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DISPLACEMENT OF SHAH WALIULLAH'S MOVEMENT AND ITS IMPACT ON NORTHERN INDIAN MUSLIM REVIVALIST THOUGHTS

This study highlights the features of Shah Waliullah's Movement with particular reference to its *maqulati* tradition.[i] It will delineate his endeavors to synthesize the *Wajudi* and *Shahudi*[ii] doctrines of Islam in order to 'expurgate not to expunge Sufism.' His philosophical expositions imbued in indigenous rationality. Another conspicuous feature of *maqulati* tradition of Shah Waliullah which this study seeks to highlight is its emphasis on *Maslak-i-Aust* in the matters of *fiqh*. The other peculiar aspect is his efforts to minimize Shia-Sunni differences through his writings. By adopting western technologies such as print culture, missionary style of preaching through tracts and *munazara* tactics, the Sufis were marginalized by the exponents of puritanical movements and *Shahudi* character of Islam overwhelmed *Wajudi* ideology. Those who claimed that they followed the path of Waliullah had distanced from the centrality of this movement.

Salient Traits of Waliullah's Movement

1

In the early eighteenth century, the disintegration of Muslim political power led to the emergence of various autonomous and semi-autonomous states in the subcontinent which later became independent after seceding from the empire. This political decline was all pervasive and it soon began to permeate the other spheres of society intensifying the fears of religious collapse after political decline.[iii] Amid these circumstances Shah Waliullah embarked upon the mission of 'Muslim revivalism what he called a divine mission' by narrating a *kashif* in his famous work, *Hujjat Ullah Ulbaligah*.

"One day I sat attentive to Allah after *Asar* Prayers, when suddenly the soul of the Holy Prophet appeared; it covered me so that I felt that I was covered with a cloth.

At that time I felt light in my chest which gradually increased. After this when I was in Mecca, I dreamed that Imam Hasan and Imam Hussain (grandsons of the Holy Prophet) bestowed me a pen and said that it was the pen of our grandfather (Muhammad PBUH)."[iv]

After very thoroughly analyzing the causes of Muslim decline he set himself to the task of reforming the Muslim society. Peter Hardy contends that the period of Muslim ascendancy in medieval India the Muslim theologians looked towards king and nobility to preserve the glory and grandeur of Islam. Therefore they believed that by reforming high hierarchy, decline and degeneration could be stalled. He further opines that "the temporal fortunes of Islam had appeared to Muslims to depend in the medieval period upon a tacit partnership between pious sultan and pious scholars…Shah Waliullah helped to prepare the scholars to defend Islam in India in a situation where Muslims were losing the physical power to do so."[v]

On the other hand Francis Robinson is of the view that amid the decline of Muslim power, the Muslim theologians changed their strategy and embarked upon the reformist mission by equipping Muslims sufficient knowledge to reform the society so that it might be sustained without political power. While highlighting the main planks of their strategy, Robinson maintains that it was "to place on the individual Muslim conscience the burden of responsibility for creating an Islamic society and give him or her knowledge to enable them to do so."[vi]

In this backdrop Shah Waliullah pursued the mission to reform the society and the most appropriate way of doing this was to translate the Holy Quran in the Persian (indigenous) language as to make its teachings comprehensible to the common Muslims. [vii]

This was only one dimension of the multi-pronged strategy pursued by Shah Waliullah. The underlying consideration behind this policy was to initiate ordinary Muslims into the main themes of Quran enabling them to comprehend the tenets of Islam according to their faculties of reason. This theme was the common dominator behind all his efforts of revival and reform.

In this perspective the crux of these vigorous attempts may be described as the inculcation of *maqulati* tradition.[viii] This constitutes most distinguishing aspect of his movement. What the theologians before Shah Waliullah emphasized was the *manqulat*. Without de-emphasizing the significance of "*manqulat*" what Shah Waliullah attempted was to promote *maqulat i.*e. interpretations based on rational interpretation of Islamic texts grounded in Quran,

Tradition of the Prophet and works of Imams which constitute the four schools of thought (Imam Abu Hanifa, Imam Malik, Imam Shafi and Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal).[ix]

This *maqulati* aspect of Shah Waliullah's movement is also highlighted by Barbra Daly Metcalf. She alludes that Shah Waliullah 'wanted both the sources (*maqulat* and *manqulat)* and his interpretations of them readily available to the whole educated class, not only to the ulama.'[x] The *maqulati* traits of Shah Waliullah's mission may be discerned from his teachings. The Muslim ulama before Shah Waliullah only emphasized the need of reading of Arabic texts of the Quran. Shah Waliullah translated Quran in Persian as to make it comprehensible for the understanding of both elites and masses. He was of the view that Holy Quran should be studied without commentary. Besides this he also devised some methods to arrive at better understanding of Quran. For a correct approach towards the study of Quran Shah Waliullah composed a treatise *al-Fauz-ul-Kabir fi usul-i-tafsir.*[xi] This Persian composition is considered unique in itself. In this work he laid down the principles to be followed in the study of Quran. His other writings on this subject included; *Fateh al-Khabir*, *Fateh-ur-Rehman* and *Muqadima fi Qawanin-ul-Tarjama.*[xii]

In order to enhance the understanding of Muslims towards Quran Shah Waliullah did not write any *tafsir* of the Holy Quran. In his opinion it was necessary to understand literal meaning of original scripture (Holy Quran). But for future exegesis, he wrote *Fauz-ul-Kabir*. He commented that when the door to the understanding of the book of Allah was opened to me, I wished that I could write a book giving useful points which might help the people in the comprehension of the Quran. I hope, with the grace of God, that after these points are understood, a wide road will be opened towards the comprehension of the meaning of the Book of Allah.[xiii]

II

Of all major works *Hujjat-Ullah al-Balighah* is the unique writing on the subject of Tradition (of Holy Prophet) as it covers a variety of themes ranging from exposition of the basic tenets of Islam and their benefits for practicing Muslims to the principles of Islamic governance. This book also reflects his thorough understanding of jurisprudence and *fiqh*. Sayyid Athar Abbas Rizvi opines that in *Hujjat Ullah al-Baligah* Shah urged that the time was ripe to present the *Sharia* in the light of demonstrative proof at

the same time rejecting the Greek and Babylonian philosophical traditions.[xiv]

All his writings on Holy Quran, Hadith, *Fiqh*, Mysticism, Muslim Philosophy and *Illmulkalam* and Shia-Sunni controversy reflect inclination towards *maqulat* i.e. reasoning based on purely Islamic tradition. Through his work on *maqulat*, he wanted to chart a new course of Muslim revivalism. His translation of Quran *Fateh-ur-Rehman* is the first translation of the Holy Quran in Persian.[xv] This to some extent broke the monopoly of the traditional Ulama. This also encouraged educated Muslims to study the Holy Quran on the broader scale directly without relying on the secondary and tertiary means such as *tafsir* (commentary). The basic scriptures now became accessible to masses.

Shaikh Muhammad Ikram appreciated Shah Waliullah's contribution.

"A task to which Shah Waliullah set himself early in life was the diffusion of the knowledge of the Quran. His most memorable contribution in this field was his translation of the Quran which he completed within five years of his return from Arabia."[xvi]

He tried to interpret Islam in the light of reason and provided the rational interpretation of miracles. For instance he has cited the event of Moses passage through river in his book *Tawil-al-Ahadith*.

"When Moses reached at the river, God sent a very fast air which split one part of the river and made it dry. In such a way God saved *Bani Israeli* and *pharon* was drowned with his followers."[xvii]

Rationalism (*Maqulat*) is the feature of Shah Waliullah's philosophy which seeks to ascribe material causes of miracles. For instance while interpreting the miracle of Moses relating to the sprouting of twelve springs Shah Waliullah argues that these springs sprouted because "Mose hit those stones that had water beneath them and twelve springs sprouted."[xviii] Shah Waliullah while describing the event of the punishment given to *Bani Israel* explains that:

"In the period of Hazrat Daud, people ate fishes which changed their appearance as hair grew on their bodies. Shah Waliullah attributed this phenomenon to the eating of poisonous fish."[xix]

While relating the event of splitting the moon, Shah Waliullah in his book *Tawil-al-Ahadith* says, "may be it was due to smoke or

like *Shihab-i-Saqib* or may be due to eclipse of moon."[xx] He never accepted anything without substantial evidence based on reason and tradition as he believed that reason dominates all other beastly faculties in a true Muslim. Such a man completely submits to God's commands and never violates shariat.[xxi] In his book the *Tawil-al-Ahadith* Shah Waliullah maintains that "miracles are in fact ordinary incidents which appear to be unusual happenings because their cases are either obscure or rare or unfamiliar to the common men."[xxii]

Describing his metaphysical views and rational thinking about the punishment of the grave, he says that "about the punishment in graves by snakes, there are three conditions. One is that one can not see because he is not capable of, second is that one believes that the sleeping person may have been bitten by snakes while third is that one knows that it is the poison of snakes, not snakes that hurt. All these dreadful things become harmful at the time of death. Their harms are like the pains of snake biting while snakes are not actually there."[xxiii]

This meant that his mind was very rational, scientific and eclectic as he argued scientifically and metaphysically as well. Shah Waliullah tried to synthesis four schools of Muslim theologians which gradually developed since 3rd century Hijra. These included:

i.   The theological school of Jurisprudence and its main exponent was Ibn-i-Tayymiya.[xxiv]

ii.   The *Asharites*, its philosophy was mainly developed by Ghazali.

iii.   *Mutazillites* who interpreted Islam on pure reason.

iv.   Fourth tradition may be attributed to mystics who envisioned and explained Islamic teachings within the paradigm of *Wajudi* and *Shahudi* doctrines. [xxv]

Instead of blindly following one school of thought Shah Waliullah's maqulati tradition ingeniously synthesized these four schools of thought. A critical analysis of his maqulati tradition brings to light two strands of his thought i.e. spiritualism and rationality, the former defies any rationalistic explanation as it lies beyond premises of reasons and the later rests upon comprehension of phenomenon through rationality. [xxvi]

In his book *Lamat* Shah Waliullah approached the concept of 'Being' on the basis of rationality.[xxvii] On the issue of Prophetology he negates the acquiring of the Prophethood by mediation. "*Nabuwat* is not something which could be acquired

through bodily and spiritual gymnastic."[xxviii] Shah Waliullah regretted that the Muslims ignored the realities of this world. In his book *Hujjat Ullah Balighah* he has tried to interpret *asrar-i-din* i.e. religious injunctions on the basis of rationalistic criteria and highlighted benefits of religious obligations for the individuals and society. The main themes discussed in this book are *asrar-i-namaz*, *asrar-i-Zakat* and *asrar-i-roza*.[xxix] He also uses the term *irtifaqat*[xxx] (beneficent). The theory of *Irtifaqat* is found in almost all of his books which shed light on the problems of virtue and vice and the progress of the society and its decline. He used *irtifaqat* in universal sense and applied it to the human secrets because human were inclined towards nature and were interdependent. Therefore the biological and psychological structure of man required society and association with others for development, preservation and survival. By the same implication it meant that no philosophical or scientific system was complete without due consideration of society, its formation, development and administration. Shah Waliullah also elucidated the four stages of irtifaqat.[xxxi] He developed this theory exclusively on rational basis.

Similarly in the matters of jurisprudence he adopted a way of conciliation and compromise in dealing with the controversy regarding jurisprudence. He acquired sufficient smattering over the all four schools of jurisprudence during his stay in *Harmain Sharifain*. He wanted to be *Mujtahid* in all the four school of *fiqh*.[xxxii] His books on jurisprudence included: *Al Insaf fi Bian-ul Ikhtilaf*, *Tafhimat-I-Elahiya*, *Al-Musaffa*, *Hujjat-Ullah al-Balighah* and *Iqd-al-Jid fi Ahqamul Ijtihad wa-taqlid*.[xxxiii] In the matters of fiqh he followed a moderate and conciliatory approach. He concluded that there was no strife in the early days of the development of Jurisprudence while with the passages of time geographical specificity and some other factors gave rise to the prejudices.[xxxiv]

While giving his opinion in the matters of Jurisprudence he kept in his mind the opinions of all the four *Imams* of *fiqh*. In his opinion by having recourse to two schools *Hanfi* and *Shafai* the differences among Muslims could be resolved.[xxxv] If there were certain difficulties then one may have recourse to credible Hadith.[xxxvi] He also wrote against the blind *taqlid* (imitation) of a certain school and tried to create independent thinking (*ijtihad*) among the ulama. Manazar Ahsan Gilani writes that Shah Waliullah by expressing his opinion that all the *masalak* are on *haqq* (right path) tried his utmost to negate all the traditions potentially leading to the differences in *fiqh*.[xxxvii] He used *tatbiq* to synthesis various approaches.

III

He also endeavoured to minimize the differences between Sunni and Shia sects. He vehemently condemned those who termed other Muslims as *kafir* (infidel) as he considered this practice entails hazardous potential for Muslim society. Unlike Mujaddid Alaf Sani (1564-1624) who termed Shias as infidel Shah Waliullah attempted to de-emphasize the differences by writing *Isalat-al-Khifa un Khilafat-al-Khulafa* and *Qurrat-al-aynayn fi tafdil-al-Shaykhyn*. Through these books he tried to conciliate between Shias and Sunnis.[xxxviii] It would not be out of context to cite a reference of Shah Abdul Aziz (1746-1824) which is provided by Manazar Ahsan Gilani that someone enq

uired from Shah Waliullah whether the Shias were *kafir*. He maintained the different viewpoints among the *Hanafi* School of thought on the subject. The man was not satisfied and urged Shah Waliullah to give his own opinion. While getting the same answer he went away filled with rage and stated that Shah Waliullah was himself a Shia.[xxxix]

In his book *Fauz-ul-Harmain* Shah Waliullah claimed that he instinctively considered Hazrat Ali superior to first three caliphs but Prophet Muhammad had advised him in a revelation to adopt the belief of superiority of *Shakhain* (Abu Bakr and Umar).[xl] It is true that he did not justify Shia's beliefs about the Caliphate. As a reformer his task was to reinterpret Islamic values without breaking with the past. He attributed the miserable plight of Indian Muslims to the dissension of Muslim nobility was on ethnic and sectarian lines. Shah Waliullah was among those who felt the need of infuse a new spirit among Indian Muslims.

S.M. Ikram contends that:

'In particular he [Shah] worked hard and wrote numerous bulky volumes to bring Shia-Sunni dispute to a level where they would cease to be a menace to the corporate life of Muslim India. He ably expounded and defended the Sunni point of view but unlike the Mujaddid who held Shia to be *kafir* and deserving of capital punishment, he [Shah] adopted a far more liberal attitude towards them.'[xli]

IV

The core feature of Waliullahi movement was to expurgate Sufism not to expunge it. Shah Waliullah himself states

in *Tafhimat* that the Sufis who do not possess sufficient knowledge of the Quran and the Tradition are, in reality, the robbers and thieves of religion.[xlii] Shah Waliullah strongly challenged the practices at shrines like worship and sacrifice of animals. He declared himself the *Mujaddid* of 18th country and he was entrusted the task to purge the Muslim society of evils which had crept into the religion.

Aziz Ahmad describes that Shah Waliullah pointed out that the era of Prophetic revelations was followed by the age of mystic revelations beginning with Ali and reaching its culmination in the writings of Ibn-al-Arabi (560-638A.H).[xliii] There was controversy among Sufis pertaining the ideas of *Wahdat-ul-Wajud*[xliv] (ontological monism or Unity of Being) and *Wahdat-ul-Shahud*[xlv] (phenomenology or Unity of Appearances). The originator of *Wahdat-ul-wajud* was Ibn-al-Arabi, a well know Spanish mystic while Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi Mujaddid Alaf Sani was the propagator of *Wahdat-ul-Shahud*. In the days of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, the environment was dominated by the followers of *Wahdat-ul-Wajud*. No one denied *Wahdat al-Wajud* of Ibn-al-Arabi but Ulama-i-Zahir. Shaikh Ahmad was the only Sufi who challenged the concept of *Wahdat-al-Wajud*. Although Mujaddid opposed the theory of Shaikh Ibn-al-Arabi yet he considered that the Shaikh was a beloved of Allah. Shah Waliullah himself appreciated Ibn-al-Arabi. Shah Waliullah arrived at the conclusion that both the doctrines of *Wahdat-ul-Wajud* and *Wahdat-ul-Shahud* could have same or different interpretation. They looked similar in one respect and were quite different in others.[xlvi] Shah Waliullah held Ibn-al-Arabi in high esteem by describing him the *khatam* and *fateh* of his era.[xlvii] He used *tatbiq* to conciliate the differences between the *Wajudi* and *Shahudi* philosophies.

Following the approaches of Shah Waliullah a Muslim mystic of later period Pir Mehr Ali Shah Golrvi (1856-1937) is regarded as a great protagonist of *Wajudi* doctrine and has written in his '*Malfuzat-I-Mehria*' that the misconception regarding Ibn-al-Arabi can only be attributed to the non-accessibility to his works completely.[xlviii] Shah Waliullah argued in his *Maktubat-i-Madni* that *Wahdat-ul-Wajud* is true through *kashif* and reason. No sensible man can deny this fact. Mujaddid opposed Shaikh Akbar Ibn-al-Arabi but the opposition lacked sound logic.[xlix]

Having a critical analysis of the both doctrines, Shah Waliullah came to the conclusion that there was no reasonable difference in these ideas. The theory of *Wahdat-ul-Shahud* existed in the doctrine of *Wahdat-al-Wajud*.[1] The assertion of Mujaddid Alf Sani was limited to organize Muslims around Sunni cult.[li]

Unlike Mujaddid Alf Thani Shah Waliullah played the role of a bridge builder between saints and orthodox ulama.

As Manazar Ahsan Gilani contends that by giving pure Islamic interpretation of problem in *Tasawaf* Shah Waliullah had minimized the resentment of *mullahs* against the Sufis.[lii]

Barbara Metcalf maintains that Shah Waliullah was the personality who possessed both the qualities of saint and *alim*.[liii] He introduced many reforms in different branches of knowledge. She further argues that 'He claimed to have created a synthesis beyond even that of Al-Ghazali (1057-1111) uniting not only reasons (*aql*) and tradition (*naqal*) but the gnosis (*Ma'rifat*) of the Sufi as well.'[liv]

In 1762 Shah Waliullah died. The most conspicuous feature of his thought was that it presented a unique blend of mystical speculations, rationalism prophetic energy, common sense, *ijtihad*, politics and economic conditions in a strange way. His versatility and command over various discipline of religious scholarship is amply demonstrated by his writings on *fiqh*, ethics, and re-interpretation of Hadith and all writings that were based on through reasoning.

Manazar Ahsan Gilani asserted that Shah Waliullah succeeded in understanding *Maslak-i-Aust*, which resulted in the preservation of *fiqh, tasawaf*, old *Illmulklam* and consequently led to rebirth of modern *Illmulkalam*.[lv] He attempted to synthesis religion and rational sciences and attempted to remove the rationalist's doubt about the truthfulness of religion. Jalbani is of the view that"in the knowledge of the natural philosophy and Godhead Shah Waliullah excelled both Farabi (870-950) and Ibn Sina (980-1037)."[lvi]

Maulana Mahdudi (1903-1979) acknowledging Shah Waliullah's original contribution maintains that the works on this topic had indeed been attempted by some earlier Muslim scholars but judging them by their contents they were not inspired by Islam rather they were motivated by Greek, Roman, Persian and Indian influences. A. D. Muztar in his book entitled *Shah Waliullah* credits him of laying the foundations of philosophy of Islam as a distinguished branch of philosophy.[lvii] Saeeda Iqbal has made comparison between Shah Waliullah and Descartes (1596-1650) in terms of their influence on Muslim and European philosophical thoughts respectively. She opines that "he occupied the same position in the re-awakening of Muslims, or to be precise, in the re-orientation of philosophy in Islam as that of Descartes in the modern European thought."[lviii]

Shah Waliullah's *maqulati* tradition inspired Sayyid Ahmad Khan's modernism but the former adopted purely Islamic thought as discussed by Ibn-i-Rushed (1128-1198) and Imam Ghazali while the later used modern way of thinking borrowed from the western modernity. Shah Waliullah's movement was the continuation of Islamic tradition where as later on in colonial era this continuity was broken by scholars such as Sir Sayyed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) and Chirag Ali (d.1895). Saeeda Iqbal says that"Shah Waliullah formed the bridge between medieval and modern Islam in India and was the source of all later thought-systems of Muslim India."[lix]

Trevor Ling a western Oriental acknowledges the contributions of Shah Waliullah in these words:

"He (Shah) was responsible for a reformulation of Islam on a broader basis than that of the traditional theology. In his system a broad humanistic sociological base is overlain by a doctrine of social and economic Justice in Islamic terms".[lx]   V

Muslim Revivalist Movement In India After Shah Waliullah

Shah Waliullah's reform efforts spearheaded a process of Islamic revivalism which led towards the reformulation of Islamic ethos in South Asia. After his demise his family carried forward his mission. His sons disseminated his teachings through Quranic translations (into Urdu) and delivering lectures in Madrasah-i-Rahimiyyah. His elder son Shah Abdul Aziz who was a reputed scholar and claimed to have smattered one hundred and fifty religious and political disciplines.[lxi] Shah Abdul Qadir (1853-1827) translated the Holy Quran into idiomatic Urdu and Shah Rafi-ud-Din (1749-1817) rendered the Holy Quran into literal Urdu. During Shah Waliullah's life time his movement mainly influenced the elite and could not penetrate into masses mainly because of his teachings could be only understood by ulama as these were steeped in profound scholarship. His sons Shah Abdul Aziz and Shah Abdul Qadir endeavoured to carry his message to masses in a language easily communicable to people. For sixty years Shah Abdul Aziz delivered his lectures in Madrasah-i-Rahimiyyah. It rendered great services for Islamic revivalism in India.

After Shah Waliullah his movement assumed two strands i.e. Scholastic and Jihadi. As regards the first dimension is concerned it influenced a large body of ulama and its offshoots later developed in the form of Deoband and Ahl-i-Hadith. The

distinguished ulama inspired by Waliullahi movement include: Muhammad Ishaq (1778-1846) Abdul Ghani Naqshbandi (1819-1878), Sayyid Nazir Hussain (1805-1902), Fazl-ur-Rehman Gangmuradabadi (1793-1895), Haji Imdad Ullah (1817-1899) and Ahmad Ali Saharanpuri.

Shah Waliullah's reform efforts also inspired the founders of Delhi College.[lxii] The prominent ulama who studied at Delhi College were Muhammad Qasim Nanutwi (1832-1880), Rashid Ahmad Gangohi (1829-1905) and Imdad Ullah Mahajir Makki. Qasim Nanutwi and Rashid Ahmad later established a modern institution at Deoband which later grew into a center for the preservation of Muslim scholarship and culture. Similarly Fraizi Movement in Bengal launched by Haji Shariat Ullah (1781-1840) was also influenced by Shah Waliullah.[lxiii]

The other dimension of this movement imbibed Jihadi tradition among certain section of its followers. This movement derived its inspiration from the reformist thrust of Shah Waliullah's teachings, the fatawa of Shah Abdul Aziz and the association of one of his grandson Shah Ismail (1781-1831) provided further boost to this movement.[lxiv] Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed (1786-1831) interpreted the fatawa of Shah Abdul Aziz by declaring India as *dar-ul-harb*.[lxv] It was launched to build a state modeled on early Muslim caliphate. Sayyid Ahmad had preached throughout the Genetic Plain drawing supporters from among hard pressed Muslim weavers and artisans.[lxvi] Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed was the founder of this movement. Shah Ismail compiled his sayings in two books entitled *Sirat al-mustaqim* and *Taqwiat-ul-Iman*.[lxvii] These books were written to initiate the ordinary Muslims into the basic teachings of Islam.[lxviii]

The Mujahideen continued their struggle even after the martyrdom of their two main leaders Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed and Shah Ismail Shaheed in the battle of Balakot (1831). Afterwards, it split into two factions.[lxix] The main faction which was turned towards religious reform efforts led by the adherents of Shah Waliullah and Shah Abdul Aziz, while the other preferred armed resistance under Wilayat Ali and Inayat Ali and made Sittana its bastion.[lxx] These Mujahideen sided with Afghans during the first Anglo-Afghan war 1839-42.[lxxi] According to Kenneth W. Jones this movement directly threatened the British rule.[lxxii] The first direct encounter of Mujahideen of Sittana and the British took place at Kotla in 1852.[lxxiii] The Mujahideen also participated in the War of Independence to throw off the yoke of British domination. In 1858 British tried to suppress the Mujahideen of Sittana by launching a military operation which destroyed the town.

However, the Mujahideen survived and once again re-grouped themselves. During 1862-69 British dispatched three expeditions to crush the Mujahideen. After their decisive defeat in encounter with British, their resistance finally broke down and Jihad Movement came to an end. Jihad Movement inculcated amongst the Muslims of India a sense of collective Ummah by establishing the superiority of *Sharia* over the *tasawaf*.[lxxiv]

Displacement of Shah Waliullah's Movement

The *maqulati* traits of Shah Waliullah's Movement were displaced as a result of its collision with modernity and this invariably affected the whole process of the Muslim revival and reform. Consequently, the *maqulati* tinge of Shah Waliullah's Movement gave way to the puritanical thrust.

By the first half of the nineteenth century the British were able to bring whole of the Sub-continent under their sway. And the abortive War of Independence 1857 set the stage for the final takeover by the crown of the possession of Indian dominion. With the ascendancy of colonial control the effects of modernity began to permeate in the Indian society[lxxv] and the Muslim reform movement also could not escape the impact of this modernity.[lxxvi] Three antecedent traits of modernity went a long way towards transforming the character of Shah Waliullah's Movement. These include:

1- The western type of education and Missionary Agency.

2- Translation of scriptures into local languages.

3- Technology of printing.

As regards the first feature is concerned the western type of education served as the carrier of western rationality. It orientated the educated classes to judge religion on the basis of criteria of reason.[lxxvii] This invariably affected the syncretic tradition and led towards the growth of puritanical thrust. Moreover it also served as tool for dissemination of Orientalist discourse. Through this discourse the essentialist knowledge of India's inferiority was disseminated in order to provide justification of the British civilizing mission in India.[lxxviii] British modern scientific education brought changes in social setup. By the establishment of colleges in different parts of the country, British were able to indoctrinate western knowledge.[lxxix]

As argued by Veena Naregal:

"The dissemination of modern ideas and the restructuring of vernacular languages were thus concomitant process and any

attempt to analyze the one will inevitably consider the implication of the other. Colonial education transformed both the universe of ideas and the structures of cultural exchange and social communication."[lxxx]

With the onset of British influence in Delhi Darbar, the Missionary activities were started. An Arabic script of the *Bible* was sent to Emperor Shah Alam (r.1707-1712) by Calcutta Missionaries.[lxxxi] Missionaries were considered the first agent of modernity in India. They introduced 'printing press' in India.[lxxxii] The missionary activities in India received great boost with the establishment of evangelical Mission at Srirampur near Calcutta in the early nineteenth century.[lxxxiii] Soon after the annexation of Delhi in 1803 the Missionaries became active in the heartland of India (Gangetic Region).[lxxxiv] Mufti Intazam Ullah Shahabani in his book *East India Company Aur Baghi Ulama* depicts the real situation that as the Company's Raj was established in India, the Christian missionaries came to India. They translated English literature into Urdu. They set up printing presses at Mirzapur and Agra.[lxxxv]

The Presbyterian Church of United States of American set up a mission at Ludhiana on November 5, 1834 under John Lowrie. In 1835 this mission set up a Punjabi Press, the first of its kind in the Punjab. This press became the most active center for the production of literature of missionary character in Punjabi.[lxxxvi]

Though the colonial state professed neutrality towards the different religions practiced in India yet three factors facilitated the missionary activities. Firstly, the general populace seldom distinguished clearly between European missionary work and the British Government. Secondly there existed an Ecclesiastical Department maintaining bishops, chaplains and churches. Thirdly, individual officers were permitted to show interest in Christian work in their private capacity.[lxxxvii]

The chief exponent of evangelicalism was Charles Grant.[lxxxviii] Sekhar Bandyopadhyay has provided the crux of his views. He argued that "the principal problem of India was the religious ideas that perpetuated the ignorance of Indian people. This could be effectively changed through the dissemination of Christian light, in this lay the noble mission of British rule in India."[lxxxix] Similarly William Wilberforce also emerged as vigorous exponent of these ideas.[xc] These impulses had their reflections in the Charter act of 1813, which allowed Christian Missionaries to enter India without restrictions.[xci]

In 1833 a well known missionary Wolff under the auspices of the society for promoting Christianity among the Jews

reached Lucknow.[xcii] In those days Lord William was sympathetic to missionary causes. Due to this reason his lectures were actively learned by the British officials. He was warmly welcomed by the missionaries stayed in the Northern India.[xciii] The missionaries believed that the route of Indian progress lay in western religion and culture.[xciv]

As the missionaries extended their religious activities there developed *munazara* activity. There took place a *munazara* in Delhi between Shah Abdul Aziz, the leading *alim* of the Madrasah-i-Rahimiyyah and various unidentified *padres*.[xcv] It constitutes a prime evidence of Waliullahi Movement's encounter with modernity. The Christian Missionaries challenged ulama because they possessed insufficient knowledge of Christianity and non-accessibility of Old and New Testament. These activities led to the worsening of the communal situation.

Arvil Anon Powell writes in her book entitled *Muslims and Missionaries in Pre-Mutiny India* the effects of these activities:

"*Munazara* conducted in royal courts according to long-established adab (etiquette) would be replaced, in an atmosphere of growing unease about intrusive British policies and missionary expansion, by bitter and sometimes abusive exchanges through letters and tracts as of old, but also utilizing the new media of newspaper, articles and bazaar diatribe."[xcvi]

The situation worsened by the arrival of a Protestant German Priest Carl G. Pfander in the region of famine (Agra). He translated his book *Mizan-ul-Haqq* into Urdu and it became the main cause of counterattack by the Muslims. In this book he counted the drawbacks of Islam and Muslims.[xcvii] In order to rebut these allegations Maulana Rehmat Ullah Khan Kiranwi (1233-1308 A.H) wrote a book entitled *Ezhar-ul-Haqq (From Bible to Quran)*.[xcviii] In its preface he wrote that I the candidate of the Blessings of God Almighty, Rehmat Ullah bin Khalil-ur-Rehman is saying, that when the British Government established its strong domination in India, it set harmony and good administration, then during the first forty-three years, they did not arrange any invitation towards their religion. Then they started to persuade conversion gradually. And published books and pamphlets against Muslims and delivered among the common people in certain cities. Furthermore they started preaching and addressing in Bazaars, meetings and on the road. I requested the writer of *Mizan-ul-Haqq* for general debate. Five points (*Tahrif* of *Bible*, *Nasukh*, Trinity, Truthfulness of Quran and Prophethood of Muhammad) were to be discussed with missionaries including Pfander. My friend (Wazir

Khan) was my helper and some missionaries were supporters of the padre. By the grace of God, we got success in the first two the very complicated issues and when the padre saw his vexatious defeat, he did not dare to debate the rest of issues.[xcix] Mass conversion in the British period took place largely among the lower caste groups. The activities of the Christian Missionaries led to the conversion of certain segments of the Muslim weavers.[c] This conversion was largely due to the economic benefits. Christian missionaries did not have to enforce conversion but benefits cost something to converts.[ci] Abdul Masih (a Muslim who converted to Christianity) maintained his mission in Agra until 1825. The converts who remained firm were, according to British officials in the region, mainly poor weavers.[cii] These developments aroused Muslim concerns. Muslim Elites thought that European a big danger for the Islamic knowledge.[ciii] These made Muslim *ashraf* and scholars conscious who responded new threats of these evangelical activities of Missionaries. Thus the missionary activities proved as a catalyst in creating Muslim consciousness and the Muslim counteracted these activities by using the modern technologies such as newspapers and tracts in the retaliation of the British missionaries.

The second aspect of modernity which had its effects on the *maqulati* tradition of Shah Waliullah was the translation of scriptures into local languages. It made the religious texts easily communicable to the readers.[civ] This trend also brought changes in the textual norms and network of dissemination. As Veena Naregal very aptly points out that: "the colonial rule was able to alter textual norms, networks of patronage and dissemination and the ways in which natives described and assessed their world."[cv] It may further be argued that the translation of religious scriptures also led toward official efforts "to standardize codes and fix scripts for the native languages so as to rapidly transform indigenous textual traditions which were hitherto current mainly through oral transmission".[cvi] These developments were also instrumental in the standardization of prose in local languages as well as fixing their syntax. In this context we may cite the example of the Punjabi prose. Apart from setting up printing presses missionaries also played a curial role in the standardization of the Punjabi prose and fixing its syntax.[cvii]

In Urdu the trend towards translation started through the Quranic translation of Shah Waliullah, Shah Abdul Qadir and Shah Rafi-ud-Din.[cviii] This trend towards translation of religious scriptures received further impetus when Christian missionaries translated the Bible into Urdu.[cix] Urdu was now the language of

the common people. Acknowledging the desirability of learning Urdu, Shah Abdul Aziz advised his brothers to learn Urdu. He was fully aware of the possibilities of translation and their dissemination through the agency of print. Shah Abdul Qadir and Shah Rafi-ud-Din, sons of Shah Waliullah translated the Holy Quran in vernacular language (Urdu). Shah Abdul Aziz advised his brothers to learn Urdu.[cx]

Muslim Ulama used this new technique extensively for dissemination of religious knowledge. Every translator translated according to his own ideas. "By the 1870s edition of the Quran and other religious books were selling in tens of thousands."[cxi] Through these translation of scriptures into vernacular languages, monopoly of *ashraf* ulama was challenged.[cxii] Another important agency of modernization which affected the process of the Muslim revival and reform was the introduction of print culture. Print came to be the main forum in which religious debate was conducted. While emphasizing the significance of print culture Francis Robinson asserts that "the sources of Islam became available to increasing numbers. The monopoly of the ulama over interpretation came to be broken."[cxiii]

As far as the answer to this question that why the Muslim came to use printing is concerned three plausible explanations may be provided. First is that perhaps they felt that 'without political power Islam itself was at stake and print could be a useful tool for the purpose of defending Islam.'[cxiv] The print could have enabled them to counterpoise the propaganda of the Christian missionaries with their own tracts. Secondly, in the wake of conversion by the Christian missionaries they apprehended that through the press they could approach lower masses of the Muslims. Thirdly, they also realized that Islamic law could not be implemented without political power and in the absence of political patronage; it was through the print medium the awareness towards Islamic law could be created. The dissemination of knowledge through printing amongst Muslims may amply be gauged by the fact that during the last thirty years of the nineteenth century over seven hundred newspapers and magazines in Urdu were launched.[cxv]

The Ulama used these western and missionary techniques for the spreading of their beliefs. It was the period of tracts war. Ulama as well as common people studied for attaining knowledge of Islamic tradition and of western civilization, because it was possible by the rapid growth of print culture. All who observed the world of printing noted how Muslims understood the power of the press.[cxvi] The introduction of printing press by missionaries in India also benefited Muslim scholars like Shah Abdul Aziz for

dissemination of their books and fatawa. In this way Muslim religious and political life was fostered.[cxvii] Communication through print culture was used extensively by the Ulama of Deoband. Maulana Qasim Nanutwi had experience of the benefits of press because he had worked at the printing press of Maulana Ahmad Ali in the days of his informal study at Delhi College. He used the administrative style of Delhi College in Deoband Madrasa; for example record keeping, appointment of teachers, salary of teachers, separate building for Madrasa, hierarchy of ranks and use of modern communication media.[cxviii]

The Muslim Ulama used press for the comprehensive propagation of their ideas. This transformed the traditional system and books were easily accessible to general public. Maulana Nazir Hussain while appreciating this development maintained that "during our stay in Delhi College there were only 18 copies of *Bukhari*, and of these, generous people had divided copies into parts … When I studied *Tirmizi* from Mian Sahib (1778-1846) [Maulana Shah Muhammad Ishaq] three of us shared one copy."[cxix] The Deobandi Ulama wrote books, tracts and pamphlets for the preservation of their past culture. Qasim Nanutwi the founder of Deoband wrote about dozens of books and booklets in Urdu and Persian. He wrote some seventy-five books and booklets.[cxx]

As has been said earlier that the advent of the printing press in the sub-continent, not only instrumental in the rapid compilation and interpretation sources of Islam but it also displaced the oral tradition.[cxxi] These extensive writings on the various issues seriously affected the oral transmission of knowledge. Now it was not necessary for the seekers to meet the author. This also lowered the values of pirs and teachers and now there was no need of asking *Ijazat*.[cxxii]

Written tradition equipped people to debate and interpret Quran and Hadith with having recourse to oral tradition. Previously the *silsila of bai'at* was so common that every individual took *bai'at* and accepted the saying of his *murshid*. Now as a result of printing and modernity, Muslims reconstructed their thoughts. As maintained by Kenneth W Jones that "it was an age of definition and redefinition initiated by socio-religious movements that swept the sub-continent during the years of British Colonial rule."[cxxiii]

Printing also contributed towards this development in this manner as well that it facilitated the availability of original texts of *Hadith* and *tafsir* (exegesis) along with their translation into

vernacular languages which enabled the ulama to develop plurality of views and these started a process of dissemination and interpretation of thoughts of ulama. Now the ulama belonging to different school of thoughts began to re-interpret the Islamic norms in the light of their own judgments. Even they translated the Holy Quran according to their own ideas. Even still in the 21st century common reader turn towards ulama of their distinct sect.

Publication and translation of the original texts and *fatawa* of the Ulama were basics of the reformist-modernist movements. Primarily Muslims used press as only for revivalist purpose, but it brought some other transformation among the Muslims which were of reformist and modernist types. Usha Sanyal in *Devotional Islam and Politics in British India* is of the view that the movement of Ahmed Raza Khan was to some extent reformist, as he used the modern technologies.[cxxiv]

Printing brought revolutionary impacts in the lives of South Asian Muslims. It functioned as a dependent variable in the Islamic revivalism and reformism. They used slogans to revive Islam, to purge Islam from un-Islamic customs and *bidats* and *shirk*. It also helped in sustaining the Muslims under the foreign Christian power.[cxxv] Scriptural knowledge gave rise to puritanical thrust as like of Protestantism. This question was frequently asked "How to be a Muslim under the British Rule"? For this purpose print played its role. The printing of *fatawa* and other books like *Taqwiat-ul-iman* and *Sirat-e-Mustaqim* contributed significantly in formulating the fundamentalist beliefs and this-worldly responsibility of individual Muslims. It was an indication of formulation of a new religious identity. The Ulama were in the enterprise of defending the culture and civilization in a changing milieu. They drew their influence on the common people they had some success in building their own circle of influence.[cxxvi] Metcalf describes the crucial role of Deoband movement. Deoband was one of the movements offering an answer to its followers concerned for the preservation of their culture and the fulfillment of their individual's social and spiritual needs. Their followers valued the Deoband specifically because of its *modus vivendi* (as it did not rely on grant in aid) with the government, its defense of Islam, its commitment to moderate reform that emphasized the universality of the religion and its innovative and institutional style.[cxxvii]

The Western domination gave birth to the great revival and reform movements which saw a change of emphasis in belief and practice from a primarily other-worldly faith in which believer might expect saintly intercession for man with God, to one in which such belief was challenged.[cxxviii]

Muslim Ulama felt their responsibility to awake the Muslim consciousness. Francis Robinson argues that "the aim of revival and reform from the late 18th century, as we have already observed, was in the context of the loss of Muslim power to renew Muslim societies from below. The techniques for achieving this, as we have noted, was to place on the individual Muslim conscience the burden of responsibility for creating an Islamic society and give him or her knowledge to enable them to do so."[cxxix]

This led to the rise of Muslim puritanical movements as is manifested from the rise of *Fraizi*, *Ahl-i-Hadith* and *Deobandi* in the 19th century. Haji Shariat Ullah whose message was religious purification and his movement is known as *Faraizis*. He was influenced by Wahabi Movement of Arab during his stay in Mecca. He strongly condemned the prevailing practices of *bidats* (innovation) and *shirk*. He forbade the worship at tombs of saints and wailing at the ceremony of Imam Hussain. He turned towards scriptures. Socio-Religious movements of Hindu and Muslim strengthened religious consciousness through competition among themselves and between other groups within the same community."[cxxx]

In the last analysis it may be stressed that *maqulati* tradition of Shah Waliullah's Movement was displaced as the former collided with colonial modernity. As discussed in the first chapter that Shah Waliullah had synthesized the two different theories of Sufis but as a result of its collision with modernity its *Wajudi* traits were became increasingly marginalized and its *Shahudi* character became more visible and explicit.

It was evident from the rise of Deoband and Ahl-i-Hadith movements. The puritanical thrust of Deoband Movement has been dwelt deeply in the previous pages. Its founders and exponents condemned the urs at the shrines, intercession of saints and many other religious rituals relevant to the saints.

Maulana Rashid Ahmad Ganghohi condemned the rituals at the shrine of Shah Abdul Quddus Ganghohi at Gangoha. He wrote in his *fatawa* at the question of seeking permission to join urs ceremonies. He said that it is not right to join in any urs or *Mulud* and none of *urs* and *Mulud* is legitimate in Islam.[cxxxi]

He also banned the rituals on the third and fortieth day of death. He says that the processions started in this era like *Mulud*, *urs* and death ceremony should be given up due to sins and *bidats*.[cxxxii] In his Fatawa he forbade *Muharram* ceremony of Imam Hessian's anniversary, *Piran-i-Pir Ke giarween*, *tosha of* Shah Abdul Haqq, to serve milk in Muharram, *istianat bil ghair*, *bibi ki sahnak* and food for Khaja Khizar etc.[cxxxiii]

In medieval India Sufis were considered authority for their followers of mostly from lower masses; the deprived strata. They came to their *murshid* for salvation of their social and economic problems. Sufis preached them other-worldly virtues like *tawakl*, patience and *dkir*. But with colonial intrusion this social setup was radically transformed.[cxxxiv]

Francis Robinson maintains that:

"All ideas of intercession for man with God at saint's tombs were attacked, that is, all ideas that man might be saved in any way except through his personal effort. In the Madrasa curriculum, theology, philosophy and the triumph of medieval persianate scholarship were abandoned in favour of a growing focus on the Quran and the Tradition."[cxxxv] The authority of these saints was now challenged. The texts replaced Sufi oral traditions. The silsila of *bai'at* became weaken and Ulama occupied the seats of saints. It was the milieu when Sufis were marginalized. It strengthened the fundamental beliefs. The ulama became aware about their personal responsibilities.

Francis Robinson further opines that:

"Leading Muslim reformers of the 19th and 20th century were all actively aware of their personal responsibility for their actions on earth and all lived in fear of judgment. This was as much the case for a great Muslim modernist like Sayyid Ahmad Khan as it was for reformers in the tradition of Deoband."[cxxxvi]

Ulama tried to contact with masses for the survival of their identity and to run up their madrasas. Muhammad Qasim Zaman contends that the Ulama built up their circle of influence by using modern techniques of western civilization. Now fatawa and original texts in Arabic and Persian along with their translation were accessible to the masses. Ulama tried to preserve their tradition by establishing their own institutions.[cxxxvii]

Another conspicuous feature of the fundamentalist traits of Muslims puritanical movement was its negation of western rationality. The Deoband emerged as the most vigorous exponent of this reaction.[cxxxviii] The manner in which it criticized the reform efforts of Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan who drew inspiration from western rationality testifies to this fact. Moreover the de-emphasizing of rational sciences and exclusion of English in its syllabus also substantiates it.[cxxxix]

It won't be out of place to highlight another significant aspect of the encounter of another streak of Muslims revivalist movement with colonial modernity .This encounter produced different results as is evident from the Aligarh movement. Unlike the former (rise of puritanical movements such as Deoband ,Ahl-i-Hadith etc)

where this encounter had resulted into the displacement of Wajudi character and maqulati tradition (of Waliullah's movement) whereas in the case of later it resulted into a complete dominance of western rationality, as Aligarh came under the overwhelming influence of colonial modernity.[cxl] Sir Sayyed Ahmed Khan, the founder of Aligarh Movement was influenced by the modern type of western education and he also responded in the same way. Although the acceptance of European education and their ways of thinking started from Karamat Ali who opposed the militant form of Muslim revivalist response in Bengal and the frontiers and this modernism yet it reached its zenith in Sayyed Ahmed Khan who was very much fascinated by western modernity.[cxli] He tried to reinterpret Islam in a rational way. Sir Sayed had some connection with Shah Waliullah's movement. Sir Sayed and Qasim Nanutwi were the disciples of Mamluk Ali, who was connected with Waliullahi movement through Rashid-ud-Din a disciple of Shah Abdul Aziz.[cxlii]

In the final analysis, we may conclude that as a result of colonial modernity, the traditional Waliullahi movement adopted western technologies such as print capital, educational system, loudspeaker and telegraph for the propagation of religious ideas. It attempted to preserve Islamic culture either by counteracting these innovations or by conciliating with the western culture, as manifested by the rise of puritanical movements. Another factor which further augmented this thrust was the nature of Hindu revivalist movement which increasingly turned anti-Muslim than anti-British and led towards the intensification of communal antagonism. This process could not remain confined to UP or Northern India, it soon began to penetrate in the Punjab. Moreover, the people of the Punjab were already very receptive towards North Indian Reform Movements and modernization of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan. Thus rise of the puritanical movement in North India began to affect the syncretic tradition of Punjab.

REFERENCES

[i] *Maqulat* included the rational sciences such as logic, Mathematics, philosophy, Theology, *fiqh* and product of man's own perception whereas *manqulat* are the copies of Quran and Hadith collections

[ii] Wahdat ul Wajud was the ideology of Shaikh Ibn Arabi. It focused on the 'Unity of Being". Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi opposed this theory and formulated his own called Wahdat ul Shahud.

[iii] Peter Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 28.

[iv] Shah Waliullah, *Hujat-Ullah Ulbaligah*, (Lahore: Maqbool Academy, n.d), p. 3.

[v] Peter Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, pp. 29-30.

[vi] Francis Robinson, The Ummah in 21st century, in *Herald Weekly*, (Karachi), 108.

[vii] A. D. Muztar, *Shah Waliullah: A Saint Scholar of Muslim India*, (Lahore: Ripon Printing Press, 1979), p. 92.

[viii] He attempted to initiate Muslim community into *Shariat-e-Mustafvi* base on logic. Also see Waliullah, *Hujat-Ullah Ulbaligah*, p. 3.

[ix] Shah Waliullah used *Maqulati* as well *manqulati* methods to evaluate the rulings of the four Imams.

[x] Barbara Daly Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband 1860-1900,* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 38.

[xi] G.N Jalbani, *The Teaching of Shah Waliullah of Delhi*, (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, n.d), p. 9.

[xii] Badr-ud-Din, "Shah Waliullah Ke Dawat-i-Rajuh Ela-al-Quran-ul-Kareem," in Maulana Atau-ur-Rehman Qasmi, *Imam Shah Waliullah Aur Un Kay Afqar-o-Nazriyat,* (ed), (Lahore: Maktaba-e-Khalil, 2005), p. 209.

[xiii] Shah Waliullah, *Al-Fauz-ul-Kabir fi Usul-e-Tafsir*, (Lahore: Maktaba-i-Khawar, 1979), p. 3.

[xiv] Sayyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *Shah Waliullah and His Times,* (Canberra: Ma' rifat Publishing House, 1980), p. 229.

[xv] Muhammad Saleem Khalid in his article *Barr-e-Sagheer Mein Farsi Tafsir* in *Mahnama Zia-i-Haram* writes that 'Qazi Hamid-ud-Din Nagori translated Holy Quran into Persian. Similarly Shahbabud-Din Doulatabadi (d-849.A.H) rendered Holy Quran into Persian entitled *Tafsir Bahr-i-Mawaj* which is preserved in Kutabkhana Fazalia Garhi Afghana District Attock. He also

mentioned Khawaja Moin-ud-Din Kashmiri (d-1086 A.M) who wrote *Sharah Al-Quran* in Persian. But in 18th century such Persian translations were not available to general public.

[xvi] S. M. Ikram, "Shah Waliullah" in *A History of Freedom Movement,* Vol.1, (Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society, 1957), p. 500.

[xvii] Shah Waliullah, *Tawail-al-Ahadith fi Ramoze-i-Qasas-al-Anbia*, [urdu trans] (Hyderabad (Sindh): Academy al-Shah Waliullah Delhvi, 1969), p. 105.

[xviii] Ibid., p. 110.

[xix] Ibid., p. 126.

[xx] Ibid., p. 172.

[xxi] Jalbani, *The Teaching of Shah Waliullah of Delhi,* pp. 212-13.

[xxii] Shah Waliullah, *Tawil-ul-Ahadith*, quoted in A.D. Muztar, *Shah Waliullah: A Saint Scholar of Muslim India,* pp. 121-22.

[xxiii] Waliullah, *Hujat-Ullah Ulbaligah,* pp. 20-21.

[xxiv] Maulana Muhammad Hanif Nadvi, *Aqliat-i-Ibn-i-Tamiyya*, (Lahore: Edara-i-Saqafat-i-Islam, n.d), pp. 12-40.

[xxv] Agha Iftikhar Hussain, *Qumoo ki Shakisto-o-Zawal k Asbab*, (Lahore: Majlis-i-Taraqi-i-Adab,1999), p. 69

[xxvi] Saeeda Iqbal, *Islamic Rationalism in the Subcontinent*, (Lahore: Islamic Book Service, 1984), p. 65.

[xxvii] Shah Waliullah, *Lamaat*, [urdu tran], (Hyderabad: Shah Waliullah Academy, 1970), pp. 10-36.

[xxviii] Shah Waliullah, *Izalat-al-Khifa, Vol-1*, (Karachi: Qadimi kutab Khana, n.d), p. 37.

[xxix] Shah Waliullah did not subscribe to the notion of performing the religious duties because of Devine injunctions. He rejected this idea that the commands of religious laws were only an assertion of God's will and had no benefits. He argued in *Hujat-Ullah Ul-Balighah* that every command had an object and purpose.

[xxx] He used this particular term for the development of civilization. The term in his usage is idiosyncratic and its more precisely meanings are "civilization and its devices".

[xxxi] Barbara Metcalf argues that shah Waliullah explained four stages of development of society through *irtifaqat* which included primitive, urban,

monarchial and universal. Shah Waliullah termed it as the process of historical evolution. For Further detail see Sabih Ahmad Kamali, 'Shah Waliullah's Doctrine of *Irtifaqat'* in Muhammad Ikram Chughtai, *Shah Waliullah His Religious and Political Thoughts*, (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2005), pp. 407-20.

Also see Barbara Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India*, p. 35.

[xxxii] Shah Waliullah claimed that "I have laid the basis of *Fiqh-i-Hadith*. While describing the reality of Asrars and secrets he revealed that he had learnt these *Asrars* from the Holy Prophet (SAW). He further claimed that "I could not see anyone accomplishing this task. I have proved the beliefs of traditional Ahl-e-Sunnah by using *Brahins* and reasons." See for detail Shah Waliullah, *Infas-ul-Arifeen*, (Gujrat: Chaksada Fazl-e-Noor Academy, 1970), pp. 298-99.

[xxxiii] Jalbani, *The Teaching of Shah Waliullah*, pp. 57-81.

[xxxiv] Muztar, *Shah Waliullah: A Saint Scholar of Muslim India*, p. 97.

[xxxv] Ibid., p. 100.

[xxxvi] Ibid.

[xxxvii] Manazar Ahsan Gilani, *Tazkara-i-Shahwaliullah*, (Lahore: Naveed Publishers, 2003), p. 98.

[xxxviii] Shah Waliullah, *Izalat-al-Khifa,* pp. 8-12.

[xxxix] Gilani, *Tazkira-i-Shah Waliullah*, P-198-199. Also see Shah Abdul Aziz, *Malfuzat-i-Aziziya*, [urdu tran], (Karachi: n.d), p. 32.

[xl] Shah Waliullah, *Fauz-ul-Harmain*, (Karachi: Dar-al-Isha'at, 1994), p. 228.

[xli] S.M. Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan*, (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1965), p. 11.

[xlii] Shah Waliullah, *Tafhimat, Vol-1*, (Hyderabad (Pak): Academy Shah Waliullah), p. 200.

[xliii] Aziz Ahmed, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment,* (Lahore: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 206.

[xliv] *Wahda-ul-Wajud* theory propounded by Ibn-al-Arabi, Being is one, it is that which exists. Allah is *Asl* or the thing and the world is His *Zill* or adumbration. But this adumbration is the appearance of *Asl* or the thing. One can find his exposition of *Wahdat-ul-Wajud* theory in his books; *Fusus al-Hikm*, *Fatuhat-e-Makkiya* and *Shajrat-al-Kone*.

[xlv] The theory of *Wahdat-ul-Shuhud* was propounded by Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. He expounded that the creator can not be part of his creation. For further detail see Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi,

Maktubat-i-Imam Rabbani, [urdu tran], (Lahore: Islami kutabKhana, n.d), pp. 20-28.

[xlvi] Jalbani, *Teachings of Shah Waliullah*, p. 97.

[xlvii] Shah Waliullah, *Maktubat-i-Madni*, quoted in Mehr Ali Golrwi, *Malfuzat-i-Mehria*, (Lahore: Pakistan International Printers, 1986), p. 22. Also see Muhammad Sarwar, *Maulana Ubaid Ullah Sindhi*, (Lahore: Sindh Sagar Academy, 2002), p. 216.

[xlviii] Mehr Ali Golrwi, *Malfuzat -i-Mehria*, p. 132.

[xlix] Shah Waliullah, *Maktubat-i-Madni*, in Mukash Akbar Abadi, *Masail-i-Tasawaf*, (Lahore: Book Home, 2004), pp. 57-58.

[l] Jalbani, *The Teaching of Shah Waliullah*, p. 98.

[li] Muhammad Sarwar, *Maulana Ubaid Ullah Sindhi*, (Lahore: Sindh Sagar Academy, 2002), P-217.

[lii] Gilani, *Tazkara-i-Shah Waliullah*, p. 170.

[liii] Barbara Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India*, p. 42.

[liv] Ibid., p. 43.

[lv] Gilani, *Tazkara-i-Shah Waliullah*, p. 20.

[lvi] G. N. Jalbani, *Life of Shah Waliullah*, (Lahore; Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, n.d), p. 60.

[lvii] *Al-Furqan Shah Waliullah Number*, quoted in Muztar, *Shah Waliullah: A Saint Scholar of Muslim India*, p. 89.

[lviii] Saeeda Iqbal, *Islamic Rationalism in the Subcontinent*, p. 61.

[lix] Ibid.

[lx] Trevor Ling, *A History of Religion East and West*, (London: Macmillan, 1968), p. 379.

[lxi] Hafeez Malik, *Muslim Nationalism in India and Pakistan*, (Lahore: Peoples Publishing house, 1980), p. 139.

[lxii] Delhi College founded in 1825 and closed after the mutiny. It served as a model for ulama who tried to organize religious education.

[lxiii] Haji Shariat Ullah was influenced by the Wahabi Movement of Arab. He stayed in Hijaz about twenty years. The plight of Muslims in Bengal greatly moved him. He rejected the popular beliefs and customs held by Muslims in Bengal. He also opposed the Shia sect. He forbade the congregational prayers by declaring Bengal as *dar-ul-harb*.

[lxiv] After the annexation of Delhi and confinement of Mughal Emperor Shah Alam only to Delhi, these developments prompted

Shah Abdul Aziz to turn against British. In this backdrop, he issued the fatawa of *dar-ul-harb*. For further detail see Sayyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *Shah Abdul Aziz*: *Puritanism, Sectarian, Polemics Jihad*, (Lahore: Suhail Academy, 2004), p. 236.

[lxv] Kenneth W. Jones, *Socio Religious Reform Movements in British India,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 22.

[lxvi] Barbara Metcalf, Islamic Revival in British India, P-62. Also see *Islami Encyclopedia*, p. 119.

[lxvii] Ayesha Jalal while referring to K. M. Ashraf maintains that the followers of Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed applied the colonial government for their separate nomination as *Ahl-i-Hadith* rather than Wahabis. Due to similarities with Abdul Wahab's Movement they were described as Indian Wahabis. It is evident from the writing of Shah Ismail Shaheed's *Taqwiat-ul-Iman* that they opposed rituals (urs) at the shrines of the saints, *Tasawar-i-Shaikh*, *Bibi-ki-Sahnak* and divine authority of pirs, moreover their criticism on the practice of showing respect to tombs and reverence of pirs were the commonalities between the Wahabis and Jihadis. There were certain differences included that; Wahabis of Arabia accepted the rulings of Hanbali School whereas Jihadis adopted independent ijtihad and called as *Ghair-Muqallid*.
In Delhi there took place a debate between Shah Ismail Shaheed and Fazl-i-Haqq Khairabadi. They debated on the question of *imkan-i-Nazir*, whether God could create another Prophet of the status of Muhammad (PBUH). Shah Ismail had argued in the '*Taqwiat-ul-Iman*" that he could "Verily the power of this king of kings is so great, that in an instant, solely by pronouncing the word 'BE' he can if he like, create scores of apostles, saints, genii and angles of similar ranks to Gabriel and Muhammad. His Opponents seized on this to accuse the reformers of disrespect to the Prophet". According to the *Encyclopedia of Islam* Shah Makhsus Ullah a cousin of Shah Ismail Shaheed differed from him in several matters.

[lxviii] Waheed-uz-Zaman,"Shah Waliullah and His Impact on the Muslim Freedom Movement", *in Proceedings of National History Conference*, (Islamabad: 1973), P-79. Also see Annemarie Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent,* (Lahore: Sang-e- Meel, 2003), P-183.

[lxix] Kenneth Jones, *Socio Religious Reforms Movements in British India*, p. 55.

[lxx] Peter Hardy, The Muslims of British India, pp. 54-55.

[lxxi] T.K.Derry, *British History from 1760 to 1964*, (London: G. Bell& Sons Ltd, 1965), p. 192.

[lxxii] Kenneth Jones, *Socio Religious Reform Movements in British India,* p. 55. Also see Thomas R. Metcalf and Barbara Daly Metcalf, *Modern India: An Interpretive Anthology*, (London: Macmillan Company, 1971), p. 208. And see Ian Stephens, *Pakistan Old Country/ New Nation*, (England: Penguin Books Ltd, 1963), p. 84.

[lxxiii] Peter Hardy, The Muslims of British India, p. 55.

[lxxiv] Maulana Karamat Ali in Sayed Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi, *Tareekh-i-Dahwat-o-Azimat*, Vol.2, (Karachi: Majlis Nashriat-i-Islam, n.d), 2:529

[lxxv] Trevor Ling, *A History of Religion East and West*, (London: Macmillan, 1968), p. 335.

[lxxvi] Major Muhammad Tariq, *History of Muslims in South Asia British Period*, Vol.1 (Lahore: Utopia Printing Press, n.d), p. 548.

[lxxvii] Trevor Ling, *A History of Religion*, p. 335.

[lxxviii] Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition*, (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2004), p. 73.

[lxxix] In late 18th century several western types of institutions were established in Southern India in 1828 Delhi College was opened for the propagation of western ideas. From Calcutta to Delhi small numbers of Muslim youth were educated under the western system of education. In 1856-7 Universities of Madras, Calcutta and Bombay were opened. See also T. K. Derry, *British History from 1760 to 1964*, (London: G. Bell& Sons Ltd, 1965), p. 191.

[lxxx] Veena Naregal, *Language, Politics, Elites and Public Sphere: Western India Under Colonialism*, (London: Anthem Press, 2001), p. 58.

[lxxxi] Avril Anon Powell, *Muslims and Missionaries in Pre-Mutiny India*, (Richmond: Curson Press, 1993), p. 103.

[lxxxii] Bari Aleeg, *Company Ki Hakomat*, (Lahore: Nia Edara, 1937), p. 417.

The newspaper, *Samachar Darin*, was the first of its kind in Bangali language, started by Christian missionaries of Srirampur, during the year 1818. The writer of *Urdu Jamia Encyclopedia* indicates that the name of the first newspaper was 'Friends of India' issued from Serampur under the control of Christian missionaries. So they were the first who introduced the modern tools of hegemony to the Indian people. Also see *Urdu Jamia Encyclopedia*, (Lahore: Ghulam Ali and Sons), p. 744.

lxxxiii *Urdu Jamia Encyclopedia*, p. 416. The Christian missionaries of Serampur established their press. William Ward was its incharge.The missionaries also translated Bible into Bangali language.

lxxxiv Avril Powell, *Muslims and Missionaries,* p. 47.

lxxxv Mufti Intazam Ullah Shahabani, *East India Company Aur Baghi Ulama*, (Lahore: Maktab Rizwan, n.d), pp. 71-72.

lxxxvi Ian Talbot, *India and Pakistan*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 61. Also see www.schoolofministry.ac.nz/reformed/asia. Also see www.wikeipedia.org. Also see www.1911.encyclopedia.org/mission

lxxxvii T.K Oommen and Hunter P. Mabry, *The Christian Clergy in India*, Vol-1 (New Delhi: Saga publications, 2000), p. 46.

lxxxviii Rowena Robinson, *Christian of India*, (New Delhi: Saga Publication, 2003), p. 56.

lxxxix Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition*, p. 71.

xc Ibid.

xci It was directed the East India Company through Charter Act of 1813 that missionary efforts be permitted if not actively supported. Missionaries showed untiring patience in engaging receptive minds in the hope of gaining converts. They had enough money for the purpose of setting up institutions.

xcii Avril Powell, *Muslims and Missionaries*, pp. 119-20.

xciii The translations of Bible into Urdu, Arabic and Persian by Martyn were circulated among the ulama of Lucknow and Delhi. He reached India in 1805 as a padre of East India Company. He was scholar of linguistics. Martyn also engaged with Shia ulama Sayyid Muhammad and Tasadduq Hussain at Lucknow. See Avril Powell, *Muslims and Missionaries*, pp. 119-20.

xciv Rowena Robinson, *Christian of India*, p. 47.

xcv Avril Powell, *Muslims and Missionaries*, p. 103.

xcvi Ibid., p. 131.

xcvii Ibid., pp. 132-33.

xcviii Maulana Taqi Usmani, "Sawanih Hayat of Maulana Rehmat Ullah" in Maulana Rehmat Ullah Kiranwi, *From Bible To Quran, (Ezhar ul Haqq)*, (Karachi: Makaba-i-Darul Uloom, 2004), pp. 179-218.

xcix Maulana Rehmat Ullah, *Ezhar ul Haqq,* (Karachi: Makaba-i-Darul Uloom, 2004), p. 197.

[c] Rowena Robinson, *Christian of India*, p. 60.

[ci] Ibid., pp. 60-61.

[cii] Avril Powell, *Muslims and Missionaries,* pp. 114-15.

[ciii] Francis Robinson, The Ummah in 21st century, in Herald Weekly, (Karachi), 104.

[civ] Mubarak Ali, "Hindustani Islam" in *Seh Mahi Tarikh*, (Lahore: Fiction House, 2003), 207.

[cv] Veena Naregal, *Language Politics, Elites and the Public Sphere*, (London: nthem Press, 2002), p. 9.

[cvi] Ibid., p. 157

[cvii] Ian Talbot, *India and Pakistan*, p. 61.

[cviii] Bari Aleeg in his book entitled *Company Ki Hakomat* highlights the importance of Urdu language. The Holy Quran was translated into Urdu by Shah Abdul Qadir in 1822.

[cix] *www.mundus.ac.uk/search/corps/az*

[cx] Barbara Daly Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband 1860-1900*, (New Delhi: oxford University Press, 1982), p. 48. Also see Annemarie Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent*, (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2003), p. 181.

[cxi] Francis Robinson, "Technology and Religious Change: Islam and the impact of Print", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol.27, no.1, (Feb., 1993), 233.

[cxii] Ibid., p. 241.
[cxiii] Ibid.
[cxiv] Ibid., p. 239.
[cxv] Ibid., p. 233.
[cxvi] Ibid.

[cxvii] Francis Robinson, "The Ummah in 21st century", 107.

[cxviii] Sayyid Muhammad Akbar, *Tazkira-i-Auliya-i-Deoband*, (Lahore: Maktaba-i-Rehmania, 2000), p. 78.

[cxix] Barbra Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India,* p. 258.

[cxx] Maulana Mujahid al-Hussaini, *Ulama-i- Deoband*, (Faisalabad: Serat Markez, 2004), p. 20.

[cxxi] Ahmad Dallal, "The Origin and Objectives of Islamic Revivalist Thought, 1750-1850" *in Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol.113, no.3. (Jul. –Sep., 1993), 341.
[cxxii] Francis Robinson, "Technology and Religious Change", 236.

[cxxiii]Kenneth W. Jones, *Socio Religious Reforms Movements in British India* (Cambridge: University Press, 1994), p. 1.

[cxxiv] Usha Sanyal, *Devotional Islam and Politics in British India: Ahmad Riza khan Barelwi and His movement 1870-1920*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 1-14.

[cxxv] Muhammad Qasim Zaman, "Commentaries, Print and Patronage: Hadith and the Madrasas in Modern South Asia" *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol.62, no.1, (1999), 62.

[cxxvi] Ibid.

[cxxvii] Barbara Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India*, p. 258.

[cxxviii] Aziz Ahmed, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment*, (England: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 212.

[cxxix] Robinson, "The Ummah in 21st century", 107.

[cxxx] Kenneth Jones, *Socio Religious Reforms Movements*, p. 47.

[cxxxi] Maulana Rashid Ahmed Gangohi, *Fatawa Rashidia* (Lahore: Maktaba-i- Rehmania, n.d), p. 275.

[cxxxii] Ibid., p. 272.

[cxxxiii] Ibid., pp. 137-47.

[cxxxiv] Richard M. Eaton, *Essays on Islam and Indian History*, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 204.

[cxxxv] Francis Robinson, "Foreword" in Ravinder Kaur, (ed) *Religion, Violence and Political Mobilization in South Asia*, with a Foreward by Francis Robinson, (New Delhi: Saga Publications, 2005), p. 12.

[cxxxvi] Ibid.

[cxxxvii] Qasim Zaman, "Commentaries, Print and Patronage and the Madrasas in Modern South Asia", 62.

[cxxxviii] Deoband accepted the western technologies such as print culture, educational innovations and hierarchy whereas it opposed the western types of rationality. It either abandoned the maqulati sciences in favour of puritanical teachings.

[cxxxix]Aziz Ahmad, *Islamic modernism*, [Urdu tran], (Lahore: Edara-e-Saqafat-i-Islamiya, 1989), p. 159.

[cxl] Muhammad Aslam Sayyid, "Islamic Modernism" in Waheed-us-Zaman, *Islam in South Asia*, (ed), (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1993), p. 350.

[cxli] Aziz Ahmad, *Islamic modernism*, p. 81.

[cxlii] Barbara Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India*, p. 74.