

The Concept Of Ayyam Allah And Shah Waliullah's Historical Thought

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The time of Shah Waliullah (1703-1762), "presumably characterized by a period for synthesis and reconciliation"¹ is of "utmost importance and significance"² in the history of the modern world. During this period "human thought waking from its slumber and stagnation and endeavoring to discover a new world"³ was pouring down into human hearts a liberal outlook towards God, man and the universe, resulting in an increase of interest in the sense of history and its philosophical foundation. The philosophers began to ponder and looked at all aspects of human life in the light of historical evolution. The tendencies resulted in the culmination of philosophy of history.

Shah Waliullah, being a theologian, does not deal with history as such. But ever since the Biblical concept of history — Christian Jew and Islamic concepts of history, as also the Quranic concept of history are derived from the respective scriptures and creeds, a trend of study that theologians thought related to history, has appeared on the scene in modern times, with the result that Saint Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas, Bossuet, Martin Luther, Catholics and Protestants, along with the Muslim sects and scholars' view related to history are being critically analyzed at greater length than ever before. On the same pattern Shah Waliullah's thought system is dealt with in the following lines.

Shah Waliullah's thought has a deep link with history. Dr Sabih Ahmed Kamali is of the opinion that if one ignores the

Muslims, he takes history on the one hand as events of the past, and, on the other hand, narration of events particularly those related to kings and prominent persons in leading fields.¹⁰ In this treatise he includes *sirah*, *maqamat*, *tabaqat*, and *malfuzat* as subject matters of history along with a few aspects of the science of admonition (*Ilm-i-wa'z*).¹¹ But he neither entitles any of his works as *tarikh* nor presents historical thought under that title. Now the question is: what are the foundations of Shah Waliullah's concept of history and how does he perceive history as a process and as a discipline?

Shah Waliullah derives his historical thought from the Quran. He divides the Quranic sciences into five sections: *Ilm-al-Akham* (the science of commandment) i.e. commands of Allah for doing certain things; *Ilm-al-Mubahitha* (dialectics or discursive sciences) dealing with controversies and argumentation; *Ilm Ba-Ala-Allah* (science of the signs of Allah) dealing with remembering the attributes of God; *Ilm-i-Tazkir-i Ba Ayyam-Allah* (the remembrance of the days of God); and *Ilm-i-Tazkir-i-Maut* (Eschatology), dealing with events after death.¹² Among these sciences, *Ayyam-Allah* expresses Shah Waliullah's historical thought. The origin of the word can be traced to the Biblical word "Yaum-al-Rab"¹³ and in the Quran the word is used in Surah Ibrahim verse five.¹⁴

In the Arabic language *ayyam* is plural of *yaum* meaning day or time and also "tribal warfare"(with special reference to Arabiya.¹⁵ In the Quran, the day is presented primarily as a method to measure the voyage of time. As in Surah Baqarah, "They ask thee (Muhammad) of new moons, say they are fixed seasons for mankind and for pilgrimage".¹⁶ The Quran does not analyse time as a static entity, but as a continuous process indicating change of matter in the course of time. As in Surah Rehman, God says, "All that are in the heavens entreat Him. Every day He exercises new (universal power)".¹⁷ In this way *yaum* indicates the yardstick to measure change, and for its remembrance which is called history. In the same way, *ayyam* in the general sense is the same as the course of events on each

overtake the moon, nor doth the night outstrip the day. They float, each in an orbit".²³

Thus *Ayyam Allah* also indicates the system under which events take place and which is the subject matter of the philosophy of history. Shah Waliullah derives these concepts by explaining verse 29 of Surah Rahman; which also indicates the innovatory nature of the universe. Shah Waliullah believes that time, which is measured by *Ayyam*, comes into existence by the creation of the material world, and, in this capacity, itself indicates the system of the universe, while its continuity indicates the changes in the world.

A study of *Ayyam-Allah* with the remaining four sciences can also explain not only the relation of Shah Waliullah's system with history but also the relation between Islam and history. *Ayyam-Allah* as the system of the universe, seems to be aiding all the four sciences. The signs of God in fact are a part of *Ayyam Allah*. In the verse quoted above God Himself mentions the system of day and night as His token.²⁴ Shah Waliullah too takes both as one "Ilm Be Ala'-Allah Wa Ayyam-Allah". In this way the changing nature of the universe and its various species²⁵ become part of history. On the other hand, *Ayyam Allah* establish the ground for the commands of God. By following these commands Muslims can ensure for themselves a bright future in the world and in hereafter. God proves His dialectics between right and wrong through *Ayyam Allah*,²⁶ and they confirm the place of history in Islam. In this regard, an effort is made to perceive what concept of history can be derived from Shah Waliullah's concept of *Ayyam-Allah*.

Shah Waliullah takes *Ayyam* as an evolutionary process. Long before him, the mystics had developed the concept of chain of evolution by combining the neo-platonic concept of emanation of *tadali* with four kinds of beings: minerals, plants, animals and humans. They believed that all species are one, and the differences among them is that of grades of perfection or imperfection.²⁷ Shah Waliullah, following the same patterns, on the lines of Maulana Rumi's view, sees *Ayyam Allah* as an

tion for right and wrong, with superiority over animals in three ways, sociability, intellect and aesthetic sense.³⁴

Shah Waliullah studies the second phase of *Ayyam Allah* under the process of human evolution. He takes religion to be natural to humanity and thinks that with man's capacity to tell right from wrong and being the representative of God's will,³⁵ religion is the key to all human development. It is revealed by God to creative personalities who are called prophets.³⁶ He analyses the development of humanity from the criterion of religion and the efforts of creative personalities. In this regard, he presents each prophet as the harbinger of a new age. On the lines of the biological evolution from minerals to man, Shah Waliullah divides the evolution of society under religion into four stages.³⁷ Like Toynbee, Shah Waliullah also indicates a reign of ignorance³⁸ in between every stage. The four stages present the picture of evolution in both the organs of religion. *Irtifaqat* and *Iqtarabat*.³⁹ The four stages cannot be divided or separated from each other and have the relation of former and latter like biological development. All the qualities of the former are transferred to the latter. Like biological evolution, Shah Waliullah divides human development also into two phases. First, from the advent of Adam to the dawn of Islam revealed to Muhammad (SAW). Second is the development of humanity under Islam. He believes that Islam is the final religion just as humans are the final species both according to the mystical theory⁴⁰ and scientific approach of evolution.⁴¹ In this regard Islam as well as the present state of religion, both in *Irtifaqat* and *Iqtarabat* are off-shoots of former religions and some of their typical features are also included in Islam.⁴² Now Islam is the centre of divine emanation and will.⁴³ Shah Waliullah thinks that the fourth stage of future human development, which he discusses under *Khilafat*,⁴⁴ will be accomplished under Islam which, as a universal religion, has completed the evolution.

Shah Waliullah takes on further development of *Ayyam Allah* under Islam. He evaluates the development of Islam at

attributes and developed those physical sciences which have meant a lot for humanity.⁵¹ After Idris, there appeared an era of ignorance which came to an end by the coming of Noah. It was Noah who analysed the relationship between men and angels.⁵² Shah Waliullah denoted the world after the great deluge of Noah as the period in which men dispersed all over the earth. Iran, Turkey, Greece and India became the centres of wisdom. But he does not mention any further development till the time of Salih, either in *Irtifaqat* or *Iqtarabat*. From there began the second era of ignorance in human history in the form of complete neglect of *Iqtarabat* against *Irtifaqat* that resulted in the formation of three religious divisions: Sabites; the Zoroastrians and the Hanafites. The Hanafites were those who were seekers of reality and became the followers of Abraham. He not only developed the second *Irtifaq* but also bridged the gap created during the second era of ignorance.⁵³ It was Moses, who began the third *Irtifaq* in his capacity of ruler and teacher and developed the science of *Tazkir-be-Ayyam'Allah*, and David laid down the basic principles for laws.⁵⁴ Jesus Christ's emphasis remained on the development of *Iqtarabat*. But, after Christ, a third era of ignorance prevailed over humanity, when it forgot the principles, ends and ways and lapsed into heresy and idolatry.⁵⁵ Shah Waliullah ends the first phase of human development, comprising three stages of *Irtifaqat* at Jesus.

After Jesus, Shah Waliullah studies Muhammad (SAW) as the last enunciator and final prophet, having perfection among all the prophets. While Islam almost modifies all the principles of the early religions, Shah Waliullah believes that the system presented by the last Prophet was the demand of the time. The Last Prophet reviewed all the four *Irtifaqat* and *Iqtarabat*. In this capacity he laid the foundation of the fourth *Irtifaq* and established a movement for a universal caliphate.⁵⁶

Shah Waliullah measures world history with a few prominent events and features. He uses the events of the past to put forward the ideas which supports his principles.⁵⁷ Starting with the advent of Islam, he deals thoroughly with the lives

and period as a model for future application. After that he makes a distinction between Islamic history and the history of Islamic peoples.⁶³ In this context, he turns his attention to the Islamic sciences. Dr. Kamali is of the opinion that this illustrates his view that when the society loses its *Irtifaq-i-Aála* it should return to the lower *Irtifaq*. So when the Islamic caliphate was taking its last breath, he turns his attention to the magnificent development of Islamic learning.⁶⁴ In fact Shah Waliullah believes in the universality of Islam and thinks it as a source of universal caliphate. So by his emphasis over the *Ulum-i-Islamiya*, he was aiming at the presentation of Islamic learning as universally acceptable even for the modern times, not only his own but the times to come. In this way, Shah Waliullah deals with all the three kinds of knowledge: based on traditional, rational and revelatory sources, Professor Sarwar is of the opinion that writings on exegesis, tradition, jurisprudence, mysticism and scholasticism are like an unlimited sea, and now when they are losing interest for the Muslim masses, it is impossible to look into the breadth of these sciences, scrutinize and criticize them for dividing their conclusions into right and wrong. Shah Waliullah not only covered in his studies the unlimited sciences of exegesis, tradition, jurisprudence, mysticism and scholasticism, but also analyzed the historical phases of intellectual, scientific and political movements of the Muslim community, the ummah, and, after scrutinizing them, summarized them in his writings.⁶⁵ In this way Shah Waliullah Analysis all those efforts in Islamic history which have been made for perception of the Quran and Sunnah and pouring their meaning and purpose down into the thought and practice of the Muslim community. In his books, *Al-Intibah, II* and *Al-Irshad*⁶⁶ he deals particularly with the matter and generally, in *Hujjat*. He looks at the different phases of *fiqh*, particularly those causes and specific conditions which had molded it into different forms and those common elements which were always kept in mind by the Muslim jurists. In

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Zafar Imam Ansari, "Islamic thought in the South Asia Subcontinent: the eighteenth century", in *AJISS*, vol. 1/2, p.124.
2. Anderson, *Historians and Eighteenth Century Europe*, Oxford, 1974, Chap.II.
3. Zafar Imam Ansari, *op.cit.*, pp.1-4.
4. S.M. Jaffar, *History of History*, Peshawar, n.d., p.287.
5. Shah Waliullah, *Al-Khair-al-Khathir*, 6th Khazana.
6. Cited from Sabih Ahmad Kamali, "Hikmat-e-Waliullahi....," *Al-Rahim*, Nov. 1963, p.76.
7. The full title is *Kitab-ul-Ibr wa Diwan-al-Muhtada wal Khabar fi Ayyam-al-Arab wal Ajam wal Berber wa Atharahum min Zawil Sultan-al-Akbar*, (Muqdamah p), Dr Sabih Ahmad Kamali begins the title with *Unwan-al-Ibr*. It may be a printing mistake.
8. Shah Waliullah, *Al-Qawl*, Urdu Translation by Mohammad Sarwar, Lahore, 1961.
9. Shah Waliullah, *Wasiyat Nama*.
10. Shah Waliullah's, *Al-Sir-al-Maktum* in Urdu tran. included in *Armaghan-i-Shah Waliullah's*, Lahore, p.396.
11. *Ibid.*, p.387.
12. Shah Waliullah, *Fauz-al-Kabir*, Urdu Tran, by Rashid Ahmad Ansari, Delhi, n.d., p.3. *Hujjat*, p.77 *Kalimat.*, p.166 *Qurat*, p.312.
13. Sabih Ahmad Kamali, *op.cit.*, *Al-Rahim*, p.77.
14. *The Quran*, XIV/5.
15. Rohi Balbaki, *Al-Mawrid*, Beirut, 1993, see "Yaum".
16. *The Quran*, II/189.
17. *The Quran*, 55/29.

36. *Hujjat*, *op.cit.*, pp.214-216.
37. *Tafhim* quoted by Shams-al-Rahman Muhsani, "Insani Muashre Mien Irtiqa ke Usul", *Al-Rahim*, p.46.
38. Sabih Ahmad Kamali, *op.cit.*, p.79.
39. Generally it is believed that Shah Waliullah presented the theory of evolution under 'Irtifaqat' but 'Tawil' presents the same evolution of 'Iqtarabat' into Shah Waliullah's system of thought.
40. In this regard Rumi's theory of evolution is regarded a compact form which Shah follows.
41. See Darwin's theory of evolution.
42. *Hujjat.*, *op.cit.*, pp.289-91.
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*, pp.130-133.
45. See Maulana Sindhi, *Shah Waliullah Aur Unka Falsafa*, Lahore, 1947.
46. Bashir Ahmad, *Imam Waliullah Dihlvi aur Unka Falsafa-i-A'mraniat-o-Mu'ashiat*, Lahore, 1945, p.44.
47. M.M. Sharif, *History of Muslim Philosophy*, Wiesbaden, 1953, p.1561.
48. *Hujjat*, *op.cit.* pp.220-289.
49. Maulana Sindhi, *op.cit.*, pp.106-8.
50. *Budur*, *op.cit.*, p.46.
51. *Tafhim*, I, *op.cit.*, p.75.
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Ibid.*, p.189.
54. *Ibid.*, p.76.
55. Sabih Ahmad Kamali, *op.cit.*, *Mujalah-i-Alum-e-Islamia*, (MAI), p.9.

56. *Hujjat*, *op.cit.*, p.124, *Tafhim I*, *op.cit.*, p.76.
57. Sabih Ahmad Kamali, *op.cit.*, in *MAI*, p.6.
58. We have not seen the treatise but Maulana Muhammad Abdullah Umerpuri, (Alum-i-Waliullahi, *Al-Rahim*, Oct. 63, p.43), mentions it in *Serah*.
59. See Shah Waliullah, *Al-Dur-al-Thamin*.
60. Khawaja Hameed, 'Muqadima', *Tarjuma-i-Hujjat*
61. Maulana Sindhi, "Shah Waliullah ka Falsafa", *Al-Rahim*, p.11.
62. *Al-Furqan*, *Shah Waliullah*, Number, p.217.
63. M.M. Sharif *op.cit.* p.1563.
64. Sabih Ahmad Kamali, *MAI*, *op.cit.*
65. Muhammad Sarwar, *Muqadimma to Maulana Sindhi's Falsafa*, p.24
66. Shah Waliullah, *Itihaf-al-Nabiyah*, Lahore, 1969.
67. *Ibid.*
68. Shah Waliullah, *Al-Insaf Fi Bayan Al-Sabab, Al-Ikhtilaf*, Urdu. Tran. by Sadruddin Islahi, Under the Title *Ikhtalafi Masa'il Mien Ai'tidal Ki Rah*, Matbu'a Jama' at-i-Islam, Rampur, 1952.
69. See Shah Waliullah, *Iqd-al-Jid Fil Akham-al-Ijtihad wal Taqlid*, Lahore, 1965.
70. *Hama'at*, Dr Muhammad Sarwar has translated it under the title of *Tasawwuf ki Haqiqat aur uska Falsafa-i-Tarikh*, Lahore n.d.
71. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Shah Waliullah ki Siyasi Maktubat*, Lahore, n.d.

18. E. Mitouoch, "Ayyam-al-Arab" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p.793.
19. T.P. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, Lahore, n.d. "Ayyam-al-Biz".
20. John Penrice, *A Dictionary and Glossary of the Quran*, Lahore, 1975.
21. The concept of time according to the philosophers is a relation to the apparent world and there is no existence of time in such a sense.
22. The mystics and philosophers do not present the question of supra-world affairs under the limits of time and space but under Person and Attributes.
23. *The Quran*, 36/37-40.
24. *The Quran*, 36/37-40.
25. Shah Waliullah, *Hujjat Allah*, original with Urdu Tran, by Manzoor Al-Wagidi, Lahore, n.d, p.77.
26. Mohammad Mazharuddin Siddiqi, *Islam ka Nazria-i-Tarikh*, Lahore, 1979, also see S.M. Jaffar, *History of History*.
27. Sabih Ahmad Kamali, *op.cit.*, p.79.
28. Shah Waliullah *Fauz-al-Harmain*, Urdu Tran., by Mohammad Sarwar, Lahore, 1947. Revelation, 11th.
29. Ibn Khaldum, *The Muqadima*.
30. Sabih Ahmad Kamali, *op.cit.*, p.79.
31. *The Quran*, 39/23.
32. See Shah Waliullah; *Tafhimat*, Bijnor, 1976.
33. Shah Waliullah, *Budur-al-Bazighah*, Eng. Tran. by J.M.S. Baijon entitled *Full Moon Appearing on the Horizon*. S. Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, 1986, Chap.1st, 2nd.
34. *Hujjat*, *op.cit.*, p.110.
35. *Burud*, *op.cit.*, p.227.

Al-Intibah, I⁶⁷ too, he deals with the same problem. In *Al-Insaf*⁶⁸ he presents the history of the four stages of differences among the Muslims and formation of the four schools of *fiqh*, and in another book *Aqd-al-jid* he throws light on the history of *Ijtihad* (fresh enquiry) and *taqlid* (conformity) trying to harmonize the two.⁶⁹ In *Al-Intibah*, I, he evaluates Muslim mysticism. *Al-Qawl-al-Jamil* deals with the relationship between the mystic and his pupil. *Hamat* has a very prominent place in Shah Waliullah's mystical thought; by analyzing the history of mysticism in the book, he tries to remove the innovations and sins among the mystics on the one hand and lays down principles for mystics on the other.⁷⁰ Shah Waliullah also makes reference to the circumstances and conditions of his own time in all the discussed aspects in his writings, particularly in his letters.⁷¹

In this way Shah Waliullah studies history under his concept of *Ayyam Allah*, taking it as an element to measure the change in the working of the system in the universe. He sees *Ayyam Allah* as a continuously changing process. Starting from Adam down to Muhammad (SAW), Shah Waliullah presents *Ayyam Allah* as an outburst of one central idea and design, whom all religions follow. Being a theologian, his emphasis remains ever to prove the development of *Ayyam Allah* under religions and prophets and that is how he analyses *Ayyam Allah*. Although, he believes that *Ayyam Allah* are in progress, yet when he sees the decline of religion he leaves it without analysis, and turns his attention towards the modes of civilization that developed during *Ayyam Allah*.

of the Holy Prophet and the pious Caliphs. Although Shah Waliullah has discussed nearly all aspects of *Ayyam Allah* in *Hujjat* and *Budur*, he takes up these aspects with more detail, and separately, as a history of the prophets under the title of *Tawil*. Significantly, Shah Waliullah's main emphasis in all his writings remains on the Prophet Muhammad (SAW), but he also wrote separate books on the *seerat* of the Prophet. In *Su-rur-ul-Makhzun*, Shah Waliullah, very concisely, throws light upon the life of the Prophet, and also deals with the topic in *Al-Atiyah Al-Samadiyah*.⁵⁸ In *Tawil*, Shah Waliullah gives rational interpretation of miracles, but, at the same time, all his thought is full of revelatory enunciation taken from the Prophet as guidance.⁵⁹ In any case, he deals with the sayings of the Prophet at length.

Shah Waliullah puts the utmost emphasis on the period of the pious caliphate in its two capacities. First as complimentary to the Prophet's mission, and second to remove the complaints and inconsistencies about the period. In his books *Izalat-al-Khifa an Khilafat al-khulafa* and *Qurat-al-A'nain fi Tafzil-i-Shaikhain*, he discusses the pious caliphate in great detail and tries to prove that the appointment of the four Caliphs was highly appropriate and according to the will of God and the good sense of the Prophet imbibed by his followers. He proves his views with all his scholastic skill. His *Izalat* is very much praised for its dialectics. It is thought to be a very stimulating sketch of the history of *deen* and intellectual and religious revolutions and orientations of Islam.⁶⁰ In regard to his presentation Maulana Sindhi is of the opinion that no one has pictured the practical and intellectual history of Islam in such a way as has been done by the Shah.⁶¹ Maulana Manazir Ahsan Gilani is of the opinion that *Al-Farooq* of Shibli is primarily based on this book.⁶² Shah Waliullah as a "traditionist" (*muhadith*) derives all his ideas about the period from the Quran and the Sunnah.

After the pious caliphate, he turned to the history of Islamic sciences. He accepts the structure of the pious caliphate

its best during the reign of the Prophet (SAW) and the four pious caliphs. Further development of Islam he studies under the four stages of development of *fiqh* and the differences among the four *fiqhi* schools and under four leading Sufi order.

Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi is of the opinion that the concept of "Ala'Allah" can be understood only by a physicist and *Ayyam Allah* only by an historian and expert of philosophy of history,⁴⁵ and that Shah Waliullah not only proves himself a philosopher of history but also, on the principles derived from the historical experience of humanity, diagnoses the diseases of Islamic society and proposes remedies. It is also argued that Shah Waliullah's grip over the Islamic sciences was due to his capacity to perceive Islamic history.

In this capacity Shah Waliullah's *Tawil-al-ahadith* presents his concept of world history⁴⁶ and of the first phase of development and evolution of humanity. In the book, he traces and expresses his verdict on the development of society right from Adam to the last Prophet. By this "first systematic history of the prophets"⁴⁷ Shah Waliullah expresses the development of humanity through religion: *Irtifaqat* and *Iqtarabat*. He tries to prove that the social codes prescribed by the prophets can be interpreted reasonably in the light of the needs of their respective times. Under history Shah Waliullah draws a picture of the four stages of development of religion: three of *Irtifaqat* and four of *Iqtarabat*. The fourth *Irtifaq* of the future he foresees in the development of Islam. In this book he tries to prove on the one hand the evolutionary nature of man's thought, society and that of *Iqtarabat*, while, on the other hand, he affirms that the basis and teachings of all religions are the same, and differences among them are according to the needs of their time and space. At the same time he asserts that Islam is a universal rational religion.⁴⁸ He brings out unity of thought in the continuously changing wisdom of the prophets.⁴⁹ Shah Waliullah presents Adam as the founder of religion: first *Irtifaq* and opener of *Iqtrabat*, along with the knowledge of the hidden.⁵⁰ It was Idris who further expended *Iqtarabat* to achieve angelic

evolutionary process in which the powers of nature were transferred to different forms of being.²⁸ These forms were the criterion of right and wrong in their respective times. Shah Waliullah develops a chain of evolution in this respect from the creation of the universe by the ultimate being to man. He sees a perfect continuity and change in the process and this concept resembles the sum of Ibn Khaldun's thought.²⁹ He links the highest form of the former with the lowest form of the latter, the past with the present and the future, and, in this way, all are linked with each other and the former's qualities are transferred to the later. He studies evolution in two distinct phases: first from the creation of time to man and the second under man. He believes that man is the final being (*Ashraf-al Makhlukat*), and foresees further evolution within the species and by the species.

Shah Waliullah believes that now humanity is the criterion of God's will. But the importance of his thought lies in the fact that, unlike others, he does not think that all former criteria have been cancelled³⁰ but merged into the human one which represents all the criteria. He believes that the perfection of one resulted in the emergence of a new form, and, in this way the process reached upto man. Shah Waliullah thinks that evolution reaching perfection and emerging in new creation is a "sign" of God, referred to in the Quran.³¹ In this context he writes in *Tafhimat* that there is new emergence in every age, having its own peculiarities. Hence, with the passage of time these peculiarities too changed and new representations of ultimate reality came into existence. The will of God first appeared in the form of minerals, then plants became the focus of His powers. From plants the office was taken over by animals, and then the will of God emerged in human form.³² In this chain of continuity, change and evolution, Shah Waliullah's discussion on a comparison between animal and human instinct³³ shows him to consider that man is an off-shoot of animal disposition, and that by the perfection of the animal soul the will of God was transferred to humans which became the new crite-

individual day following a somewhat similar pattern.¹⁸ It is not necessary to mention specifically but when change occurs a reference is made to it. Generally, the Arabic language follows the same lines of the term *ayyam*. In this sense, the past events of the Arabs before Islam and in early Islam are described as "Ayyam-al-Arab." The term is also used for tribal warfare which was characteristic of pre-Islamic Arabiya, since the entire history of the Arabs was dominated by warfare. Contrary to that general expression, the use of the word 'yaum' shows that it was in usage to indicate some particular events not only of warfare but also of other important things like "Days of Bright Nights", mentioned in the *Mishkawt*.¹⁹ Although, generally, *Ayyam-Allah* (Days of God) are taken as "those days when it might please God to bestow victory on Muslims",²⁰ on the basis of the interpretation of the referred verses in general. It also means the changes that God brings about in the world during the course of time.²¹

Shah Waliullah follows the same line. He does not limit *Ayyam-Allah* only to the events or changes leading to the victory of Muslims and defeat of their enemies, but defines them as all those events which God has ordained during the course of time.²² Just as history presents the events of the past and their narration, Shah Waliullah uses for the purpose *Ayyam-Allah* and *Tazkir-i-Ayyam Allah* derived from the Quran.

The Quran does not indicate the concept in specific terms, but the word *Ayyam Allah* is used as a synonym for the system of the temporary universe. It deals in this capacity with the problem of how the continuity of time brings about change in the world and, prior to that, how the system of the days came into being and how it is being run by God. The matter can be comprehended through the verse cited above (55/29) as also the verse: "A token unto them is night; we strip it of the day and lo! They are in darkness and the sun runneth on unto a resting place for him. That is the measuring of the mighty and the wise. And for the moon we have appointed a mansion, till she returns like an old shrivelled palm leaf. It is not for the sun to

issues of history from Shah Waliullah's thought, one will lose the backbone of his system. But he does not present his historical thought under the caption of history or *tarikh*. In spite of the fact that both the words, in their specific languages, English and Arabic, are used to denote the same meanings, i.e. narration of past events and their analysis.

Usage of the word *tarikh* as a synonym for history is not ancient, because the word *tarikh* does not express those innovative meanings which the word "history" came to mean under the influence of the modern philosophical thought.⁴ This does not mean that the Muslims did not come across problems concerned with history. They had an advanced consciousness of history, but they present it under different titles and descriptions. In the basic source of Islam, the Quran, events of history are recognized in the names of *qasas* (stories) and *akhbar* (news). In early Islam, Muslim historiography was entitled *akhbar*, *maghazi*, *serah*, *tabaqat* and *Ayyam*⁵ and it is also evident that Imam Bukhari's genealogical collection was entitled "Tarikh". Ibn Taimayia very much aware of history called Aristotelians as deprived of historical consciousness, unacquainted with "Akhbar-i-Umam" and enemies of the evolutionary sciences.⁶ The word *tabaqat* was used by Muslim scholars for the expression of history. *Tabaqat Ibn Saad* is its best example. Ibn Khathir calls his history, *Al-Badayah wal-Nihayah*. Its best example can be seen in the Ibn Zaid Ahmad bin Sahl al-Balkhi's book. *Al-Bad'wal-Tarik*, and it is interesting that the initiator of the philosophy of history, too, does not call his work as history, but "Kitab-ul-Ibra, (the book of warning).⁷

Shah Waliullah uses the word *tarikh* and its particular terminology for defined aspects of his writings to condemn and to praise. He condemns history when it consists merely of stories and narration of events⁸ and lays stress on learning from history for use in the present and the future, in order to solve the problems of work-a-day (*Hikmat-i-Amali*).⁹ In his treatise *Al-Sir-Al-Maktum* in which he deals with the causes that resulted in the development of different types of sciences among