A CRITICAL EVALUATION OF SHAH WALI ALLAH'S PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION AND ITS APPLICATION IN THE MODERN AGE

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Researcher

Mohammad Afzal

Supervisor:

Prof. Dr. Jamila Shaukat
Chairperson
Deptt. of Islamic Studies
University of the Punjab
Lahore.
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CHAPTER-I

A REVIEW OF SHAH WALI ALLAH'S WORKS

1. INTRODUCTION

Shah Wali Allah (1703-1762) is one of the most resplendent personalities of Islam during the eighteenth century. His deep erudition, his rare insight into the religious sciences\(^1\) combined with the vigour and dynamism of his thought which could analyse complex sociological situations in the light of religious principles, make him one of the most seminal figures in the history of Islamic thought. In the words of Freeland Abbot, "Shah Wali Allah was a transitional figure between the medieval and the modern age - Somewhat as Dante was in Europe"\(^2\).

What gives Shah Wali Allah a pre-eminent place in the history of Islamic thought is the depth and dimension of his approach which responded to the changing needs of the time and provided new tools for the interpretation of moral and religious values of Islam. He translated the Holy Qurān into Persian and popularized the study of Ḥādīth and prepared commentaries on the Muwatta of Imām Mālik. It was on the basis of the Holy Qurān and Ḥādīth that he sought to build a new structure of religious thought and juristic analysis in consonance with the spirit of Islam. Then he surveyed all areas of tension and conflict in the contemporary Muslim thought and tried to bridge the gulf between jurists and the mystics, the ahl-i-hadith and ahl-ur-ra'i, the believers in Wāhidh-al-Wajūd and the
advocates of Wahdat ash Shuhûd. He sought to create an atmosphere of understanding and good will between the various schools of Muslim jurisprudence\(^3\). This was the first step towards breaking the rigidity of Muslim thought. It paved the way for the development of a new spirit of Ijtihaad in the socio-religious system of Islam. He thus initiated an intellectual renaissance in Muslim religious thought and prepared the ground for a fresh interpretation of religion in a broader frame-work of social needs and intellectual demands of the time.

1.2 \textbf{WORKS OF SHAH WALI ALLAH}

Shah Wali Allah's writings cover all branches of traditional Islamic Learning, such as Quranic Translation, the principles of the interpretation of the Holy Qur'an, Hadith, fiqh, kalam (scholasticism), munâzra (religious polemics), taqâhid, sufis, biographies, poetry and religious and political correspondence. His published and un-published works known to us are as follows:

\textbf{WORKS ON THE HOLY QURÂN}

1. \textit{Fath al-Rahman fi târîjimun al-Qurān}: (Persian)

This Persian translation of the Qur'an took a long time: started before Shah Wali Allah left for Hejaz, completed on the Id-al-Adhâ 1150 A.H. (31st March 1738 A.D.) and published in 1156 A.H. (1743 A.D.), Delhi\(^4\).
2. *Muqaddima ila fann-i tarjama-i-Qurān*: (Persian)

This is a short treatise containing the principles of translating the Holy Qurān. The exact date of its compilation is not known, but it was written when the author was working on his Fath-al-Rahman. Maulana Hifzur Rahman Siijarwi translated it into Urdu in two instalments in the monthly, "Burhan", Delhi No.4-5, October-November 1945. Maulana Ghulam Mustafa Qasmi translated this work into Sindhi which was published in "Al-Rahim", October/November 1965, Hyderabad(5).


(Great fruition lying in the principles of Quranic exegesis) This book, as its title suggests deals with the principles of tafsir. "It is incompatible in the entire Islamic literature"(6). This work has been translated into Arabic by Ali-al-Salīfī and published from Lahore in 1957. It has been translated into Urdu by Muhammad Salim Uhaidullah and published from Karachi, date of publication not given(7).

4. *Fath Al-Khabir*: (Arabic)

This is a small treatise on gharib al Qurān (explanation of the difficult words of the Quran), first time published from Hoogli in 1834(8).
This book deals with the rational interpretation of extra-ordinary and miraculous incidents connected with the lives of the prophets mentioned in the Qurān. It is indeed a unique presentation. Brevity and employment of particular terminology are the main features of its style. The author maintains that the miracles are in fact ordinary happenings, but they took mysterious and remarkable because their causes are either obscure or rare or unfamiliar to the layman. The book, therefore, has become an exercise in finding a material cause for miraculous incidents. For example, the birth of Prophet 'Isa (Jesus), the crossing of the Nile by Moses, and the bodily change of the Israelis into Monkeys have been explained rationally. The book has much to offer to the new mutations. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's commentary on the Qurān and the writings of Ghulam Ahmad Pervez bear ample testimony that the authors have been greatly influenced by Shah Wali Allāh's rationalism. However, this book bears some resemblance to the Fasus al-Hikm of Ibn al-Arabi. This work has been translated into Sindhi and English by G.N. Jallani respectively in 1964 and 1974. Another English translation by Baljon under the title "A Mystical Interpretation of Prophetic Tales" by an Indian Muslim has been published from Leiden in 1973.
WORKS ON HĀDĪTH

6. *Arba‘un hādīth Musalqala bi’l ashraf fi ghalib sanadiha*:
   (Arabic)

(Forty traditions mostly with an uninterrupted chain of illustrious transmitters). These hādīth also called Chihal ahādīth. Shah Wali Allah took these forty authentic traditions from the lips of Abu Tahir Madni. Remarkable feature is their brevity and are easy to commit to memory. They have the form of aphorism which can guide the believer, in every department of life. This work has been translated into Urdu entitled as, Chihal ahadith and published in 1967.

7. *Al-Musawwa min ahadith al-Muwatta*. (Arabic)

(Arrangement of the traditions of the Muwatta in a convenient form). This work is an Arabic commentary of the Muwatta of Imām Mālik. The aim of this work is to find a formula for creating conciliation and compromise among the contentious schools of Sunni fiqh. For this purpose he wanted to select collection of traditions which would be acceptable to all the schools. He decided that the Muwatta was the book which could serve the purpose. He, therefore, wrote a commentary on it, explaining the traditions by way of ijtihad. At the instance of Sayyid Allah Sindhi the work was published from Makkah, volume first in 1932 and volume 2nd in 1934. This work also has been translated into Urdu by Ghulam Mustafa Qasmi under the title “Imām Mālik Sahib al-Muwatta”, in *al-Rahim*, Hyderabad No.11 No.6, November 1963 and vol, No.5, October, 1963.
8. **Al-Musaffa** (Persian)

It is commentary of the Muwatta in Persian. Al Musaffa is a posthumous work of Shah Wali Allah. He had completed the draft in his life-time but due to some other engagements he could not prepare the fair copy. Five or Six months after his death, his disciples, Shaykh Muhammad 'Ashiq and Khawaja Muhammad Amin began to put the manuscript in order. The work was finally edited in March, 1766. Its known edition is of Delhi 1876. S. Abdullah translated it into Urdu and published from Calcutta in 1294 A.M. (17).

9. **Al-durr al-thamin fi'l Mubashirat al-Nabi al-amin** (Arabic)

(Precious pearls consisting in joyful announcements from the trust worthy prophet). The traditions included in this work were communicated on dreams in which the spirit of the Holy Prophet (SAW) was witnessed. They are divided into three categories:

a) the first thirteen were those which he himself received from the Holy Prophet (SAW). (18)

b) the next seventeen through the medium of his father, his paternal uncle or his Medinan teacher Abu Tahir;
c) those which he received at third hand, for instance, in the case of visions bestowed on the father of Abū Tahir. This work has been translated into Urdu by Ibad Ahmad Faruqi, published in 1368, from Lyallpur (now Faisalabad)\(^{(19)}\).

10. \textit{Al fadlal-mubin f-i'l Musalsalat min hadith Al-Nabi al-Amin}. (Arabic)

(Extra ordinary favour consisting traditions of the trust-worthy prophet related by an un-interrupted chain of transmitters). This work deals with the authorities of the traditions of the Holy Prophet (SAW) without a subsequent matter (text). They were handed down to Shah Wali Allah by his masters in Makkah and Madinah with the introductory formulla "I love you" This work is also called musalsalat\(^{20}\).

11. \textit{Al-Nawadir min ahadith Sayyid al-Awail Wal-awakhir}

(Arabic)

(Prophetic traditions relating to comical tales) the work, as title indicates, deals with rare traditions of the prophet (SAW)\(^{(21)}\). These traditions were put together merely because of their curious character. The chain of authorities on which they are based starts with al-khîdr or a very old man like Abu Abdullah al-Muammar. Most of these traditions in this collection came from Abu Tahir\(^{(22)}\).
12. *Al-Irshad ila Muhimmat ibn al-Asnad* (Arabic)

(A manual for the requirements of the science of isnâd) this small book deals with the authorities of the traditions of the prophet (SAW). This work has been published many times\(^{(23)}\).


(Elucidation of the headings of the chapters of al-Bukhari’s collection of traditions)

This small work contains a critical study of the abwab of *Sahih al-Bukhari*. The work has been edited by illuminating annotations. Ghulam Mustafa Qasmi supposes that this was completed about the year 1732/33 A.D\(^{(24)}\).
WORKS ON FIQH


(Fair elucidation of the causes of the legal differences between various schools of fiqh). It should not be thought that Shah Wali Allah advocated utter disregard for the traditional schools of Law. His approach was analytical; he did not emphasize the issues on which the schools differed, but those on which they agreed. When he accepts the interpretation of one school, he bases this acceptance on the criterion of reason. Moulana Rahim Buksh says that sometimes Shah Wali Allah superficially appears to be a follower of the Shafie School, sometimes Hanbalı, sometimes Hanafi and another time Maliki. Here the principle of tatbiq (integration) is illustrated as he tries to reconcile different schools of Law when he fails to find a common denominator he relies upon his reasoning in order to synthesize the basic principles of the four schools. He writes a treatise entitled *Al-Insaf fi Biyan al-sabab al-ikhilaf* in which he traces the history of these four schools of Fiqh. This work has been translated into Urdu and published many times. Mazhar Baqa is of opinion that out of total 93 pages only 28 pages are original, the rest are copying from Hujjatullah Al-Baligha vol.1.

15. *‘Aqd aljīd fi biyān āhkām al-ijtihād wa-taqlīd* (Arabic)

In this book Shah Wali Allah has dealt with the problems of Ijtihad (independent investigation) and taqlid (conformity). The work is divided into five chapters. The author maintains that it would be wrong to believe that the door of Ijtihad is closed now: He says that anyone who qualifies the
conditions of mujtahid can exercise his own ijtihad. However, a layman is advised to follow one or other of the four schools of law. Blind conformity is bad, but it is not altogether forbidden\textsuperscript{(27)}. The selected pages have been translated into English\textsuperscript{(28)}. Sajid al Rahman Siddiqi Kandhalvi translated it into Urdu\textsuperscript{(29)}. 
Mysticism


A collection of short essays in Arabic and Persian, composed at different times and collected into a single volume. Besides dealing with various aspects of divine mysteries and mystical problems, some treatises also give social, political and ethical counsels to the Muslims. This work also contains his famous letter to Ismáil Afandi in which the author claims that differences between wáhdát-al-wajúd and wáhdátul-sháhúd are purely semantic.

17. *Al-Khayr al-kabír* (Arabic) (Abundant blessing)

The title of this book has been derived from the Quaran (11:269). It relates the divine philosophy (Hikmah) on which the author has revealed many a truth. Bravery in expression and depth of thought have made it most excellent. Anwar Kashmiri is of opinion that *al-khayr al-kabír* is superior to Wali Allah's other works in the expression of divine philosophy. However, there is no doubt in saying that in the revelation of the realities of things as they are, this work excels others.

Shah Wali Allah in his introduction of *al-khayr al-kabír* has warned those persons who are not blessed with the penetrative mind of nature and the intellectual perception by acquisition to be on their guard from its study lest they should make mistake.
The book consists of ten chapters named *Khaza'in ul Hikmah* (Repositories of wisdom) and is particularly meant for those who have a philosophical bent of mind \(^{(35)}\).

Shah Wali Allah agrees with Shaykh Abu'l Hassan Ashari on most of the points held in dispute in the beginning of the tenth khizanah he mentions fourteen main points. Shah Wali Allah is of the view that the Ashari school of thought generally represents the school of the companions, it is stated that Shah Wali Allah himself was Ashari in taste \(^{(36)}\).

18. \textit{Al-Qawl al-jamil fi bayan sawa al-sabil} (Arabic) (A pleasant discussion and explanation of the path). In this book Shah Wali Allah has dealt with the practical aspect of mysticism such as the qualifications of a preceptor, etc. The book also contains an account of practices peculiar to various orders of mysticism. The healing power of the Quaranic verses has been emphasized. The practice of writing emblems is approved. The book is of a great practical use to the pirs and mashaikhs \(^{(37)}\).

19. \textit{Ham'a} (Persian) (Downpours)

The book was written in Jumadi al-akhir, 1148 (October, 1735). The work deals with the historical development of Islamic mysticism. He gives an account of the mystical experiences of the older mystics of Islam, along with his own judgement. According to him, a journey on the spiritual path does not exempt a novice from the observance of shariah. However, it is
true that a stage is reached, if the journey is continued successfully, where
the observance of religious practices does not remain obligatory, but such a
state is reached by only a few men. Even those who reached this stage
prefer to stick to the shariat for if they do not do so, it will mislead the
people of the world (38).

20. *Al-Budur al-Bazigha* (Arabic)

(Full moon appearing on the Horizon)
The expositions in this work are directed to unknown person, who
apparently represents one of Shah Wali Allah’s students. So it can be taken
as a type of text book which recapitulates a number of topics discussed in
earlier writings. In sum, this very important work, which can be qualified as
opus magnum with even more reason then the *Hujjat-Allah al-Baligha*.
offers us a matter and comprehensive survey of the manifold meaningful
ideas, the Delhi divine has evolved on the relations between God and Man
(39).

(Analysis of a mystics inner dimensions) (40).

22. *Hawa’ma Shari’i Hasb Al-Bohr* (Persian)

23. *Sat’at* (Persian) (Radiances)
This work deals with the mystical philosophy. Though it is a small treatise, yet it throws sufficient light on the subject. It mostly deals with life after death and the system of divine manifestations working on this universe.  

24. *Lumahât* (Arabic) (Flashes of lightening)

A mystical philosophy with speculations on being, a’yan thabita (Latent realities of things), tâjalliyât (theophanies), al-Nafs al-kulliyya (universal soul), classes of angles and the like. Khalil is correct in assuming that this digest of both his metaphysical and mystical conceptions belongs to a later period, since conceptions already expressed elsewhere are merely summarized as if for the already instructed.  

25. *Fuyud al-Haramayn* (Arabic)

This work deals with author's spiritual experiences that he had obtained, through vision at the holy cities of Makkah and Madinah. The work offered valuable material for the novels of the mystical path.

26. *Al-intibah fi ra‘isît awliya allâh wa asanid warithi Rasul Allâh.* (Persian)

The book is divided into two parts, first about sufi orders and second deals with hadith and fiqh. It has been translated into Urdu.
1.2 PHILOSOPHY OF ISLAM.

27. *Hujjat Allah al-Baligha* (Arabic) See also pp. 27-33

The title of this book has been derived from the Holy Quran surah 4, verse 149. There are numerous characteristics of the book, for instance, the author has made an extensive use of the traditions of the Holy Prophet (SAW) and this fact has made the book by itself, an authentic collection of the Hadith (46). The terminology used in this work is almost the same as found in the classical literature on philosophy, scholasticism and mysticism (47) etc. The idea to write this book came to the Shah as a divine inspiration in Makkah and it was completed in Delhi at the urgent request of his disciple and friend, Shaykh Muhammad 'Ashiq, the son of Shah Wali-ALLah's maternal uncle, Shaykh Ubaid-Allah (48). Abual-Hasan Ali Nadvi writes, the book is unique in the entire Islamic literature (49).
SUNNI BELIEFS

28. *Qurrat al-aynayn fi tafdid al-shaykhan* (Persian)

This book is refutation of Shi‘i aspersions on Abu Bakr and Ummar. Shah Wali Allah did not go so far as to declare Shia out of the pale of Islam. (50)

29. *Al-aqidat al-Hasanah* (Arabic)

This small treatise deals with the religious beliefs of Shah Wali Allah. The beliefs expounded in it are, in fact, those which are commonly expressed by the Sunnis (51). This work is translated into Urdu by Sajid Ali Asifabadi.

30. *Al-Muqaddima al-saniyya fil intisar lil firqa al-sunniyya* (Arabic)

This is an Arabic translation of the Persian tract Raddi-Rawafid written by Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi. A manuscript copy of this treatise is available in the Kutab Khana Saidiyh, Tank (52).
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

31. *Izalat al-khafa an khilafat al-khulafa* (Persian)

(Removal of the veil of mystery from the Caliphate of the Caliphs)
This famous work of Shah Wali Allah deals with the justification of the order of succession of the first four caliphs of the Holy Prophet (SAW). Moulana Abd al-Hayee is of opinion that *Izalat al-khafa* is unique work on the topic in the entire Islamic literature. It has been translated into urdu.

32. *Anfas al-Arifin* (Persian)

*Anfas al-Arifin* is biography of his ancestors, mainly of his father and uncle and their teachings, notes on some scholars and sufis of Makkah and Madinah are also included. Following seven treatises available in independent work are in fact different sections of the Anfas.

1. *Bawa'iq Al-Walayat*:

It contains a life sketch, tale talls and spiritual practices of author's father, Shaykh Abd al-Rahim.

2. *Shawariq al-ma'rifat*:

It deals with the life account and mystical views and practices of author's uncle, Shaykh Abu al-Riza Muhammad.
3. **Al-Imdad fi ma asirah-Ajdad:**

This chapter gives life sketches and religious practices of Shah Wali Allah’s relatives and spiritual preceptors.

4. **Al-Nubzat al-ibriziya fial-latafat al-Aziziyya:**

In this chapter we find a life sketch of Shakr Bar.

5. **Al-atiyat al-sandiyya fi Anfas al-Muhammadiyya:**

This chapter deals with the life sketch and mystical views and practices of Shaykh Muhammad of Phulat.

6. **Al-insan al-Ain fi Mashalik al-Haramain:**

This chapter is on the lives of Shah Wali Allah’s teachers in the Hijaz.

7. **Al-Juz al-Latif fi Tarjumat al-abd al-dair**

Shah Wali Allah’s autobiography.

33. **Surur al-Malizat** (Persian)

It is a Persian translation of the biography of the Holy Prophet (SAW) written by Sayyed al-Nas.
POETRY

Shah Wali Allah was not a professional poet, but since he had a wonderful command over Arabic and Persian, he could compose verses without any difficulty.

34.  
\textit{Al-qasida al-Hamziyya fi mada'ih Nabawiyya} (Arabic)

Published from Delhi in 1308 A.H.\textsuperscript{(56)}

35.  
\textit{Atyab al-nagham fi madh sayyid al-Arab Wal-Ajam:}

An Arabic ode with a Persian commentary, published from Delhi in 1308 A.H.\textsuperscript{(57)}
LETTERS

36. Shah Wali Allah ke Siyasi Maktubat (Persian with Urdu translation)

It is a collection of Shah Wali Allah’s letters which he wrote to various politically influential persons, including the Mughul king and Ahmad Shah Abdali. In these letters the author has exhorted his addresses to realize the seriousness of the political disorder caused by the Marathas, the Sikhs and the Jats. He warns them that if they do not rise to meet the challenge, the Muslim community will be doomed to destruction. embracing all walks of life. These letters are not unilateral, many of them were written to answer a query or a consultation made by his addressees. These letters contain valuable information about contemporary events and are hence useful to the historians. These letters have been published by Professor K.A. Nizami (58).

37. Letters contained in Hayat-e-Wali (Arabic)

These are eleven in number and were selected from a large collection which was in possession of the author of Hayat-e-Wali (59).

38. Letters contained in Kalimaat-e-Tayyibat (Arabic and Persian)

These are twenty-four in number. These letters were written to Mirza Mazhar Jane Janan, Khawja Muhammad Amia, Shah Abu Said, Shaikh Ismail and others. These letters contain mystical and philosophical discussions (60).
GRAMMAR

Sarfmi Mir Manzoom

A short treatise in persian to teach Arabic Grammar to his son, Abdal-Aziz (61).

39. *Wasiyt Nama* (Persian)

Despite the appearance of a personal testament, is more like a farewell address of the sage than a private counsel to his immediate family. It contains eight precepts highlighting his views on Islamic laws and their schools of interpretation, mysticism and the cultural orientation of Indian Muslims. In order to popularize Shah Wali Allah’s views, his disciples and admirers wrote commentaries on his precepts. Three well known and extent commentaries written during the 19th century are that of Qadi Thana Allah (d.1810), Nawab Siddiq Husain Khan (d.1889) of Bhopal and Sa-adatyar Khan Rangoon (d.1834). Against this brief back-ground, one can easily give the importance of Shah Wali Allah’s eight precepts which have been translated into Urdu (62).
MISCELLANEOUS

40. *Al-sirr al-Maktum fi ashab tadwin al-ulum* (Arabic)

This small treatise was written at the request of Shah Wali Allah's two pupils, Mullah Aman Allah and Mullah Sher Muhammad. It deals with various branches of knowledge. It has been translated into Urdu by Moulana Noshah rawi and published in *al-Rehim* June, 1964 (63).

41. *Risalah-e-Danishmandi* (Persian)

This small work of Shah Wali Allah deals with the methods applied to teaching and writing. According to his own statement he learnt this art from his father (64).
LIST OF UNPUBLISHED WORKS.

1. Al-i'tasam (Persian)
2. Hashiya Risalah-e-Ahmar (Arabic)
3. Waridat (Persian)
4. Nihayat al-usual (Persian)
5. Al-Anwar al-Muhammadia (Persian)
6. Fath al-Islam (Persian)
8. Kashf al-anwar (Persian)
9. Al-tarbib ala mayahaju ilaihi al-muhaddith wal-fiqh. (Arabic)
10. L'rab al-Quran
11. Asar ul-Muhaddithin
12. Mansur
13. Asrar-e-fiqh
14. Risalah-e-Delhi
15. Fath al-wadud fi ma'rifat al-Junud (65).
EXACT NUMBER OF THE WORKS

The exact number of the books is not known due to various reasons. Ibrahim Sialkoti put his works over two hundred without giving a list (66). To Rahim Buksh, the number of printed works is 45 (67) but he adds that Shah Wali Allah wrote more than hundred books (68). Sayyid Numan is of opinion that Wali Allah wrote more than ninety books (69). The number of books to Rizvi is seventy including four to five pages short treatises (70). T.M.S. Baljon mentioned only 32 books (71). Mahmud Ahmad Bukati mentioned forty four published and seventeen unpublished works of Shah Wali Allah (72). G.M. Julbani mentions only published works which are about fifty (73). Moulana Manzur Noumani gives a list of 46 works (74). Dr. Mazhar Baqa mentions (75) books (76). The maximum number known so far fluctuates between sixty and seventy (77). Shah Wali Allah chose Arabic for some of his most important works. One wonders why he did so, especially at a time when not only Arabic, which never became the language of orations in India, but Persian also was gradually vanishing from the sub-continent. The answer can, perhaps, be found in the example of Iqbal who has used Persian for conveying his message to the Muslim community at large. Shah Wali A’lah’s message was directed to the scholars of the Muslim world who were supposed to possess sufficient knowledge of Arabic. He, therefore, selected Arabic for some of his writings (78).
Dates of completion

It is difficult task to determine the dates of completion, for only a few book contain such specifics. The Ijaza (certificates) the Shah gave to his pupil also contain the title and dates of some of his works. The reference in some books to earlier works also helps to assess the date at which they were written by Shah Wali Allah. Lastly the contents of a book may give a clue in assessing a date. However, we may adopt following order of their creation.

Works written from 1145/1732 --1151/1738-39


Works written between 1152/1740 --1160/1747

Al-Fawzal-Kabir, Qurat al-Aynin, al-Mussawa, Al-Khayr al-Kathir, Tawil al-Abadith
Works written upto 1172 A.H.

Iqd al-Jid, Musalsalat, Sarf-e mir, al-Dur-e Samin, Al-Nawadir, Sharah
Trajam Abwab Bukhari, Al-Fadlul Mubin.

Works written between 1172 --1176 A.H.

Izalat al-Khafa, Al-Musafa, Wasiyat Nama. The dates of other works
cannot be ascertained. It is to be noted that the dates of completion given
by S.A.A. Rizvi, Baljon and Dr. Mazhar are somewhat incorrect, (For
reference see, Baljon, pp.8-14, Rizvi. pp.220-224, and Dr. Mazhar Baqa,
pp.160-161).

BOOKS ATTRIBUTED TO SHAH WALI ALLAH.

There are some books which are not actually the works of Shah Wali Allah,
but they go as such. It appears that the respect and wide acceptance which
had fallen to the lot of his works, tempted some of the later bigoted
theologians to propagate their own views and beliefs by letting pass for
those of the Shah. They wrote books and pamphlets on controversial issues
and attributed them to his name. Another reason for this wrong attribution
might have occurred on account of the failure in deciphering the authorship
of the works. Such books are as follow:
Ma yajib Hifzuhu lilnazir

Only two pages treatise itself indicate that the writer of this treatise is Shah Abdul Aziz as written on the last page.

Faize’Am

It is a small treatise of Shah Abdul Aziz and has been published.

Risala- Awail

The author of this treatise is Shaykh Muhammad Said.

Qaul-e Jali.

The author of this booklet is Shah Muhammad Ashiq as mentioned by Shah Wali Allah in al-Juzāl-Latif.

Tuhfat al-Muwahidin

This booklet was translated by Rahim Bakh but in Hayate Wali he did not take it as work by Shah Wali Allah. For example see Hayate Wali p.393 fn.

Al-Balagh : Emubin fi thaba-e-Khatmal Nabiycen.

It is a small treatise on towhid published from Lahore (Hayate-Wali, Ibid)

It is to be noted that al-Balaghal-Mubin and Tuhafat al-Muwahidin are still published as Wali Allah’s works and they are still being used as reference books on some of the scholarly works such as Aziz Ahmed’s *Studies of Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment* (p.229) and Abual Hasan Ali Nadvi’s *Tarikh-e Dhwat-o-Azimat* (vol.5) for the false attribution of these books see Mazhar Baqa (pp.144-145 and Muhammad Ayyub Qadri’s article in *al-Rahim*, June, 1964, (pp.18-26).
1.3 APPROACH TOWARDS ISLAM

PHILOSOPHY OF ISLAMIC SHARIA IN THE LIGHT OF HUJJAT AL-BALIGHA

Shah Wali Allah wrote in almost all Islamic disciplines and on each left his imperishable mark. But his *Hujiat Allah al-Baligha* contains the essence of his thought and is rightly held as his magnum opus. He has expounded in it the wisdom (asrar) of the Prophet's ahādīth comprehending almost all the aspects of Islamic life, faith, worship, morals, spiritual pursuit, social relations, economic activity, government administration, preaching, Jihad and eschatology. He has discussed the ahādīth of these chapters in such a way that the reader gets a complete and integrated picture of Islamic life in which every part has its proper phase without infringing on the other. In addition, Wali Allah has written a long introduction in which he has discussed some fundamental concepts such as the object of religion, the nature of man and his destiny, happiness and virtues, society and cultural evolution, mission of the prophets, unity of religion (din) and the diversity of prophetic codes (Sharā'i). This has transformed the book from a work on the asrar i-hādīth into a work on the philosophy of the Islamic religion (asrar-i-din) and raised it from the category of the ma'ālim i-sunan of al-Khatabi (d.388/998) to the level of the *Ihya ulūh al-Dīn* of al-Ghazali (d.505/1111) (79).

Here we discuss some of the main ideas of Shah Wali Allah's philosophy of Islamic Sharia, in the light of *Hujiat Allah al-Baligha*, and determine its place in the history of Islamic thought.
The first issue in Wali Allah’s philosophy of religion is the purpose of religion. Why has God asked man to believe in the truths. He has revealed and to obey the commands He has given? What is in other words, the purpose of religious obligation? Most Ash’arites, who happened to dominate theology in Islam. have objected to the propriety of such a question. In their view the acts of God cannot be said to be caused by any motive or purpose. On the other hand, scholars of the principles of Fiqh, in view of numerous verses of the Qurān and the Ḥadīth which speak of the reason or the purpose of different rules of the Sharia have discussed the question at length. They have pointed as Wali Allah has done⁸⁰ that even though it is true that God has nothing to gain for himself by promulgating a religion for man, He does, however, visualise an end and purpose which man is to realize by following his religion. Wali Allah refers to the purpose of religion in this way:

If one asks why man has been commanded to offer prayer, and obey the prophet, or why has he been forbidden adultery and theft, the answer is that he has been obliged to do this and avoid that just as some animals have been obliged to eat grass and avoid meat, and others have been obliged to eat meat and avoid grass, or as have been obliged to obey the drone. The only difference between man and other animals is that while the animals know the obligation through natural inspiration, humans get that knowledge through learning and reflection, or through revelation and immitation⁸¹.
In other words, it can be explained that every thing in the world has a particular nature on which it has been created, and which in philosophical language is called the generic form or the essence of the thing in beings, such as stones. nature means the totality of generic properties which they have from the time they exist. In others like plants, animals and man, nature is not only the generic properties and powers with which these beings are born, but also those which they are expected to realize. It stands for all the properties they have in potency and are destined to bring them in act, it is the destiny or taqdir. The question of obligation does not arise in the case of the first kind of beings who are perfect according to their nature from the beginning. It arises only in the case of the second category of beings who are to actualise the potentialities inherent in their nature, or, in other words, realize their destiny. This is true of plants, animals and man. The only difference is that while obligation in plants and animals is instinctive, in man it is conscious. However, the purpose of obligation in all is the same. The realization of the perfection visualised in the essence or the generic form or the nature of each being by the Creator.

Shah Wali Allah explained that the Greek scheme of virtues was inadequate to explain the Islamic concept of perfection and happiness and moved to work out a different scheme of virtues based on the four cardinal virtues of Tahara, Ikhabat, Samah and Adala which better represent the Islamic ethics.

Tahara as Wali Allah explains it, refers not only to the cleanliness of the body but also the purification of the mind from thoughts that obstruct the soul from following the rules of the intellect and the shar
Ikhbat, literally means to feel humble before the majesty of God and to submit to him in humility. It finds expression in worship and prayer, in communication with God through his words (Kalam) in remembrance and supplication. Samaha, literally means kindness and magnanimity. In Wali Allah's terminology it covers all individual virtues such as temperance, contentment, humility, forbearance, kindness generosity and patience. Adala, on the other hand stands for social virtues such as noble behaviour, respect for the elders, affection for the youngers, mercy for the weak, care for the orphans and widows, love for the neighbour, and struggle in the way of God (Mujahida fi Sabil Allah). The state of the soul which is adorned with all these virtue’s, Wali Allah calls fitra, that is the real nature of man on which, as the Quran says, God has created him and which is the true religion (al-din al-Qayyim).

On this issue, what Abdal Salam al-Sutami whom Shah Wali Allah has referred in the 'Hujjat' have said may be stated as follows.

The Tahara makes obligatory some acts and characters, attend and feelings in all the four fields which Wali Allah has enumerated and requires from every individual to achieve them. Similarly, it condemns some acts and characters, attitudes and feelings belonging to all these fields, and asks every one to avoid them. Beyond the level of obligatory duties and prohibitions which every one has to observe, the sharia has commended some acts and attitudes feelings and characters in all fields, and individuals to pursue them as far as they can. On the opposite side, too, it has called some acts and attitudes undesirable and wished people to avoid them as far as they can. In his non-compulsory sector the sharia has given freedom to
the individual to direct his energies in channels he may choose. It has, however, advised him to avoid indulging too much (ghulu) in one direction at the expense of the others, and to maintain a balance in different pursuits. Besides, it has also asked him to take note of the needs of the society around him, irrespective of whether the needs are spiritual, social or material. It has also warned him that the conditions of society can at times make things obligatory which are normally variable. The ideal which the Holy Prophet and his great companions have pursued was the ideal of comprehensive perfection. They exerted themselves in all the fields of tahara, Ikhbat, samaha and adala with equal vigour. They controlled their desires and passions, contented themselves with what they earned; kind and gene; defended the weak and helped the poor, loved the neighbour and looked after the orphans and the widows, preached the truth, enjoined the right, forbade the wrong, struggled for the just, fought against evil and worked for the kingdom of God.

Philosophers of Islam, in general have distinguished between the moral perfection and the intellectual perfection, and considered the later as a higher perfection and former as a lower perfection. 'Farabi' in some of his writings such as al-Madina al-Fadila and al-Risala fil'Aql has raised the value of knowledge still farther. In hismizan al-Amal Ghazali has explicity stated that the knowledge of spiritual or divine realities is the only good in itself and alone constitutes the distinctive perfection of man and his real happiness (Sa'ada). For him actions have no value in themselves, they are only required for the purification of the soul which prepares the way for the reception of true knowledge of Divine realities. And this is true of every act whether it belongs to morality, social behaviour or worship.
Wali Allah does not follow Ghazalis' line. He never says that nothing is good in itself, except knowledge. But he seems to consider it as the highest good, and regards moral virtues as a lower good. An indication of it we have in the following passage:

Real sa'ada cannot be attained except through ibada that is why the general good requires from individual men, in virtue of their generic form, that they should reform their character and pursue virtue, which is the second perfection, to the extent which is indispensable, and exert themselves fully inorder to purify their souls and adorn them with states that makes them more like angels who are higher than man, and prepare them to receive the truths of the spiritual world and the Divine Being.  

If one reads this passage in the context of the philosophical language Wali Allah uses, one would not hesitate to conclude that in his view moral virtues constitute a lower perfection and contemplation of the Divine realities that constitutes the higher and the foremost perfection. This is why he advises to engage in the former only to the extent needed, and devote oneself fully to the latter. In more than one place, Wali Allah has recommended that one should try to free one self from material things, get closer to angels and spirits and thus prepare oneself for the reception of Divine truths.
The acts which lead to happiness are of two kinds: those which proceed from the essential nature of man, and are part of all the Prophetic codes; others which vary from age to age and form one prophetic code to the other. Wali Allah calls the first al-birr, virtue and their opposites al-Ithm, vice and refers the other kind of acts as sharia and manahij, rules and laws. He then goes on to determine the grades of right acts and shows what kind of acts are obligatory duties (Parrā'id) and what are recommended as desirable (Mandub). He similarly comments on the acts that are wrong, and divides them into five categories:

In the first category which consists of the most heinous sins, he mentions the denial of God and the life hereafter. In the second, the denial of prophetic guidance and teaching: in the third the violation of basic rules of human life, common to all prophetic codes such as the observance of worship or avoidance of killing, adultery, interest and gambling: in the fourth, violation of rules specific to one prophetic code or the other, and in the fifth grade, he places the violation of those rules which are derived from a prophetic code by its scholars. He makes the interesting observation that most of the rules of the fourth category are the result of the ijihād of the Prophet(SAW) concerned as distinguished from the rules of the third category which are revealed to him. 

Obligations of the sharia are directed primarily to acts, but the state of the soul from which they emerge are also taken note of. In fact, it is the acts as they proceed from and are accompanied with the motivatives and the feelings connected with them which are the object of obligation. The discipline that discusses acts as such and the degree of their obligation is
ilm al-sharia, and the discipline which discusses acts as they lead to the states of the soul and the way to cultivate those states is the ilm al-ihsan\(^{(93)}\). Wali Allah has probably derived the later term from the hadith which defines Ihsan as the feeling of God's presence in ibada, worship and obedience. Wali Allah extends its scope to all the fields of life, tahara, Ikhbat, samaha and adala\(^{(94)}\). This gives him an opportunity to bring in the states (ahwal) and the stations (Maqamat) of sufism. He says that they are the results and fruits (thamarat) of Ihsan\(^{(95)}\). His list of ahwal and maqamat contains many states of the soul which are found in the Quran and the Sunna or are derived from them. However, his Hujjat is almost free from extraneous influences and is the most faithful systematic exposition of the Prophetic Islam in the history of Islamic thought, and in this respect goes far beyond the *Ihya ulum al-Din* of Ghazali.
1.4 **APPROACH TOWARDS THE HOLY QURÁN.**

A task to which Shah Wali Allah set himself early in life was the diffusion of the knowledge of the Holy Quráń. His most memorable contribution in this field was his translation of the Holy Quráń which he completed within five years of his return from Arabia (Fathal-Rahman). This Persian translation of the Holy Quráń by Shah Wali Allah has greatly influenced the students and scholars of Islamic learning all over the world. This translation played a prominent role keeping the Muslims of the subcontinent on close touch with the Holy Qurán(96). Both his medieval biographers and modern admirers regard Shah Wali Allah's Persian translation of the Holy Qurán as a revolutionary step. Shaikh Muhammad Ikram writes:

In the entire history of Islam except, perhaps, for a translation made by the Berber leader Ibn Tumart, in order to discourage the use of Arabic, there was no previous instance of a translation of the Qurán being made by a Muslim in a foreign language and its having gained currency and acceptance (97).

However, the study of Shah Wali Allah's preface to the *Fath al-Rahman* shows that a number of Persian translations of the Qurán were already available, the new translation being started by Shah Wali Allah was to satisfy his own literary and spiritual taste(98). His translation of the Qurán was in Persian which as a matter of fact was a contribution to,
literature of Muslim India. Later on his two sons, Shah Abdul Qadir and Shah Rafiuddin, produced its two separate renderings into Urdu.

Shah Wali Allah also wrote a short treatise containing the principles of translating the Qur'an entitled, *Mugaddimah dar funu-i Tarjama-i-Quran*. It is an independent work and must not be confused with the *muqaddimah* to *Fath al-Rahman* (⁶⁹). In the sphere of Quranic learning, he made other solid contributions. He wrote no commentary on the Qur'an. In fact he was generally critical of the commentators of the Qur'an and of commentaries. He felt that a part from occasional linguistic peculiarities and a few points which were related to certain incidents, the Qur'an was so lucid and easy to follow, that long commentaries were unnecessary. He has, however, dealt with the principles on which the commentaries should be written in a short pamphlet entitled *Al-Fauz-ul-Kabir*, which like other writings of Shah Wali Allah is characterized by learning, fairness, and common-sense.

A noteworthy feature of this booklet is the criticism of the common-Muslim practice of adopting unverified Jewish traditions to explain or embellish portions of the Qur'an relating to incidents, which are common to it and the old and the New testaments. He does not lay stress on finding events which are supposed to have caused the revelation of the verses of the Qur'an. The author maintains that the verses would have been revealed even if these events had not taken place. He believes that if the revelation of verses is connected with certain occasions, the universality of the message of the Qur'an will be affected. The verses, therefore, should be taken in their general sense and not in the particular. The question of
nasikh and 'mansukh' (the abrogation of certain injunctions of the Qur'an) has been discussed in detail. Then it is concluded that the number of the abrogated verses is not as has been maintained by some of the old commentators. The author believes that the number of such commands cannot be more than five. He divides the entire text of the Quran into five topics: 1. al-ahkam, (the commands) 2. Mukhasima (contention with four classes of people; Polytheists, Jews, Christians, and the hypocrites 3. Tazkir bi Ala Allah, (an accounts of the gifts of God) 4. Tazkia bi Ayyam Allah (reference to the past history of mankind) 5. Mu‘ad, an account of death and life after death). He discusses all these topics in al-Fawz al-Kabir fi usul al-Tafsir. He says that there are different categories of the commentators of the Quran. They are: traditionalists, elocutionists (qurra), Sufis, Theologians, Jurists and Grammarians. Each one of these schools find a reflection of its own views in the text.

This list is obviously incomplete because it does not include the commentaries of the rationalists who are known as the mu'tazilites, nor does its include the commentaries written by a large number of supporters of various sects and sub-sects of Islam who wrote in support of their sectional beliefs.

Another remarkable treatise by Shah Wali Allah is Fath al-Khabir. This work is often appended to al-Fawz al-Kabir as the last chapter but accord to author's own explanations, it can be treated as an independent book. This is a small book deals with the Quranic expressions that are difficult to understand (gharib ul-Qur’an) and which are given on interpretation in Hadiths of Abdullah B. Abbas. Shah Wali Allah has made,
an extensive use of the Shah al-Bukhari and other books on Hadith to explain the difficult words and phrases in the Qur'an (104).

Shah Wali Allah’s primary object was to popularize the teaching of Qur'an so he wrote on the learnings of Qur'an.

1.5 Approach towards Hadith

Shah Wali Allah’s contribution to the study of Hadith is equally far-reaching. In fact he is primarily known as a Muhadiss and it has been stated that links (silsilah-i-ismad) of all modern scholars of Hadis in Indo-Pakistan sub-continent can be traced to him. His main work in this field was the training of ulema who could carry on the teachings of Hadis after him. Foremost amongst them was his son and successor, Shah Abdul Aziz whose outstanding work in this field is entitled as Bustan al-Muhaddisin. Another celebrated pupil who studied under him at one stage was Sayyied Murtaza of Bilgram, who is generally known as Murtaza Zubadi, who achieved fame in Egypt by his commentaries on the Ihya of al-Ghazali, on qamus, and his work on Hadith and fiqh (105). Apart from teaching and establishing a school for the study of Hadith, Shah Wali Allah wrote a number of books on the subject.

His more serious work related to the study of earliest collection of traditions entitled Muwatta. He attached much greater importance to this collection than even to the more celebrated collections of
Imam Bukhari and Imam Muslim and wrote detailed commentaries on it both in Arabic and Persian. His preference to Muwatā was, of course, on account of its age.⁷⁶

Infact Shah Wali Allah wished to find a formula for creating reconciliation and compromise among the contentious schools of Suni Fiqh. For this purpose he wanted to select and collect traditions which would be acceptable to all the schools. He decided that the Muwatā of Imam Malik was the book which could serve the purpose. Therefore, wrote a commentary on it, explaining the traditions by way of ijtihād.⁷⁷ Shah Wali Allah also wrote short pamphlets like chihi hadis 'An-nawadir, 'al-dur al-themin, al-fed al-Mubin, al-Irshad la Muhimat ilm al-Asmad and Sharah trajam Abwab Bukhari.

1.6 His Philosophy of Ijtihād

Shah Wali Allah attempted a reconciliation between different schools of Muslim jurisprudence. He advocates the policy of confining oneself within the frame-work of the four main schools of Islamic jurisprudence viz; Hanafi, Shafi, Maliki and Hanbali. There is consensus of opinion amongst the majority of ulema that taqlid is essential. He agrees with them, but moderates the traditional view of taqlid by saying:
No one can have any objection to the concept of taqlid; but neither look upon any Imam as infallible, nor do I believe that his judgements were revealed to him by God himself and so are obligatory for us. When we follow a certain Imam we do so on the explicit understanding that he possessed a deep insight into the teachings of the Qur'an and the Sunnah...had it not been so we would not have attached any importance to them. It would be the height of misfortune to give priority to the reasoning of man over the command of the Mass. This alone is the type of taqlid which appears to me quite justifiable (108).

Wali Allah wrote a couple of pamphlets on more general aspects of Islamic jurisprudence. One of these entitled al-insuf fi bayan-i sabab al-ikktilaf is a brief, but very interesting, fair and informative history of Islamic jurisprudence during the first five centuries of Islam. In less than fifty pages, the author has dealt with the various stages of the collection of traditions, the growth of Islamic law, the subject on which differences arose between the four schools of Muslim jurisprudence and the peculiarities of these schools. In the end Shah Wali Allah dealt with the factors responsible for the growth of rigid conformity (taqlid) amongst the Muslims. He also discusses the factors which were responsible for the difference of opinion between fiqah and muhaddithin (109).

Shah wali Allah fully recognizes the importance of individual judgement (ijtihad, but at the same time believes that as this important task entails great responsibilities, it cannot be entrusted to every one. He is of
opinion that the mujtahid had to confine his studies and research to the recognized four sources of law, the Qurān, Sunnah, Ijmah (consensus) and Qiyas (analogy). He has also discussed the requisite qualifications which could entitle a person to become a Mujtahid. In addition to a thorough knowledge of the Qurān and Hadith and a full understanding of the requirements of ijma and qiyas he should know Arabic well and be conversant with the doctrine of abrogation and the biographies of the awāris (narrators of hadith). In view of Shah Wali Allah a mujtahid need not be a great scholar of fiqh or kalam\(^{(110)}\).

Shah Wali Allah was not unaware of the dangers inherent in ijtihād without restrictions. It could easily deteriorate into what one could call free licence in religious thinking. He had before him a long and varied history of the rise of various sects in Islam, after all their doctrines, some of which were not only heretic but definitely un-Islamic, were the outcome of unrestricted ijtihād\(^{(111)}\).

It is not possible here to refer even briefly to all aspects of the problem as discussed by him at various places in his works. It may, however, be mentioned that he considered adherence to one of the four schools of fiqh necessary, but he warned the people against blind acceptance of the past rulings. They were to be discarded if they were against Qurān or authentic Hadith. In Ḥid al-jīd he wrote; "the Holy Prophet's (SAW) practice was that he preferred those interpretations which were convenient to his followers\(^{(112)}\)."
1.7 **APPROACH TOWARDS MYSTICISM.**

Shah Wali Allah was born in an atmosphere of Sufism. His father and uncle were well known sufis and are mentioned in contemporary histories amongst sufis rather than ulema.

Like all great Muslim thinkers, Shah Wali Allah penetrated deeply into the metaphysical problems. His approach in this as in other matters was to bring about a creative synthesis by reconciling the opposite movements of thought. He tried, for example, to reconcile the views of Ibn Arabi and those of Mujaddid Alf thani.

The Mujaddid’s criticism of the philosophy of Wahdat al-Wajud was very severe, and few had the courage to oppose him. It was Shah Wali Allah who for the first time tried to bridge the gulf that yawned the views of these two great thinkers of Islam. Shah Wali Allah professed that God had granted him the special gift of creative synthesis or reconciliation\(^{(113)}\).

According to Shah Wali Allah, there is no substantial difference between the philosophy of Wahdat al-Wujud and that of Wahdat al-Shahud and the end the difference if any is nothing but an illusion. The world is not an attribute or emanation of atributes but consists of non-emanative modes of attributes in the mirror of non-existence. These modes look real, but in truth their reality lies only in being. He resolves this difference with the help of an example. He says:
Let us make a horse, a donkey, and a man. If we reflect deeply we find that these forms are only modes of their being and their being is nothing but the wax. 

According to Shah Wali Allah, the Mujaddid and Ibn Arabi relate the same fact in two different languages but the short sighted critics look upon these as matters of vital difference.

Shah Wali Allah believes that in between the material world and its creator, there is a spiritual world in which the planning will of God is first reflected and then materialized into different forms. Thus, there is a close relationship between the two. All beings and happiness of this world first reflected in the spiritual world (Alam al-Mithal), then these are transmitted into material forms. The things found in the spiritual world appear to a layman to be immaterial but to the prophets they are tangible and concrete. For example the Holy Prophet (SAW), once after having offered his prayer, said to his companions, "I saw heaven and hell before me". Once in the midst of his prayer, he is reported to have heaved a deep sigh as if he was actually feeling the heat of hell. Shah Wali Allah quoting numerous examples in support of his contention, concludes:

It is an established fact that the prophets could not see all these phenomena with their physical eyes. Heaven and Hell are too large to be comprehended physically. Had these been matters of common sight, they would have been visible to the companions also who were by his side at such occasions.
Thus, over and above the material world, there is another world which transcends its spatiotemporal limitations and receives the impressions of the planning will of God before these are manifested as concrete configurations in space and time\(^{(116)}\).

Shah Wali Allah in his book *al-Khair al-Kathir* deals with the nature of space and time. He affirms that space is inconceivable without time, and vice-versa. These are not two separate categories, but a single category of space-time continuum in which time and space have their beings. He further holds that space and time are indivisible and adds that but for this indivisibility there would have been complete chaos and disorder in the world so much so that the creation could not stand even for a single second \(^{(117)}\).

He also maintains that space and time like all created things are not eternal, but were created by the will of God and would cease to be with the end of creation \(^{(118)}\).

As regards matter, Shah Wali Allah argues that matter can be conceived only in terms of space and time. It is only the eternal form of space and time, for it can be apprehended only through the agency of these \(^{(119)}\).

Shah Wali Allah's attempt to solve the problems of freedom and fatalism is also of the nature of a reconciliation. He looks upon fate as a
fundamental article of faith and declares that any one who disbelieves it is not entitled to be called a Muslim\(^{(120)}\). The omnipotent will of God has such a full grasp of the whole universe that no one can budge even an inch from his decree. Infact our belief in God is closely related to our belief in the divine ordinances \(^{(121)}\).

At another place, Shah Wali Allah made it quite clear that if men were puppets made to move by a kind of push from behind, they could not be held responsible for their actions, and the distinction between good and evil too would become meaningless: all this is repugnant to the teaching of Islam which holds man accountable for his deeds to God; His justice demands that man should be given freedom to avoid the path of vice and follow the path of virtue and piety. Every human being has two inclination - one angelic, prompting and impelling him to good, and the other beastly, prompting and impelling to evil. It is up to man himself to adopt the one and abandon the other.

Every one is divinely furthered in accordance with his character. Say not that man is compelled, for that means attributing tyranny to God, nor say that man has absolute discretion. We are rather furthered by his help and grace in our endeavours to act righteously, and we transgress because of our neglect of his commands \(^{(122)}\).

Shah Wali Allah wrote a number of books outlining the philosophy of \textit{tasawwaf}, history of the sufi orders, practices of various sufi orders and analysing sufi mysteries and also wrote his personal \textit{mushahidat}. The following works are known to be written by Shah Wali Allah on
tasawuf: Al-tafhimat, (various chapters) al-Khair al-Kathir, al-Qawl al-Jamil, Hamat, al-Badur al-Bezigha, Hawami, Satat, Lumhat, Fuyud al-Haramayn and al-Intibah. It is not worthy that Shah Wali Allah was strongly critical of the popular forms of tasawuf current in his days in his wasiyatnamah which epitomises all his teachings.

And the next advice (wasiyat) is that one should not entrust one's affairs to and become a disciple of the saints of this period who are given to a number of irregularities (123).

In the third precept of his wasiyat namah, he criticises the activities of sufis of his times who were engaged in varieties of bid'a. He calls them karamat farosh. He takes their karamat as magic and tricks. He also gives some counsels to novices (124). Shah Wali Allah placed greater emphasis on the reform of sufism but he did not reject it. Infact he found in it a solution of many individual problems and a source of moral and spiritual strength. Shah Wali Allah must have seen that not only was Islam in India the gift of the sufis but that our entire religious history, our literature and our philosophy were closely intermingled with it. Besides, the truly Islamic form of sufism unjoining spiritual self discipline would always be useful to the individual, particularly in an atmosphere where orthodoxy sometimes tended to emphasize only the external side of conduct (125).

By giving an Islamic interpretation of the sufi doctrines, Shah Wali Allah removed the distress which the ulama had felt for sufism and the sufis. It was due to the adoption of Shah Wali Allah's point of view that in the great religious seminary of Deoband, where the principles laid down by
Shah Wali Allah have been followed, there is a considerable emphasis on the spiritual discipline of the advanced students on more or less sufic lines, and patrons of the seminary, like Maulana Rashid Ahmad Ghagohi and Moulana Ashraf Ali Thanwi were the practising sufis\(^{126}\).

Shah Wali Allah attempted to harmonize the internal differences among the sufis. He attempted to bring closer four famous sufi orders, i.e. Chishtis, Qadris, Naqshbandis and Suhrawardis. Shah Wali Allah had been at various stases initiated into all these four orders and he started the practices of reciting the names of leading saints of all the four sufi orders and initiating the novice in all of them simultaneously. This practice had also been adopted at Deoband\(^{127}\).

**VIEWS ON SHI'A - SUNNI CONTROVERSY**

More acute and certainly more ruinous, the cause of Muslim solidarity were the Sunni-Shia differences which had reached their climax in his time. Mirza Mazhar Jangi-Jani was assassinated by a Shahah on account of religious animosity and such cases were not rare. Shah Wali Allah was of opinion that the Shiahs were Muslim, inspite of the fact that there were fundamental differences between them and the Sunnis on certain vital question of faith. The main cause of differences were the claims of the Shiahs that Ali was superior to the first caliphs of Islam and that had legitimate right to khilafat and also their practice of tubarra cursing the companions of the Prophet. The Sunnis were equally emphatic in their
views that Abū Bakr was not only superior to Ali but was the greatest man after the Prophet. With regard to his succession to khilafat, their stand was that the Prophet having left no instructions about it, election of a Caliph was the only course which was in conformity with the teachings of Islam. Shah Wali Allah had a great regard and affection for Ali, but he says he was positively ordered by the Prophet to accept the superiority of the first two caliphs over all other companions. The controversy had assumed great importance in his time and therefore at the request of his favourite pupil Khawaja Muhammad Amin, he wrote a treatise entitled *Qurrat al-Aynayn fi Tafdil al-Shaykhayn*, in which he has discussed in detail the question of the superiority of the Shaykhain (Abū Bakr and ʿUmar) over all other companions.

Shah Wali Allah did not go so far as to declare Shia to be kafir, however, he wrote that the Muʿtazila, Imāmiya and Ismāʿiliya were outside the main body of Islam. In this Shah Wali Allah tries to establish that the order of succession of early two caliphs was best suited to the interests of the Islamic state of Medina. Bringing in the opinions of the companions of the Prophet about both of them (Abū Bakr, ʿUmar) he explains that they deserved the position they held and that the charges levelled against them were unjust. In the end he gives his own opinion, by relating a vision of his in which he contacted the souls of the four caliphs in the "Hazarat-al-quds" (the Holy fold where the souls of the most perfect men meet with the great soul). He found that the spiritual state of the first two caliphs resembled more the state of nabwāt (prophethood) while that of the later two (Othman and Ali) more resembled the state of ḥalalayat (sainthood). He then concludes that is why the succession of Abū Bakr and
Umar falls nearer to the period of the Prophet and that of Uthman and Ali happens later (129).

With a view to remove misunderstandings and false notions which prevailed amongst the people about the nature and achievements of the Khilafat–Rashidah and the comparative position of the first four caliphs of Islam he wrote a monumental work, Izalat al-Khifa wa Khilafat al-Khulaa, which contains excellent source-material and is a remarkable study of the history of this period. The author has presented the Sunni view point regarding the caliphate. Dr. Shaikh Ikram is of opinion that Shah Wali Allah wrote this work to eliminate the active hostility between the Shiah and the Sunnis (130). This may be reason behind this work but the story related to this work is somewhat different. In Fuyud al-Haramayn, Shah Wali Allah claimed that although instinctively he considered Ali superior to Abubakr and Umar, the Prophet (SAW) had commanded him in a revelation to give superiority to the first two caliphs. It was in fulfilment of this command that he wrote Izalat al-Khifa wa Khilafat al-Khulafa and Qurrat al-aynayn fi Irad al-Shaykhayn. In the introduction of thid Izalat al-Khifa he says:

In this age the common people (Sunnis) have been confused by the doubts raised by the Shias about the Khilafat of the Khulafa-i-Rashidin. Inevitably the light of the Divine assistance confirmed the theory in the heart of this humble one that the affirmation of the caliphate of the Khulfa-i-Rashidin is true and is a part of the principles of faith (131).
According to him the Shia were wrong to assume that the Khilafat of the Khulafa-i-Rashidin was not confirmed by a Quranic injunction, but was decided on the basis of the ijtihad of their contemporaries. He sought divine pardon for the Shia belief that in the first decades of Islam a great injustice has been done to those who deserved to be appointed khalifas\(^{(132)}\).

Shah Wali Allah forcefully demonstrated that Ali admitted the superiority of the first caliph's to himself. Shah Wali Allah divided the caliphate into two categories: the Khilafat-i-Khasa (Special Vicegerency) and the Khilafat-i-Ama (Common Vicegerency). Those who held the Khilafat-i-Khasa were sent to fulfill the functions of the Messenger Prophets to him Khilafat-i-Khasa is divinely appointed and universally obeyed\(^{(133)}\). The period of Khilafat-i-Khasa was confined to that of the caliphate of the Khulafa-i-Rashidin. Discussing the prophet's (SAW) sayings on the merits of different Qirans (epochs) Shah Wali Allah says that the best age was that of the Prophet (SAW) followed by that of 'Abubakr and 'Umar. The third in merit was the age of differences. The true period of Khilafat according to him was during the tenure of the caliphate of 'Abu Bakr and 'Umar\(^{(134)}\).

Shah Wali Allah wrote another short treatise on the refutation of the shi'ites. During his stay in Hejaz he prepared an Arabic translation of the Persian tract Radd-i Rawafid (Refutation of the shi'ites) written by Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi (d.1624). Shah Wali Allah entitled this translation al-Mugaddima al-Samiyya. This translation was actually made at the request of his Madinian teacher Shaykh Abi 'Umar. Moreover, he added useful explanatory and critical notes here and there. He differed in several places from the original author, and has pointed out his mistakes\(^{(135)}\).
Shah Wali Allah wrote another small treatise which deals with the religious beliefs of Shah Wali Allah. The beliefs expounded in it are, in fact, those which are commonly expressed by the Sunnis.

Shah Wali Allah’s Last Testament throws light upon his religious beliefs and also made it clear what he thought about Shi'aism. In the first precept of his wasiyatnamaha (last testament) he says:

In matters of faith one should follow the Sunnite classical authorities (ahlī Sunna)\(^{(136)}\).

In his fifth precept of the wasiyatnamaha he says:
This humble individual asked the victorious soul of the Prophet (SAW) what it thought of the Shi‘ites who professed love for the ahlal-Bayt but called his companions all kinds of bad names. In his spiritual counsel, the Prophet (SAW) indicated that their school of religion was not valid and its invalidity is manifest by their usage of the word Imam\(^{(137)}\).

This discussion leads us to conclude what Shah Wali Allah thought about Shi'a and wrote about Shi'a clearly that he belonged to a Sunni school of thought and always disliked Shi'a practice of 'tabarra and their beliefs of imamat.
1.8 **An Appraisal of his Political Philosophy**

Shah Wali Allah in his *Hujjat Allah Al-Baligha* discussed in detail the question how state came into existence. In this brilliant work he also enumerates the responsibilities of a state. Like all great thinkers, he tells us the qualities of a good state. The final stage of his *irriifaqat* is that of the universal state which requires a khalifa, with effective authority to hold down various rulers of the decadent civil society\(^{(138)}\).

This conception of a universal khilafat is a distinct departure from the tradition of Indo-Muslim religious scholarship, which had been either indifferent to the question or tended to confine it to the first four holy caliphs, regarding the Umayyads and the Abbasids as mere monarchs\(^{(139)}\). According to Shah Wali Allah, the right to universal khilafat is confined to Quresh, but not exclusively to the Bani Hashim\(^{(140)}\). A Shi'a's view, which accepts as legal the Umayyad caliphate but leads to the negation of the Ottoman claim. The caliphs' duties are two fold;

- To protect Dar al-Islam from external aggression, and to be an overlord over Muslim monarchs with effective concentration of power in his hands to see that they administer justice according to the tenets of Islam and do not indulge in civil strife. The responsibilities of the caliph involve an ideal role, and his character and government have to be exemplary\(^{(141)}\). But if a caliph does not combine on himself the qualities necessary for the universal khilafat, the ummah should not revolt against him and plunge Dar-al-Islam into civil war. Revolt against a khalifa is justified only if he violates the basic laws of Islam\(^{(142)}\).
Within the religio-political framework of the universal caliphate, monarchy is necessary to maintain peace and order in an individual Muslim state. The Khalifa should appoint amirs throughout his kingdom to protect the rights of the oppressed and to enforce the laws of the shariah and for effective check against apostasy and other major sins. These amirs should be under the command of Amir-i-Kabir or governor who should have at his disposal an army of 12,000 saddiers. In so far as Muslim administration is concerned, states can be of two kinds. Those with a purely Muslim or with a mixed Muslim and non-Muslim population. The later kind of state requires a more elaborate system of policing and administration of justice. The nature of human society, in general, and of Muslim society in particular, is dynamic and congregational. Jihad is in consonance with its dynamic nature. It is like a surgical operation on a festering sore. Its neglect would amount to the neglect of essential self-defence and self-preservation, specially in a world hostile to Islam. The congregational nature of Muslim society is revealed in the assemblies for prayer in mosques specially on Fridays, when citizens come in contact with the Imam of the city when Islamic egalitarianism blurs out the difference between the rich and the poor and the tenets of faith are propagated. The Friday congregation has a much greater importance for the urban as compared to the rural Muslim community. The Hajj is the greater occasion of the universal, Muslim congregation giving opportunity to the entire ummah for the various communities of Islam to be mutually acquainted and to display collectively the might and power of Islam. To the rapid collapse of Muslim power in India after the death of Aurangzeb, and to the rise of the anti-Muslim anarchic forces of the Marathas and the
Jats, Shah sahib reacted with pragmatic sensitiveness; and in this reaction he formulated the tradition for succeeding generations, of Indo-Muslim resistance to the concentration of power in non-Muslim hands. He was deeply conscious of the economic plight of the Muslim masses and of the breakdown of the politico-economic structure of the Muslim feudal heritage, hitherto sustained by the Muslim imperial power on which all classes of the Muslim population depended for their sustenance. Shah Wali Allah attributed this collapse to maladministration. In the anarchic pattern of struggle for power after Aurangzeb, Shah Wali Allah turned to the time-honoured practice of the sufis to appeal to powerful Muslim nobles to come to the rescue of Dar al-Islam. He had the immediate precedent of his own father Shah Abd al-Rahim, who had advised Nizamul Mulik to undertake a holy war against the Marathas. Shah Wali Allah pinned his hope of the revival of Muslim power in India on the Rohala chief, Najib al-Dawlah. To him and other Muslim governors, like Nizamul-Mulk and Taj Muhammad Khan Baloch he wrote letters of invitation to Jihad. As the Muslim nobles proved incapable of checking the rise of Marathas power and Jat depredations, Shah Wali Allah looked up to Ahmad Shah Abdali to channel his incursions into India into an organized expedition to liquidate the power of the Marathas and the Jats whose military potential was after all not formidable. He cautioned Abdali that his invasion of India should not be destructive to Muslim property or prosperity as Nadir Shah had been. He agreed that if forces hostile to Islam were allowed to grow unchecked, they would reduce Islam in India to a position in which the Indian Muslim would become a people without any knowledge either of Islam or paganism. It can be inferred that in shaping the alliance between Abdali and Najib al-Dawlah,
and specially in the former's organization of the commencing which resulted in the crushing defeat of the Maratha confederacy at Paniput in 1761, these letters of Shah Wali Allah may have played some part:

No doubt in the political sphere, the consciousness which Shah Wali Allah had awakened, inspired the lives of his descendants. Shah Abdul Aziz continued his work under different circumstances but with the same zeal. His attitude towards the British government which had firmly established itself during his lifetime may be estimated from the fact that he was first Muslim scholar who declared all those regions which were under British occupation as Dar al-Harb. In short, the historian cannot fail to discover Shah Wali Allah's great influence on the history of freedom movement in subcontinent.

Approach towards Society and Culture

Shah Wali Allah's chapters on his conception of society make an interesting reading. The basis of the structure of society being moral, the process of its evolution is connected with the fundamental principles of religion. He has laid great stress on 'adl' which is the basis of a balanced society; he says; "The prophets were ordered to straighten social behaviours. He has also quoted Hadith of the Prophet (SAW); I have been sent to
raise to perfection the sublimity of human conduct. Economic equilibrium or fair distribution of wealth was necessary for an ideal social setup in which all individuals would have opportunities of living in happiness and prosperity. They would be free from economic worry, and the temptation of using unlawful methods to obtain wealth would not make them commit evil deeds. Similarly, if kings and rulers did not live in luxury and avoided lavish expenditure on their comforts and pleasures they would not resort to tyrannical measures and harsh taxes to obtain wealth.

The origin of society, according to Shah Wali Allah, could be attributed to three vital features which distinguish men from other species of animals. Unlike the eater, human beings have a tendency of being directed by what he calls universal consideration (Al Ra' y al kulli). This may concern the establishment of a welfare state or the purification of the self, salvation from punishment in the men's world or securing eminence among his men. Secondly an animal satisfies its needs in a simple and crude manner while human beings try and continue to attain high standards in the enjoyment of life; man wants, for instance, a handsome woman as his partner, delicious food to eat and a good house to live in. Lastly among the human beings, some individuals are fitted with superior intellect; they attain knowledge, invent new things and devise ways and means for the welfare of the society. Again there are among them, persons who can not invent things but can utilize the inventions and achievements of others.

He divided human society into two grades according to the stages of civilization, which he calls two irtifaqat. In the first irtifaqat he includes primitive societies of men living in the jungles and the caste,
etc. The second irriafaq is an organized society of men living in towns and cities and is discussed under ways of living. The third and fourth are developed stages of society under which he discusses in some detail problems connected with family life, general affairs and dealings of individuals and lastly, government and administration. He has devoted separate chapters to a discussion of the qualities of a ruler and his supporters or ministers and officers who assist him in the conduct of administration, whom he callsal-Awan (helpers). In this connection, he has referred to some of the important aspects of administrative politics particularly measures that might be necessary for the suppression of the forces of rebellion and the activities of mischief-mongers which might cause disruption in society.

According to Shah Wali Allah, healthy conditions of life could exist only in a society having a moral basis. He has, therefore, devoted separate sections to virtues and good qualities of a man and ways of cultivating them, for through them alone real happiness and felicity can be attained. Equally important is his conception of virtue and evil which has been discussed in detail in another section. Shah Wali Allah also discusses the phases of the decline of the Muslim society and culture. No doubt the pivot point on which revolves the philosophical thought of Shah Wali Allah is religion. Since it is religion alone which, according to him, had been the source of strength and power for the Muslims, their decline was the direct result of their apathy towards it. That is why Wali Allah's chief concern was to call the Muslims back to the teaching of Islam.
Shah Wali Allah believe that a sound economic system based on social justice can contribute to the happiness of society. If and when a state fails to develop or return such a system, its decline becomes inevitable. He writes:

After a careful analysis I have come to the conclusion that there are two main factors responsible for the decline of the Muslim culture. First, many people have abandoned their own occupations and have become parasites on the government. Secondly the government has levied an exorbitant rate of tax on the agriculturists, cultivators and traders. Added to this is the cruel treatment meted out to the tax-payers by government officials at the time of collecting the taxes. The people groom under the heavy weight of taxes, while their economic position deteriorates at an alarming speed. This is how the country has come to ruin (169).

No doubt Shah Wali Allah concludes his deliberations on this problem (above mentioned) as it existed in his own times but it can be applied to all the societies.

In his Izala al Khila, he points out that the love of material wealth leads the nation to moral depravity which brings in its wake its downfall. In support of his view Shah Wali Allah recalls the words of the Holly prophet (SAW).
By God I am not worried about your poverty but I am afraid you might become proud of the worldly riches that might be stretched before you as was done by the people of the past ages and liked them. These worldly riches might destroy you as they destroyed those who were vainglorious before you (170).

The love of worldly riches is accompanied by the love of power and distinction what the aristocracy desires is not only to own riches but to keep others under the yoke of abject poverty. Society is split up into two distinct classes, have and have Notts. The one which owns the treasures and alongside it controls the affairs of the government, the other which through persistent labour makes out a precarious subsistence. The rich become callous and watch tyranny and oppression with complete indifference, the religious people retire into seclusion or become other worldly, and the immoral aristocracy inflicts unchecked wrongs upon the class of have Notts. The result is a frightful moral disorder, born of unspeakable suffering and intolerable oppression. Such conditions strike at the very root of social structure and the outward grandeur and glare of national life cannot make any compensation for its inner wretchedness, and ultimately the whole nation collapses like a house of cards.

Shah Wali Allah substantiates this with the rise and fall of the Roman and Persian empires. He gives a vivid account of all the circumstances which led to the ruin of these two great nations of the past in his work Hujjat Allah-al-Baligha.
It is really interesting to note that this brilliant analysis of the Roman and of the Persian society given by Shah Wali Allah is substantially the same as given by Edward Gibbon about thirty years later\(^{[171]}\). The entire structure of Muslim life in all its phases needed reform. Politically, the integrity of the Mughul empire had to be stabilized and maintained, and disunity among the ranks of Muslim leaders, which was the main cause of its growing weakness, had to be brought to an end. In the social and religious fields also the Muslims were split into warring camps; Sectarian prejudices born of ignorance and obscurantism had made them completely blind to higher and fundamental principles of Islam. A complete reorientation of religious thought and a changed approach to life alone could save the community from disintegration and ruin. Shah Wali Allah’s main task, therefore, was to remove imbalances from the life of the Muslims. This is clearly indicated by frequent references in his works, particularly the Tahimmat, where he warn the various sectors and groups of the people; he tells them of the evils which were eating up their vitality and strength and reminds them of their responsibilities. The passages are too long to be quoted here in extenso but a few remarks may be recorded.

The rulers are advised to draw their swords and fight the mushriks until misbelief disappear; they were further directed to appoint amirs who were strong enough to root out injustice in their respective territories. The amirs in their turn are advised to fear God and abandon their evil habits. He makes specific references to drinking, gambling, debacray and living in luxury and idleness. The soldiers were also warned against social evils which were common among them; they were advised to emulate the lives of ghazis of the earlier centuries.
The descendants of the masha’ikh, the pirzadas, and the ulema have also been severely criticised. The former have been warned against unlawful practices which had become a common feature of their lives, while the ulema have been particularly condemned for their love of Greek philosophy. They have been asked to study the Holy Quran. They have been further advised to spread themselves in the country side and preach Islam and its injunctions to the Muslims\(^{(172)}\).

Shah Wali Allah also dealt with those social abuses which the Muslims had taken over from the Hindus. Perhaps the most objectionable amongst them was the social ban on the re-marriage of widows. In his Wasiyat Nama he says: "one of the objectionable customs of the Hindu is that when a husband dies the widow is not allowed to remarry". Shah Wali Allah strongly condemned this and said: "MAY God bless him who would put amend to this". He also condemned an excessive dowry in marriage contracts. He said in this connection, "the Prophet (SAW) fixed for his spouses a dowry, the value of which amounted to 500 dirhams". He also condemned the wasteful expenditure at the time of brothel, marriage and other occasions of happiness. He said, the Prophet (SAW) fixed only two ceremonies - walima and ajura. Only these two should be observed, and all others should be discarded.

Shah Wali Allah also condemned the funeral ceremonies. He said, "we have invented soyams (third day), chehlam (fortieth day), Shash Mahi (Bianual), and then salana (annual) days of mourning, and the offering of prayers for the deceased". He advised the Muslims in the
following words: "it is in the public interest that messages of condolence should be sent to the heirs of the deceased and they should be treated to only three dinners. No other custom should be followed" (173).

To sum up the discussion we may conclude that in order to revive a dynamic ideology amongst the Muslims, he tried to remove all antagonism that had disorganised their society.

1. He integrated the Qurān with the Ḥadīth by maintaining that one provides the theory for the progress of the human society and the other shows the practical ways and means for the actualization of that theory.

2. He integrated the Hanafite law with the shafi‘ite so that the Muslim world comprising the Arabs and the non-Arabs should get united in one whole with a joint system of law.

3. He integrated the fiqh and the Ḥadīth in order to remove stagnation that had set in the Muslim society.

4. He integrated the views of the Ash‘arites who mostly the followers of shafi‘i with those of the maturidities who mostly followed Abu Hanifa.

5. He integrated the ṭarīqah with the tariqah considering both to be mutually interdependent and supplementary for the true progress of religion.
6. He integrated socio-centric effort with politics which had become a handmade of despotism and thus he tried to usher in an era of true democracy and consultative government.

7. He integrated politics and economics with ethics so that true social justice should be established.

8. He also integrated sociology with ethics so that human society should be evolved on human values instead of merely on animal impulses.

9. He integrated politics, economics and social organization in one unified system so that a well-balanced society based on the principles of justice and truth should be evolved.

10. He integrated matter with non-matter and showed that matter is nothing but the concrete form of energy, i.e. it is in a way related to Rahmani Tajalli; this theory is fully explained by him in sat'at and fals'at. In this respect he appears to have anticipated the modern theory of matter as propounded by James Jeans, Haldane, and Rastein, etc. By relating matter with God he has shaken the foundations of modern materialism. This indeed is one of his most outstanding contributions.
11. He integrated mysticism with evolutionism thus ridding the former of all forms of escapism.

12. He integrated mysticism with economic life of the society by instituting new practices comprising of what he calls latifah jawarih.

13. He integrated the doctrine of unity of being with that of unity of manifestation by explaining the one in terms of the other. He explained the doctrine of unity of being with reference to his general theory of being so that it became possible to explain Christianity and Vedantism without bringing them in conflict with Islam. This prepared a common platform for all religious in their war against atheism.

14. He integrated the explanation of the earthly life of man with that of life after death and showed that both are continuous and interdependent process (172).

15. Removing all internal antagonism from the Muslim society and creating grounds for conciliation with other peoples and ideologies on consistent scientific basis, he has given the Muslims a well-knit world philosophy which can solve both national and international problems.
1.9 An Appraisal of His Philosophy of History

History is not a series of mere accidents; there is always a purpose behind them. The essential task of a historian is to study that inner process of thought, that underlying motive of action, which works behind the social change. Any one who cares to penetrate through the outer crust of historical events and episodes will find "something" that may be called the metaphysical structure of the historic humanity, something essentially independent of the outward forms-social, spiritual and political-which we see clearly (175). Shah Wali Allah, as historian, tried in his own peculiar way to acquaint us with that "Something". It is noteworthy that he has also offered us an explanation for the differences in the social codes of the various Prophets. More particularly he draws a line of demarcation between Islamic history and history of the Muslim people and courageously points out the follies committed in the past because of overlooking this important distinction.

In his book Tawil al-Abâdâh, he traces the development of society from Adam down to the last of the Prophets and discusses in detail the peculiarities of each age. Amongst the Muslim thinkers Shah Wali Allah is the first to compile a systematic history of the Prophets (Although all Muslim historians being their historical work from Adam down to the Holy Prophet (SAW) and to explain that the social codes offered by the Prophets can be reasonably interpreted in the light of the needs of their respective time).
Wali Allah believes that in Adam the angelic qualities and the urges of the flesh existed side by side. The former led him to discover the different modes of worship and the later showed him the way to satisfy his material needs, for example, cultivation of social, domestication of animals, etc, the Prophet Idris later was possessed of all these qualities, which his predecessor Adam combined himself, yet he improved upon them by pondering over the creation, acquiring there by a good deal of knowledge about physics, astronomy, and medicine. Further as he flourished in an age when the people had learnt handicrafts, he acquired proficiency in these (176). The period between the death of Prophet Idris and the birth of Prophet Noah was marked by an all round deterioration in the moral standards of the people. Virtues such as piety, truthfulness, and selflessness were hard to be found anywhere; man had become a veritable brute. Noah, therefore, made incumbent upon the people, the offering of continuous prayers and observing of fasts. This was necessary to exercise a check on the urges of the flesh which had taken full hold of the mind of the people (177).

The above example should be sufficient to give an idea how Shah Wali Allah explains the differences of the social codes presented by various Prophets at various stages of human history.

It, is however, important to point out that the differences of shariahs to which Shah Wali Allah has referred here are differences in external forms only, i.e. in the rituals and routine activities, and not in their essentials. Since all Prophets were inspired by God alone, there could not be any difference in their fundamental teachings.
In his work Hujjat Allah al-Baligha Wali Allah particularly exphasizes the essential unity of all religions by saying, "Remember, the real faith is one. This alone was preached by all the Prophets of God and it is this alone which should be followed by the whole of humanity. Differences, if any, are only in their superstructures and details, rather than in their fundamentals. All Prophets unanimously preached the gospel of divine unity (178).

It is one of the remarkable doctrine of the Quran that nations are judged collectively and suffer for their misdeeds here and now. In order to establish this the Quran constantly cites historical instances and urges upon the reader to reflect on the past and the present experience of mankind: Of old did we send Moses with our signs; and said to him; bring forth the people from darkness to light, and remind them of the days of God, verily in this are signs for patient and grateful persons (179). Quran further states: "Already before your time precedents been made. Travel the earth then and see what has been the end of those who falsified the signs of God" (180).

To the students of the Holy Quran, Wali Allah gives a very valuable advice in the following words: "while reciting the Holy Quran one should not think that the accounts of the nations of the past are given for the sake of mere narration. No, the stories of the past have been narrated not for an appeal to fancy but for the generalizations that may be drawn from them" (181).
It may be noted that Shah Wali Allah attaches great importance to the study of social phenomena as a preparation for the proper understanding of the Quran. These phenomena are sufficiently constant and follow regular and well-defined patterns and sequences. The social changes and complexities of the past have an object lesson for those living in the present, since the people of every age have to encounter the same kind of complexities as were encountered by those who lived before them.

Quran says:

"Have they not travelled on land and seen the end of those who were before them. They were even stronger, than these, in power, and they dug the earth and built upon it more than these have built." (182)

Shah Wali Allah, like all great thinkers, has endeavoured to discover these laws according to which nations rise and fall. His generalization are based mainly on the Quran and the Sunnah, but the way in which he has applied them to practical life bears ample testimony to his keen insight both into the Quran and in the problems of human existences. In his Hujjat Allah al-Baligh, Shah Wali Allah traces the causes of rise and fall of the Roman and Persian empires. He gives a vivid account of all the circumstances which led to the ruin of these two great nations of the past these causes may seen at another place under heading society and culture.
1.10 HIS EDUCATION POLICY
(See details in Chapter-IV pp.134-170)

Not much is known about his Educational Policy. However, some historical works help us to write on his contribution in this field.

In his autobiography he tells us about his education at madrasah-i Rahimya. At the beginning of the fifth year of his life he was put at the maktab; two years later he completed the reading of the Qurān and started the study of elementary books. By 1719 he had completed the course of his studies in the main branches of Islamic learning. In the year 1731 he went to the Hijaz on a pilgrimage and study there for fourteen months studying Hadith and fiqh under such distinguished scholars as Abu Tahir al-Madni, Wafd Allah al-Malki, and Tajal-Din al-Qali. Shah Wali Allah was also greatly influenced by Imam Ghazali. Khatabi and Shaikh al-Islam Ilm al-Din bib Abd al-Salam. From them he learnt that art of rational interpretation of different aspects of Islam. He also seems to be interested in Abu al-Hasam al-Ash'ari, Aba al-Mansur Maturidi, Ibn Tamiyyah, and Razi; All this discussion leads us to conclude that he studied scholarly works and had been pupil of first rank scholars of that time. In his Last testament (Al-Maqala Al-Wasiyya fi Al-Nasiha wal-Wasiyya) he gives us an outline of educational policy:

The method of instruction which has proved to be most effective suggest that a young student should be taught three or four small tracks on Grammar and syntax. Subsequently, he should be introduced to books on history and political economy (Hikmat-i-amli), using Arabic texts. Moreover, he
should be familiarized with the works on the lexicon so that he may be able to understand difficult portions of the Arabic and Persian languages.

When a student has acquired proficiency in Arabic, he should be taught the Muwatta of Imam Malik, and its commentary by Yahya b. Yahya of Andulus (d.234/848). This study should not be abandoned, because it contains the essence of the science of traditions. (Its study offers many blessings, and I have attended their recitations uninterruptedly). Then the Quran should be taught with translations, but without commentaries. When difficulty is encountered in matters of syntax or the occasion of revelation or different passages or chapters of the Quran, one should stop in order to engage in investigative research. After learning the Quran, Ta'fsir-i Jalalayn should be learned according to the established syllabus. This method is more useful. Subsequently a student should be taught the books of traditions, i.e. from the sound six works of traditions, and books on jurisprudence, dogmatic theology and suffism. Then time should be reserved for the study of works on logic, including Sharh-i Mulla and Qutbi, and anything else for which God may give a student strength. If it is possible one should study a portion of Mishkat-al-Masabih one day and its commentary by Tayyibi the next day. This practice is very useful. It is to be noted that principles and methods of teaching have been discussed in his Persian treatise entitled Risala-e-Danishmandi which is not available here.
We may also take his education policy from al-Juz al-L., which is a part of Anfas al-Arifin where he discusses his own education, about his teachers, and courses taught in Madrasa-e Rahimiya at that time.
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144. Tafhimat-e Ilahiya, p.216.


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149. Ibid., pp.480,482,487.

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155. Syed Sulaiman Nadvi introduction to Ab'l Hasan Ali Nadvi's *Sirat Syed Ahmad Shaheed*. 


158. Ibid., pp. 47-50.

159. Ibid., p. 52.

160 Ibid.


162. Ibid.

163. Ibid., p. 110.

164. Ibid., p. 37.

165. Irıfaqat is a specific term used by Shah Wali Allah for stages and forces in the progress of civilization.

166. Hujjat, pp. 38-140.

167. Ibid., pp. 49-57.

168. Ibid., pp. 57-84.
169. Ibid., p.44.


172. For evil prevailing in Muslim society and remedies by Shah Wali Allah see Tafhimat pp. 214-218.


177. Ibid., p.15.

179. **Al-Quran**, xiv.5.

180. **Ibid.**, iii, 137.

181. Wali Allah **Fawz al-Kabir**, Lahore, nd., pp.21-23.


CHAPTER II

CONDITION OF MUSLIM OF INDIA DURING SHAH WALI ALLAH'S TIME.

After the death of Mughal King, Aurangzeb Alamgir in 1707 A.D. the Muslim rule in South Asia had shaked declining. Though it took a century and a half to finally extinguish the Mughal dynasty in 1858, Aurangzeb's weak successor's. Mughal kings' disinterestedness in the affairs of state and tussle between Hindus, Sikhs and other non-Muslims on the one hand and the Muslims on the other themselves became divided into various sectarian, regional conflicts. What was more perturbing was the grouping of the nobles in the Mughal court on ethnic and sectarian grounds. This was all happening because the outlook of both the kings and the nobility had declined. They were not as broadminded as the great Muslims kings like Akbar and Babar were or those of Abul Fazl even those of Shaikh Ahmed Sirhindhi. This declining of the concepts was mainly due to the slackness in education. The educational standards had fallen down and came to very low level.

Shah Wali Allah was much influenced by the situation prevailing around him, which motivated him to launch a socio-religious reform movement. During his times, central government in India had lost her power. The emperors had become mere puppets in the hands of their ministers. There was a tussel and fanaticism among the different classes of
society and politicians. The Ministers were divided into Irani and Turani descent. The Emperors had become ignorant of their duties and spent all their time in luxurious enjoyments and sexual permits, rather than fulfilling their state affairs. The ministers had become more powerful and as a matter of fact had become king makers. This led to a weak centre but strong provinces. It was the situation that Shah Wali Allah saw in his dream the Holy Prophet (1). In Hujjat-ullah-Al-Baligha, while discussing the conditions of declining state of Qaisar's Byzantine and Khussrow's Sasanide Empire. Shah Wali Allah indicates that the Mughal Empire and Mughal Emperors were following the same way. There is no more difference among the declining state of the three. He states that they indulge in temporal enjoyment and ignored the day of judgement. Satan over powered them. The whole population alongwith the leaders suffered from these diseases (2). Freeland Abbot has summarized the prevalent situation during Shah Wali Allah's times. He writes:

Aurangzaib, the last great Mughal ruled over an Empire still reflecting its past glories. his successors ruled over mere shadow. Bahadar Shah finally succeeded to the throne at the age of sixty five faced an un-ending chain of insurrections from Rajputs, Marhata and Sikhs. He soon gave up devoting the last six months of his reign to gardening and when he died in 1712, the empire fell apart". The story of the next fifty years, it has been said, "is one of the most piteous of all the history”(3).
Bahadur Shah's successor Jahandar Shah invited discord and rebellion by combining brutal vengeance, prolific squandering and absolute incompetency. He gave his concubine an allowance of twenty million rupees a year, plus cloths and jewels, spending much of his time in drunken orgies. Naturally enough, his throne was never secured. In less than a year he had been murdered. The court split into Irani and Turani factions and the government's efficiency vanished amid its feuding parts. Five emperors followed in seven years. The chief noble of the court left for the south, where he set up in Hyderabad Deccan, an area as large as Italy, a state of his own, another set up a state for himself in Oudh. Governor of Bengal acted, at least, as though he were independent. The Marhatas, whom Aurangzaib had been unable to subdue, appeared in 1737 before the gates of Delhi, but as suddenly withdrew. Two years later Nadir Shah of Persia, aware of the unsettled conditions, marched to Dehli, and the Emperor Muhammad Shah "the asylum of negligence" saw his capital sacked. For a long time ran the metaphor of a contemporary historian, the streets remained strewn with corpses, as the walk of a garden with dead flowers and leaves. The town was reduced to ashes and had the appearance of a plan consumed with fire. Then Nadir Shah left, carrying all the imperial gold plate, the Koh-i-Noor, diamond and other jewels, the gem-studded peacock throne and anything else he chose to carry on the innumerable horses, elephants and camels, which he also took back to Persia. So far had the mighty Mughal Empire fallen. Muhammad Shah with a tired eye towards the future as the riches of his empire travelled slowly northward, issued a Royal Order which proclaimed: "All public officers should occupy themselves in the discharge of their ordinary duties except the historians. These should refrain from recording the events, of my reign, for at present the record cannot be a
pleasant one from this blow (delivered interestingly enough by other Muslims) the Empire never succeeded.

After the departure of Nadir Shah the condition of the government was worse than before. "The Amirs took what they liked. The Emperor spent what remained to him in sports and pastime"(4). Within twenty years of this defeat in 1757 Dehli was captured by Marhatas but the triumph was ephemeral. Four years later third Muslim victory at Panipat—this one led by Ahmed Shah Abdali, the Founder of Afghanistan—crushed for all times to come the power of Marhatas in north India. Nothing else came to the victory, however, for sick and unpaid the Afghan soldiers, insisting on returning home"(5).

During the Shah’s reign the Mughal Kings had been indulging in luxuries and immoral activities. The wars of successions provided opportunities to the umra to be powerful in state affairs. Among them Sadat-i-Baraha were notorious for their activities. Muhammad Shah was very notorious for his luxurious enjoyments. Mirza Hayrat Dehlavi writes:

Three hundred female experts used to dance in the Muhammad Shah’s court and when tired were replaced by another fresh group. The circle of drinking continued every time. The character of Fort’s lady resembled to French Club’s ladies. Who were the ladies: Bazari expert dancers, Rajput or Mewati who were liked for some time, by the Emperor and they entered the Fort Ladies. The Fort was watched by upper half illuminated wear but lower half bared girls”(6).
The women begun to interfere into state affairs. Jahandar Shah’s beloved dancer Lal Kauwar’s brother was appointed governor of Multan (7).

Muhammad Shah’s son Ahmad Shah was more forward than his father. He spent most of his time in the female’s portion of Fort where thousands of beautiful girls had been gathered(8). He did not use to see even the face of any male person for many months. Games for males which were played in open grounds, he used to play in ladies portion with the girls(9). This situation made the king very ignorant. Thus Ministers took charge of state affairs. There began a tussle among the ministers for power. And for that the umara conspired even with Marhatas, Rajputs and Sikhs. S.M. Ikram has pointed out that Asad Khan, a famous lord from the time of Aurangzaib, was paid agent of British East India Company to save their interests (10). In the atmosphere Sadat-i-Barah’s role is an example of minister’s powers. They killed Farrukh Sayyer and till the reign of Muhammad Shah remained in power. Dr. I.H. Qureshi writes:

Internecine quarrels among the Muslim nobles cost the Muslim community their political heritage. Consumed by the fire of the inordinate selfishness of those who should have shed their bloods in its defence, the Empire, a mighty growth, had been reduced to ashes, a few members were left to sustain a little longer. Some suicidal selfishness or a desire for independence and then as mostly happens to empires, they also were extinguished. The Marhata statesman had been
right when he had said about his strategy against the Mughal Empire: "What is the use of lopping off the branches? Strike at the trunk when it is cut off branches will fall off themselves". The Muslim nobles had not understood this simple truth. They had themselves struck at the trunk in the hope that the branches would prosper better if they did not have to depend on the trunk for their sustenance. They paid heavily for this perverse logic but in the process they destroyed a heritage that had been built up by the strenuous efforts. Seldom has a people been betrayed so completely by its political leaders.

Karl Marks comments that the sovereignty of the great Mughals was destroyed by their governors. Governors' powers were destroyed by Marahatas and Marahatas were destroyed by the Afghans. After a few months of Abdali's attack, Shah Wali Allah died.

Shah Wali Allah was much influenced by the situation and wanted to reform it. To him it was because of declining state of education that the empire had come to fall. During his time educational conditions had been very poor. Education among Muslims was not confined to the state patronage, so because in spite of declining state the names of a few scholars can be found and Shah Wali Allah himself is an example of a good scholarship but the condition of ordinary Muslims was very sad and bad. One can imagine that in Spain the Muslims ruled over seven hundred years, but left magnificent universities, colleges and unexamplifiable libraries. On
the other hand India inspite of eleven hundred years Muslim rule, remained empty with such splendour (12).

In India the Muslim educational system was linked with khanqah (the Monastery). The dispersal of Islam in India was due to the efforts of saint scholars and Dervishes, so the people and gentry both were utmost influenced by these saints and every one was attached with any one of these monasteries in India. The Muslim ruling elite too was under the influence of these. The Dervishes and mashaikh were scholars and people gathered around them to have knowledge of apparent sciences and self-purity. The Muslim devoted heavy estates to the khanqahs or mashaikh. From those they ran the system of Khanqah including educational institutions and madrassahs.

So far as these khanqahs faced the challenge of non-Muslim nations, these remained the centre of pious people, but as the challenge disappeared from the scene and with the spread of Islam and development of Islamic power and state, these khanqahs got influenced in the administrative, hyppocratic, selfish, and cunning people occupied these khanqahs (13). Knowledge makes man the jewel of creature. But Islam does not like those kind of knowledge which makes him a impractical person and calls it a Hijad-i-Akba (the great veil). The people who occupied the khanqahs were not scholars or pious. They developed only the view that knowledge was a great obstacle between God and man and it is the Tariqat only which can remove that veil (14).
The syllabus of existing educational system too was not sufficient to provide the answers of modern needs and problems. From the times of Humayun Irani Shia Umara dominated over the ministerial offices in India. The Iranian thoughts were dominated by rationalism. Rhetoric, Philosophy, diplomacy and material sciences were dominated by the educational trends of Iranian thought\(^{(13)}\). These Iranian ministers dispensed the same trends in India. So the syllabus was mainly consisted of rational sciences rather than theological\(^{(16)}\). Even Dars-i-Nizami was charged to be dominated by rational sciences \(^{(17)}\). The emphasis was over logic, diplomacy, rhetoric and Greek philosophy. Among Islamic sciences, emphasis was laid only on jurisprudence, but Hadith and Quran were totally ignored. The knowledge of History, Mathematics, and Geography was nothing more than an introduction. Fresh inquiry had been abandoned by blind following of four schools of Fiqh (Jurisprudence). The Scholars were very far from military training\(^{(18)}\). And in accordance with politics, what Ibn-e-Khaldun had told in the 14th century that "Only scholars among the human species are so far from state administration" was totally true till the 18th century.

The most powerful obstacle in the way of education was the development of unlogical worship of scholars. They were respected in such a way that questions to them had been abandoned from centuries. This situation put the education and knowledge at a very low level in India.

Sayyed Abdul Hai has summarized the whole educational condition in the following passage:
From the time when Arab government closed down in Sindh and Ghaznavides and Ghaorides occupied it, the science of hadith began to disappear by the arrival of Central Asian scholars and even disappeared. People began to indulge into poetry, astronomy, mathematics and jurisprudence and principles of jurisprudence among Islamic sciences and at one stage it was confined to Greek philosophy. The ignorance to Hadith and Tafsir increased and the study of Holy Quran and Hadith were justified only under the problems of jurisprudence. The person who studied only "Mashariq-al-Awan" of Imam Saghani and "Mishkat Sharif" was thought to be an expert of Hadith (Muhadith). It was only because the people were unaware of the importance of Hadith in India. The only liability in Islamic sciences was jurisprudence and it too as blind following not as research and fresh inquiry.

Shah Wali Allah was aware of these political and educational conditions. To him the political decline was only because of educational decline that could be stopped only through the teaching and preaching of Islamic pattern of education. So Shah Wali Allah tried his best to upgrade the standard of Muslims education. Shah Wali Allah was of opinion that in Islam the movements of renewal and reform were linked with the teaching of Hadith. He tried his best to introduce knowledge of hadith in the India. Shah Wali Allah himself trained a group of scholars and sent them in the different points of India for teaching. Shah Wali Allah in this respect discouraged the philosophical science and stressed upon the teaching of theological sciences. To show a real importance of religious
sciences, he wrote his famous treatise, "Al-Sir-al-maktum-fi-Asbub-i-Tadwen-i-alam". Shah Wali Allah stressed upon fresh inquiry. He also tried to remove the differences of scholars with the other classes of society. For the development of Islamic sciences, Shah Wali Allah also wrote his "Risalah-i-Danishmandi" for the training of teachers discussed elsewhere in the study.

In the Madrassah, the most common feature of education was the sectarian approach. Pupils were trained according to the dictates of a particular sect. The Holy Qur'an and Hadith came to be looked and interpreted from a sectarian angle. Four orders of sufis - Suhrawardi, Naqshbandi, Chishti and Qadri - also came to develop their own respective approaches towards the Holy Qur'an and Hadith. Thus the broad Islamic principles came to be confined to the four walls of each sufi order or sect. The standard of education in Islamic Madrassah therefore, came to its lowest level. Universal approach of Islamic education was lost in religious bigotry and sectarian fanaticism. Liberal approach of Islam which was the hallmark of the Great Mughals and the Sultans of Delhi was looked as a matter of antiquity. This short educational view made the religious class as well as the administrators not to think beyond their provincial or regional level.

This falling of standards in education was highly disapproved by Shah Wali Allah who in his writings tried his best to upgrade the educational and thinking pattern of the scholars and administrators. To avoid sectarian conflicts, he preached for broader approach to the study of Holy Qur'an and Hadith.
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3. Abbot (infra) has quoted the phrase from H.G. Rawlinson’s *India, A Short Cultural History*, Lahore, 1952, p.352.

4. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Allahabad, 1964 pp.103.


8. Ibid., p.107.


CHAPTER-III

SOME PROMINENT PHILOSOPHERS OF EDUCATION

There have been some deep influential thinkers in educational philosophy. The ideas though were developed to face with the problems confronted at the particular times with given circumstances, however, they are still good for succeeding times. There are some common features in these ideas; first, each of them contributed theories or new emphases to the process of education, including general or specific methods of teaching and learning. Secondly, they were all in greater or lessor degree, philosophers. Their ideas are invariably rooted firmly in a definite philosophical position, having distinct philosophical aims. Plato, a Greek thinker, is concerned with the kind of education necessary to produce and preserve the state in which it flourishes. Comenius Loyola and Freidrich Froebel see the perfection of man in a world beyond ours. Their educational Philosophies are designed to enable to bring a man to full understanding system of Gods' will on earth, to prepare him for a better life hereafter. Herbert considers the ends of education to be ethical. Dewey's pragmatism commits him to a belief that thinking arises out of practical needs and action must be tested by their practical effects (1). Third feature of these thinkers in the novelty of their ideas is that each was advocating critical departure from the norms of his days. Even those like Marcul Fabicus, Marcul Fabicus, Quintiliannesces and Loyola, whose aims were acceptable to their contemporaries made
proposals so systematic as to acquire a transformation in emphasis. Others like Rousseau and Pestalozzi were frankly revolutionaries, and were so regarded.

Fourthly, each one of them required a place where their work must have emerged effectively, it was definitely the classroom. It was required to conform the truth and validity of the ideas proposed. Marcul Fabicus Quintilianeus and Montessori were themselves brilliant teachers, Herbert and Dewey were essentially lecturers, they had devoted disciples. Pestalozzi too commanded respect through the inspiration he gave & sweetness of his personality, Rousseau taught through his pen. But their ideas were capable of being put into practice by man different teachers in man different situations.

Fifthly, their work must have continued effective for a noble period. It should not have any time factor lag. Though for some time, their theories might disappear, but can see revival and stage on come back like Dewey and Montessori.

However, How much their power & influence may be, they can survive only through the impact they made on society (1).

The individual approach has one great advantage. Each educator, as we study him, appears as a man rather than on abstraction, struggling, to find answers to continuing problems. His insight dazzle, but his mistakes are also instructive. This is the classical benefit of the teaching
process. when the student not only learns new facts, or discovers new horizons, but draws unfailing sustenance from another, livelier mind.

At present time, research in philosophy of education is relatively a historical, although there are notable exceptions. Classic work from the past do not form the focus of the attention of man contemporary writers. However, classics have, no doubt, left an indelible stamp on both the character and substance of the contemporary discipline. A great deal of insight into twentieth century philosophy of education can be attained from a brief study of even a small number of the classical figures and their works. A brief account of some of them is as under:

1. **Socrates (469-399 B.C.) A Greek Philosopher**

Socrates was born in 469 B.C. in Athens. He was deeply interested in the religious philosophical and scientific movement of his time. He was accused by his political enemies for impiety and corrupting minds of youth. He was sentenced to death by drinking poison.

He recognised that the education of the old Greek period was unable to meet the needs of the new Greek period. It needed suitable changes and modifications. He also pointed out problems of the conflict between social and individual interests and also presented solutions for it. According to him man is the measure of all things, therefore, man's primary duty is to know himself. He believed that knowledge is virtue. Knowledge guides the conduct and by obtaining knowledge man lives a virtuous life. To him, however, intellectual development is not possible through the direct
importation of knowledge, as it was practised by the sophists. The aim of education according to him, was not verbal instructions but to enable the individual, by developing in him the power of thought to acquire knowledge by himself. He believed that every individual has within himself the power of knowing and appreciating truths.

He stressed that the individuals should learn to discover the universal truths. For this purpose he presented the "DIALECTIC METHOD WHICH IS ALSO CALLED SOCRATIC METHOD" which is also called as 'QUESTION/DISCUSSION METHOD'.

2. **Plato** (427-347 B.C) a Greek Philosopher

It was remarked by Alfred North Whitehead that the history of western philosophy is merely a series of footnotes to Plato, and the same might be said of philosophy of education. His aim was to constitute a "Just Society". He enquired about the features that should be possessed by a "Just Society". The society that he envisioned was to be governed by a class of guardians to have been progressed through a lengthy education and study of philosophy and mathematics. Their intellect had grasped the nature of absolute reality, including the highest knowledge of the form of the goodness. He has raised the issues like, what knowledge must be possessed by those who rule. Should the schools serve the general needs of the society by preparing students for performing a specific role in future life or should there be any freedom for full and free development of the potential of individual students. These issues which Plato raised have been discussed by later philosophers of education.
While many of Plato's specific ideas concerning education are inevitably dated and commentators during subsequent ages found much relevant to their times.

According to Plato, the aim of higher education is not a mere extension of knowledge. It is the conversion of soul from study of sensible world to contemplation of real existence. He further emphasised the need of training in education and says that training is one function which results in a general improvement of the mind, which in turn favourably influences other functions.

3. **ARISTOTLE** (384-322 B.C.) a Greek Scholar.

Aristotle was born in 384 B.C. at stagira. He carried out research in every field of knowledge along with his students. He stressed the study of science by observation and getting knowledge by first hand experience. Although the information thus gathered was not always correct but by defining and classifying the various branches of knowledge as physics, metaphysics, Psychology, Ethics, Politics, rhetoric, Poetics and logic, Aristotle laid the foundation of most of the sciences of today and attached them with norms. Through which they have since been known. He tried to explore the whole domain of knowledge. His interpretations even after hundreds of year, still rank as one of the supreme achievements of the human mind. Being the originator of many sciences, he is called the Master of the Sciences" or the "Master of those who know". To Socrates and Plato, the aim of education was to attain knowledge. To them attainment of
knowledge was necessary both for the interest of the individual and the society, hence it was a virtue by itself. To Aristotle, the aim of education is the attainment of happiness or goodness in life and therefore virtue lies in the attainment of happiness or goodness. He also defined education as creation of a sound mind in a sound body. Thus to him the aim of education was the welfare of the individual so as to bring happiness in their lives.

His works were studied in the medieval universities and in all other educational institutions of the middle ages.

With the advent of the "Renaissance" Aristotle was dethroned because faith in the rapidly developing physical sciences to a great extent supplanted both philosophy and religion. However, his importance has been recognised again by the world and in the twentieth Century He was restored to his most honoured place and his work is being studied throughout the world.

4. **Marcil Fabicus Quintilianus A Spanish Thinker**

He says that good education is that which tends most to the improvement of mind and body. The influence of Plato can also be traced in quintitian over educational thoughts particularly in studies of arithmetic, geography, astronomy etc. He has provided some basic criterion for public education vs private education (at home), at the risk of advantages and disadvantages of both. He is more concerned about building of character of the child.
5. John Locke, 1632-1704) An Empiricist scholar

He lived in the era when civilized Europe was disturbed by new political, religious and intellectual theories. The system of thought and education he advocated were influential than any other in their contribution to the comparatively settled life of the leisured classes in the eighteenth century.

Though he was not a professional educator, yet he gave sources of many ideas, particularly preference of home tutor over public schooling, and central importance he gave to the education of the body. However, no systematic account of education was ever contemplated by Locks. His aim was to produce a properly educated English country gentlemen, interested in science and agriculture as well as the affairs of his daily round. His virtually vocational outlook on education implies on pragmatic attitude in the sense that outcomes must have practical worth. To develop an ideal personality he thinks, virtue, wisdom, breeding and learning. He refuses the concept of training in the conduct of the understanding. Locke's contribution to educational thought has been assessed as the opening of Epoch in the history of education. He undoubtedly initiated a new era in philosophical thought, which influenced education, though indirectly. His educational ideas in practical field appeal to common sense. His prescription for a happy state "a sound mind in a sound body" has always appealed through its moderation and balance, to men of liberal mind.
The philosophical thought of Locke undoubtedly initiated a new era and its influence in education was mainly indirect. However, his ideas are firmly grounded in practical common sense.  

6. **Rousseau** (1712) A Swiss Scholar

In an age of superpowers, it might reasonably be asserted that there are two great educators PLATO and Rousseau in western education today. It is a battle field now a days between two groups of philosophical ideas derived from these men. Rousseau was no doubt a powerful and original thinker.

Rousseau is regarded as the liberator of the child and as father of the modern progressive education, but his romantic genius led him to write in a style that is anathema to many analytical philosophers, but, however, his writings have stimulated so many later writers that it cannot be ignored in any overview of the history of philosophy of education. He became famous on his conceptual writings that the advances in arts and sciences had not been conducive to human happiness. He said God makes all things good, man meddles with them, and they become evil. He stressed that what is natural is good. The heart of Russian’s philosophy, however, was his concept of nature. His great educational novel Emile (1762) is though full of contradictions, yet it effected a revolution in education.

Rousseau distinguishes three phases of education, the natural or negative, the social or moral: the civic or political. His pedagogical intention is however evident, to concentrate the pupils attention on these
matters in which he may be expected to show interest and knowledge, his own land and his own people. He recognises in this treatise, the importance of physical education emphasising their moral value and social training. He also prepared a comparison of public and private education.

He was emphatically supporter of public education, as the public education is accessible by all and it must be the same and one for all and supervision must be public not private\(^{(14)}\) like Lock, although for quite different reasons, he would prescribe a trade for his pupil. He emphasises to learn a trade that with any change of fortune, he might be independent economically, for his social value in recognizing the dignity of labour, in helping him to over-come the prejudices and to aid generally in training the mind\(^{(15)}\).

7. **Friedrich Froebel** (1782 - 1852) born in Thuringia (Germany)

Friedrich Froebel was the last of the group of Swiss and German educators. He formulated his philosophy of unity of all nature. He attained non-formal education at the initial stages. He was influenced by the idealism initiated by Kent & developed by Hegel. According to him, the aim of education consists sably in so treating man as to awaken in him his spiritual nature, which is surely itself good\(^{(16)}\).

Friedrich Froebel believes that in order to have educative value, the play of the child must not be a purposeless activity, instead it should prepare him for the tasks of life for which it is destined. Human education needs a guide, which in his view is available in general law of
development that rules both in nature and in the intellectual world without law abiding guidance, that is no free development (17).

He believes that education is not endowment and environmentally oriented. It is now curriculum centred also. All knowledge and comprehension of life are connected with making the internal external, the external internal and with perceiving the harmony and accord of both (18).

He was an early advocate of the inclusion of manual instructions in the school curriculum. It is necessary condition for realization of the pupil's personality. Every child should devote daily one to two hours to some serious activity in the production of some definite external piece of work (19).

Friedrich Froebel considered the childhood as the most important stage of the total development of man and humanity, so he devoted later part of his life to founding the kinder garten, on which his fame mainly rests. By his methodological arrangements of the gifts and occupations Friedrich Froebel founded new type of educational institution. His recognition of the significant of the native capacities of children, his loving attention to them, and his influence in inducing others to study them, represent, perhaps, the most effective signle force in modern educational theory in effecting wide spread acknowledgement of the idea of growth.
The intervening period between Freidrich Froebel and Maria Montessori brought about a complete change in the social background of education. Freidrich Froebels kindergarten had been founded at one of the most beautifully wooded valleys of Thuapingam, whereas Montessori's house of childhood located in slums of European capital. The contrast determined their stand points.\(^{(20)}\)

She managed to introduce the training of mentally defective children to read and write so efficiently that they were able to be presented to examination with normal children of the same age.\(^{(21)}\)

The Psychological method in education implies that the educative process is adapted to the stage of mental development of the child, and to his interests, and is not wholly subordinated to necessities of a curriculum or to the teacher's scheme of work. Through education, it must be understood the active help given to the normal expansion of the life of the child.\(^{(22)}\)

Maria Montessori was convinced of the interrelationship of mental and physical powers in human beings. Mental development must be connected with movement and be dependent on it. The education theory and practical should invariably be governed by the idea. She therefore laid great stress on the practices of her method. The main task is to teach the feebleminded children to take care of themselves.\(^{(23)}\) It is like mind first training
given in the base of childhood. It is a training in liberty for freedom: it does not consist in having others command to perform the ordinary services. Montessori also devised certain formal gymnastic exercises to develop in the child coordinated movements.

In the Montessori system, the teaching of writing precedes the teaching of reading. She maintained that in normal children, the muscular sense is most easily developed in infancy, and this makes the acquisition of writing exceedingly easy for children\(^{(24)}\).

The main attraction of such a scheme was the speed and efficiency with which even apparently dull children were able to learn the things which society wanted them to learn. The method, insight of criticism, makes ample provision for creative activity, and gives full rein to social impulses. Maria Montessori schools are preparing competent self-confident learners respectful of themselves and others\(^{(25)}\).


An English educator, in material circumstances the world had changed more in the last hundred years than in all previous recorded history. The task of educating had become immensely complicated by the time Dewey emerged. He no doubt produced most guidance to serve the last hundred years\(^{(26)}\).
In the first half of the twentieth century, many educators view the field of philosophy of education as being co-extensive with the pragmatic philosophy of Dewey. There is no doubt that he was one of the most prolific for he published some 40 books and 800 journal articles. It was a co-incidence of fate that Dewey was born in 1859.

The year of publication of Darwin's Origin of Species, which became a cornerstone of Dewey's philosophical position (27). THE PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION DEPICTED by Dewey connects it with growth of democracy with the development of the experimental method in the sciences, evolutionary ideas in the biological sciences and the industrial re-organization and to point out the changes in subject matter and method of education indicated by these developments (28).

DEWEY, IN FACT, ATTACHED WHAT HE REGARDED AS THE FALSE distinction between body and mind. He constantly identified false dualism that other writers had established and tried to show that the truth actually lays in the synthesis of the opposing poles that mistakenly had been established. He examined the dualism particularly activity verses mind; authority vs. Freedom body vs soul; capital vs labour; emotions vs, intellect; individuality vs institutiarism; method vs subject matter and so on. In all such cases he argued. That dualism must be replaced by synthesis (29). He believed that the individual who is to be educated is a social individual and that society is an organic union of individual. If we eliminate the social factor from the child, we are left only with an abstraction. He treats class room a small society, the relation
between school and society and between home and school and the plan of individualism in modern democracy.

Writings of the democratic way of life and the significance in it of intelligence, Dewey explained that he did not invent this faith but acquired it from his surroundings, and the same explanation might be offered for the other features of his philosophic and educational outlook. His ideas were taken up in many countries.  

Dewey was a great educationist, because he was a great philosopher: No one since the sophists has so intimately identified philosophy and education as Dewey has done. According to his education is the laboratory in which philosophical distinction became concrete and are tested. He rejected any situation and condemned any institution that was static. He believed in constant revision. Plato having established his ideal state would allow no innovations. His ideal was permanence, on the other hand, education is closely associated with change.

Pragmatism is reflected in Dewey's curriculum. Indeed he regarded Democracy and education as the book in which his philosophy was most fully expounded. For education is the Laboratory in which philosophic educators become concrete and tested. In Dewey's school main hypothesis was that life itself, especially the occupations and associations which serve, many chief needs should furnish grand experience for the education of the child. He, however, maintains that it is impossible to classify lesson activities for educational purposes. In education we can not
but be grateful to Dewey for his great services in challenging the old static cold storage ideals of knowledge and bringing education more into accord with the actualities of present day life.\(^{(34)}\) Deweys ideas were powerfully influential in the early and middle twentieth century, that is within his own life time, in many nations of widely divergent political persuasions.

Dewey was the last of the great educators of Europe in the classical mode. The educational problems, however, remain and allowing greater complexity of modern life. To each of these problems, modern thinker have contributed solutions or at least suggestions.

**Muslim Educational Philosophers**

The literature on educational philosophers in Islam is very rich and intensive. The literature is pre-dominantly concerned with histories of Muslim Educational institutions and few fragmentary aspects of education and contains comparatively little information on theories/philosophies of education and the Muslim view of it. This has even led to certain erroneous conclusions about Muslim contributions to education.\(^{(35)}\)

**TOHA (1926)** has documented an impressive list of at least forty-two Muslim educators from Al Jahiz (869 A.D.) to Al-Siddique (1749 AD) whose works deal exclusively with the subject of pedagogy. However most of that manuscript lie dormant in libraries across the world awaiting faithful discourses.\(^{(36)}\)
AL FARABI (870-950) A.D.

Muhammad bin Uzlugh Abu Nasir Al-Farabi, most likely is the first and pioneer to formalize a philosophy of instruction. Before this period literature reveals fragmentary accounts regarding certain aspects of instruction. He was the first great Muslim commentator on Aristotle\(^{37}\). He was a prolific scholar in wide variety of fields, including logic, ethics, physics, astronomy metaphysics, mathematics, political philosophy, sociology and Psychology and music. One comes across great influence of Al-Farabi's writings on the medieval philosophers and writes\(^{38}\). According to him, soul can be distinguished as sensitive and intellelctive, both have the power of knowledge. The power of knowledge is acquired through five external senses and internal senses such as memory and imagination whereas power of action are both sensory and locomotive. On the other hand intellective soul has its powers of knowledge; (i) preceptive knowledge and (ii) abstractive knowledge\(^{39}\).

The term education according to Al-Farabi means activity which an individual does with an aim to develop knowledge habits or certain character in the subject\(^{40}\).

The salient features of Al-Farabi's theory of education encompasses definition of instruction, methods of acquiring cognition's, the process of instruction and related issues such as communication, teaching aids, use of books and the function of questions in instruction. He makes
clear distinction between divine and human instructions and he limits himself to the latter. He believes that for human instructions, previous knowledge is essential to be used as foundation for the new knowledge, whereas for divine instructions, there is no such need.

**Al-Ghazali (1058-1111 A.D.)**

Abu Hamid Al-Ghazali was born at TUS in 1058 A.D. He wrote his legend work "Ihya-al-Ulum-ad-Din" (The revivification of the Sciences of Religion in 1095 A.D. in which according to Prof. P.K. Hitti orthodox speculations reached its culminating point. According to him to arrive at certitude a person must needs reconstruct his knowledge from the very foundations, he should ascertain what are the bases of certitude which according to him is the complete and clear knowledge of things.

The chief characteristic of his thinking is that he replaced the rule of intellectual perception by personal human experience. He was craving to find a new way out for himself ignoring the accepted doctrine of his age. He fought against the paganistic trend of his day and became the torch bearer of rationalism in Muslim renaissance. He is thus regarded as a Mujaddid or reviver and man or leader by million of Muslims today. He appears as a pragmatist and a realist which emphasising the materialistic development as much as spiritual development of man.

He pointed out that the prevailing practice at his times, was to devote to the religious learning and too little attention was paid to the
teaching of other subjects. He stressed the need for inclusion of such subjects useful for practical life in the curriculum.

His earlier approach towards education and life was philosophical and logical in nature. He held the view that logic was essential for intellectual reasoning and thinking. Any one who did not know the basis of logic would not be able to analyse the situations and problems properly to solve them exactly and precisely. However, very soon he realized the importance of utilitarian subjects in learning and later he realized the importance of religious and moral subjects \(^{(45)}\).

To him the aim of education is (i) the character and personality development of the learner (ii) education should aim at the inclusion of desirable traits of behaviours in the child (iii) the child is born good by nature, people lead to the path of right or wrong. Education should enable him to distinguish between the true and false, the good and bad, the right conduct and evil doing \(^{(46)}\). He realized the religious instructions help in promoting the goodness of character, hence he advocated the inclusion of religion in the curriculum (iv) he added further that basic principles of religion such as command and tenets, Qur'an and Sunnah should be taught but the controversial topics should be left and so that there should not be any confusion in the mind of the learner. He grouped the subjects of studies into two categories: \(^{(47)}\)

1. Farz-i-Ain (Compulsory)

2. Farz-i-Kafaya (Optional)
Farz-i-Ain are those arts and sciences which are compulsory for every one, such as tenets of Islam, Quran, logic and Hygiene, while Farz-i-Kefaya consists of those arts and sciences which are not supposed to be learned by all, but only by those who are interested in them. These subjects include fiqh, tafseer, hadith, industrial arts, such as weaving, tailoring, haircutting, engineering, medicine and agriculture.

He advocated the need of moral education both in theory and practice (48).

His views about the method of education appear as modern as those of the educationists of today. He says that the lesson should be made interesting allowing students participation in it, with the help of audio-visual aids and by conducting them in a very congenial atmosphere of understanding and affection. The teacher should proceed from simple to the complex according to the developmental level of child. The teaching method should include lecture, participation of students, discussions and tutorials (49).

Imam Ghazali is a great Muslim educationist. He presented revolutionary theories about the aims, methods and curriculum of education. Instead of ornamental education, he emphasised the utilitarian type of education to enable the learner to carry on in any vocation or profession (50). He even encouraged specialization in any subjects learned. He also introduced a new concept of the teacher pupil relationship which is
also advised by the most modern Psychologists. His views obviously appear as modern as he thought of the educators of today. What he advocated several hundred years ago is now being implemented and practised in the most advanced countries of the World. No doubt he was a great educator.

IBN KHALDUN (1332-1406 A.D.)

Waliuddin Abu Zaid, Abdur Rehman bin Mohammad Ibne Khaldun, one of the greatest thinkers of mediaeval Islam, was born in Tunis in 1332. He was a man of remarkable knowledge and had deep insight into the problems of history, politics, sociology and education. Perhaps he is the first scientific historian of the world and pioneer of historiography and sociology. Basically a historian, he was an educationist in the limited sense of the word. However, the last chapter in his "Muqaddamah" includes his comprehensive views upon the problems of education along with their solution.

Ibn-Khaldun expresses the view that education consists of the intellectual and moral training of mankind through which his hidden potentialities are developed, traits of character are built and the knowledge and culture of the people is conveyed to the coming generations. The educational system of a society should be formulated in accordance with the ideology of that particular society.
To him education should aim at the development of the ability of logical thinking and reasoning to its maximum, like Socrates, he attached great importance to the power of expression and recommended the learning of rhetoric. He has recognised another aim of education which is to develop the social efficiency among human beings for the welfare of both the individual and society. All the subjects of study are a means to an end and that end is to bring happiness in the life of man. Man, by his superior power of intellect, is strengthened by education, finds the ways and means to make his life more comfortable. Thus like Aristotle, Ibn Khaldun believes that education should be a means to bring happiness in the life of people. According to him education should develop social and economic efficiency in man to be usefully absorbed in the society. For this purpose, he recommended the learning of trade or a vocation along with general subjects of study. He classified arts and sciences into three categories:

1. The useful, as architecture and carpentry.

2. The Fine Arts such as music and painting.

3. Arts related to state and politics such as law and politics.

He believes that religious instructions should be the cornerstone of the curriculum as it helps in the formation of good habits and character. Learning of language is also necessary to carry on studies in different subjects. In the intellectual sciences he included philosophy, logic, mathematics, physics, meta-physics, astronomy and music.
He was of the view that the students should discuss the problem even controversial issue, so as to reach reasonable agreement and solution. He disapproves of teachers who make students the passive recipients of knowledge and kill their initiative and self expression. The teaching procedure elaborated by him is quite similar to the most modern procedure of teaching which includes the introduction, development and the recapitulation of the lesson.

Though a great and famous historian, Ibn-e-Khaldun's views on education make him a great educator, having deep psychological insight into the process of education and the development of the human mind and body.

In him we find the seeds of modern educational thought. He was undoubtedly thinking ahead of his times. He attached great emphasis to the social efficiency as an aim of education, of which, Dewey is a great advocate in the 20th century. He pointed out the need of integrating with academic type of education and we, even today in our latest educational policies are attempting the same. His contribution towards the method of education is valuable and everlasting.

**Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-1898)**

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was born in Delhi in 1817. He advocated for re-construction and moral rehabilitation of Muslims of the Sub-continent, which in his opinion was not possible without introducing and popularizing western education among them. To him Western
education was full of scientific knowledge which enabled western people to achieve materialistic progress.

Basically, a reformer, Sir Syed utilized education as an instrument for reforming his nation, thus becoming the pioneer instrumentalist or pragmatist in the field of Education in the sub-continent. He believed in the dynamic and progressive functions of education\(^{(58)}\). Sir Syed like Dewey held that the aim of education was not only to preserve the culture and social process of a country but also to bring changes for the development and progress of a nation\(^{(59)}\). To him advantages of the western education were two fold: firstly through learning the English language maximum understanding between the English and the Muslims could be obtained and secondly through the acquisition of such a knowledge scientific and materialistic progress seemed possible in the demoralized nation\(^{(60)}\).

Education, in his opinion, should attempt to eliminate the prejudices and unscientific outlook on life, and it should inculcate more understanding a more scientific and broader outlook on life. Thus the chief aim of education to him was the welfare of both the individual and the society\(^{(61)}\).

He emphasised learning of such subjects which are useful in life. He opened Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental College in Aligarh. He formulated its curriculum in such a way that scientific subject and English language formed as its compulsory component.
He favoured a method of education that develops and not curb the initiative and creativity among the learners. This should be such as to push the students on the way to progress and prosperity by working and thinking properly in the right directions. This method should be the means for the personality development of the learners specially inculcating in them a scientific outlook.

His thoughts and actions were at first met with opposition from the people, specially in connection with the interpretation of religion, but ultimately he was appreciated for his services, thus becoming a pioneer of reintroducing a rationalistic approach in religion (62).
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CHAPTER - IV.

SHAH WALI ALLAH'S PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION.

Islam as a Din covers all aspect of life, religious and temporal and discovers every secret of life and universe. This approach towards life and universe can be justified and satisfied only through a certain level of knowledge. And, this level can be achieved only through education. In Islam greatest emphasis has been laid upon getting education. Even the revelation from God started in a pattern of educational lesson, as is manifested from this verse.

(Read in the name of your God who created)

Following the same Godly tradition, the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) made his mosque (known as Majid-i-Nabvi) as the first centre of Islamic learning in Islamic history in which thousands of the people were educated and trained by him.

That is why, in Islamic terminology, the basic duty of the Prophet (PBUH) is to educate the people and make clear the difference between good and bad things in the universe. As regards importance of
knowledge and education, the Muslim philosophers presented their view towards the education, its purpose, nature, teaching, methodology, etc. Famous educational theorist Dr. Syed Abdullah is of the opinion that among them, the ideas of only a few can be called mile-stone in the History of education. Bu Ali Sina among them is first and then, respectively Ibn Miskawaiya, Al Ghazali, Ibn Khaldun, and last person is Shah Wali Allah (1).

According to Syed Abdullah, Bu Ali Sina’s importance is due to the reason that he presented the discipline of education as a science and questioned the abilities of a teacher and a student. He called it a game of pondering and experience. Ibne Miskawaiya’s emphasis remained over the external and spiritual basis of education. Al-Ghazali presented the idea that the purpose of knowledge is the achievement of knowledge through revelation. Ibne Khaldun gave importance to external and Physical elements and environment in Education. But Shah Wali Allah’s importance lies in the way that he harmonized temporal and religious life and declared both necessary for the totality of life. He tried to present the same in his educational theory. His educational theory represents both Din and Dunia.

Shah Wali Allah also presented the importance of personality in a positive manner(2). Accordingly the syllabus which Shah Wali Allah proposed for study contains both religious and temporal subjects on the pattern of Dars-e-Nizami and also advises the parents to make their children learn crafts and arts(3). On the other hand he stresses upon the pupils to get the knowledge of the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad
(Peace be upon him). In this way he uses the symbolic personality of the Prophet in a very positive way and wanted to achieve his reformist aims.

No doubt Shah Wali Allah was basically a social reformist, but his reform campaign covers all aspects of life. Shah Wali Allah wanted to achieve his reformist aim and spread them through education.

Shah Wali Allah is of the opinion that human being resembles to animals and trees in many ways. But man has some peculiarities which distinguish him from other animate and inanimate beings. The most important among them are his ability to talk and understand others, talks, seek knowledge through experimenting experience or intellect and seeking knowledge through the organization of these matters which he thinks better. Men have peculiarity of feelings and movement and they accept the natural revelations and Physical sciences. Along with all that they hold intellect and have ability of getting knowledge.

In this way to Shah Wali Allah, the most important thing which distinguish man from animals is his quest for acquisition of knowledge. But every information can not be called knowledge. It is necessary that the knowledge should be in organized form for some particular purposes. That organized form is called sciences and seeking knowledge through these organized disciplines is called education which is concerned with respective study.
In his book "Al-Khair-al-Kathir" Shah Wali Allah has pointed out four kinds of knowledge in respect of sources. In "The fourth Khazana" he wrote:

The meaning of knowledge in general has been restricted to four kinds and they are as under:

1. The Feelings (Ihsas), acquired by means of one of the five senses. It is connected with the bodily faculty (Latifah qalbiyyah).

2. The thinking (al-Takhayyul). It has connection with the thinking faculty. Its function is to consider the absent objects possessing colour and shape.

3. The Imagination (Tawahhum). It is connected with the imaginative faculty. Its function is to understand the particular meanings, bearing relations to the senses and then to retain and preserve them.

4. The Intellect (I'raaqul). It has connection with the faculty of the rational soul (Nafs Natiqah). Its function is to understand the natural conceptions and the non-material things.

We on our part refuse to take this intellect as connected with the rational soul. It is rather connected with a preceptive faculty (Idrakiyyah)
which is an agent to the rational soul in the world of space. and is nearest to the bodies towards it (preceptive faculty).

Though each one of these four has a particular seat reserved for its investigation shows that they are a complete dress which has covered the whole of Rational Soul (Nafs-i-Natiqah)\(^{(5)}\).

In another treatise "Al-Sirr-al Maktum fi Ashab-i-Tadween-i-ulum" Shah Wali Allah has presented his view about the development of sciences among the Muslim masses. In this treatise Shah Wali Allah has divided the sciences into four types in accordance with their nature:

1. Arabic Sciences.
2. Divine Sciences
3. Natural Sciences.
4. Philosophy.

Following the traditional Muslim theorists, Shah Wali Allah condemns philosophy although he includes it in the syllabus of Rahimiyah College, but urged upon the scholars to keep themselves away from it. His emphasis remained over the education of the Holy Quran and Hadith\(^{(6)}\).

In Tafsirat-i-Ilaahiah addressing the scholars, Shah Wali Allah wrote:
I address the seekers of knowledge who have named themselves ulema. O! you are caught in the Greek techniques in over-indulgence of studying Grammar and philosophy. This you call knowledge whereas the knowledge is the word of God or the word or deeds of the Prophet. But you are sunk in the propositions induced by the jurists of yore. Do you not know that only the word of God and Word of the Prophet are taken as commands. But the pity is that most of you decline to accept a hadith. Whenever a hadith is quoted you say, "I do not act upon hadith. I confirm to this or that school of jurist. The pretext you make for not conforming to the Hadith is equally silly. You say the job of understanding hadith and to extract prediction from it can only be performed by expert jurists. And then you contend that Imams of Islamic law were not the persons who could have ignored a hadith. If they have ignored a hadith they must have done so for some reason. Let it be known to all of you that religion does not recommend this attitude. If you believe in it you ought to obey your Prophet irrespective of the consideration that his command goes against or in favour of a school of thought. The Will of God is that you should follow the Quran and Hadith in all matters. If you find some difficulty in understanding them you can seek help from the Ulema whose rulings are nearest to the hadith, and hence, are more authentic and correct. Do you not remember that God has made it compulsory that you should spread knowledge among the masses so that Islam dominates over the lands of God. But, instead of doing so, you have
plunged into the study of superfluities and by your practices you have made the acquiring of Islamic knowledge so big a thing that it has become almost impossible to follow Islam. Do you not see that all the big cities are becoming empty of righteous ulema and if per chance there are any, they are unable to give currency to the Islamic symbols (7).

In the text Shah Wali Allah condemns the study of Philosophy and Grammar and stresses upon the study of the Holy Quran and Hadith. But in general, the language has an important place in Shah Wali Allah’s Philosophy. He knows its importance. According to him, it is a peculiarity of men from animals that they can talk and understand the talks not only of their species but also of others. Shah Wali Allah thinks it very necessary. It is the element and tool through which men can learn and understand. So Shah Wali Allah advises to teach a student first the language. In this regard Shah Wali Allah stresses upon the education in Arabic language.

In his Wasiyat Nama he advises:

Fortunate is that person among us, who acquires proficiency in Arabic its syntax and etymology, and its literary works and develops comprehension of the Quran and Tradition. Familiarity with Persian and Hindi books and endeavors in the composition and recitation of poetry and the study of speculative Rationalism affairs of state and kings etc. lead only to the blind valley of ignorance. If the exigencies of the day require their knowledge and practice then atleast this much is necessary that their practitioners should regard them as
worldly knowledge and then looking down upon them express their regrets. It is necessary for us to reach the sacred shrines of Islam and then rub our foreheads on thresholds therein lay blessing for us and turning away from them amounts to bad luck for us \(^{(8)}\).

Shah Wali Allah's time presents a very crucial stage in our history. The whole structure of society had been shattered. The Muslims were going away from their culmination period. The decline was evident in every aspect of life. Every class of society had become corrupt including ulema, mashaikh, politicians, Kings and princes. The religion was amended by so many local wills and there was tussel between every class of society.

In this atmosphere of decline, Shah Wali Allah wanted to reform the society. All the efforts of Shah Wali Allah were directed in this perspective. Shah Wali Allah's educational thoughts also hold a great deal with this spirit of reform. And all his reform movements were connected with the revival of Quranic and Hadith studies.

Shah Wali Allah was of the opinion that in Islam, \textit{Din} and \textit{Dunia} are not separated from each other. Quran and Sunnah are the basis of Islam and cover all aspects of human life. For this he believed that the Prophet was the only person whose taqleed was righteous. The understanding of four or five schools of fiqh was necessary their taqleed was not essential for the Ulema. Taqleed of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) was binding. That is why that he wanted to reform the Islamic principles and practices from sinful innovations and Polytheism crept into Islamic history.
during the classical age. This was possible only through reviving education of Quran and Hadith through understanding Arabic language.

Explaining the general approach of Shah Wali Allah, an author has pointed out the following aims of education:

1. Development of the qualities of human species.

2. The fulfilment of biological necessities of individual.

3. The satisfaction of individual's Psychological necessities i.e. the attributes of self respect and confidence.

4. The intellectual, spiritual, moral, physical and passionate development of individual in balance.

5. Preservation of individual and society against necessary dangers.

6. Organization of welfare in respect of family, social and political matters.

7. Development of Friendship and harmony among the different classes of society.

8. Development of quest for creativity and fresh inquiry among the students instead of conformity or imitation.

10. Harmonization of Divine Sciences and Rational Sciences\(^9\).

Islamic educational system does not bind a student to continue special organized studies for a long time. The age of five for a young student is considered satisfactory for the beginning of education, Shah Wali Allah himself started education at that age.

In the old syllabus, the age of completion of education was very less than today's. In India Faizi completed his education at the age of 14, and Shah Wali Allah himself at the age of fifteen. Shah Wali Allah believes in the view that a student should complete his studies in a time in so far may be possible. His certificate shows that Sheikh Jaja-ullah completed his studies in 6 years, he was of opinion that after formal studies they themselves should start to ponder over the matters concerning further education.

Instructions, and Qualities and Duties of Teacher:

Teacher has a key status in the system of education. The Prophet Islam (PBUH) himself was a great Teacher and Educator.

Although Muslim thinkers have their own method and view about the education but it is basically concerned with the nature and
purpose of learning and education. The Muslim scholars like Al-Farabi, Al-
Ghazali and Ibn Khaldun have discussed the qualities and duties of a good
teacher Qazi Ibn Jama has touched the matter. He has discussed the
classistics of a good teacher, but these characteristics deal basically
with the personal qualities of a teacher and his attitude towards the students.
A little touch has been given to the method of teaching. That method itself
revolves around the teachers’ attitude towards teaching, not towards the
technique of teaching. It is Shah Wali Allah who has dealt with the method
of teaching. He has not only discussed basic characteristics of a good
teacher, but has also dealt with the question how a teacher could teach and
how a teacher can teach well to his students.

In one of his famous treatises i.e. "Fun-i-Danishmandi" (the
Art of wisdom or intellectualism) he deals with that subject. By "Fun-i-
Danishmandi", Shah Wali Allah meant the art of "Kitab Dani" (the Art of
perception of books)\(^{(10)}\). It is a direction for the teacher that how he should
read and teach the book. His expectations and instructions show that to him,
a teacher firstly should know the Art of wisdom to which we can call the art
of education. In Wali Allah’s age, the course books tell about the
educational system, so Shah Wali Allah’s principle of "Kitab Dani", in fact
are his principles of educational methodology.

The importance of text books is still there and different
aspects of education can be guided by these principles.\(^{(10)}\) In this regard
Shah Wali Allah offers two requirements for a teacher:
1. He should have the Art of wisdom and intellectualism called "Fun-i-Danishmandi".

2. He himself should have studied the syllabus upto a level so that he should know the text with a research oriented approach (11).

In this way, Shah Wali Allah has pointed out fifteen principles for book reading and writing:

First: He should highlight the difficult and problematic words in the reading and should explain the suspicions in the names, acts and even of points of words so that one could be saved from the mistakes of words and script.

Second: If there is any unknown word and that word belongs to any other language, should be commented upon and explained. It means if any word is used very little and its meaning is not clear to the pupils then a teacher should explain its diction and context.

Third: If there is any problematic structure in the structure of text or difficult grammatical and compositional tense and it is hard to understand for the student, teacher should solve it according to the Grammar and composition.

Fourth: The problem of under-discussion should be understood or explained through exemplification or by presenting synonyms. For example, there is a reference of any principle or method in the book and students are unable to
understand it, then the teacher should describe it clearly with exemplification so that the pupils can get an access to the real purpose.

**Fifth:** If argumentation is applied to any problem in the book, the teacher should explain its secret prolegomena's in such a way that required result which lay in the relation of different prolegomena's can be achieved.

**Sixth:** While interpreting the definitions, their limitations with merits and advantages and boundaries (scope) should be described concisely and precisely.

**Seventh:** The principles of formula should be explained in such a way that it describes the advantages, divisions (Properties) and examples of limitations of definition, along with the reality of derivation of principle or formula.

**Eighth:** The explanation of divisions and their causes. Description of the properties which one thing processes or not processes and of causes of the order which the thing processes.

**Ninth:** If two things collaborate or confront each other, it is the duty of the teacher to describe the differences between them.

**Tenth:** Harmonization between two different things or two confronting religions. If there are differences in the writing of author on two different places, the teacher should solve it by argumentation -- generalized or specialized.
Eleventh: (related to ninth and tenth) The scholar should remove the visible or invisible suspicions. If reasoning of author is not in accordance with the topic under-discussion, then it is the duty of teacher that he should remove all kinds of misgivings.

Twelfth: The references, commentaries and criticisms should be explained along with the unexplained questions in the reading.

Thirteenth: The translation of book into the language of students so that students can easily perceive its recovering.

Fourteenth: If there are different explanations of one act or writing, the scholar should explain all and select the suitable one by duly emphasising it through the force of his intellect based on logic and argumentation.

Fifteenth: The description and speech of scholar should be so simple that the above fourteen mentioned principles can be clear and appealing to mind and intellect. It should be precise and concise. The teacher should combine the text of author in such a way that both should have harmonization (12).

Shah Wali Allah expects that only by obeying and using these fifteen principles, the teacher would be able to have a skill in teaching and interpretation and commentary on the book(s). For the purpose of higher education, Shah Wali Allah advised that the students at advanced level should be made aware of these five principles!
First: The teacher should tell his pupils briefly about these principles of book reading.

Second: He should tell them the reality of differences during the application of these principles.

Third: He should tell them the parameters of their study along with the fields of study.

Fourth: He should compare the study of the pupils with his own study and should emphasise in such a way that the pupil could be able to keep it in mind for ever.

Fifth: The teacher should ask his student to write notes and comments on the text of the book for the purpose of reviewing different works so that the ability of the student could be evaluated and enhanced (13).

Although Shah Wali Allah did not give direct comment on the personal character of a teacher, yet he wants to see him as a good Muslim. To become a good teacher, it is necessary that one should be a good Muslim possessing the following characteristics:

1. **Tafarrah** (cleanliness in thinking)

   It means that he should be good in nature and should remain away even from lexicon thinking.
2. **Akhabat:** He should have pondering over the verses and attributes of God with full consideration.

3. **Samahat:** He should not be the follower of beastic nature. It means that he should have control over his animal nature.

4. **Adalah:** It means that he should try to do every thing with a sense of justice and fair play.

Shah Wali Allah believes that by having these qualities a man can be able to achieve "Saiyadah" or "good fortune"(14).

In the introduction of *Hajrat-ullah-Al-Bliqah* Shah Wali Allah has put three more conditions while discussing the qualities of an expert scholar:

1. He should be expert in religious sciences and Divine Arts.

2. His heart should be brimful with the secrets of God.

3. His nature and mental approach should be faster and fluent.

4. He should know the method of derivation of principles through intellectual and comparative arguments (15).
Shah Wali Allah wants to see a teacher having all qualities of kindness. While exemplifying his Fun-i-Danishmandi, he calls a teacher "Shafique Ustad" i.e. a kind hearted teacher.

In Tafhimat-i-Ulabiyah Shah Wali Allah advises the teacher to remain away from the study of Philosophy and concentrate more on the studies of Quran and Hadith.

He writes:

'O you are caught in the Greek teachings and in over-indulgence of studying Grammar and philosophy. This you call knowledge whereas the knowledge is the word of God and deeds of the Prophet (16)

Syllabus for Study.

Shah Wali Allah's views towards the syllabus for education can be derived from three primary sources: the syllabus of Rahimiah College (17) founded by Shah Wali Allah's father and administered by him after his death, a certificate (18) issued by Shah Wali Allah to one of his students Sheikh Jaia Allah of Punjab, and third his last testament "Al-Maqala al-Wadiyyah-fi-al-Nasiqah wal- Wasiyah's" fourth and last precept deals with the question that what syllabus and with what classification and order should it be taught (19).
Unity is the inner spirit of Islam and according to Hisham Nasbi that spirit is reflected in Islamic education. In Islam all knowledge belongs to Allah and all branches of knowledge are unified in Him, so there is no any prohibition of any subject and knowledge for learning and teaching. On that basis the Muslim education was based on generalized studies including all subjects.

As a part of traditional faculty of religious Muslim thinkers and educational theorists, Shah Wali Allah also believes in the general discipline of study for educating the peoples. To Shah Wali Allah there are four types of sciences among the Muslims containing every aspect of universe. The subjects, sub-subjects, purpose and development of these four types are discussed by Shah Wali Allah in one of his treatises "Al-Sirr-al-Maktum Fi Asbab-i-Tadween-i-Alam". These four topics are:

1. Arabic Sciences To have a skill in Arabic literature which is the basis of Islamic Sciences.

2. Sciences of religious law The skill in those matters which are in the words of the Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him).

3. Philosophical Sciences are divided into two:

   a. Philosophy
   b. Natural Sciences.
4. Philosophy aims at expounding the mysteries and secrets of all that which is difficult to prove by material arguments. And natural Sciences deal with the materialistic aspect of the world (20).

It is important to note that all these four types of sciences have been included in Shah Wali Allah's syllabi which is as follows:

1. Tradition
2. Commentary
3. Holy Qur'an
4. Jurisprudence
5. Logic
6. Fundamentals of Law
7. Scholasticism
8. Mysticism
9. Realities
10. Properties of words and verses
11. Medicine
12. Philosophy
13. Grammar
14. Dictionary
15. Mathematics:
   a. Mathematics
   b. Geometry
   c. Al-Gebra
To Shah Wali Allah these subjects should be taught to all the students in general and research study should be left to the student independently in any one of the branches of knowledge.

The following books were included into the syllabus for different subjects and sciences. The general material is taken from Rahimmiyah College's syllabus.

1. **Tradition:**

   a. **Mishkat**

      *(Except two chapters kitab-al-Baya and kitab-al-Adab.*

   b. **Sahih Bukhari**

      *(upto the chapter on kitab-al Taharah)*

   c. **Shamail-al-Nabi**

But the certificate issued to Sheikh Jaa' allah indicates that Shah Wali Allah also taught the following books on Hadith:

   a) **Sunnan-i-Abu Daud**

   b) **Jamay Tirmizi**
c) Sunan-i-Ibne Maja

d) Musnad-al-Darami

e) Musnad-i-Imam Ahmad-wa-Abdullah bin Umar

f) Al-Musawwa of Shah Wali Allah: a selection from Al-Mauwatta of Imâm Mâlik.

g) Al-Nukhba and its commentary

h) In his "Wasiyat Nama", Shah Wali Allah also includes the commentary of Al-Mauwatta by Yahya b. Yahya of Andalus and Commentary of Mishkat by Tiybi

The above books are prescribed for the teaching of Hadith.

2. The Holy Qur'an and its Commentary:

a) Al-Qur'an with a great stress on verbal translation

b) Al-Baizawi: a commentary: only a part of it.

c) Mudavic: a commentary: only a part of it.
d) In "Wasiyat Nama" sixth precept he also refers 'Tafsir-i-Jalahain of Sheikh Jalal-al-Din Ab-al Rehman bin Abi Bakr-al-Suyuti.

3. Jurisprudence

a. Sharh Waqaya (Except a little part of it which was not included in the syllabus).

b. Hidayah ( ) also mentioned in the certificate except a little part).

4. Logic

a. Sharh Shamsiyya

b. Sharh Mutali (only a part of it)

5. Fundamentals of Law

a. Husami

b. Tuzih-o-Talmih
6. **Scholasticism**

   a. **Sharh Aqaid**

   b. **Khayali** (only a part of it).

   c. **Sharh Muwafiq** (only a part of it).

7. **Mysticism**

   a. **Awarif-al-Ma'arif** (Only a part)

   b. **Rasail-e-Naqshbandiyah** (both mentioned in the Wasiyat Nama)

8. **Realities**

   a. **Sharh Ra'ayiyah of Moulana Jami**

   b. **Lawa'ih**

   c. **Maqaddama Sharh Lam'at**

   d. **Maqaddama Naqd-al-Nasus**
9. **Properties of words and verses:**


10. **Medicine**

    a. Mujaz-al-Qanun

11. **Philosophy**

    a. Sharh Hidayat-al-Hikma

    b. In the certificate Al-Gazali’s *Ihya-i-Ulum-ud-din* is also mentioned.

12. **Grammar**

    a. Kifaya

    b. Sharh Mulla Jami
13. Philology

a. Mutawwal

b. Mukhtasir-al-Ma'ani


Some books giving a concise study of the subject were taught (books not mentioned).

Shah Wali Allah also taught his own treatises and books, some of which have been mentioned in the certificate.

1. Hujjat-allah-al-Baligha
   (Science of secrets of divine Law)

2. Al-Insaf-fi-Ryan-j-sabab-al-ikhtilaf

3. Al-Qaul-al-Jamil

4. Al-Fauz-al-Kabir

The syllabus is basically developed as general study, having a main stress on religious sciences.
Although technical education is not mentioned anywhere in all these sources but Shah Wali Allah was of the view that students should be skilled in any technical work or crafts to meet the financial and economic needs.

Sa’adat Yar Khan Rangin’s *Tasnif-i-Rangin* deals with Shah Wali Allah’s concept of Islamization in which some ideas presented in the “Wasiyat Nama” also have been verified. Ranging claims that *Tasnif-i-Rangin* was developed on the basis of a 'Risalah' which he obtained, devoted exclusively to the Islamization of the Muslim’s moves from the time of birth to death. The eleventh title of “Tasnif-i-Rangin” exhorts parents to help their children learn crafts and earn their livelihood by honest means.\(^{(21)}\)

**How the syllabus should be taught at different levels.**

In *Maqal-al-Wasiyya*’s sixth precept, Shah Wali Allah has given a view that how the syllabus should be taught at different levels. He calls it the method of instruction. It shows what order should be adopted for different levels of education. Here we are quoting the sixth precept indicating different levels.
1. **First level: language**

The method of instruction which has proved to be most effective suggests that a young student should be taught three or four small traits on Grammar and syntax. Subsequently he should be introduced to books on history and political economy (Hikmat-i-amli), using Arabic text. Moreover, he should be familiarized with the works on the Lexicon so that he may be able to understand difficult portions (of the Arabic and Persian languages).

2. **Second level: Hadith**

When a student has acquired proficiency in Arabic he should be taught the "Mawwatta" of Imam Malik and its commentary by Yahya b. Yahya of Andlus (d.234/848). This study should not be abandoned because it contains the essence of the science of tradition (Hadith). Its study offers many blessings and have attended these recitations uninterruptedly.

3. **Third level: Quran**

Then the Quran should be taught with translation but without commentaries. This difficulty is encountered in matter of syntax on the occasion of revelation or different passages of chapters of the Holy Quran.
4. **Fourth level: Tafsir.**

After learning Quran, *Tafsir-i-Jalalayn* should be learned according to the established syllabus. This method is most useful.

5. **Fifth level: Fiqh, theology and mysticism**

Subsequently, the student should be taught the books of tradition, i.e. from the sound six works of tradition and books on jurisprudence, dogmatic theology and sufism.

Then the time should be reserved for the study of works on logic, including Shah-i-Mulla and Qutbi and anything else for which God may grant a student some strength.

If it is possible one should study a portion of *Mishkat-al-Masabih* one day and its commentary by Tiybi, the next day. This practice is very useful.

**Training of the Students:**

Shah Wali Allah has not presented his views about the training of students in an organized form. As already discussed his educational thoughts basically depend upon his “Risalah-i-Danishmandi” which is the only treatise directly related to his educational theory. But it is evident that he wanted to reform all the classes of society without any distinction of classes. To him the students were the source for reformation
of the society. So he basically tried to train a number of students who could continue and disperse his reform movement and his thoughts.

Shah Wali Allah in this respect wanted to spread the knowledge of Hadith. To Shah Wali Allah the main cause of the decline which had been continued during his period fastly, was that the Muslims had become ignorant of Hadith. So his remedy for the revival and reform of the Muslim society was the diffusion and spread of the teaching of the Holy Qur'an and Hadith. For that purpose Shah Wali Allah not only wrote "Forty Hadith" but also stressed on the study of "Mawwatta" of Imam Malik and his commentaries. He himself wrote commentary on "Mawwatta" not only in Arabic but also in Persian respectively under the title of "Al-Mussawa and Al-Mussaffa" that was Shah Wali Allah's first direction for the students. It is important to note that the Holy Qur'an is the basic source of our whole life structure and deals with all aspects of life as a Holy Book of the Divine religion: Islam. In this respect Shah Wali Allah wanted to train a student wholly on the principles and doctrines of Islam. The importance of the study of Hadith can hardly be over emphasized. Addressing the scholars in this respect he wrote:

Do you not know that only the word of God and words of the Prophet are taken as commands? But the pity is that most of you decline to accept a Hadith. Whenever a Hadith is quoted, you say: "I do not act upon hadith, I conform to this or that school". The pretext you make for not conforming to the Hadith is equally silly. You say the job of understanding and to extract predictions from it can only be performed by expert
jurists. And then you contented that the Imams of Islamic law were not the persons who could have a hadith. If they had ignored a Hadith they might have done so for some reason. Let it be known to all of you that religion does not recommend this attitude. If you ought to obey your Prophet irrespective of the consideration that this command goes against or in favour of a school of thought, the Will of God is that you should follow the Qurān and the Hadith in all matters. If you find some difficulty in understanding them you can seek help from the Ulema, whose rulings are nearest to the Hadith and hence are more authentic and correct. Do you not remember that God has made it compulsory that you should spread knowledge among the masses so that Islam dominates over the lands of Islam. But, instead of doing so, you have plunged into the study of superfluities and by your practice you have made the acquiring of Islamic knowledge so big a thing that it has become almost impossible to follow Islam\(^{(22)}\).

In the "First Precept" of "Wasiyyat Nama" Shah Wali Allah, while advising in general, stresses upon the study of the Holy Quran and Hadith, stressed the harmonization of taqleed (conformity or imitation) and Ijtihad (to make fresh inquiries). In this respect he advised that a student should observe all the five basic pillars of the religion. Shah Wali Allah wrote in the first precept of "Wasiyat Nama":

In matters of faith and action, this humble person believes that one should strictly adhere to the Qur'an and Sunnah. One should always ponder over them and should study a portion daily from each. If one is unable to read them one should listen to a translation of a portion from either one of them.

In matters of faith one should follow the Sunni, classical authorities (of law i.e. madhab Qudama Ahle-i-Sunnah) except those matters which have remained unexplained and uninvestigated by the classical authorities and also avoid the immature skepticism created by speculative rationalists. Regarding the issues of positive law one should follow in the footsteps of the scholarly traditionalists who have comprehensive knowledge of Fiqh and Hadith. Also one should constantly compare the expositions of jurists with the Quran and Sunnah and accept those which conform to them. Similarly, in rejecting some of their interpretations, a constant comparison with the Qur'an and Sunnah is indispensable. In matters of speculation, the Muslim community can never be indifferent to Qur'an and Sunnah. One should disregard the polemical statements of Jurists who have committed themselves to the taqleed of a scholar and have discarded the Sunnah altogether; one should seek closeness to God by staying away from them (23).

In the third precept Shah Wali Allah stressed upon the study of Holy Qur'an and Hadith. Shah Wali Allah advised the student to have a teacher. While discussing mysticism he advised that one should study the "Kitab Awarif-al-Ma'arif" and "Risail-i-Naqsbandi". He also advised the
people and especially the students that they should remain away from the contemporary Sufis, busy in Miracles and "bida" (sinful innovations).

At the same time he recommended that one must have a Shaykh for having an authentic position. He wrote:

If the Shaykh generally affects the spiritual conditions of the people then one should constantly remain in this Shaykh’s company in order to achieve the desired condition. Subsequently, one may go into seclusion in order to remain in the state of bliss\(^{(24)}\).

Shah Wali Allah believes that a student should acquire knowledge and education from a person who should be perfect in his field. He wrote:

In the contemporary period, however, there is no shaykh commanding perfection in all matters. If he is perfect in one aspect he is deficient in another. Consequently one should learn from him things in which he has attained perfection and in other matters his counsel should be disregarded. One should accept what is clean and discard every thing that is covered with dust\(^{(25)}\).

Alongwith these, Shah Wali Allah declared the duty of a student to write a commentary or remark on the book, as a third part of "Fun-i-Danishmandi" and his studies should be examined\(^{(26)}\).
The other aspect of students' training which Shah Wali Allah's certificate indicates is that to him a student should raise questions and should enquire about the confused matters with a curiosity. He should discuss all matters openly \(^{(27)}\).

From the above discussion, we can derive the following guidelines from Shah Wali Allah for a student:

a) He should have a teacher and should spend time with him.

b) He should follow the teacher only in those matters in which he is expert.

c) He should study his syllabus carefully and with complete consideration.

d) He should remain away from the miraculous contemporary sufis and rigidity.

e) He should adopt a way in between taqleed and Ijtihad.

f) He should get a skill in "Fan-i-Danishmandi".

g) He should write comment on the book studied and should appear in the examining process created and developed by his teacher.
h) He should raise questions, develop arguments and discussions relating to the matters under discussion.

i) The last two can be called the most emphasized by Shah Wali Allah. First is that the student should be the true observer of all the Five pillars of Islam and last one is that he should learn Quran and Hadith through every available source.

These conditions and instructions point-out that Shah Wali Allah had a close eye on the matter. He guided the student not only with his syllabus and method of learning, but also warned them against the prevailing social phenomenon. In fact, Shah Wali Allah seems to be applying here his programme of reformation of society, that could stop.
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CHAPTER-V

MODERN SYSTEM OF EDUCATION (PAKISTAN) AND ITS RELEVANCE TO SHAH WALI ALLAH'S IDEAS

The existing system of education in Pakistan is a legacy inherited from the British rulers and is said to be still in the nature of an exotic plant, although continuous endeavours have been made since independence to reform and renovate the system. The Government of Pakistan committed itself to reconstruct and modernize the system of education commensurate with the emerging needs and aspirations of the sovereign independent society of Pakistan. It is amply manifest from the recommendations of the committees, commissions and conferences appointed/held from time to time for this purpose in the post-independence era.

The aims and objectives are well-conceived and properly planned. Strategy to achieve them will, by and large, determine the future shape of the system enunciated in the different education policies as summarised below:

i. Ensuring the preservation, promotion and practices of the basic ideology of Pakistan and making it a code of individual and national life.
ii. Building up national cohesion by promoting social and cultural harmony compatible with our basic ideology through the conscious use of the educational process

iii. To provide and ensure equal educational opportunities to all the citizens of Pakistan.

iv. To provide minorities with adequate facilities for their cultural and religious development enabling them to effectively participate in overall national effort.

v. To impart quality education so that the creative faculties of individuals are development and utilized in building up a welfare social order in the country.

vi. To provide a minimum acceptable level of functional literacy and fundamental education to all citizens of the country, particularly the young, to enable them to participate honourably in the productive activities of the nation.

vii. To promote and strengthen scientific, vocational and technological education, training and research in the country for ensuring self-reliance and improvement of level of living of the peoples.

The academic structure of the existing system of education in Pakistan is as under:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-Sector/Level</th>
<th>Grade/Classes</th>
<th>Years of Duration</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. Primary Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Secondary Education</td>
<td>VI-X</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Higher Secondary</td>
<td>XI-XII</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16-17</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. College Education</td>
<td>XIII-XIV</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. University Education</td>
<td>XV-XVI</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20-21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The role of basic education is to prepare the children to become useful citizens of the country and to lead a full and productive life; to play an intelligent and constructive role in the working and development of the nation in future.

2. Secondary Education/Higher Secondary Education  
(VI-X / X-XII) (Classes VI-X)  

Structure: Secondary education starts after 5th class and completes at class 10th.

It generally serves a dual purpose, and a terminal stage for a large number of students and as a preparatory stage for higher education for those who wish to continue their education further.
There are two distinguishing features of the secondary education, i.e. a reorientation towards science and diversification of programme under which there are a large number of subjects of technical and vocational nature.

3. **Higher Education (College and University level)**

Higher education caters for colleges and University education, College education starts after the Intermediate Classes at the age of 16 and lasts for two years when a student attains a degree of graduation at the age of 17 years. University education leads to the Master/Post Master degrees after graduation from the degree colleges. It normally terminates after two years for Master's degree and may extend from 3 - 5 years for earning Post Master/Doctorate Degree in any discipline which includes normal courses, research and field studies.

**Vocational and Professional Education**

The streams lead to vocational and professional degrees and diplomas. After matriculation, a student may join a College of Education and obtain Primary Teachers' Certificate after one year of study which enables him to teach at primary level. Alternately he may opt to go to a Polytechnic College and get a diploma after three years of training at a Polytechnic Institute. The B.Tech and B.Tech. (Hons) degrees are awarded after one/two years of studies after Diploma of Polytechnic. Bachelor of Education (B.T/B.Ed) is a one year programme after B.A./B.Sc.
The degrees in Medicine and Architecture are of five years programme each, while the degree in engineering is a four-year programme after intermediate which is followed by two years M.Sc. course. Bachelor of Commerce is a programme of two years duration after Intermediate Commerce followed by 2 years course of M. Com. Master of Business Administration is also awarded after 2 years Course of B.A./B.B.A. I. Com/D.Com (two years course after Matric). Bachelor of Law (LL.B.) is a two years course after B.A./B.Sc. which is followed by two years LL.M and also doctorate in Law. Bachelor of Agriculture (Hons) is four years course after Intermediate while MSc Agri. (Hons) is a two years programme after B.Sc. (Hons) Agri. Doctoral course in Agriculture is also offered. Bachelors course in Pharmacy is also offered which is now a four years course after Intermediate followed by 2 years M.Pharm. Some universities and National College of Arts offer 3/4 years Fine Arts Course after Intermediate.

**Standard and Structure**

The standard, structure, time-span of various stages, administrative pattern, curriculum trends and teachers' training programmes are vital ingredients of the system.

The standard of any system of education at a given time hinges largely upon the following four major characteristics:
1. Structure: Structure or the division of educational pyramid into different levels/stages/tiers and their inter-relationship.

2. Time: Duration of each level/stage.

3. Inputs: Extent and quality of inputs, i.e. teachers, building, curriculum, equipment, etc.

4. Operation: Extent and benefits of utilization of these essential inputs.

RELEVANCE OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM TO SHAH WALI ALLAH’S IDEAS.

It is difficult to claim that there is complete discussion on all branches of knowledge of today with Shah Wali Allah, as about two and a half here centuries have passed and the world has passed through a lot of revolutions in all walks of life. New direction have been found out and new information is being flooded every day. However, the main ingredients of social order and acquisition of knowledge remain all the time the same. The realities and eternal truth never changes.

The shape and mechanism of information changes. New discoveries do have effect on social-economic pattern, but values remain the same. Technological exploitations no doubt facilitates the life pattern
and provides comforts in living; awareness about unknown facts through experimentations. However, basic social order remains un-changed.

**COMPARISON.**

Basic objectives of Shah Wali Allah Philosophy can be categorised as:

1. Knowledge can never be stagnant, the quest for inquiry and research continues at all stages of life.

2. There are two main ingredients of knowledge viz; (1) Revealed knowledge (2) Acquired knowledge. Revealed knowledge takes care especially of moral and spiritual aspect of life whereas acquired knowledge meets the day-to-day requirements of life.

3. The social life continues to flourish and requires the knowledge to be developed to meet the challenges of life.

4. Knowledge cannot develop in isolation. It requires interaction of all segments of society.

5. Investigation to continue to unearth and discover the realities of life and truth of nature as the knowledge develops.
Realities of life become enlightened and proved through experimentation and practical orientation.

Major concepts which constitute the main core of Shah Wail Allah's Philosophy of Education, also found in almost all the philosophies of the world, are:

i. Critical analysis of facts, to derive principles through experimentation. Quest for inquiry and research. Nothing to accept without testination and proper judgement and investigation.

ii. Reforming politics, economics, religious thoughts and social life of common man. through education.

iii. To prepare hard core of people to spread the education.

iv. Learn new information through experience and observation.

v. Categorisation of knowledge into selected specialities.

vi. Social life prospers, if continues to act on investigation of the innovative methods and new horizon of knowledge to met extended requirements...and;
to meet necessities of life.

to improve the manners of getting the necessities.

to devise rules/procedures of social life.

terelectionship with society.

to form a political system suitable to the temperament of Society.

After review of various modern systems and philosophies of education, we can conclude that objects and concepts of these philosophies, in fact, are deeply related to the philosophy of Shah Wali Allah. As a matter of fact, we find in Shah Wali Allah, the conceptual base for development of any modern educational philosophy.

As already said, critical review of various modern philosophies of education depict the following essential and common features:

1. To faster respected ideological and conceptual development and inculcate the spirit of ethical, moral religious values among the children.

2. Appreciation of ethical, moral and religious values, as well as truth and goodness.
3. Provide opportunity to learn knowledge and skills required for future life and occupation.

4. Provide type of education best suited to the capacities and interest of the pupil.

5. Equal access of all segments of society to education.


7. All round development of man.

8. Prepare youth for critical and innovatory skills.

9. Relationship with study and life.

10. To eradicate illiteracy

11. To meet manpower requirements, impart necessary skills.

12. To teach various languages.

13. To impart education to improve economy.

14. To produce trained manpower, and expand scientific and technical knowledge.
15. To raise living standard through education.

16. To make education responsive to specific needs of the country.

17. Provision of social needs as well as promote social philosophy.

18. Promote national unity through social, cultural, economic and political development.

The standards for imparting education and division into various stages/levels of knowledge, selected to be imparted, more or less resemble, with minor variations, to suit local requirements.
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CHAPTER-VI

CONCLUSION

Precisely taken Shah Wali Allah is one of the few intellectuals of the Muslim History who is recognised as great Muslim thinker throughout the world. Almost all of his works which were not in Arabic have been translated into Arabic. His *Hujjat Allah al-Baligha* has been published in Paris with French translation. *Hujjat Allah al Baligha* has been prescribed as a reference book in Madina University. *Hizgalat al-Khafa al-Fauz al-Kabir* and *al-Badr al-Bazighah* are read with admiration throughout the Muslim world. Similarly his other works are looked with great respect.

Shah Wali Allah's influence, through his works, was quite widespread and penetrating. He revolutionized the philosophical, political, social, and economic ideas within the framework of Islam. There is hardly any modern scholar of repute in the Muslim world who has worked on Fiqh and Hadith and has not quoted Shah Wali Allah in support of his contention. To Iqbal he was the first Muslim to feel the urge for rethinking the whole system of Islam without in any way breaking away from its past.

Shah Wali Allah laid the foundation of a system of education, which in the later stage became the stepping stone for establishment of grand institutions like Aligarh and Deoband.
He not only applied rationale and researcher's approach to religion, but in all walks of life. He believes that of all the knowledge, the knowledge of 'Asrar-e-Din' is of great importance with him, wherein the 'Hikmat' of the ordained the features of practical implications have been explained. By the dint of this knowledge, the man of God is endowed with a vision of such a physician who gives poison to a patient and he does not refuse and get cured. It was recalled that without investigation and inquiry, the knowledge remain incomplete\(^{(1)}\).

Though, it is difficult to claim that there is complete discussion on all the branches of knowledge of today with Shah Wali Allah, as about two and a half centuries have passed and the world has passed through a lot of revolutions in all walks of life; new directions in the knowledge have been found and new ways have been carved. The flow of information is being flooded so much every day which changes the entire pattern of life of yesterday. However, there is no doubt about the fact that Shah Wali Allah's Philosophy provides a base for the social order which covers the entire canvas of life of which, one of the branches is the education. He made a break-through to snare the frozen ideas about the knowledge and life. The concepts which he devised will remain the base for finding out the realities of the eternal truth and ideas as well as a foundation for development of a complete social order from the core of knowledge.

These concepts are still serving as a guiding source for development of a viable system of education for the times to come.\(^{(2)}\)
His main contribution in the field of education was that he brought out the knowledge and people, who are responsible for its delivery, from a stagnant pond towards fresh water stream. The purpose of knowledge became the discovery and investigation of new ways and means to make the life more easy and responsible, instead of following blindly the beaten track of Unani Hukama. He was very much impressed with the writings of Ibne-Taymia.\(^{(3)}\)

He gave the message that man learns new information through his experience and observation. He can apply this to his knowledge and made new discoveries. He encouraged critical analysis of the facts to derive principles through experimentation and make changes in the prevalent laws to accommodate changed requirements and to achieve the objectives. This provided a fresh life in the system of education and opened the doors of thinking and discussions and paved the way for development of the mankind.\(^{(4)}\)

Shah Wali Allah has categorized the elite groups who discover the realities of the universe as under:

a) Experts in Physiology (Scientists)

b) Philosophers

c) Religious Scholars
Every one explains the concept in his domain which is interrelated to the other. All the knowledge is, however, integrated and all the segments work together.

Shah has devised the method of experiment and observation to investigate the social problems. He believes in finding out the secrets of the nature through this method. He believes in evolution of human mind.

He says that the quest for knowledge has been implanted in the nature of man. He takes it as a source to reach the climax of man’s achievements and to achieve the desired objectives. Shah says that man’s nature is the greatest teacher to teach him the better ways to live his life. It keeps him busy to find out new ways and experiments to discover the realities of the universe and to invent more and more things to make his life more comfortable. It keeps on developing with the passage of time.

Shah has divided the social life into four stages:

i. First stage is to meet the necessities of life, like food, shelter and life partner.

ii. In second stage a man tries to get these things in an improved manner. He tries to keep such requirements under a social order binded with moralities. To achieve the goals, he devises the rules and procedures of relationships with family and society, and for socio-economic activities.
iii. In the third stage he develops inter-relationship with other groups of society and develops associations with them.

iv. At the fourth stage, small groups form a political system to face the outside forces.

All these segments can prosper if they continue to act on investigation of the innovative methods and new horizons of knowledge to meet he extended requirements. Hence the system does not become stagnant and it continues to flourish to meet the challenges of life.

These factors clearly give evidence that the system and philosophy of Shah Wali Allah's education is based on the following main objectives:

1. The social life continues to flourish and requires that the knowledge should also be continued to be developed and expanded to meet the challenges of life.

2. Knowledge can never be stagnant. The quest of Research and Inquiry continues at all stages of life.

3. There are two main groups of knowledge, i.e. revealed and acquired knowledge. Revealed knowledge takes care of the moral, spiritual aspect of life, whereas acquired knowledge meets the requirement of necessities of life.
4. The knowledge can not develop in isolation. It requires interaction through all segments of the society.

5. Investigation to continue to unearth and discover the realities of life and truth of nature, as the knowledge develops, realities become enlightened and proved through experimentation and practical orientation.

Shah Wali Allah's period, as a matter of facts, is a period when the classic pattern of islamic education had declined. Alongwith the decline in standards of education in the Muslim Madrassas, the peoples urge for education had also declined. According to Shah, the decline in the interest for knowledge was basically responsible for decline of Muslim power in South Asia. He worked very hard to again raise the standards of education in the 18th Century.

His pattern to impart education was to inculcate in students, the spirit of inquiry alongside the learning and understanding of Quran and Hadith and other Arabic literature. This developed in students the sense of inquisitiveness. The old pattern of blindly following the right or wrong concepts was kept aside. The students became real researchers and there developed a strength for finding out solutions of day to day problems and the realities of nature with the help of knowledge inculcated through spirit of inquiry. This paved the path for determination and further investigation of the eternal truths in the universe.\(^{(5)}\)
The Philosophy of Education of Shah Wali Allah is in fact imbibed with the spirit of inquiry, personal development and public information.\(^6\)

The Philosophy he introduced was to study original sources of knowledge and set out the tradition of critical thinking, instead of following the beaten track of centuries. He produced a core of Ulema with specialization in each distinct discipline who in turn further disseminated the knowledge.

Main concepts which constitute the main core of Shah Wali Allah’s Philosophy of education which we also find relevant to our modern system can be categorised as:

1. Critical analysis of facts to derive principles through experimentation. Quest for inquiry and research. Nothing to accept without testination and proper judgement and investigation.

2. Reforming politics, economics, religious thoughts and social life of common man, through education.

3. Institutionalization of education to prepare hard core of ulema to spread the education.

4. Learn new information through experience and observation, also investigate social problems through this method.
5. Categorization of knowledge into selected specialities.

6. Social life prospers, if continues to act on investigation of the innovative methods and new horizons of knowledge to meet extended requirements; and

- To meet necessities of life.
- To improve the manners of getting the necessities
- To devise rules/procedures of social life.
- Inter-relationship with society
- To form a political system to face the out-side forces.

After review of various modern systems and philosophies of education, we can reach to the conclusion that objects and concepts of these philosophies in fact inherit the spirit of the philosophy of Shah Wali Allah. We find in Shah Wali Allah, the conceptual base for development of any modern educational philosophy.

As already said, critical review of various modern philosophies of education reveal the following essential and common features, the roots of which we find in Shah Wali Allah’s Philosophy of education.
1. To foster respected ideological and conceptual development and inculcate the spirit of ethical, moral religious values among the children.

2. Appreciation of ethical, moral and religious values, as well as truth and goodness.

3. Provide opportunity to learn knowledge and skills required for future life and occupation.

4. Provide type of education best suited to the capacities and interest of the pupil.

5. Equal access of all segments of society to education.

6. Well being and progress of individual pupils.

7. All round development of man.

8. Prepare youth for critical and innovatory skills.

9. Relationship with study and life.

10. To eradicate illiteracy

11. To meet manpower requirements, impart necessary skills.
12. To teach various languages.

13. To impart education to improve economy.

14. To produce trained manpower, and expand scientific technical knowledge.

15. To raise living standard through education.

16. To make education responsive to specific needs of the country.

17. Provision of social needs as well as promote social philosophy.

18. Promote national unity through social, cultural, economic and political development.

The standards for imparting education and division into various stages and levels of knowledge, selected to be imparted, more or less resemble, with minor variations, to suit local requirements. This thinking is very close to the modern approach towards education and training of the children and the youth.
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