

An introduction to the major works of Shah Abd al-Aziz and Shah Rafi' uddin

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Shah Abd al-Aziz [1746-1824], the eldest son of Shah Wali Allah [d. 1762] was, in his lifetime, the most eminent scholar of the Islamic sciences in South Asia. 1. For over 50 years till his death, he dominated the religious and intellectual scene of Delhi. He continued the work of educating the Muslim masses at a time when they were politically and morally in decline – a task that was initiated by his father, Shah Wali Allah. His numerous works in diverse areas of Islamic scholarship entitled him to be called '*Siraj al-hind*' [= 'sun of India'] and '*bahr al-ulum*' [= 'ocean of knowledge'] of his age 2. In all the scholastic disciplines such as *tafsir* [exegesis] of the Quran, *ulum al-Hadith* [knowledge related to the Hadith], *fiqh* [law], *tasawwuf* [mysticism] and related fields he was unmatched and his profound works bear witness to his expertise in these areas. Shah Abd al-Aziz was also responsible for the seeding of a military movement against the foes of Islam [Mahrattas, Sikhs and other recalcitrant groups]. He spent all his life and energy in the pursuit of Islamic ideals despite suffering victimization, expulsion, sequestration of property and a variety of physical ailments such as leprosy

and blindness. The major works of Shah Abd al-Aziz will be considered here:

1. *The Tafsir-i-Azizi*: This was a very important work of Shah Abd al-Aziz - as it carried forward the pioneering work of Shah Wali Allah on the Quran - resulting in making the Quran available in the first Persian translation in S. Asia. The translation and brief *tafsir* of Shah Wali Allah was named '*Fath al-Rahman fi turjuma al-Quran*'. Shah Abd al-Aziz developed this early effort further by writing a more copious Quran commentary, embodying in it the principles of *tafsir* contained in Shah Wali Allah useful work, *Al Fauz al-Kabir fi usul al-tafsir*. Unfortunately, the *tafsir* of Shah Abd al-Aziz is lost. Only the first two *juz* [parts] and the last two *juz* have survived the ravages of time. The rest of the *tafsir* was reportedly destroyed in the Revolt of 1857. Nevertheless, from the surviving fragments, the deep scholarship of Shah Abd al-Aziz - who succeeded his father as teacher in the Madressah al-Rahimiya at an early age - is immediately apparent. Shah Sahib used to give a weekly *dars* [lesson] on the Quran every Friday in the Jami' Masjid, Delhi, where large numbers of people used to gather to benefit themselves from the learned discourse. Many of these lessons [*durus*] were copied down and later shown to Shah Sahib who amended them and added the bibliographic references.

The method used by Shah Abd al-Aziz was first to give a brief introduction [*muqaddima*] to the contents of each surah. This would include the details of the number of words, letters and verses. Then a spatial and thematic link with the preceding surah would be established. The circumstances in

which the surah was revealed were described and the reason for its name shown. Coming to the verse-by-verse translation [done in lucid and comprehensible Persian], Shah Sahib would next expound the esoteric/exoteric truths and meanings contained therein. This was his especial field of expertise, his God-given gift. Then an academic discourse with reference to the Hadith, Islamic history, the finer points of Arabic linguistics, apt quotations from Arabic and Persian poetry, the exposition of the Quranic eloquence [*balaghah*] and proof of its miraculous nature [*'I'jaz*] would be presented. References, as required, could be made to the entire gamut of Islamic sciences including medicine, the martial arts, astronomy, comparative religion and mysticism as well as earlier-written tafsirs. A torrent of learning, it seemed, would be flowing from the pen of the physically frail but intellectually mighty scholar. For example, in the *tafsir* of the first 5 vv. Of surah Al Alaq, the entire background of the initial revelation is given. Then there is an esoteric exposition of revelation on the human-divine interface. This is followed by a relevant and valid discussion on embryology on a scientific basis. In short, the modern and traditional reader will gain many gems of Quranic wisdom through the conduit of Shah Abd al-Aziz. 3

2. *Tuhfa Athna Ashariya*: This work is the magnum opus of Shah Abd al-Aziz' scholarship in interrelated religious disciplines. It contains a profound study, supported by abundant evidence and a most insightful analysis, of the origin, faith, beliefs and principles of a major sect of Islam – the

Shia Athna Ashariya. 4 The language is Persian – which was the lingua franca both of the educated class and the common masses. The rapid rise of Shi'ism especially during the decline of Mughul power in the subcontinent had created sectarian ill-feeling and accentuated the religious divide between the majority community – the Ahl al-Sunnah [commonly called 'Sunnis'] and the Shia Athna Ashariya [commonly called 'Shias'].⁵ It also generated conflict, war and secession at a time when a third force – the British colonial presence – was threatening to swamp the entire subcontinent by sheer force by exploiting this and also using the Hindus in furthering its annexationist aspirations. Taking cognizance of the great risks present, Shah Abd al-Aziz gave an in-depth analysis of the entire phenomenon of the origin, growth, manifestation and spread of Shi'ism in south Asia. This was done at a time when a bigoted Shia, Nawab Najaf Khan, was the *Vakil-i-Mutlaq* [Prime Minister] at Delhi. Shah Abd al-Aziz was the target of Najaf Khan's intolerance and he was exiled from Delhi and his property confiscated.

The book is sub-divided into 12 chapters. In his introduction, Shah Abd al-Aziz states that the figure '12' in the title refers to the 12th century AH at the conclusion of which the book was composed. The details of the 12 chapters are as under:

1. The origin of Shi'ism and the various factions claiming to be Shias. There are 40 groups described with their beliefs and historical origin.

2. A study of the causes of the emergence of Shi'ism. There are 107 causes examined in this connection.
3. Traces back the original thought of the founders to its real basis.
4. Shi'i Hadith and the varieties of its isnad.
5. Theological and dogmatic differences. 22 such differences are studied.
6. Shi'i belief in Prophethood and its connotations. 15 arguments are studied.
7. Shi'i concept of the Imamate. 12 arguments are studied.
8. Shi'i concept of the Afterlife [ma'ad]. 7 arguments are studied.
9. Legal aspects of Shi'ism
10. The ritual cursing of the First Three Caliphs and others by members of the Shi'ite persuasion. 15 refutations of this practice are given re Abu Bakr; 11 refutations re Omar; 10 refutations re Othman; 10 re Ayesha; 10 re other Companions.
11. The distinctive aspects of the Shias. 25 aspects are studied.
12. The Shi'i claim to love the family of the Holy Prophet. 10 aspects are studied.

This extremely erudite study is non-polemical and based on Shi'i sources alone. The tone is temperate and mild. The

book is packed with thousands of references to Shi'i historical books, *tafsir* and hagiological literature running into hundreds of pages. It is reflective of Shah Abd al-Aziz's immense learning, insightful analysis and personal anguish at sectarian schism at a time when the whole nation [*millah*] was about to be devoured by its enemies. It is a landmark in the history of inter-sectarian dialogue and promotive of unity among the two major schools of Muslims. Several refutations were attempted by the Shias but none were remotely successful.

3. ***Bustan al-Muhaddithin***: this is a specialized work dealing with the science of Hadith and its various sub-branches and technicalities. 6 The predilection of Shah Wali Allah for the *Muwatta* of Imam Malik and his powerful advocacy of its acceptance at par with the 6 canonical collections of Hadith [*sifah sitta*] led Shah Abd al-Aziz to present a very valuable and detailed account of the provenance of some 16 different MSS of the *Muwatta* in the Islamic world as well as the *rawis* [transmitters] of the said MSS. After this, there is a record of those commentaries [*shuruh*] that were written on the text. This is followed by an account of the different books of Hadith according to their especial classification – such as *musnad*, *mu'jam*, *jami'*, *sunan* etc. with biographical notes and critical evaluation of the said works. The book is a valuable compendium of knowledge of the Hadith and has been used as a standard teaching text ever since it was written.

4. ***Ujala-i-Nafe'a***: This is a more advanced study of the Hadith with all its attendant details.7 It deals with the entire gamut of the *ilm-i-Hadith*. It argues that along with the Quran, the Hadith is the second

base of Islam, the source of Islamic law and is a long-standing authentic source of the sayings and deeds of the Holy Prophet. The various categories of the books of Hadith are given with various details. The compilers of the works are noted in brief biographies and various dubious Hadiths are discussed. The book is in Persian and is an essay of some 50 pp. in which the quintessence of Hadith learning has been compacted. It also is important as a reflection of the state of Hadith studies in South Asia during the early 19th century.

5. **Fatawa Azizi:** This is a collection of legal judgements [*fatawa* sing. *fatwa*] by Shah Abd al-Aziz on various questions and matters relating to Islamic law. But it is not a simple compilation of juristic opinions. It contains the exposition of various verses of the Quran, commentaries on aspects relating to Islamic mysticism, letters addressed to Shah Sahib and their answers, explanations of various Hadiths, discussions on Islamic beliefs and references to matters of contemporary interest --- apart from the legal verdicts themselves. The collection is a multi-faceted encyclopedia of Islamic knowledge in all its advanced forms. The famous fatwa declaring India to be a '*dar al-harb*' is contained in some versions of this collection. 8
6. **Malfuzat:** This is a very valuable collection of the *malfuzat* [sing. *malfuz*=pronouncement] of Shah Abd al-Aziz. *Malfuz* literature is a very important part of the Islamic tradition of learning. It consists of various discourses given orally and generally informally by an eminent Islamic figure in his

public and private gatherings. The Hadith is the first and finest example of such literature. Other examples are the '*Fihi ma fihi*' of Jalal al-din Rumi [d. 1272 CE] and the '*Fawa'id al fu'ad*' of Nizam al-din Awliya [d. 1325 CE]. In such oral discourses, there is no set topic or agenda but a variety of subjects may be touched upon or discussed with interaction between the speaker and his audience. The value of such discussions lies not only in the spiritual insight of the speaker or in his great erudition, but also in references to contemporary events and topical allusions. Thus *malfuz* literature is also a primary source of history. The *malfuzat* of Shah Abd al-Aziz can be mined for the socio-political and religio-intellectual state of India during the early 19th century in all its ramifications. Thus we find references to living and deceased figures not always noted by historians, eye-witness accounts of battles, construction of palaces and monuments, observations on Hindu-Muslim relations and the state of writing and literature at the time. The *malfuzat* of Shah Sahib also contains facts concerning his family and ancestors which are not recorded elsewhere. Thus it is a veritable treasure-trove to historians and mystics, scholars and intellectuals alike.⁹

7. *Mizan al-balagha*: This brief Arabic booklet expounds the principles of eloquence [*balaghah*], composition [*insha'*], metaphor [*majaz*], allusion [*kinaya*], innovative usages [*badih*], speech [*kalam*] and other rhetorical devices employed in belles-lettres.¹⁰

8. *Sirr al-jalil fi mas'ala tafdil*

9. *Aziz al-iqtibas fi fada'il akhyar al-nas*

10. *Wasila al-najat*: These are three Persian essays touching on the pre-eminence of the First Four Caliphs over the rest of the Ummah. They detail their various excellences and extraordinary merits and provide a wealth of detail with logical arguments. The message is given in a courteous and convincing mode.¹¹

11. *Sirr al-shadateyn*: This is an esoteric interpretation of a 'secret' behind the two martyrdoms i.e. of Hasan and Huseyn, grandsons of the Holy Prophet [PBUH]. Shah Abd al-Aziz feels that by these two martyrdoms, the Holy Prophet vicariously achieved the degree of martyrdom which otherwise could not be his as he was destined to live and see the triumph of Islam. Had he been martyred, this would have militated against the supreme excellence of his personality and Prophetic status. As the Holy Prophet was the Perfect Man [*al-insan al-kamil*], he clearly was not lacking in any conceivable respect and had no need of reflected glory. This is a brief tract in Arabic.¹²

12. *The poetry of Shah Abd al-Aziz*: Being the erudite scholar that he was and belonging to a distinguished family of scholar-divines, Shah Abd al-Aziz was totally familiar with the classical literature of Arabia and Persia. He was schooled in these two languages from birth and was totally at home in both tongues composing extensive works in them. Besides, he had an inherited gift for the composition of original poetry in Arabic and Persian as well as a phenomenal memory which retained several thousand lines of poetry. Thus his Arabic compositions both in prose and verse are of a very high degree. He composed Arabic *qasidas* [odes] which reflect the disturbed situation at that time and others which were composed using the end-rhyme and

metre of those *qasidas* earlier composed by his father, Shah Wali Allah.¹³ These are called '*tadmin*'. He introduced those letters representing Indian sounds not present in Arabic e.g. '*kh*' as in '*Sikh*'. As a poetic exercise, he wrote letters in verse to his brothers in Arabic and corresponded normally in Arabic. Sometimes, he composed long texts using only dotless letters of the Arabic alphabet –which was a remarkable *tour de force*. In a versified letter to his uncle, Shah Abd al-Aziz writes:

Ba'da raf' al-salam wa al-ikram
Fayuqlu al-faqeeru dhu al-atham
Inna hadha faqeeru mahfuzun
Un shurur al-zamanu wa al-isqam
Yasalulahu ba'da kullu salatin
Un yu'afu fa'ida al-anam
Wa ya'afi jami'a rafiqaat al-arham
Min dhukurin wa niswatin wa ghulam.

Translation:

After offering my greetings [of peace] and respect
 Thus says this fakir full of sins-
 Surely this fakir is safe
 From the evil of the times and its ills.
 After each prayer, he asks Allah
 That he be made safe from the evil of men,
 And all relatives be safely kept also
 [Be they] men and women and children.¹⁴

Summing up the gigantic scholarly achievements of Shah Abd al-Aziz, we can observe that they are vast in range and content covering the entire panorama of Islamic learning from the exegesis of the Quran to Islamic law and

mysticism. Steeped in Islamic lore, educated by a father who was the *mujaddid* [renewer] of his time, inheriting the genius and piety of a grandfather [Shah Abd al-Rahim], Shah Abd al-Aziz stands out among his talented brothers and contemporaries as a unique embodiment of Islamic wisdom. 'Being the eldest of Sha': WaliAllah's sons and the last among them to die, Shah Abd al-Aziz received more instruction from his illustrious father than other siblings. Thus he was the true heir to the intellectual tradition of Shah WaliAllah and succeeded him in the capacity of teacher and guide to the stricken Muslim masses. His accomplishments spread far and wide and for over half a century he was the pivot of the Islamic renaissance in South Asia. He faithfully transmitted the glorious heritage of Islam and prepared his disciples to practically implement this by freeing themselves from non-Muslim control. The Jihad movement against the Sikhs and the revolt of 1857 were all stimulated by Shah Abd al-Aziz. At an early age, he was victim of deadly diseases such as leprosy but nothing could deter him from the paramount mission of Muslim revival that was the axis of his existence. The standard of Islamic learning – in decline after British ascendancy – was restored to its original heights by Shah Abd al-Aziz. This was his great achievement.

Shah Rafi'uddin [1749–1818], the son of Shah Wali Allah [1703–1761], was a true scion of the most learned family in the Islamic sciences produced by the subcontinent. His grandfather, Shah Abdul Rahim and his father Shah Wali Allah were prominent for their extensive erudition and earnest endeavour for an Islamic renaissance in South Asia. Although he was barely in his teens when his learned father died, Shah Rafi'uddin being a self-contained genius, had by that time absorbed much of the scholarship of the then-

current Islamic syllabus and, with the guidance of his eldest brother, Shah 'Abdul-'Aziz, developed his potential to perfection.¹⁵

Unfortunately, there is no 'canon' that is the authoritative collection of all his works and neither is there one of Shah Wali Allah's extensive writings many of which are known also by their title and reference to them in other writings. Shah Rafi' uddin's writings are generally seen in the light of his illustrious father's achievements though Shah Rafi'uddin merits separate attention in his own right.

The great distinction of Shah Rafi'uddin is that he made the first complete translation of the Holy Quran into Urdu. He had realised that the initial encroachment of Hindi into Persian had resulted in the fusion of the two languages leading to the birth of Urdu that had become the lingua franca of the masses. To direct the message of the Quran to the masses, he chose a medium that had to be intelligible to them. This was Urdu. The use of Urdu by Shah Rafi'uddin in his translation is also valuable for a study of Urdu historical linguistics. Regarding the quality of this translation, the Shah Wali Allah scholar, Sufi 'Abdul-Hamid Swati writes:

This translation has many great merits. It is worded in very simple language. Those persons who were relatively uneducated could use it to advantage. When Shah Wali Allah translated the Quran into Persian, he used lucid language; the same was done by Shah Rafi'uddin in his Urdu translation.¹⁶

As an example of the quaint Urdu used by Shah Rafi'uddin, we can quote the translation of the beginning of surah 2, verse 1-2:

'yeh kitab nahin shak beech us-ke

Rah dikhati hai waste parhezgaron ke. 17

According to Dr. Mohammad Nasim 'Usmani, this translation by Shah Rafi'uddin was completed in 1788 and printed from Calcutta in 1838 [after the translator's demise]. 18

Another of Shah Rafi'uddin's works related to the Quran is the *Tafsir Ayat al-Nur* [Persian]. 19 This is an extended commentary on the famous 'Light Verse' [s. 24, v. 35] that uses a special symbology to convey its meaning. This commentary is based on the interpretations given by five classes viz. the muhaddithin, the sufis, the theologians, the philosophers and lastly by Shah Wali Allah's opinions. This is followed by a 'takmila' [conclusion] in which the interpretation of the verse as given by these classes is expounded:

The *ahl-zikr wa fikr* [people devoted to divine remembrance]

The *ahl-i-fiqh* [jurists]

The *ahl-i-saluk* [seekers of the divine path]

The *ahl-i-akhlaq* [moralists]

The *ahl-i-absar* [wise men]

The *ahl-i-najam* [astronomers]

The *ahl-i-hisab* [mathematicians]

The *ahl-i-hindsa* [geometricians]

The *ahl-i-mantiq* [logicians]

The explication is given as clearly as possible with reference to the works/authors on which it is based. This is followed by an exegesis of the 5 following verses of the *Surah al-Nur* with examples from psychology, anthropology, philosophy, medicine and sociology. References are made to Shah Wali Allah's works such as the *Hujjatullah al-Baligha*, the *al-Budur al-Bazigha* and other works. In his exposition of the verse as given by the *ahl-i-tarikh* [historians], the following parallelisms emerge:

<i>Misbah</i> :	Holy Prophet
<i>Zujaj</i> :	Bani Hashim
<i>Mishkat</i> :	Arabs
<i>Zeit</i> :	spiritual charisma transferred from generation to generation through the Holy Prophet's ancestors
<i>Shajar al-mubaraka</i> :	Abraham
<i>La sharqiyya wa la gharbiyya</i> :	neither from east or west meaning neither Jew nor Christian.

This brief booklet is so packed with learning that it would qualify as one of Islam's best commentaries on the sacred verse perhaps unmatched in the vast area of *tafsir*.

The '*Takmil al-Adh-han*' ['Perfection of Minds'] in Arabic is another remarkable work on reason, logic and knowledge.²⁰ There are 4 chapters in it the first being that on logic. Shah Rafi'uddin values the role of logic in promoting a clear conception of knowledge. The great names of Aristotle, Farabi, Ibn Sina occur here.

The second chapter with the acquisition of knowledge for which Shah Rafi'uddin names 5 sources: debate, teaching, studentship, writing and study.

In the third chapter certain philosophical concepts have been elaborated – such as time, space, body, matter, self, reason etc.

In the fourth chapter, there is an attempt to evolve a synthesis as regards knowledge based on a workable methodology.

The book is a remarkable work and exemplifies the continuation of philosophical studies among learned Muslims so late in time subjecting philosophy to religious discipline. This book deserves to rank as a classic in the annals of Arabic literature for its great range and erudite discourse.

In the edition by Sufi 'Abdul-Hamid Khan Swati, the *qasida* of Ibn Sina is quoted in full as well as the poetic reply of Shah Rafi'uddin and Ahmad Shawqi as well as a *qasida* of the *mi'raj* of the Holy Prophet by Shah Rafi'uddin.

Finally, we may conclude that Shah Rafi'uddin expounded the esoteric wisdom of his father Shah Wali Allah and made it available to the masses of Muslims by presenting the thought-content and learned discourse in a lucid manner.

The *Damgh al-batil* [= 'destruction of falsehood'] is a masterpiece among Shah Rafi'uddin's works.²¹ It is bilingual – Arabic and Persian being used almost equally. It is also the longest of all his extant works. The *Damgh al-batil* deals with the question of '*wahdat al-wajud*' [unity in existence] and '*wahdat al shuhud*' [unity in appearance] – which question occupied the attention of Muslim scholars from the early days of Islam. The focus is on '*ilm al-haqaiq*' [knowledge of truth] rejecting all theories of incarnation and mutation of divine attributes.

The earlier debates of Ibn 'Arabi, Mujaddid Alf Thani and Shah Wali Allah are recorded and relevant conclusions drawn. The book is an excellent exposition of scholastic theology (*'ilm al-kalam*) taken to its peak and places the author in the front rank of Muslim theologians.

The *Asrar al-muhabba* is a unique treatise in Arabic ²² dealing with the theme of love as expounded by 4 classes of persons:

1. Jurists
2. Sufis
3. Philosophers
4. Poets

The book itself has a 3-fold division viz.

1. *Tehsil*

2. *Tadh'iz*3. *Tafsil*

In the first of the 4 categories, Shah Rafi'uddin includes references to earlier scriptures such as the Torah and Injil claiming the Islamic concept of love to be superior to these.

In the second category [sufis], Shah Rafi'uddin includes eminent sufis such as Ahmad Ghazali, Fakhr al-Din Iraqi, Syed Ali Hamdani and 'Allama Jami quoting profusely from their poetic works.

In the third category [philosopher], Shah Rafi'uddin refers to the *Risala al 'Ishq* of Ibn Sina and the *Asfar al-Arba'a* of Mulla Sadra both famous Persian philosophers.

As regards the poets, Shah Rafi'uddin refers to the philosophical *qasida* of Ibn Sina regarding the question of soul and body. References to the Holy Prophet and the love his Companions bore towards him is also brought out.

There are a number of concise yet comprehensive essays 23 by Shah Rafi'uddin on different topics related to specialized aspects of Islam. These have been issued in 2 volumes. In the first volume, there are 10 essays on various aspects of prayer and charity. There is also material on inter-sectarian dialogue and explanation of certain esoteric Persian verses.

In vol. 2, there are some 19 collections of pronouncements or examens of various points or controversies related to Islamic affairs – 8 are in Arabic while 11 are in Persian. Needless to say, all these testify to Shah Rafi'uddin's eminent status as an Islamic polymath.

Shah Rafi'uddin's own expertise in the areas of Quran hermeneutics, Hadith, theological and philosophical issues as well as skill in Arabic poetics qualifies him as a worthy successor to Shah Wali Allah, his illustrious father. His skill and broad range of knowledge covering the broad

canvas of Islamic studies qualifies him as a scholar of great eminence in his own right.

NOTES:

1. Shah Abd al-Aziz is treated chiefly in the books dealing with Shah WaliAllah. Information about his life, writings and achievements is found in S.M. Ikram, *Rud-i-Kawthar*, Lahore, 1996, pp. 587-592; Syed Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi, *Tarikh dawat wa azimat*, part 5, Karachi, n.d., pp.343 passim; M. Rahim Bux, *Hayat-i-Wali*, Lahore, 1955, pp. 586-628; S.M.A. Gilani, *Tazkira Shah WaliAllah*, Lahore, 2003; Fayyaz Khan Swati, *Shah WaliAllah aur unke sahibzadagan*, Gujranwala, 1423 AH. Special mention must be made of the books of Hakim Mahmud Ahmad Barkati on Shah WaliAllah such as *Shah WaliAllah aur unka khandan* [Lahore, 1976] and *Shah WaliAllah aur unke ashab* [Karachi, 2004]. Books focusing on Shah Abd al-Aziz are: Surriya Dar, *Shah Abdul Aziz Dehlavi aur unki ilmi khidmat*, Lahore, 1991; S.A.A. Rizvi, *Shah Abd al-aziz : Puritanism, sectarian [sic], polemics and jihad*, Canberra, 1982. A brief account dealing with certain aspects of SAA is : Mushirul Haq, *Shah Abdul Aziz: his life and time: India [sic] Muslims' attitude to the British in the early 19th century*, Lahore, 1995. An early anecdotal and hagiological account is : Zahiruddin S. Ahmad , *Shah Abdul Aziz aur unki talimat*, Karachi, n.d. [1st edition 1876]. Other early references are found in Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, *Athar al-sanadid* [1st edition 1847] edited by S.M. Haq, Karachi, 1966. A commentary on the part relating to Shah Abd al-Aziz (Chap. 4) is given by Abu Salman Shahjehanpuri in *Al-Wali* [Nos. 8-9], Nov.-Dec. 1972, Hyderabad, Pakistan. Syed Abd al-Hayy Hasani's massive 8 volume encyclopedic

- biographical dictionary *Nuzhat al-Khawatir* [in Arabic] deals with Shah Abd al-Aziz in vol. 7 [ed. Sharfuddin Ahmad, Hyderabad, India, 1979]. In the Arabic encyclopedic dictionary of Nawab Siddique Hasan Khan [d. 1880] of Qannauj titled *Abjad al-Ulum* [v. 3, pp. 244-246, Beirut, n.d.] there is an important entry concerning Shah Wali Allah and his learned sons starting with Shah Abd al-Aziz. For his literary interests, see Moinuddin Aqeel, *Shah Abd al-Aziz ka zauq-i-adab*, in *Bazyaft*, No. 11, July-Dec. 2007, pp. 9-16.
2. Nasim Ahmad Faridi, *Siraj al-Hind Shah Abdul Aziz muhaddis Dehlavi*, **Al-Wali**, Nos. 1-2, Nov-Dec 1996
 3. Shah Abd al-Aziz, *Tafsir-i-Azizi*, translated into Urdu by Muhammad Ali Chandpuri, revised by S.A. Saqib, Karachi, 1323 AH [2002]
 4. Shah Abd al-Aziz, *Tuhfa Athna Ashariya*, trans. K. Rahman Nomani, Karachi, 1402 AH [1982]
 5. See S.A.A. Rizvi, n. 1. Also, Muhammad Ayub Qadri, *Faza'il sahaba wa ahl-i-bayt ma' muktubat Shah Abdul Aziz wa Shah Rafiuddin*, Lahore, 1967; also, by the same author, *Hindustan mein Muslim firqawariyat*, Karachi, 1986.
 6. Shah Abd al-Aziz, *Bustan al-Muhaddithin*, trans. Abdus Sami, Karachi, n.d. [1st edition 1323 AH = 1912]
 7. Shah Abd al-Aziz, *Ujala Nafe'a*, trans. With annotations by A.H. Chishti, Karachi, n.d. [1st edition 1382 AH = 1962]

8. Shah Abd al- Aziz, *Fatawa Azizi*, Karachi, 1408 AH [1988]
9. Shah Abd al-Aziz, *Malfuzat*, trans. By Muhammad Ali Lutfi and I. Shihabi, Karachi, 1960
10. Shah Abd al-Aziz, *Mizan al-balaghah*, reprinted Gujranwala, 1992
11. Collectively printed in Persian with Urdu translation ed. M. Ayub Qadri, Lahore, 1967
12. Shah Abd al-Aziz, *Sirr al-shahadateyn*, Lahore, 1257 AH
13. See 'The Arabic qasidas of Shah Waliullah' by the present writer [*Al Ayyam*, Karachi, No, 1, 2009]
14. The quality of Shah Abd al-Aziz' Arabic poetry has been profusely praised in the essay on Arabic literature in South Asia. See Zahur Ahmad Azhar, *Tarikh-i-adabiyat Pakistan wa Hind [Arabic adab]*, Punjab University, Lahore, 1972, pp. 378-380. The Arabic poetry composed by the descendants of Shah Abd al-Rahim has been described in Dr M.G. Zubaid Ahmad, *The contribution of Hind-Pakistan to Arabic literature*, Lahore, 1967 [1st edition 1945]
15. Some basic information is provided in the books on Shah Wali Allah such as *Shah Wali Allah aur unke ashab* by Mahmud Ahmad Barkati, Karachi 2004, pp. 157-163 and in the essay *Musannifat Maulana Shah Rafi'uddin Dehlavi* in *Maqalat Moulvi Mohammad Shafi'*, vol. 4, Lahore, 1970, pp. 210-218 as well as the books referred to in n. 1.

16. *Maqalat-i-Swati*, vol. 1, Gujranwala, 1993, p. 322
17. The Holy Quran with the translation of Shah Wali Allah, Shah Rafi'uddin & Shah 'Abdul-Qadir, Delhi, 1346 AH.
18. Mohammad Nasim Usmani, *Urdu mein tafsiri adab*, Karachi, 1994, p. 85]
19. Shah Rafi'uddin, *Tafsir Ayat al-Nur* [ed. Sufi 'Abdul-Hamid Khan Swati], Gujranwala, 1995
20. Shah Rafi'uddin, *Takmil al-adh-han* [ed. Sufi 'Abdul-Hamid Swati], Gujranwala, 1993
21. Shah Rafi'uddin, *Damgh al-batil* [ed. Sufi 'Abdul-Hamid Swati], Gujranwala, 1995
22. Shah Rafi'uddin, *Asrar al-mahabba* [ed. Sufi 'Abdul-Hamid Swati], Gujranwala, 1963
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