

## *The Process of History Interpreting: Shah Waliullah's Concept of Ayyam Allah*

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History is a metaphor for continuity and change. The question arises: is there "a pattern, a plot, a theme, a motif, a frame, a structure, a plan, a scheme, an outline" in history? This question has been tackled in numerous and different ways and terminologies. Historical rationalism claims a pattern of historical monism, one overarching and all-inclusive pattern; and historical pluralism, more than one pattern, each arguing under the concepts of irrationalism or nihilism, that there is no pattern. The claim that one does not know whether there is a pattern, is called historical scepticism. Historical subjectivism claims that a pattern is something which is arbitrarily imposed, one pattern being no more there than any other.<sup>1</sup>

There arise accordingly two distinct kinds of controversy. First, about the justification of these views, and a second one which is possible only after historical monism or historical pluralism have been proved. The controversy would be over what the pattern is in the process of history.<sup>2</sup> The first problem is not the subject matter of our topic. The question what the pattern is, will be dealt with in the following pages. In this respect the mind is assailed so many other questions, and extension to the controversy, such as how the process is going on, what is the role of human being in that system, and if the system imposed by Allah, then how Allah's providence acts in it. With reference to man's role in the system the question of man's freedom or fatalism are more important.

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1. Alburey Casteel, *An Introduction to Modern Philosophy*, (London: 1936), 433.

2. *Ibid.*, 434.



History as a pattern shows the predominance of theory over historical thought. Jews, Christians and Muslims all have propagated it. In modern thought controversy is apparent within the pattern and most of the leading modern historians have analysed history as a pattern. They have all maintained that the movement of history is subject to some laws. It is not an arbitrary movement, a meaningless conglomeration of events, but an intelligible process guided by an inherent law or a design of divine intelligence.

St. Augustine's "The City of Allah", produced a great new theological interpretation of history. He presented history as one aspect of the true world created by Allah and it is subject to law. A "contemporary Augustine,"<sup>3</sup> Toynbee, explains history as a vision of Allah's creation on the move, "from Allah its source to Allah its goal".<sup>4</sup> Ignoring the role of man, they present man as a mere puppet in the divine system. Boassuet presents the concept of providence by which "Allah overthrows his laws when He pleases"<sup>5</sup> and in this way tries to prove the superstitious belief in miracles. All these theological opinions were interpreted in modern times by George Santayana (b.1863) in his "Reason in Religion"<sup>6</sup>

From the 18<sup>th</sup> century there developed a new outlook toward the universe. There began a war of scepticism and reform of religion. It was Vico who first explained the theological views about providence. As against Bossuet, he explained providence in such a way that "nothing remains of the transcendent and miraculous operation". With Vico providence has become as natural, secular and historical as if it did not exist at all.<sup>7</sup> But Herder and Voltaire totally changed the concept. They developed the view that history was an autonomous process "a purely natural history of human forces, actions and instincts according to time and space."<sup>8</sup> In the 19<sup>th</sup> century Hegel and Marx advocated dialectics of historical process.

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3. Hans Meyerhoff, *The Philosophy of History in our time*, (New York: 1964), 4.

4. Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, Vol. I, (London: 1943), chapter I:123.

5. Hans Meyerhoff, 5.

6. Alburey Casteel, 435.

7. Karl Lowith, *Meaning in history*, (Chicago: 1949), 123, quoted by Hans Meyerhoff, 5.

8. Hans Meyerhoff, 5.



In Muslim thought two different schools, the Mu'tazilites and Asharites, stood for two different types of arguments. The traditional views were the same as those of Christians. But during the early days of the Abbasids, there flourished a rationalist movement under the Mu'tazilitae sect. The Mu'tazilites challenge the view that Allah is the author of all human actions good or bad.<sup>9</sup> To "safeguard the ethical nature of Allah" they presented the view that man's will to act on his own initiative determines the course of history.<sup>10</sup> Among the Mu'tazilites, the Wasliyah denied the attributes of Allah but the Hudhaliyah accepted them in their essence.<sup>11</sup> To prove that Allah is just and wise they argued that He could not be the author of evil and irrationality. Wasil wrote: "It is forbidden to establish relations between Him and wrong"<sup>12</sup> But the Murdariyah differed from the other Mu'tazilites, and maintained that Allah can lie and do injustice.<sup>13</sup> The most important view can be traced of Mua'mmar bin Abdul-al-Sulami who argued that Allah did not create anything except bodies. Accidents are produced by bodies and occur either naturally or they are the result of option.<sup>14</sup> He also holds that any accident which inheres in a subject does so by reason of an entity. So because of the view, his believers are also called "believers in entity."<sup>15</sup>

"In their attempt to establish a wise and just Allah the Mu'tazilites assigned man an effective role in the scheme of history".<sup>16</sup> Another sect of the Mu'tazilites, the Hudhailiya observed that Allah's knowledge is perfect but the reality that takes place is the responsibility of man.<sup>17</sup> The Nazzamiya sect of the Mu'tazilites claim that Allah created man to perform those acts which are in his capacity to choose and perform, while Allah's own power to act falls outside the sphere of the human world, and.

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9. Wensink, *The Muslim Creed*, (New York: 1965), 52

10. Mohammad Bin Abdul Karim Shahrastani, *Muslim Sects and Divisions* (A section in *Kitab al-Milal-Wa al-Nihal*), translation by A.K.Kazi, and J.G. Flynn, (London: 1984), 43.

11. *Ibid.*, 46.

12. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, (New York: 1965), 81.

13. Shahrastani, 60.

14. *Ibid.*, 57.

15. *Ibid.*, 58.

16. Aslam Syed, *Muslim Response to the West, Muslim Historiography in India 1857-1914*, (Islamabad: 1988), 7.

17. Shahrastani, 46.



after delegating powers to man, His function comes to an end.<sup>18</sup> But they accepted the view that "every act which is beyond the limits of human power is Allah's deed".<sup>19</sup> In this way Mu'tazilites presented a rational view. This development also resulted in the birth of the Qadariyah sect which propagated the view that man is responsible for his acts.

As against the Mu'tazilites, the Asharites adopted a predestination view. They believed that all acts take place in accordance with the Divine will, though they accepted the view that Allah helps his creatures at the time of trouble. Discussing the nature of man's role in the universe, Abul Hassan the Asharite, introduced his concept of "*kasb*" (to acquire). He held that though Allah is the cause of the creation of all events, man's power to acquire also placed responsibility on him for his actions. Al-Ghazali, under the concept of *bila kafayah*, stressed the acceptance of the religious statement without asking any questions. He proceeded to establish the supremacy of Divine knowledge over human wisdom implying that reason could not be used to understand a scheme planned by Divine will.<sup>20</sup> In this regard he lays emphasis on the omnipotence and providence of Allah and on the predestination view about man and the process of history.<sup>21</sup> The Jabariyah also supported this view.

Shah Waliullah as a religious scholar, was fully aware of the controversy between the Mu'tazilites and the Asharites. It has been left to us to determine to which school he belonged.

Shah Waliullah deals with this problem while discussing under his concept of *ayyam Allah*. To him the Divine will is the cause of the creation of the universe. The universe is an illumination, a theophany and a reflection of those properties of the Divine attributes that are the essence of divine names. Among them four attributes, invention (*abda*), creation (*khalq*), planning (*tadbir*) and emanation (*tadalli*) have primary importance. In the systemisation of the universe all other attributes are those which bring perfection to these four. The system of the universe is planned according to the universal good (*maslihat-i kulli*) in the form of universal law. The creation of an evolutionary process in the universe is the result of dialectics which began between the imaginative will and

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18. Aslam Syed, 3.

19. Shahrastani, 50.

20. Aslam Syed, 10.

21. *Al-Qur'an, Surah al-Rahman*, 29.



material. The Divine will first appears in the mind of a great person (*shakhs-i akbar*) then makes itself manifest to the world of pre-configuration (*'alam-i mithal*) and appears to the material world in the mind and intellect of man. Before man came into being, it appeared in different forms, but now man is the centre and source of the implementation of Divine will (*iradah-i ilahiyah*). Man in his general capacity and with his intellect (*aql*), heart (*iradah*) and instinct or disposition (*taba', nafas* or *jibillah*) implements Allah's plan and will in general. But by moulding these senses analogous to angelic properties, and through throwing out the impediments, man plays a specific role as 'arif (the person who knows universal good). The system shows that Allah implements His plan through man, and man in this world is bound to his fate, although he feels himself free to some extent.

Shah Waliullah develops his concept of the process which prevails in the universe from his concept of *ayyam* Allah. Allah has declared the system of day and night as a symbol of the system of the universe, a token for pondering over its mechanism. Shah Waliullah in the same way takes the word *ayyam*, for interpretation of the verse, "And every day, He exercises new powers".<sup>22</sup> In Altaf-al-Quds, he adopts "*yawm*" as a system and "*sha'n*" (new power) as a remarkable change in that system with the passage of time,<sup>23</sup> which, indeed, is the essence of history.

### Maslihat-i kulli (universal good)

It has been discussed that looking for a pattern in the process of history is a common tendency. All religions propagate that the system of the universe is running according to a pattern and purpose, planned by Allah. During modern times, Hegel trend it as the "Absolute Idea". Shah Waliullah analyses the pattern as *maslihat-i kulli* or universal good. He is of the opinion that the system of the universe is under progress according to the universal good. The planning of the universe is not out of it. He is of the view that the Divine will (*iradah-i ilahiya*) is the cause of the creation and systematisation of the universe. The things which came into existence in that universe, first appeared in the world of proconfiguration (*'alam-i mithal*) and then came into the material world. In this way he is of the opinion that the Divine will and the world of pre-configuration, both

22. Shah Waliullah, *Lamhah*, Urdu trans. Ahmad Hassan (Lahore, n.d.) Hereafter *Lamhah*, 50.

23. *Ibid.*, 48.



are bound to the universal good.<sup>24</sup> In other words the law of universal good is dominant not only over the material world but also over the worlds which are impossible to see. In his opinion the universal good is established under Allah's attribute of *rahmah* (Mercy).<sup>25</sup> Under this attribute the entire system of the universe and all the attributes of Allah are sealed to that one law, the universal good. Shah Waliullah also sees the enactment of universal good under the concept of *sunnat-ullah* (saying and acts of Allah) and the attribute of *tadbir* (planning). Under *sunnat-ullah* Shah Waliullah analyses the system of universe.<sup>26</sup> According to the universal good and under the attribute of planing he looks at the laws established for running the system of the universe.<sup>27</sup> Shah Waliullah thinks that Allah's attribute of mercy is the seal to all the divine attributes or *sunnat-ullah*<sup>28</sup> except his person, and presents the universal good. All creation, the rules of the system, planning, and species and their properties are in accordance with the universe. To Shah Waliullah the verse, "Every day he exercises new powers," means that the world created by Allah is liable to change the changeable but in accordance with the universal good.

Shah Waliullah explains these views under his concept of *taqdir* (destiny).<sup>29</sup> Mawlana Sindhi, explaining the Shah's concept of *taqdir*, writes that every thing is bound to the law which is established by Allah for its species. There are so many systems and different aspects of cause and effect, but nothing is allowed to create a free effect what so ever under the ordained system every thing is going on under its own law without varying from general law. This is the powerful and all-embracing system of *taqdir*. To Shah Waliullah it is the Shari'ah which is the law for humanity.<sup>30</sup> In other words Shari'ah, *taqdir* and *tadbir* are the same things.<sup>31</sup>

24. Hegel's Science of Logic, Eng. trans A.V.Miller, (New York: 1969), Section III.

25. Shah Waliullah, *Budur-al Bazighah*, trans. J.M.S. Baljon, entitled *Full Moon Appearing on the Horizon* (Lahore: 1986), 3. Hereafter Budur.

26. Shah waliullah, *Hujjat Allah*, original with Urdu trans. *Manzoor-al Wajidi*, (Lahore: n.d.), 62. Hereafter as Hujjah.

27. *Ibid.*, 52.

28. *Budur*, 4.

29. *Hujjah*, 172.

30. Mawlana Sindhi, *Shah Waliullah awr unka falsafah*, (Lahore: 1945), 173-4.

31. Shah Waliullah, *Altaf-al Quds*, (Gujranwala: n.d.), 114-16.



## Dialectics of imaginative will and material

According to the Quranic rule of progress, evolution in the universe and society is going on by a dialectical process between right and wrong, or between "*millat-i kufriyah*" and "*millat-i Islamiyah*" Shah Waliullah adopts the same theory. To him the dialectical process is based on imaginative will (*khayal* and *iradah*) and material. Evolution takes place in world of the phenomena in different forms within external spheres, i.e., properties, of species, their relation with other species, the habits of the species, or natural process according to the natural law. Shah Waliullah believes that the process comes to a conclusion by the collision of active and passive powers, whether actions, deeds, elements, affairs or the system of the universe. By the differential collision of some affairs so many new things come into existence. These again come into conflict with each other and in this way something new is born. These new things again come into conflict and collision, and in this way the process continues.<sup>32</sup> In other words the synthesis of the active and the passive gives birth to another thesis and antithesis, as Hegel explains,<sup>33</sup> and in this way the process goes on without a halt.

Shah Waliullah further explains the dialectics under his concept of *azdawag*, which we can call mutual understanding for synthesis. There are peripheral elements in the universe which come into relation with each other. Their *azdawag* (synthesis), according to Shah Waliullah, gives birth to new things. These things again come into contacts and conflicts with each other and by their synthesis gives birth to conditions which lead to two set of things, some aim at good and some at laxity. Both the kinds again come into conflicts with each other and in this way the process continues.<sup>34</sup>

That dialectical process takes places on the basis of imaginative will and material. In the dialect, imaginative will is the active and matter is the passive entity. Shah Waliullah says that Allah's imaginative will and state of non-being come into synthesis in the form of emergence of the universe. The universe like man has an intellect. The Divine will firstly appears in the intellect and heart of a Great Person and then comes into relation and contact with matter, elements, and species of the universe and results in the creation of new things through synthesis. The new forms strengthen

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32. Lamhah, 29.

33. Ibid., 37.

34. Ibid., 20.



the imaginative will and the imaginary level takes as its place. That new will — established imagination — give birth to a new imagination which again develops relations with the other species and leads to new forms of creations, and the process continues.<sup>35</sup>

From the Great Person (*shakhs-i akbar*) the imaginative will appears into the world of pre-configuration and from there to the real material world and to the intellect and heart of man.<sup>36</sup>

From the world of pre-configuration, which Shah Waliullah explains as the mind of the universe, and Dr. Gulam Murtaza Malik as “Drawing house”, the same imaginative will is transferred to the intellect of man. The imaginative will through the intellect and heart of man comes into relation with material elements and gives birth to new creation which strengthens the imaginative will and human mind takes its steps forward. From it a new imaginative will comes into being and the process continues.<sup>37</sup> In *Hujjah* he writes:

Sometimes when two armies fight, the angels put into the heart of an army the ideas of domination and bravery and techniques of military operations peculiar to that situation and into the hearts of the other army the ideas not suitable to the condition, and in this way happenings occur.<sup>38</sup>

In this way Shah Waliullah points out the dialectics based on imaginary will and material, laying inside the system of universe and process of history. In this regard he seems to be closer to Hegel's idealism than Marx's material dialectics. But Shah Waliullah's concept of dialectics is more important than the both. He points out the natural development of idea and its active form. He says it is thinking (*tawahum*) which establishes some will in the heart or the mind. Thus his imagination is linked with its foundations and result. Then like Hegel, he does not lay its emphasis only on imagination. To him in this material world any thing could be measured only by some organic way. His “imagination” comes across with material and he seems to be synthesizing Hegel's dialectical idealism and Marx's dialectical materialism long before they presented

35. Shah Waliullah, *Satat*, (Hyderabad: Shah Waliullah Academy, n.d.), 8. Hereafter Sata).

36. Ghulam Murtaza Malik, *Shah Waliullah ka falsafah*, (Lahore: 1995), 23.

37. *Hujjah*, 65.

38. *Budur*, 124-125.



their respective systems of thought. It is in accordance with Islamic approach that the religion consists of both exoteric and esoteric entities.

### Allah's nature and His role

In the traditional scholarship a leading role is assigned to Allah. Saint Augustine and Toynbee look at the history as Allah's actions. Among the Muslims Asharites confirm the view of Divine omnipotence. Shah Waliullah, too follows the same view in general. Against the Mu'tazilites, the Asharites are of the opinion that man cannot challenge that which he faces. While Shah Waliullah seems to be contributing to the Asharite viewpoint, his interpretations brings him very close to the views of the Mu'tazilites. By defining *taqdir* as a species he is of the opinion that each species acts according to its specific qualities and nothing can turn it from them.

In the first volume of *Hujjah* Shah Waliullah has discussed the universal principles underlying the system of the universe. The development of the order of his thought shows that according to him, every happening in the world is in accordance with the Divine will. All the systems are being run according to His plan for "*maslihat-i Kulli*" or universal good. The universe is a reflection of His names. Among the names four are very important based on the attributes of *abda'*, *khalq*, *tadbir* and *tadalli*. It is *tadalli* through which Allah reveals His will and power to the mind and heart of man. Man works according to the will of Allah. Shah Waliullah relates these views with the Mu'tazilites by defining *taqdir* as natural properties of somebody. He also does explain the divine omnipotence as a system that Allah never like to break or suspend.

### Nature of Allah

To Shah Waliullah Allah is above all that the human mind can imagine. No attribute represents His perfect imagination. He is self-existent and above being and non-being. He is the essence of all causes and there is no cause of Him. He is the essence of all the creations. His attributes are phenomenal qualities of His person. He is above the determination of universal and particular because He is the root cause of things existent. He is above the wholeness, for the whole is included in His oneness. He is the only true being and above the imperfect universe. The universe is awaiting for His grace for its survival. Shah Waliullah believes that the universal and particular are infect, categories used by our reason



and are products of our perception. They are not applicable to ultimate being.<sup>39</sup> To Shah Waliullah he is the ultimate being, ultimate reality, ultimate cause, ultimate essence; cause of causes, essence of essences. It is He who has created the universe and is running His system. He holds all those attributes which run the system of the universe created by his attributes and which are evident in the world of phenomena.

Shah Waliullah is certain that all the creation and its systems are caused by Divine will (*iradah-i ilahiyah*)<sup>40</sup>, under which Allah created and systemized the universe. It is His will which is thoroughly going into the system of the universe. That universe is an explanation of His will.<sup>41</sup> The revival of Divine will is the basis of new creations and use of new powers (*sha'n*)<sup>42</sup> and development of knowledge, sciences, species and all other things.<sup>43</sup> The Divine will reveals itself to the universe by *tajalli-i a'zam*; the most supreme theophany. In the order of coming out of His will, firstly a perception of his own person appeared to him which realizes Him that His person has such universality that nothing could be excluded from it. By the second theophany, particulars of the knowledge of universal power appeared. But the third theophany appeared in an all-embracing way resulting in the emergence of all the individual species and their mutual inner and outer relationships.

Shah Waliullah believes that the Divine will first appeared in the form of attributes of Allah. Allah has no personal name because He is above the need for a name. The names attached to His person are merely sign of his attributes.

Shah Waliullah takes these names as the essence of all the creation. All the universe, its system and happenings are a reflection of the attributes of His names.<sup>44</sup> The enactment of these attributes of these Divine names resulted in the formation of the system of the universe. Nothing is beyond the capacity of these names except Allah Himself.<sup>45</sup> All the realities which have taken place and upon which are based the

39. Shah Waliullah, *Al-khayr-al kathir*, (Lahore: 1980). Hereafter Khazanah, 7 & 10.

40. Shah Waliullah, *Izat-ul-khifa'*, (Karachi: n.d.). Vol.I.

41. Lamhah, 50.

42. *Izalah*, 1.

43. *Budur*, 117.

44. Khazanah, I.

45. Lamhah, 20.



universal phenomena, are the shades and reflection of these names. The process of invention and evolution in the universe is going on under these names, and the management of the universal system is based also upon these attributes.<sup>46</sup>

Shah Waliullah has discussed the attributes of the names in the forth "*khazanah*" of "*al-Khayr al-kathir*", in *al-Budur al-bazigha*, *tafhimat* and *Hujjah*. He is of the opinion that among the names of Allah, four have primary importance in accordance with the system: *abda'*, *khalq*, *tadbir* and *tadalli*. Other names are reflections of these four and bring perfection to them; but "*Rahman*" (Merciful) essence of the attribute "*rahmah*" is the seal of all the Divine attributes. It shows the universal good and Divine will according to which the system of the universe is created and is being run by the ultimate reality. Shah Waliullah believes that omnipotence (*qudrat*) of Allah too is considered under the system laying behind the universe. He tries to prove this in his *t'awil al-ahadith*.

#### Four perfect attributes (sciences)

Shah Waliullah analyses the system of the universe under four most prominent attributes. He calls the knowledge of these four "*ilm-i kamalate-i arba'*" (science of four perfection's of Allah). Within and above these is the will of Allah which shows a universal good, apparent under the attribute of *rahmah*. These four, *'abda'*, *khalq*, *tadbir* and *tadalli* have their own respective importance and come into reality through the most supreme theophany.

#### Abda'

The word "*Abda'*" is derived form "*Bad'*" translated as 'invention or origination'. It means to bring out something from pure non-existence to existence<sup>47</sup> without any material and form.<sup>48</sup> According to a *hadith*: "there was nothing but Allah"<sup>49</sup> Shah Waliullah concludes that work is continuing between Allah and that which changes from state to state. The possibility of any thing, being not necessary without existence, is the

46. Lamhah, 34.

47. Hujjah, 50.

48. *Ibid*.

49. Lamhah, 34.



necessity of the "*Abda*". Its origin is the necessity and need.<sup>50</sup> It resulted in the emergence of *shakhs-i akbar* because on thing creates another. So Allah who is the One created one thing. The great person is one who includes in himself all that comes later under him.<sup>51</sup>

### Khalq (creation)

Creation means making a thing from something already existing, as the making of Adam from clay. Under the attribute of creation there emerged so many species, elements and spheres alongwith their properties, qualities, attributes and nature. These are different from each other. In this way every species element or sheer is granted specific particular functions. Shah Waliullah also derives this from the sayings of the Holy Messenger of Allah,<sup>52</sup> and also defines it under the concept of *taqdir* which is according to him, a kind of properties fixed for one species. For every species a constitution, certain manners and actions are fixed. Man for example is speaking creation, understanding speech, clear in his skin, straight in stature and walks on two feet. As a contrast the horse neighs, is unable to understand speech, is hairy in its skin with a curved form and walks on four feet. When a horse is angry, it bites and kicks with its legs, while the bull butts with its horns head. At the time of copulation, every species goes through specific movements, different from the movements of other species. Similarly, at the time of eating and drinking and rearing their young one, the way of one species differ from that of another.<sup>53</sup>

These species appear in the world created within the great person, primarily based on two elements *nafs-i kulli* (the universal soul) and *nafs-i Rahmani* (the material soul). Among the three worlds the first is '*alam-i arwah*' (The spiritual world), second is '*alam-i mithal*' (The world of pre-configuration) and third is *aslami-i shahadah* or *madi* (the visible or material world).

'*Alam-i arwah*' consists of angelic species. Among them are included Jinns, the angles nearest to Allah, the high council (*mala'-i a'la*) and the

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50. Sata, 2.

51. Hujjah, 50.

52. Sata, 15.

53. The Shah has presented these types in *Sata'at*, *Hujjah*, *Budur* and *Tafshimat*. Baljon, *Religion and Thought of Shah Waliullah* (Lahore: 1984), 26, 28.



low council (*mala-i safl*), the guardian angles and protective prototypes.<sup>54</sup> In the spiritual world there is a Holy Circle (*hazirat al-quds*) which is the centre of the spirits and angles of high purposes.

In between the world of spirits and the material world, there is a world of similitude or pre-configuration. It is a link between the two. It receives impulses from above as well as from below.<sup>55</sup> Every happening taking place in material world, first takes place into the world of pre-configuration nearly on thousand years before it appears to the material world. It is in fact a Drawing House for temporal happenings. If *shakhs-i akbar* is considered as one human body then it is intellect of it in which an imaginary design takes place, before physical appearance, just like the working plan of an architect. In this way the occurrences of the apparent world are measured first in that world and than implemented into the actual world.<sup>56</sup> The third is the apparent world or material world. All the species, attributes, properties and such other entities belong to that world alongwith happenings and events.

### Tadbir (planning)

*Tadbir* refers to free acting in the universe, so that the happenings therein should turn in conformity with the universal good. It works between Allah and those things which have a place of multiplicity like the species and individuals. The intermixture of power is the necessity of this attribute. If there had been no planning, it would have led to an evil which is against the universal good and to which the wisdom of Allah has rejected. To Shah Waliullah, through *tadbir* the being possessing the power of will, men particularly, are inspired to do something and it comes out through three kingdoms of creation, '*alam-i arwah*', '*alam-i mithal*' and '*alam-i shahadah*'. Every event occurs because of some causes while the creation of cause is composed of inspiration and transformation, respectively of man's attitude and of nature.<sup>57</sup>

According to *tadbir* every thing has some purposes and causes, there is no laxity in the rule that something can appear without any cause. In fact it is a system of cause and effect which continues the process of

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54. Budur, 152.

55. Hujjah.

56. Lamhah, 34.

57. *Ibid.*, 26,27.



evolution in dialectical form. By the intermixture and collision of the powers of the universal species, there emerge new powers and forms. Under *tadbir* every thing comes into being and works according to the nature of the species, its relation with the other species, its habits and such other things, which are based on two spheres: celestial and earthly.<sup>58</sup> Shah Waliullah also calls it "*sunnat-ullah*", and "*fitrah*". To Shah Waliullah the most important function of *tadbir* is that everything should occur according to some rational reason. It is created by the *Mudabir* through the dialectical process. Thus the system of evolution, based on cause and effect, is generated and a system of universe for independent working is established.<sup>59</sup> Shah Waliullah has discussed at length the matters pertaining to *tadbir* in his books like the *Hujjah*, *Lamhat*, *Sata't* and other Mystical writings.

### **Tadalli (emanation)**

*Tadalli* means appearance of Allah as a planner of the body. It is the result of the appearance of Allah. The first manifestation of its appearance is the source of planning in the world. It appears for the guidance of the people for the perfection and knowledge as well as for turning the flow of evolution towards a new way. In fact it is the working and acting of Allah's will in the universe. First it appeared in the form of the universe, then *hazirat al-quds* and then to the material world in the form of minerals, plants, animals and man. Now man's intellect and heart are the centre of emanation. From its source the Divine will appears to the mind of man and guides him. In fact it shows him how Allah illuminates His will all over the world and especially in the heart of man, through which man is running the system of the universe.<sup>60</sup>

### **Rahmah (mercy)**

Discussing the qualities of the attribute of *rahmah*, Shah Waliullah presents his views about Allah's providence and omnipotence, through which He comes to help of His creatures when they are in trouble. For that purpose, according to the traditionalists, he even overthrows the system of the universe. It results in the form of miracles. Modernists reject the concept of miracles. It is Vico who holds the opinion that Allah's

58. See Supra, causation and dialectics.

59. Lamhah, 34, 35.

60. Budur, 125.



providence too appears within the system. Shah Waliullah, under his concept of *rahmah*, explains Allah's omnipotence and providence acting within the system planned for the universe. In his "*tawil al-ahadith*" he tries his best to prove Messenger of Allah's miracles as a system of organic rational happenings.

In his capacity of *rahmah* Allah's name *Rahman* is taken as a "seal" of divine names. Under this attribute Allah is said to have sealed the system of universe which he has created and planned under the attributes of properties. Allah has sealed the system of universe which He has created under the four attributes. Shah Waliullah holds the view that under *rahmat*, *al-Rahman* has determined the system of the universe, the various kinds of species, the world of spirits, *mithal* and apparent the plan and the ways of *tadalli*. Under the attribute Allah's wisdom does not like to destroy His system. In this way the spheres, the causes, the effects, the methods and ways of evaluation, all are fixed. Nothing can occur out-side that system. According to the seal Allah has bound Himself to behave with His creations like a father who provides all the requirements to his dependants. So Allah Himself is the guardian of his system.<sup>61</sup> He does not allow one attribute to destroy another. In relation to the essential four attributes Shah Waliullah believes that the *rahmah* of Allah does not allow *tadbir* to destroy that which is strengthened by the creation, and this way the system is strengthened by *tadbir* and *tadalli*.<sup>62</sup>

Shah Waliullah puts forth the belief that the system of the universe is working according to the will and under His planning. It is working and keeping with the process of cause and effect. The process of evolution is dialectical and based on imagination. The intermixing of imagination and matter result in the formation of such things which create some other imagination. The system is based on the four primary attributes of Allah. It is sealed by a great attribute *rahmah* and now nothing can appear out of that system of *tdbir* and *rahmah*.

Although, looking at it generally, he seems to be following traditional theological views of Augustine and of Asharites, but his concept of attribute of *rahmah* brings him very close to the modernists and the Mu'tazilites. He argues that every thing is occurring according to the system created by Allah and every thing is doing its work under the system. Nothing can be implemented outside the system. It is in this

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61. *Ibid.*, 15, 126, Lamhah, 35.

62. Sata, 15.



regard he seems to be very close to the Mua`tazilites. His interpretations of miracles in organic way prove him a modernist. In this regard he tries to show that Allah's omnipotence and providence also appear within the system, not out of the system. That system can not be changed because Allah has sealed it under his attribute of *rahmah*. Thus he comes very closer to Vico and Mua`tazilites.

### Man's nature and his role

Now the question arises of man's role in the process of history. How does man play his role? Does he have some freedom or is he bound to some law or power to do exactly as that law or power wills? The Mu`tazilites are of the view that man has power over his good or bad deeds and is also their creator. He plays his role in accordance with the qualities accorded to his species. Almost a similar view is held by Voltair. But to Asharites and other theological schools, man is bound to his fate. What he does is his *taqdir*.

To Shah Waliullah in the process of evolution, Allah implements His plan through man. Man's importance lies in the fact that he fulfils the requirements of Allah's divine plan. Man cannot be able do any thing by himself. He plays his role in two ways: in general capacity of three superior limbs, *`aql* (intellect), *qalb* (heart) and *taba`* or *nafs* (the spirit). A thought comes into the intellect of man, the heart converts it into a will and the spirit inspires him for its enactment. In a reformed way, the three superior limbs get access to Allah's emanation, and act according to it. The person holding that special character is *`arif* (the creative personality). That personality implements Allah's renewed will in the world and in his hands matter takes new shape and form.

### Man's freedom and fatalism

The question of man's freedom and fatalism is of very great importance in the Islamic thought, even as that some sects appeared on the scene with only this reference to the question. Shah Waliullah is of a firm belief that the system of the universe is being run under Divine will and man is merely an actor of or a channel for implementation of the Divine will, as are minerals, plants and animals. Under the reflection of *tadbir* every thing is bound to Allah's created system. Allah Himself does not like the appearance of anything against that system. So man is bound to do in accordance with that absolute idea, as Hegel calls it, which Allah has originated for the common good. In this idea every thing is bound to



the properties of its species and their attributes and acts in obedience to them. In this regard man too is bound to the properties of his spaces and can do nothing outside them. His relationship with the other species is also fixed. So, on the one hand man is bound to that common-good which shows Allah's will and on the other to his own properties and faculties. In the same way he is bound to his body.<sup>63</sup>

To recapitulate, although man thinks himself to be free to some extent, he does everything according to the will of Allah. Allah's will is evident in man's instinct and his nature and habits which are the bases of his action. So in spite of all his misconceptions that he is free, he is subservient to Allah's will. He can not destroy the system established under the administration, attribute of Allah.<sup>64</sup>

To Shah Waliullah *taqdir*, which is thought of as a tight hold over freedom, means the determination of actions, ethics and the creation of properties of every species. Every species acts according to that and can not break the hold. Shah Waliullah relates the question of freedom and fatalism with the universe and its system and believes that man's freedom operates under the system.<sup>65</sup> In this sense he has exemplified the power of man's action in *Izalat al-khifa*. He points out that the matter of species properties is out of man's reach, but the question of man's actions are under its own control, for example drinking, adultery, prayer, etc.<sup>66</sup> In this way Shah Waliullah by rejecting the *Qadariyah* and *Jahbharayah* brings forth a view harmonious to both. As Allah has fixed man's species properties and attributes, he has also fixed a law for their guidance. That law (*shari'ah*) is the destiny of man.<sup>67</sup> Shah Waliullah believes that *shara'* and *taqdir* comprise the system of the universe that Allah has sealed under His attribute of *rahmah*. So every species including man is bound to his properties, faculties and planning established under the will of Allah. Man is free but powerless. He can do what he likes within the system not outside the system, not contrary to species properties and common-good.

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63. Hujjah, 173.

64. *Ibid.*, 172, Sata, 15.

65. *Izalah*, 574.

66. Sata, 15.

67. See *Altaf al-Quds* for a detailed discussion.



In the general plan, visualised by Shah Waliullah, man has a very important place in the universe. His greatness lies in the fact that he is the source of Divine administration. Shah Waliullah explains all the metaphysical and cosmological spheres in the forms and functions of human body. Thus he looks at man as the most superior species of the universe. Within the common good of Allah's plan, man plays his role through the guidance inverted in him by Allah and his properties. In this regard man's role has dual character. First, in the general capacity of man's three superior limbs: *Aql*, *qalb* and *nafs* or *taba'*, and second, as the most advanced, reformed and refined form of these faculties. It is the second form of human character which implements Allah's will in the world. The person possessing these qualities, in their essence he calls 'arif or creative personality. Thus Shah Waliullah, in a way conforms the Mua'tazilites view in the sense that every thing acts according to its species qualities, he also asserts that developing it also under the planning of Allah. To that extent he follows the Asharite view that man is bound to the law created for him although he thinks himself free.

### Three superior limbs of man

The Divine guidance emerged into different forms, first in the mind of Great Person and then in the material world, respectively into the form of minerals, plants, animals and ultimately in human form which is the seal of all species. Further progress is planned under Allah's scheme for the development of man with the aid of the intellect and mind, that Allah has given him.<sup>68</sup> Man in his capacities is different from animal in three ways: by his intellectual faculty, his universal opinion or common good and his aesthetic sense.<sup>69</sup> But like other philosophers, Al-Farabi for example, Shah Waliullah does not lay emphasis on man's distinction in respect of intellect or universal opinion, but on aesthetic sense, because he is of the opinion that animals too, have both the former capacities. In the General there are some hidden pointillism every being. For instance Zaid, if looked into very deeply, will be found as man, animal, body, speaker, poet, Negro, Roman and so on. Each one of these peculiarities truly fits in with him if seen from a particular angle. These predictions are true not because some one has made them like that, but because there is an origin of this prediction in the external world by which all these are proved to be

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68. Hujjah, 110, 111.

69. Lamhah, 52.



correct. All these are emanations of Allah in man's nature, so it is under these species qualities, properties and determination which are an external form of Allah's will and plan, that man acts.<sup>70</sup>

### **'Aql (intellect)**

In *Altaf al-Quds* Shah Waliullah has thrown light on the nature and definition of the intellect. Sometimes it is used to know about some general things or system. Sometimes it is taken as a part of body called brain, and sometimes it is considered as administrative faculty of man's body and his thought system. Philosophers and mystics have taken it as the essence of the spirit. Sometimes it is used for that synthetic form which expresses idea and its confirmation and shows a joint function of the heart and man disposition to place events in this proper time sequence. Its function is to remember and its most important function is that it creates ideas (revealed form Allah) and analyses them. Intellect can be said to reside in the brain of man. The brain as a residence of intellect, thus assumes the form of most supreme limb of man for acting out the will of Allah.<sup>71</sup>

### **Qalb (heart)**

The second important functionary limb or organ in man's body is the heart. It is looked in two ways sometimes, it is taken as the most sensitive part of human body. But most predominant and active meaning of the limb is its ability to perceive (*latifah-i darayah*) or a subtle centre for perception. It converts ideas into will and in this capacity it is taken as equivalent to the 'aql.<sup>72</sup>

### **Nafs or Taba' (nature)**

On the same lines as the first two, nature, i.e. *nafs* or *taba'* too is used in so many meanings. Sometimes it is taken as vitality of human life equal to the spirit which compels man to act. According to one meaning it is an animal soul which develops bestial disposition in man rather than the

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70. *Altaf al-Quds*, 75.

71. *Ibid.*, 74.

72. *Ibid.*



angelic. Its centre is the human liver and it forces man to act according to his will.<sup>73</sup>

The properties of these three limbs are hidden in human body and are linked with each other. All the three great limbs by virtue of their subtle properties: imaginative will and power of action, provide movement to the human body.<sup>74</sup> The triangle, with the compulsion of every one of the limbs for action presents the similarity and intermixing of every one with the other.<sup>75</sup> These three limbs and subtle centres keep a watch on the functions of human body.

In their co-ordinated capacity, first appears an idea in the mind to which the will reacts, favourably or unfavourably in the heart and then both compel human disposition (*jigar*) to act in the matter, and in this way, something occurs and comes into being, which may further strengthen the first idea and also give birth to another idea, and thus the process continues.

### ‘Arif (creative personality)

Shah Waliullah is strong believer in the concept that the properties of human species do not make all men equal. By nature they are divided into two groups: First are those who concentrate on the problems of universe and the rational sciences and receive revelations and second are those who imitate or follow and confirms the acts of the first group.<sup>76</sup> Because the second group do not have the ability to create, they are unable to do anything creative. So they merely follow the wise men who through receiving inspiration from Allah (revelation) continues the process of invention and creation.<sup>77</sup> The first group or category is named by Shah Waliullah as ‘*arif*’ who has refined superior limbs.

### Characteristics

Shah Waliullah believes that Allah emanates his will in the heart of man. He believes that the ‘*arif*’ performs the functions of man with regard

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73. *Ibid.*, 210.

74. Shah Waliullah, *Maktub-i Madni*, (Lahore: 1984), 22.

75. *Izalah*, 28.

76. *Hujjah*, 110, 111.

77. *Ibid.*, 57-61.



to his role for the implementation of Allah's plan for universal good. The 'arif is the best among the best of humanity. He is granted access to the spiritual affairs, to the will of Allah and His universal good and implement it in the material world. Shah Waliullah includes 'arif in the sublime assembly (*mala-i a'la'*).<sup>78</sup> These are the pure, purified and perfect persons who ponder over the mysteries of the universe to find out reality and truth and acquire angelic qualities to have access to Allah's emanation. By spiritual exercises, and shunning society completely, they earn the faculties of angles and obtain membership of the sublime Assembly and thus reach the Holy Circle (*hazirat al-quds*): a place where appears the Most Supreme Theophany. In this way Allah's will appears to them through angles and emanation.<sup>79</sup> Continuous spiritual devotion enable their angelic soul to dominate the animal soul. The 'arif has strong power to make contacts with the celestial spheres. Because of his spiritual superiority he become creative and when he comes into contact with the common people they follow him. Allah reveals to them feelings and attitude which inspire the people to imitate their ways and follow their directions. Shah Waliullah has discussed all that in his books *Hama't* and *al-intibah fi salasil-i awliya' Allah* and most perfectly in the *Fuyuz al-Haramayn*. In *Qurat al-'aynayn*, he presented the view that these creative personalities are not all of equal status but their status in with reference to their links with Allah's emanation which appears in the Holy Circle to the sublime assembly.<sup>80</sup> They have very strong spiritual and angelic qualities under whose influence they pass their lives. Shah Waliullah believes that a creative personality possesses the blessings of Allah, and a perfect one holds sway over all the entire universe except, the Ultimate Reality, the Divine names and the emanation of Allah. The 'arif possesses all the qualities of the perfect man, whether they rested in the Messenger of Allahs or kings and their portages and all those qualities which are found in the celestial spheres and earthly Messenger of Allahs like minerals, plants or animals. Because of this, man is the most powerful species of the universe.<sup>81</sup>

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78. Revelation, 25.

79. For details see Shah Waliullah, *Our'at al-aynayn fi tafzil-i shaykhayn* (Peshawar: n.d.)

80. Shah Waliullah, *Fuyuz-al Haramayn*, (Lahore: 1944), Hereafter "Illham" Revelation. 26.

81. Lamhah, 36, Revelation, 18.



Shah Waliullah also discusses the purposes of these creative personalities. He is of the opinion that an 'arif by coming into contact with the sublime assembly and Holy Circles becomes aware about the purpose and will of Allah, either when it is planning or renewing, and becoming conscious of divine necessity, tries to fulfil it. The 'arif is always aiming at the establishment of universal-good in the society as well as in the universe.<sup>82</sup>

### Acquisition of 'Irfan

Shah Waliullah has discussed in detail how a man can get access to the Divine will and purpose.<sup>83</sup> His book *Hama't* which is actually his philosophy of history and mysticism<sup>84</sup> deals with the method by applying which one can achieve 'irfan or creative faculties. He believes that in order to achieve 'irfan one has to get rid of all the temporal, bodily and spiritual deficiencies, or otherwise one should leave off all affairs concerning one person. Through this unselfish posture, one achieves complete separation from personal and temporal affairs, and, after receiving due guidance, returns to society and works for the universal good.<sup>85</sup>

Shah Waliullah combines the acquisition of 'irfan with access to those origins which are the cause of Allah's emanation or through which He emanates His will. In the fifty-second *Lamha*,<sup>86</sup> Shah Waliullah has discussed three kinds of divine emanations. Among them one deals with man in its general capacity of species properties and which has been discussed above. The other two origins are linked with the 'irfan. To Shah Waliullah both can be applicable or accessible only by means of concentration over the system of the universe.<sup>87</sup> For a perfect 'arif, it is necessary that his concentration over and consideration of the question: how first purpose or universal planing in the form of his will of vitality concentrates the life phenomenology of the world,<sup>88</sup> should not have

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82. Revelation, 16.

83. Muhammad Sarwar, *Tasawwuf ki haqiqat awr uska falsafah-i tarikh* Urdu trans. of Hamat (Lahore).

84. Revelation, 26.

85. Lamhah, 52.

86. *Ibid.*

87. *Ibid.*, 16,26.

88. *Ibid.*, 26.



created any intellectual decay in his personality.<sup>89</sup> This shows that the emanation of Allah appears to man in two ways: the intellectual form of knowledge and through its application, and the concentration of a strong spirit to similitudinary faculties. An 'arif develops his interest in both.<sup>90</sup> In this regard Shah Waliullah prescribes two conditions in the 'arif in *Hujjah*: advanced and highly developed intellectual power, and perfection of practical power through intellectualised power.<sup>91</sup>

The first property is essential, and the second brings it to perfection. Shah Waliullah divides the advanced spiritual faculties and their practice into two categories, according to the two origins of *tadalli* or emanation. First, the 'arif should perceive the social and economic affairs and the sciences for the good of the human system, and then, under the second characteristic of practice, enacts it in the society.<sup>92</sup> In this regard a capacity for developed intellectual sciences and their practice is necessary. These practices and actions become the sources of man's relation with the spheres that are the centre of divine guidance and he gets guidance there from. In the fifty-second *Lamha* Shah Waliullah writes that the emanation imprints itself on perceptive faculties in two ways. On the one hand it is a creation by the knower himself and, on the other it unites with the source of knowledge in some way, although not as a whole. It is this channel through which man receive guidance from Allah. When an 'arif concentrates upon the form of his belief in his Lord a form corresponding to his belief's represented with him and then that form becomes an instrument for revealing his Lord to him; and an instrument to introduce the *arif* to his self. As long as this concentration, belief and introduction are there, they will continue to be the images of the necessary being and His emanation".<sup>93</sup>

The second is the faculty of acquisition of revolutionary hidden sciences and through their practices the acquisition of sciences and the places (*maqamat*) attached to them.<sup>94</sup> In his book *Hama't*, Shah Waliullah has discussed in detail that how one can acquire these sciences and the places attached to them. He believes that this can be done through

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89. Lamhah, 52.

90. Hujjah, 75.

91. *Ibid*.

92. Lamhah, 52.

93. Hujjah, 75.

94. Shah Waliullah, *al-Qawl al-jamil*, Urdu trans. Muhammad Sarwar, (Lahore: 1961).



spiritual exercises<sup>95</sup> and with the guidance of some person already holding the knowledge of their secrets. This way the concentrating spirit sticks to some portion of elementary matter or a similitudinary faculty. If it becomes an introduction to Allah and his form then that form would be His emanation. Thus an 'arif gets access to divine plan and it becomes a cause for bringing unity among the people and if by achievement it resembles the plan, then it will be a further blessing.<sup>96</sup> This is how 'arif receives Allah's guidance (*tadalli*) and acts according to it to play his role in the universe.

Shah Waliullah believes that all the 'arifs are not equal in their spiritual attainments because they do not possess these two qualities equally. According to the gradation of qualities, he divides the 'arifs into categories. His categorisation shows that he includes those too among creative personalities or 'arifs who have either one or even some imperfect knowledge or practice. In this regard he includes into 'arifs, *hakeem* (wisemen), *awliya* (saints), *khulafa'*, (the enunciator of shari'ah), *muhaddith*, (the person who concentrates upon the sayings of the Messenger of Allah), *fard*, (an individual holding the capacity of receiving divine guidance) *mujaddid*, (the renewed), 'alim' (scholars), and *falsafi* (philosopher).

Shah Waliullah has discussed these people in his *Izalat al-khifa* volume first. *Altaf-al-Quds*, *Al-intibah* and *Hama't*, in detail. Baljon has included a chapter in his book *Religion and Thought of Shah Waliullah* under the title of "People of Emanation" who receive divine guidance.<sup>97</sup> He believes that a Messenger of Allah had all the qualities of all these persons.<sup>98</sup>

In *Sata* seventeenth, Shah Waliullah has discussed the forms of divine guidance that man receives from Allah. Among them the Shah includes *alhamat-i jahiliyah*, (instinct revelation), 'ilqa' fi ro'ya (inspiration of some thing into mind), *masamarat* (occasional thought), *farasat* (discernment) and *ro'ya* (the vision). To him all these forms indicate divine guidance or revelation. He further says that a Messenger of Allah combines in himself human faculties of the highest kind, just as a

95. Lamhah, 52.

96. Baljon, *Religion and Thought of Shah Waliullah Dehlavi*, (London 1986), Chapter III.

97. *Izalah*, discussion on Khilafah.

98. *Sata*, 17.



Messenger of Allah's revelation (*wahi*) is superior to all other revelations.<sup>99</sup>

Although Shah Waliullah discusses in detail how and for what motives an *'arif* should act, Dr. Mujeeb has posed a critical question that Shah Waliullah does not provide an illuminary list of the sound actions (*'amal-i salihah*), that Messenger of Allah should do.<sup>100</sup> It is important that people should be provided a clear form of good and sound acts which can evaluate for the betterment of society. Shah Waliullah does deal with the question but on the basis of principles of action, without specifying the actions. His "Cordinal Virtues"<sup>101</sup> and four requirement for the achievement of *sa'adah*<sup>102</sup> are the principles with which only a scholar or philosopher can deal or even understand. A common man does not even comprehend the meanings of the terms he uses. In this regard Allmah Mashariqi can be cited as regarded as a scholar who wanted to directly influence the people by prescribing a list of sound action. (*'amal-i-salihah*) in the people's language.<sup>103</sup> Shah Waliullah's deficiency in this

99. Dr. Mujeeb. *The Indian Muslims*, (Montreal: N.p., 1963).

100. Budur, Cordinal Virtues.

101. Hujjah.

102. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, *Tazkirah*, Vol.I. Amratar 1924. Preface, 91-92

Masharqi announced his ten principles governing the survival of the fittest as operative in the world. These principles included.

- i. Practical acceptance of the unity of Allahhead.
- ii. Complete unity of action and solidarity among the individuals of a nation.
- iii. Complete obedience by them to the directives of the leader who happens to head the nation.
- iv. Complete readiness of fight out its battles with swords.
- v. Complete readiness to fight out its battles with money and other material resources.
- vi. Absolute willingness of each number of the community to migrate from his or her homeland.
- vii. Steadfastness of action with complete resignation to the will of Allah.
- viii. Maintains high state of Moral excellence.
- ix. Pursuit of Knowledge of nature.
- x. Living faith in the day of judgement.

These principles deal with the general personal behaviour of a good person, but Shah Waliullah under cordinal virtues discusses characteristics of nature of creative personality.

103. Meyerhoff, 4.



regard confirms the view that he was aiming primarily at to influence the leading classes of the society of his time as a reformer of politicians and of religious scholars. His movement was not for the common people.

According to Shah Waliullah, an '*arif*' who can receive Divine guidance, linking himself with the spiritual and angelic spheres by refining himself through the three superior limbs, separating himself from the material world and spending more time in spiritual exercises, plays an important role. '*arif*' may receive revelation through different ways. But among all of them the Messenger of Allah and their source of revelation (*wahi*) is superior to all others. Through revelation the ideas in man's intellect and the will in man's heart gains strength, and by disposition, they are applied to matter which results in some creation and then gives birth to other ideas and the process continues. In all this Allah occasionally provides his guidance.

The same role is elaborated by 20<sup>th</sup> century British historian Toynbee in his *A study of History*. He develops the same thesis about the role of man in the universe and try to confirm the thesis of Saint Augustine's "The City of Allah".<sup>104</sup> He uses even the same titles for the same purpose of achieving divine guidance. It is important to note that Shah Waliullah's '*arifs*' have the same place in the system of Toynbee.<sup>105</sup>

## Conclusion

In short, to Shah Waliullah, Allah implements His system in the universe which is a reflection of His attributes, primarily through *abda*, *khalq*, *tadbir* and *tadalli* along with the *rahmah*. The process is based on dialectics of imaginative will and material. In the process, man is playing his role under the system created by Allah, while '*arifs*' perform their role by receiving emanation (*tadalli*) from Allah. The system of the universe thus goes on.

Man's importance lies in his implementation of the Divine will. In this capacity, Shah Waliullah says, man has very great importance. He assigns to man the status of a model for the universe and associates the continuity of the universe with *shakhs-i akbar*, and applies both microcosm and macrocosm of the universe to this relationship.

104. Toynbee, *A Study of History*.



Shah Waliullah thus follows the traditional theological view of the Asharities, i.e. basing the entire system of the universe on the will of Allah. But while discussing the nature of happening and man's role in them, he comes very close to the Mu'tazilites. May be his aim is to harmonise the two views and present modern approach in a traditional way. But he does not assign man's free will. In this regard, i.e. with reference to man's role, Shah Waliullah's thought seems to create passive passions. Although his concept of man's act, according to his species property confirms the Mu'tazilites point of view, he does not appear to be willing to establish the superiority of that view. Infected by confirming that human faculties lie within Allah's plan, he follows the Asharites. In this tussle the Mu'tazilites view appears to succeed in according to him, the form that every happening takes is keeping with the plan designed by Allah, not out of it and Allah not out of it and Allah's providence too, appears within it. We can say in this respect Shah Waliullah comes near very to Vice, and explains every happenings in such way that nothing remains miraculous. Coming to a later period, Sir Syed's rejection of the miracles seems to have originated from Shah Waliullah's thought.