reign of Muhammad Shāh, Nādir Shāh got opportunity to ruin his throne in 1151/1739, as a result the security of the kingdom was breached and different states of the kingdom went out of the control even 'Ālī Wardī Khān formed independent government in Bangāl, Orīsa and Bihār². After the attack of Nādir Shāh, Shāh Walī Allāh got back from *Hijāz Muqaddas* while his age was 37 years, this brutal attack compelled him to find ways that make the situation in control, so he consulted the issue with Najīb al-Daulah and later both directed Ahmad Shāh Abdālī to take action against the existing cruel situation.

Shāh Walī Allāh analyzed whole political scenario of the kingdom and established an outline to make peace revives, to achieve this goal, he planned a strategy that if *Marathās* are being controlled at the moment, the situation may get better. The best available choice to handle *Marathās*, according to Shāh Walī Allāh, was Ahmad Shāh Abdālī (as he was also keen to get control over the kingdom) and logistic support may be given to Abdālī by local Navāb Najīb al-Daulah, for that purpose he wrote several letters to both Najīb al-Daulah and Abdālī³.

Muhammad Shāh died on 1161/1748 and Ahmad Shāh, Shāh 'Ālam II took charge over the kingdom for forty eight years but he could not succeed to establish sustainable peace, eventually Navābs of 'Aōdh, Shujā' al-Daulah and Mīr Qāsīm got defeated by the East India Company in 1177/1764 and Shāh 'Ālam accepted the defeat and made a contract with the company to be part its government, taxes of Bangāl etc. were collected by the company⁴ and it is known as "Treaty of Allāhabād".⁵

Shāh Walī Allāh has stated the political uncertainty and personal insecurity and worry in his poem also⁶. He has several writings on Islamic state, politics and jurisprudence etc. like "*Izālat al-Khafā 'an Khilāt al-Khulafā*", *Haujjat Allāh al-Bālighah*, *Al-Budūr al-Bāzighah*, *Qurat al-'Ainain fī Tafdīl al-Shaikhain*, *al-Tafhīmāt al-Ilāhiah* and *Maktūbāt* where he has expressed his reformist thoughts on the subject matters.

Ahmad Shāh Abdālī attacked on *Marathās* on 1174/ 14 January, 1761 and defeated them and the kingdom was going better in a good pace but incompetent authority of the kingdom could not maintain it at all. As a result, the political situation was getting bad and worse and meanwhile 19th century got started. Many brutal political events

took place in 19th century where only two Mughal emperors struggled a lot under the company government, one was Muhammad Akbar Shāh II (r. 1220/1806-1253/1838) who was made king for thirty one (31) years and other was Bahādur Shāh Zafar (r. 1253/1838-1273/1857) who was made for almost twenty (20) years, both were used as dummy kings with no real powers. In 1273/1857 the British government took direct control of the subcontinent⁷, subsequently a strong reaction flared up against the British government and many movements emerged to get freedom from the government but it was very difficult for them as the government was equipped with “mechanicalism” and “militarism”.

Both tools (“mechanicalism” and “militarism”) made the government very strong that is why it took the people of the subcontinent a couple of centuries and non-stop efforts to get back their freedom.⁸

Political Aspect of Shāh Walī Allāh in Current Scenario:

The political movement of Shāh played a vital role in the reformation of the society of Indo-Pak Sub-Continent. The role of the political movement of Shāh may be divided into three eras:

i. Shāh Walī Allāh and his Party:

The subcontinent was passing through a very critical and uneasy times. During the lifetime of Shāh Walī Allāh eleven Mughal rulers ascended the throne in rapid succession. Shāh Walī Allāh analyzed whole political scenario of the kingdom and established an outline to make peace revives, to achieve this goal, he planned a strategy that if *Marathās* are being controlled at the moment, the situation may get better. The best available choice to handle *Marathās*, according to Shāh Walī Allāh, was Ahmad Shāh Abdālī (as he was also keen to get control over the kingdom) and logistic support may be given to Abdālī by local Navāb Najīb al-Daulah, for that purpose he wrote several letters to both Najīb al-Daulah and Abdālī⁹.

Subsequently, after the death of the Shāh, his elder son, (Shāh) ‘Abdul ‘Azīz took the responsibility of the head of the party.

ii. Shāh Ishāq to Shaik al-Hind (1824 - 1920):

After eleven years of the incident of Bālā Kūt, Shāh Ishaq established a new program on the basis of two principles:

i. Hanafī School is to be followed strictly

ii. To maintain relations with Ottoman Empire.

Shāh Ishaq (d. 1946), the grandson of Shāh ‘Abdul ‘Azīz, played a very strong reformist role to maintain his party active in every sphere of the society. This era ended up with the demise of Shaikh al-Hind in 1920.

iii. Jamiat ‘Ulamā-i Hind (1919): This is the third era which led the party of Shāh till the partition of the sub-continent.

After the partition, the party was scattered and different groups claimed to be the successors of the Shāh’s party. However, to take advantage from the political theory is still crystal clear and can contribute a lot in Pakistani society. The agenda of the political theory of Shāh is based on two points: i. To purify human soul. ii. To take part

in the political affairs of Muslim Ummah.¹⁰

Social and Economic Situation of Indo-Pak during His Time:

Social Condition:

The political deterioration generally leads to social and economic decline. Shāh Walī Allāh lived his life during 1114/11703- 1176/1762, almost 62 years, but he felt sorrow and grieves in terms of social and economic situation of the subcontinent. Perhaps the Mughals were more pre-occupied with living in their absolute comfort and luxurious life style and were not concerned with what was happening in the rest of the country and the politics that was shaping up in general. Shāh ‘Abdul ‘Azīz Dihlavī had mentioned few instances of the luxurious life style of the Mughal nobles, one of them is quoted: “The women of the houses of Navāb Qamaruddīn Khān used to conclude their bath with a dip in rose-water. The indenture on *Pān* leaves and flowers purchased for the women folk of another noble amounted to rupees three hundred”¹¹.

The luxurious life-style of the monarchs was truly and apt to illustration of those days of *Caesar (Qaisar)* and *Chosrow (Kisrā)*. But for this main evils, there were other reasons as well, namely the limitation of the kept territory bankruptcy of the state exchequer, multiplicity of the feudal lords and monopoly of the system. In short, the storm of bad luck had started blowing from everything and the higher class was mostly accountable that due to its ease and comfort, was taking the blood of its deprived subjects. These were the conditions of the Empire based in Dehlī, especially the ruling class¹².

To make reforms in the society of Indo-Pak Sub-Continent, Shāh Walī Allāh addressed different communities of his society like soldier,¹³ artisans¹⁴, *Sūfiā’* (صوفياء)¹⁵, *‘Ulamā* (العلماء)¹⁶, Preachers (الواعظین)¹⁷ and common Muslims (عامۃ المسلمین)¹⁸ to perform the duties, assigned to them by Allāh.

Economic Conditions:

As far as the economic conditions of the Sub-Continent is concerned, that at the end of Shāh Jahān’s reign, the economic hub shifted to Bengal and the major expenditure on Aurangzēb’s campaign was fulfilled from the revenue received from this province. They were comprehensively defeated by a fleet of Mughal-hired mercenaries. The Company appealed to Aurangzēb for pardon and agreed to pay a substantial amount in compensation.

Aurangzēb appointed Murshid Qulī Khān, one of his most trusted assistants, as administrator of Bengal. He played a dynamic role in sustaining the political and economic integrity of the province, but he was dismissed by Bahādur Shāh, Aurangzēb’s successor. Ali Vardī Khān, the governor of Bihar, occupied Bengal in 1725, to become the sole ruler of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. He did not have, however, easy time, as he bore the brunt of the *Marhatha* attacks. ‘Alī Vardī Khān passed away in 1756, to be succeeded by his young grandson, Sirāj al-Dawlah. Mīr Ja‘far, a much older man, was the principal minister and the commander-in-chief of military. Due to the intriguing of Mīr Ja‘far, and the consequent defeat of Sirāj al-Dawlah at the battle of Plassey in 1757 by the Company, the British successfully choked off the jugular vein

of Muslim economy in the subcontinent¹⁹.

Nādir Shāh's devastating plunder in the Northern provinces of Sub-Continent had already greatly plundered the Mughal treasury and started the financial downslide of the Empire. By the time of 'Alamgīr II (r. 1754-59), the royal exchequer was unable to bear the expenses even of the royal household. On one occasion, some ladies of the imperial household, including the princesses, had to go without food for three days. They were saved from starvation by a prince, who managed to get some food from the state of alms house²⁰.

This depressing situation prompted ambitious upstarts to vaunt their own wealth, gathering around themselves unscrupulous groups of people. The result was an unprecedented outcrop of parasites and sycophants. The Empire was no longer able to support. Consequently, men of principles left the capital in search of patrons elsewhere. Among those who left Dehlī for Lucknow and Faizabad, enumerating the poets alone, were Sirāj al-Dīn Ārzū, Mirzā Saudā, Mīr Taqī Mīr, Qalandar Bakhsh Jur'at, Inshā' Allāh Khān Inshā', Mushāfi and others.²¹

Academic and Spiritual Situation of Indo-Pak in His Time:

The Islamic teaching arrived Indo-Pak subcontinent in the first century of *hijrī* by Muslim businessmen during the caliphate of 'Umar (R.A.)²² and with the 'Arab-Muslim conquest various domains of the India, especially Sindh became the center for Islamic teachings.²³ After the 'Arab power over Sindh came to an end and *Ghaznavid* (beginning 388/998) and *Ghorid* (beginning 570/1174) *Sultans* took their hold over that province. There was then an arrival of academics from *Khurāsān* and *Trānsaxiana*, known in Arabic as Ma Warā al-Nahr, causing a decline in the study of Islamic education.²⁴ During this time, poetry, astrology, speculative sciences, Greek philosophy and strict jurisprudence expanded popularity among the people.²⁵ Mentioning at the influence of Greek philosophy, Shāh Walī Allāh thought that these days the logical argumentation (*burhān*) (البرهان) has been spread due to mixing the Greek knowledge. The nation has engaged with the scholasticism (*kalām*) (علم الكلام) so much that each view of them relating to belief ('*aqīdah*) (العقيدة) is associated with logical argumentation.²⁶

For a better understanding, the classical Muslim education system is explained in four different steps as below:

1. From the beginning of the seventh century to the ninth century of *Hijrah* (13th to 15th C.E.), the preferable subjects were *Nahv* (النحو) (Arabic Grammar), *Balāghah* (البلاغه) (Rehtoric), *Fiqh* (فقه) (Islamic Law), *Usul al-Fiqh* (أصول الفقه) (Islamic Jurisprudence), *Mantiq* (المنطق) (Logic), *Kalām* (علم الكلام) (Theology), *Taswwuf* (التصوف) (Mysticism) and *Tafsīr* (Quranic Exegeses). The most focused subjects were المنطق والحكمة (Logic and *Hikmat*) (Metaphysics) and the main subject of the learners of that time was *fiqh*. Afterwards, the number of *Fatāwā* (الفتاوى) (Judicial opinions) and *Riwāyāt* (الروايات) (transmissions) remarkably increased, but the majority of the scholars did not bother to further review or settle them with the *Qurān* and the *Sunnah*.²⁷

2. From the end of ninth century of *Hijra* (15th C.E. during the rule of *Lodhis*), the speculative scholarships blowout all over the kingdom and *Al-Matāli'* and *Al-Mawāqif*

of 'Aḥuddīn al-Ījī, *Miftāh al-'Ulūm* of Al-Sakkākī, *Sharh al-Matāli'* and *Sharh al-Mawāqif* of Sharīf Al-Jurjānī, *Sharh al-'Aqīdah* of Al-Taftāzānī, *Sharh al-Waqāyah* of Sadr al-Sharī'a and *Sharh al-Kafīah* of Mullā Jamī have been incorporated in the syllabus.

3. From tenth century to the twelve century of *hijrī* (16th to 18th C.E.), the scholars focus was on logic and metaphysics and it was extended across the country, during the said period, the latest Iranian speculative scholarships and literature were formally incorporated in the syllabus.²⁸

4. During this period, the syllabus, designed by Mullā Nizāmuddīn Sahālvī (d. 1748 C.E.) has been implemented in the educational institutions and the same has been followed in the traditional *Madrasah* education in Indo-Pak subcontinent till to-date.²⁹ Due to the importance of the syllabus of Mullā Nizāmuddīn, its subjects are being mentioned here for making better understanding of the situation of education:

Ṣarf (Morphology): *Mizān*, *Mush'ib Panj Gonj*, *Zubdah*, *Ṣarf Mīr*, *Fusūl Akbarī* and *al-Shafiya*.

Nahv (Arabic Grammar and composition): "*Nahv Mīr*", "*Sharh Miat 'Āmil*", *Hidāyat al-Nahv*, *Kāfīah* and *Sharh Mullā Jāmī*.³⁰

Balāghah (Rehtoric): *Mukhtasar al-Ma 'ānī* and *al-Mawāqif of Sa'duddīn al-Taftāzānī*

Mantiq (Logic): *al-Shghrā*, *al-Kubrā*, *Īsāghūgī*, *Tahzīb*, *Sharh Tahzīb*, *Qutbī*, *Mīr Qutbī*, *Sullam al-'Ulūm* and *Mīr Zāhid*.

Hikmah (Metaphysics): *Sharh Hidayah al-Hikmah of Mubaizī of Sadra*, *Sharh Hidayah al-Hikmah of Sadriddīn Shīrāzī* and *Shams al-Bāzighah of Jūnpūrī*.

Riādiyāt (Mathmatics): *Khulāsah al-Hisāb*, *Tahrīr Aqlīsua*, *Tashrīh al-Aflāk* and *Sharh Chagmini*.

Kalām (Theology): *Sharh 'Aqīdah Nasafiyah of Taftāzānī*, *Sharh 'Aqid of Dawwānī* and *Sharh al-Mawāqif of Mīr Zāhid Haravī*.

Tafsīr (Qurānic Exegeses): *Tafsīr al-Jalālain* and *Tafsīr al-Baidāwī till Sūrah al-Baqarah*.

Hadith (Transmitted sayings, acts and tacit approvals of the prophet Muhamaad p.b.u.h.): *Mishkāt al-Masābīh* up to part of *Jumu'ah*.

Munāzarah (Arbitration and Argumentation): *al-Rāshidiyah*.

Fiqh (Islamic Law): *Sharh Wiqāyah* and *Hidāyah*

Usūl al-Fiqh (Islamic Jurisprudence): *Nūr al-Anwār*, *al-Talwīh* and *Musallam al-Thubūt*.³¹ Further detail on *Fiqh* and *Usūl al-Fiqh* will be explained in coming sub-section.

The eighteenth century was identified as an excellent age of religious and general literature in one hand, however, on the other hand, this century was marked as "a period of political and social decline".³² This era was the good time for the upgrading of Urdu poetry, narrating the poems criticism and *Mushā'irah* (مشاعره) (competition of narration of poems).³³ Despite general weakness of Islamic learning with regard to speculative scholarships there were various prominent scholars and writers in every sphere of arts and sciences in the century. The religious institutions were full of students and the *Sūfiyā*³⁴ (Spiritual Guides) used to teach in *Khānqāhs* (خانقاه) (hospices).³⁵

The few best published books on *Taşassuf* of Shāh Walī Allāh (which have played a

significant reformist role in the Sub-continent) are worth reading and they are as follows:

1. *Ham'āt* 2. *St'āt* 3. *Lamhāt* 4. *Altāf al-Qudus fī M 'arifāt Latīf al-Nafs*
5. *Risālah dar Taṣawwuf* 6. *al-Khair al-Kathīr* 7. *al-Qawl al-Jamīl fī bayan Sawā al-Sabīl.*

Among the books given above, *Ham'āt* seems the best one for those who want to learn the philosophy of *Taṣawwuf* in a logical order.

The few prominent scholars and prolific writers of those times are mentioned below: Apart from the scholars of *Walī Allāhī* family, there were Ahmad bin Abū S'aīd alias Mullā Jīvan (1130/1718), the author of *Nūr al-Anwār* and *Tafsīr-i Ahmadī*, Mullā Hasan (1199/1747) who wrote *Sharh al-Sullam*, Maulānā Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgirāmī (1200/1786), Qāzī Muhibullāh Bihārī (1119/1707), author of *Sullam al-'Ulūm* and *Musallam al-Thubūt*, Muhammad ibn 'Alī Thānavī (death after 1158/1745 as it is not determined by the scholars), the author of *Kashāf Istilāhāt al-Funūn* and Mullā Nizām al-Ddīn Sahālvī (1161/1748) who introduced the syllabus that is called *Dars-i Nizāmī* which is adopted by all religious *Madrāsahs* of Indo-Pak subcontinent and central Asia.³⁶

As far as spiritual guidance is concerned, there are a number of *ṣūfīs* (spiritual guides) who have played their role to enhance the capacity of the masses of their times, the most prominent figure were Mirzā Mazhar Jān-i Jānā (1195/1781), an eminent *ṣūfī* of the *Naqshbandī* order,³⁷ Sayyid Abd al-Razzāq of Bansa (1136/1724), the spiritual guide of Mullā Nizāmuddīn of *Dars-i Nizāmī* fame, represented the *Qādiriyyah* order, Shāh Kalīmullāh Jahānābādī (1140/1728) and Shāh Fakharuzzamān of Delhī (1199/1785), both were eminent mentors of *Chishtiyah* order.

Other famous spiritual guides were Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth Lahorī (1154/1741) of *Qadriyyah* order and Khawaja Muhammad Nasir Andlīb (172/1758) were belonging to *Naqshbandiyah* order.³⁸

Shāh Walī Allāh was one of the prominent educationists of his era and observed the conditions of Islamic education keenly and commented: "It is disturbing me that I am living in a period of ignorance and conventional rigidity and following the personal wish and pleasure of everyone with his own ill-opinion and the fact is that the contemporariness is the basis of dislike".³⁹ He tried his level best to reform the situation as per requirements prevailing at that time through personal and collective efforts that have been shown in his personal works and later on in his successor's efforts.

Theoretical and Juristic Situation of Indo-Pak Sub-Continent in His Time

The *Hanafī* school of thought has been practiced in general in the Indo-Pak subcontinent throughout the ages, however, *Shāfī* school of thought was also practiced in the coastal areas, like Madrās and Kūkan etc. where Arab Muslims established their personal/community businesses and shared their religious practiced with the native Indian of that area. Evidently the data is available on both said schools of thought, like *Fatāwā Majm'a al-Barakāt* by Muftī Abu al-Barakāt Dehlavī bin Sultān bin Hāshim, this book was written according to *Shāfī* school of thought in 1116 A.H. in the era of Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr⁴⁰ while *Fatāwā al-Hindiyah*⁴¹ was compiled by a group of religious

scholars both Indian and non-Indian according to *Hanafī* school of thought.⁴²

As far as books on *Usūl al-Fiqh* (Islamic Jurisprudence) that are written in Indo-Pak subcontinent up to the era of Shāh Walī Allāh is concerned, most books are *Shurūh* (commentaries), *Hawāshī* (footnotes/marginal notes) and *Mukhtasarāt* (shortened books) of the books written by the scholars of *Mā Vrā' al-Nahr* and *Khurāsān*, like *Shurūh* on *Usūl-i Bazdavī*, *Shurūh* and *Hawāshī* on *Hussāmī*, *Shurūh* on *al-Manār* and *Shurūh* on *Talwīh*.⁴³

The most important independent book on Islamic Jurisprudence is *Musallam al-Thubūt* of Qāzī Muhibullāh Bihārī (1119/1707) that is appreciated inside and outside the Indo-Pak subcontinent.⁴⁴ However, the academic works of the Shāh on the subject matter to reconcile the polemic *fiqhī* issues (which were used to create hater among different groups of Indo-Pak Sub-continent society) are given below and Shāh's given works have played a significant role to settle the *fiqhī* issues in the society:

1. *“al-Musawwā min Ahādīth al-Muwattā” (Arabic)*
2. *“al-Musaffā Sharh al-Muwattā” (Persian)*
3. *“Tarājim Abwāb-i Bukhārī wa Sharh Trājim B'ad-i Abwāb-i Bukhārī” (Arabic)*
4. *“Hujjat Allāh al-Bālighah” (Arabic)*
5. *“al-Insāf fī Bayān-i Sabab al-Ikhtilāf” (Arabic)*
6. *“Iqd al-Jīd fī Ahkām al-Ijtihād wa al-Taqlīd” (Arabic)*

Complete study of *Usūl al-Fiqh* (Islamic Law & Jurisprudence) in the Indo-Pak subcontinent shows that this branch of knowledge was well recognized up to the era of the Shāh as the Greek philosophy and *Fiqh* (Islamic Law) was most noticeable subject to defeat other rationally and *Usūl al-Fiq* was used as a tool to serve them.⁴⁵

Conclusion:

To conclude the topic, it is stated that the society of Indo-Pak was in terrible situation in terms of politics, economic and social along with *fiqhī* polemics. To encounter the situation of the society, Shāh Walī Allāh played a vital role through his reformist contributions to his society on one hand and on the other hand he prepared a party to make everlasting impact using his reformist thoughts. Unfortunately, the East India Company, later on, took the charge over Indo-Pak Sub-Continent and the company treated the society in brutal manner. As a result, the party of Shāh Walī Allāh changed its strategy and put the efforts to get freedom from the alien power.

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² Ishtiāq Quraishī, *The Muslim Community of the Subcontinent Indo-Pak*, (Karachi: Karachi University, 1985), 200-210, (hereinafter referred to as Quraishī, *The Muslim Community*).

³ Zakā'llāh, *Tārīkh-i Hindustān*, (Lahore: Madīnah Publishing Company, n.d.), 9:48, (hereinafter referred to as Zakā'llāh, *Tārīkh-i Hindustān*).

⁴ Ibid., 9:48.

⁵ "The **Treaty of Allāhabād** was signed on 16 August 1765, between the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II, son of the late Emperor Alamgir II, and Robert, Lord Clive, of the East India Company, as a result of the Battle of Buxar of 22 October 1764. The Treaty marks the political and

constitutional involvement and the beginning of British rule in India. Based on the terms of the agreement, Alam granted the East India Company *Diwānī rights*, or the right to collect taxes on behalf of the Emperor from the eastern province of Bengal-Bihar-Orissa. Thus East India Company got appointed as the imperial tax collector for the Eastern province (Bengal-Bihar-Orissa). These rights allowed the Company to collect revenue directly from the people of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. In return, the Company paid an annual tribute of twenty-six lakhs of rupees (equal to 260,000 pounds sterling) while securing for Shah Alam II the districts of Kora and Allahabad. The tribute money paid to the emperor was for the maintenance of the Emperor's court in Allahabad. The accord also dictated that Shah Alam be restored to the province of Varanasi as long as he continued to pay certain amount of revenue to the Company. Awadh was returned to Shuja-ud-Daulah, but Allahabad and Kora were taken from him. The Nawab of Awadh also had to pay fifty-three lakhs of rupees as war indemnity to the East India Company. The Nawab of Awadh, Shuja ud Daulah, was made to pay a war indemnity of 5 million rupees to the Company. Moreover, the two signed an alliance by which the Company promised to support the Nawab against an outside attack provided he paid for services of the troops sent to his aid. This alliance made the Nawab dependent on the Company." See, http://www.self.gutenberg.org/articles/eng/Treaty_of_Allahabad, accessed on Feb. 09, 2021.

⁶ Walī Allāh, *Atyab al-Nagham fī Madhi Sayyid al-'Arab wal-'Ajm*, ed. And trans. Muhammad Karam Shāh al-Azhārī, (Lahore: Zīā al-Qurān Publications, 1999), 25-32, first complete section (faṣl) of the book is dedicated to the issue.

⁷ Zakā'llāh, *Tārīkh-i Hindustān*, 48.

⁸ Professor Muhammad Sarwar, *Ifādāt-o Malfūzāt of Maulānā 'Ubaidullāh Sindhī*, (Lahore: Dār al-Kitāb, 2005), 161-62, (hereinafter referred to as Sarwar, *Ifādāt*).

⁹ Zakā'llāh, *Tārīkh-i Hindustān*, (Lahore: Madīnah Publishing Company, n.d.), 9:48, (hereinafter referred to as Zakā'llāh, *Tārīkh-i Hindustān*).

¹⁰ See: Walī Allāh, *Hujjat Allāh al-Bālighah*, 1:250; whole chapter of *al-Irtifāqāt* in Shāh's book *Hujjat*, 1:124.

¹¹ Shāh 'Abdul 'Azīz, *Malfūzāt-i Shāh 'Abdul 'Azīz*, (Mīrat: Matba' Muḥtabai', 1897), 110, (hereinafter referred to as 'Abdul 'Azīz, *Malfūzāt*)

¹² Walī Allāh, *Al-Budūr al-Bāzighah*, (Bijnore: Al-Majlis al-Ilmī, 1354 AH), 137.

¹³ Walī Allāh, *al-Tafhīmāt al-Ilāhiyah*, (Dabhel: Al-Majlis al-Ilmi, 1936), 1:285-86, (hereinafter referred to as Walī Allāh, *al-Tafhīmāt*).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1:286-87.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1:214.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1:284.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1:217-18.

¹⁹ Mahmood Ahmad Ghāzī, *Islamic Renaissance in South Asia (1707-1867 The Role of Shāh Walī Allāh and His Successors)* (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, International Islamic University, 2002), 68-69, (hereinafter referred to as Ghāzī, *Islamic Renaissance in South Asia*).

²⁰ Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire* (Calcuttah: M.C. Sarlar, 1912), 2:27, (hereinafter referred to as Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*).

²¹ Abu -l-Laith Siddīqī, *Lakhnau kā Dabistān-i Shā'irī*. (Lakhnau: Urdū Publishers, 1973), 56-77.

²² Muhammad Ishāq Bhattī, *Barr-e Ṣaghīr main Islam kē Awwalīn Nuqūsh* (Lahore: Idāra-i Thaqāfat-i Islāmiyah, 1st.ed. 1990), 39.

²³ Muhammad Ishāq, *India's Contribution to the Study of Hadīth Literature* (Dhāka: Dhāka University, 1947), 21-22.

²⁴ Sayyid 'Abdul Hai Hasanī, *al-Thaqāfah al-Islāmiyah fil-Hind* (Damascus: 1958) 135, (hereinafter referred to as 'Abdul Hai Hasanī, *al-Thaqāfah*).

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Walī Allāh, *al-Tafhīmāt*, 1:82-3.

²⁷ ‘Abdul Hai Hasani, *al-Thaqāfah*, 13-5.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid., 15-17.

³⁰ Ibid., 16.

³¹ Ibid.

³² ‘Azduddīn Khān, *Armaghān-i Sa’īd* (‘Alīgarh: ‘Alīgarh University, 1990), 78.

³³ ‘Athar ‘Abbās Rizvī, *Shāh Walī Allāh and His Times* (Campell: Ma’rifat Publishing House, 1980), 189-90, (hereinafter referred to as Rizvī, *Shāh Walī Allāh and His Times*).

³⁴ As far as four Ṣūfī orders is concerned, a brief account has been given below:

1. “The Chishtī Order: “‘Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani (b. 470/1077, d. 561/1166), also known as Gilani, is one of the more enigmatic figures in the history of Islam, as well as one of the most chronologically and geographically ubiquitous.” See for detail: Braune, W. “‘Abd al-Qādir al-Djīlānī.” In *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Vol. 1. 2d ed. Edited by H. A. R. Gibb, J. H. Kramers, E. Lévi-Provençal, and J. Schacht, (Leiden: Brill, 1960). 69-70.

2. Founded by Khwaja Abu Ishaq Shami Chishti (d. 940 or 966 C.E.), “the Chishti order derives its name from the village of Chisht in Afghanistan, which is located thirty miles away from the modern city of Herat. Chisht was home to remarkable family that produced an unbroken line of five great Sufi masters. It is from this family and their systematisation of ‘tasawuuf’ that the basic principles and methodology of the Chishti order were laid down.” See: <https://www.chishtiya.org/chishti-order/> accessed on 9th July 2021 at 4:00am.

3. The Suhrawardi Order: “Suhrawardiyya is the name of a Sufi order founded by Iranian Sufi Diya al-din Abu ‘n-Najib as-Suhrawardi (RA) (1097 – 1168). He was a murid of Ahmad al-Ghazali (RA), who was a brother of Imam Abu Hamid al-Ghazali. c. 545 A.H. he was teaching Shafi’i fiqh at Al-Nizamiyya of Baghdad Academy. His surviving work is called *Kitab Adab Al-Muridin*. Many Sufis from all over the Islamic world joined the order under the founder’s nephew Hazrat Shihab ad-din Abu Hafs ‘Umar (RA) (1145-1234), who was sent as emissary to the court of Khwarezm Shah in Bukhara by the Khalifa in Baghdad. His son is buried in Tashkent. Later the Order spread into India through Hazrat Jalaluddin Surkh-Posh Bukhari (RA) and Hazrat Baha-ud-din Zakariya (RA).” See: <https://aalequtub.com/29419-2/> accessed on 9th July 2021 at 3:46am.

4. The Naqshbandī Order: “Khwajgan known as the Naqshbandī Sufi Silsilah in India, originated in Transoxiana (Turkey) under the fundership of Khwajah Abu Yousuf Hamdani (1140 C.E.). Khwajah Bahauddin Naqshbandī (1318 C.E.) was the seventh in the Naqshbandī series. He was adopted by Khwajah Muhammad Shamsi, the fifth descendent of Hamdani. Bahau’d-din Naqshbandī died in (c.e 1389) and buried near Bukhara.” See for detail: Shams ul Hasan, *Impact of Naqshbandi Silsilah Indian Muslims* (Alīgarh: Alīgarh Muslim University, 2010), 1-2.

³⁵ Sayyid Abul Hasan ‘Alī Nadvī. *Tārīkh Da’wat wa ‘Azīmat*, (Lucknow: Nadvat al ‘Ulamā), 5:22-3, (hereinafter referred to as Nadvī, *Tārīkh Da’wat*).

³⁶ See, Ibid., 37-38.

³⁷ See, Ibid., 38.

³⁸ Athar ‘Abbās Rizvī, *Shāh Walī Allāh and His Times* (Campell: Ma’rifat Publishing House, 1980), 219-78.

³⁹ Walī Allāh, *Hujjat Allāh al-Bālighah*, ed. by Sa’īd Ahmad Pālan Pūrī (Karachi: Zam Zam, 2010), 1:34.

⁴⁰ Sājidah Butt, *Qāzī Muhibullāh bahaitiyat-i Māhir-i Uṣūl al-Fiqh* (Lahore: Ph.D. Thesis, Oriental College, University of Punjab, 1992), 17-18, (hereinafter referred to as Butt, *Qāzī Muhibullāh*)

bahaitiyat-i Māhir-i Uṣūl al-Fiqh).

⁴¹ "Fatawa-e-Alamgiri (also known as Fatawa-i-Hindiya and Fatawa-i-Hindiyya) is a compilation of law created at instance of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb (who was also known as *Alamgir*). This compilation is based on Sunni Hanafi Islam's Sharia law, and was the work of many scholars, principally from the Hanafi School. In order to compile *Fatawa-e-Alamgiri*, Aurangzeb gathered 500 experts in Islamic jurisprudence (*Faqīh*), 300 from the South Asia, 100 from Iraq and 100 from the Hejaz (Saudi Arabia)."

⁴² 'Abdul Hai Hasanī, *al-Thaqāfah*, 108.

⁴³ Dr Mazhar Baqā, *Usūl-i Fiqh aur Shāh Walī Allāh*, (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, 1973), 100-01, (hereinafter referred to as Baqā, *Usūl-i Fiqh aur Shāh Walī Allāh*).

⁴⁴ Butt, *Qāzī Muhibbullāh bahaitiyat-i Māhir-i Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, 20.

⁴⁵ Baqā', *Uṣūl-i Fiqh aur Shāh Walī Allāh*, 100.
