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# Iqbal's Matrix Of Cultural Reforms In Islam

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## Abstract

To Iqbal, the prophet of Islam seems to stand between ancient and modern world. So far as the source of revelation is concerned he belongs to ancient world; in so far as the spirit of his revelation is concerned he belongs to the modern world. This is because he attributes the birth of inductive logic to the advent of Islam. Iqbal sees prophetic and mystic level of consciousness on two different planes. Former essentially value oriented capable of transforming the world with moral weltanschauung wherefrom gushes forth a cultural world; the latter is content free devoid of any moral program as Ghazali and Ahmad Sarhandi state and Iqbal accepts their viewpoint lock, stock and barrel. In Iqbal's view had the nexus of dictatorship, Catholicism and mysticism not made inroads into the polity of Islam soon after Prophet and righteous caliphs, equipped with socio-economic and political ideals Islam would have brought the whole world into its folds even without raising sword. The conquests of Islam expanded its polity but as a gigantic cultural force it failed to liftoff.

However, unlike doubters, doomsters and gloomsters Iqbal seems quite hopeful about the future of Islam as a grand cultural force provided Islam finds geography to materialize its moral program aided and abetted by spiritual democracy laid bare in Quran and Sunnah. This paper intends to unlock and discern Iqbal's viewpoint on how Islam as a cultural force can contribute to the world, what went wrong with its original élan. It is based on qualitative research.

**Keywords:** Islam, Quran, Monotheism, Culture, Reform, Moral order, History, redeemable. Weltanschauung, irtifaq, ethical ideals, social inequalities, civilization, modernism, modernist, revivalist, traditionalist, West.

## **Introduction**

History being a sign of God as proclaimed and more often, a recurrent theme of Quran, before modern times with an exception of Ibn Khaldun has never been viewed and analyzed with reference to the cultural factors and forces of civilization i.e. materieux of history as acclaimed and acclimatized in modern treatment of history. However, after European renaissance, particularly during the Age of Enlightenment, with the dawn of modernity in previous two centuries several historical viewpoints have evolved. Equipped with modern methodologies and tools and technics modern historians are, now, capable enough not only to know the rise and fall but series of steps involved also from the birth to the death of cultures.

A popular view of understanding history has been to view it as the history of kings and their dynasties and the same is employed in elementary levels of education. On the realm of literature and folklores histories and cultures are viewed as the sweet or sour fruits of the land and geography they are born of. Marxists view history from the lens of means of productions. Psychological view of history views history and culture as a product of instinctual behavioral patterns. To psychologists, either when instinctual inclinations, tendencies and dispositions are repressed so long, at last reaching at critical mass bursts forth tearing apart the societal fabric down trod the large swathes of lands as Hans, Mongols, Tatars Vikings, Vandals etc. are cases in points. Or by psychic transformations bring forth better long lasting cultures. To some, history is also viewed as a product of conduct and deeds of great personalities as Alexander the Great, Napoleon Bonaparte, Hitler etc. all created particular eras of history. However, on the realm of religion and spirituality history is viewed as product of perpetual wars between the forces of **Good** and **Evil**. However, though distilled and derived from the Holy Quran is the knowledge of **philosophy of history**, of which Ibn Khaldun's Prolegomena is an ample testimony, due to author's own scientific treatment of life and time has become an independent discipline of scientific treatment of history in modern era without religious referent points or connotations. To Ibn Khaldun, history as a continuous movement in time is genuinely creative movement and not a movement whose

path is already determined. For to Quran, nations or communities are judged collectively, so the movement of history is cumulative and entire historic movement is like a spiral, not a cycle. Hence, Ibn Khaldun might be safely termed as forerunner of Hegel, Spengler, and Toynbee.

However, in this paper our main thrust is to capture the gist of "Iqbal's matrix of cultural reforms in Islam". So before moving towards his view of cultural reforms, understanding of his weltanschauung regarding spirit of Islamic culture is of utmost importance, for of supreme importance to him are the ruling concepts of culture of Islam and the soul that found expression through them on the realm of history. Highlighting the same he contends with Spengler to establish that Islam rather than Christian Europe proved harbinger of modern world. A galaxy of scholars on both sides of spectrum have view that due to intellectual hegemonic trends, imperial corporate interests Europe had failed to acknowledge the contribution of Islam to the world history. Some modern researchers are inclined to infer that Epistemicide or colonization of knowledge had been an integral part of European imperialism. Hyperbole it might be, however dominant streaks of such attitude based on white man's supremacy inherent in moral principle of White Man's burden cannot be denied altogether in Western scholarship .So, though Spengler's "Decline of the West" got wide acclaim in academia Iqbal bothered to accept it lock, stock and barrel. However, by critique of Spengler's views he laid bare the contours of his concept of culture. Hence for fuller grasp of Iqbal's cultural theory acquaintance with Spengler's stance is of supreme importance.

Spengler in his magnum opus "Decline of the West" stated intrinsic and extrinsic distinctive features of three cultures. The first is an ancient culture of Greece and India termed classical culture. The second is European culture of which unstable spirit of Faust is representative therefore called Faustian culture. The third culture consists of Middle East and its religions hence duly named Magian culture.

Classical culture is intrinsically devoid of historic sense and memory. As a corollary instead of past and future it revolves around present. People of this culture conceive life uncertain so much so that they don't bury their dead ones, which prove negation of life after death hence in ancient India and Greece the ritual of burning the dead developed. To Spengler classical world is as in harmony with nature as plant to the earth. Classical world is an agrarian society wherein an individual depends on society as plant on earth. Their worship places curved in circles have no 'window' as if everything is circumambulating around a center. Here is no inclination towards voyage or journey like Columbus. Since how long overseas travel was forbidden in Hinduism and discouraged by Confucius in China. Being introvert this world prefers meditation over visitation. Here an individual is on the mercy of society as plant on the mercy of earth.

By the expression 'Magian Culture' Spengler means the common culture associated with what he calls 'Magian group of religions i.e. Judaism, ancient Chaldean religion, early Christianity, Zoroastrianism, and Islam. Here in Magian Culture says Spengler good and evil is as distinct as night and day of desert itself. Here light against darkness and good against evil are at perpetual war. In Magian belt larger shadows of darkness want to engulf little lights of caravans. There behind the operations of gigantic machine of nature is an ultimate causation impervious to any sort of causation. An individual of this culture fights the darkness of night awaiting light to crush the monster of darkness. Thence passion develops to transform darkness into light and mercury into Gold. So, knowledge of chemistry takes roots. To Spengler this culture is in such a hurried state which sees signs of senility in its youth. Here chemical or potential properties are of utmost importance hence this culture is guard of chemistry. Spengler sees consensus in this culture yet individual ego or self entertains least importance. Magian culture highly succumbs to the notion of predestination so fatalism reigns supreme here. To Spengler essence of Prophetic teaching (Islam) is already Magian. All religions of Magian origin are monotheistic with varying degrees. There is hope of a Messiah, very clear in Isaiah, but also bursting out everywhere during the next centuries under pressure of inner necessity. It is integral to Magian religion, for it contains implicitly the conception of the world historical struggle between Good and Evil, with the power of Evil prevailing in the middle period, and the Good finally triumphant on the Day of Judgment.

On collective plane an individual of this culture not only does see forces (light vs Darkness; Good and Evil) competing each other but makes effort to secure dominance of light and Good, rejects polytheism putting trust in one God and as collective responsibility remove obstacles.

The third culture In Spengler's scheme of thought is European Culture which is termed Faustian Culture. Faust is an unstable spirit of unique importance that keeps moving towards destiny a peculiarity of European culture. In this culture "window" gains importance as compared to classical for it is a sign of empiricism and depth and a declaration of man's urge to observe outer infinite world by getting rid of prison. Another peculiarity of European culture is dynamism and dimension. It finds full expression in European music wherein it seems an army striking harmony with the sound of band is marching together towards a destiny. Spirit of Faustian culture is indulged in infinite feeling of loneliness. A great distance prevails not only between individual and society but between individual and individual or more precisely between inner and outer world of individual also. An individual of Faustian culture has a capacity of "I", an unstable and dynamic 'I' receiving torrential blows of wishes and the Big I that he faces is also like him active and dynamic. Hence an individual of this culture himself draws conclusions about infinite and putting trust in his Ego stands unswerved and un-swayed before cosmic order. Every character of this culture like Columbus says goodbye to earth-rootedness taking initiative of discovering ever new lands, **terra incognita**. Hence in Spengler's view be it an inductive logic or positivism, empiricism or pure

rationalism, experimentalism or mastery of nature via science and technology all are peculiarities of Western Culture.

However, in Spengler's treatment of these cultures the overriding thesis or principle he establishes is that each culture is an island separated from others. To him each culture is a specific organism having no point of contact with cultures that historically precede or follow it. Furthermore, in Spengler's view each culture has its own peculiarities and idiosyncrasies of looking at things which is entirely inaccessible to men belonging to a different culture. So treatment of each culture as a watertight compartment gives him a nudge to arrive a conclusion that the spirit of European culture is through and through anti-classical. Therefore perhaps satiating the thirst for Europe's racial superiority clothed in moral principle of white man's burden or more clearly white man's supremacy with magisterial wisdom he draws conclusion that this anti-classical spirit of European culture is entirely due to the specific genius of Europe and not to any inspiration she may have received from the culture of Islam which, according to Spengler's viewpoint is thoroughly Magian in spirit and character.

On one side of spectrum a colossal part of European scholarship entertains the same hubris employed by Spengler that anti-classical spirit is the special genius of Europe and it is peculiar to her. European academic orthodoxy seems tenaciously clung to this notion, for on intellectual plane it establishes their inherent superiority to **barbarous others** a line drawn by their self-proclaimed Greek ancestors. In the same breath the same others people of lesser beings are forced to adopt Western cultural values i.e. secularism, nationalism, humanism, capitalism etc. lock, stock and barrel on the other. For modernity from the beginning of 16<sup>th</sup> century in Europe was intended to remove socio-economic and political exploitations to strike social equilibrium, which it did. Then why the means of liberation became an ends themselves in amnesia of any normative value? Utter reliance on rationality, efficiency and productivity for more progress has brought our societies on the edge of an abyss. On economic plane we see yawning gulfs between burgeoning economies of the North and ever relinquishing treasuries of the South. On the political level, the democratic ideal is falling apart; and on the social plane unemployment and exclusion are the lot of masses. It is clearly a distortion of the first élan. So, confusing modernity with Occidentalism, modernism, or more clearly Westernization has become favorite hobby of Western intellectual orthodoxy, an instrument of imperial designs and political hegemony. Here, hypocrisy is total.

However, this paper intends to bring forward "Iqbal's Matrix of Cultural Reforms in Islam" and for that purpose we delineated Spengler's cultural viewpoint, for criticizing him Iqbal partially agreed with him partially differed to formulate the spirit of Muslim culture. So far as the classic culture is concerned Iqbal has no qualms with Spengler for whereas Iqbal agrees with him characterizing European culture as anti-classical he deems the spirit of

Quran is also essentially anti-classical. He says in the beginning of their intellectual career, Muslim scholars' full confidence in Greek philosophy expressed that their first impulse was to understand the Quran in light of Greek philosophy. To Iqbal Greek philosophy broadened the outlook of Muslim thinkers, it, on the whole, obscured their vision of Quran. It took them 200 years to come to their own empirical temperament and essentially anti-classical spirit of Quran. However, it was Prolegomena of Ibn Khaldun distilled and derived from Quran wherein anti-classical spirit of Quran finds full expression. Iqbal terms it Quran's anticlassical spirit's final victory over Greek thought, for with the Greeks time was either unreal, as in Plato and Zeno, or moved in a circle, as in Heraclitus or Stoics. Iqbal arrives a conclusion that be it the tendency in Muslim Metaphysics to regard time as objective, or Ibn Maskawaih's view of life as an evolutionary movement, or Al-Biruni's approach to the conception of Nature as becoming rather than being based on mathematical idea of function, all this constituted the intellectual inheritance of Ibn Khaldun. Criticizing Muslim thinker's earlier obsession with Greek thought Iqbal concludes in view of the concrete spirit of the Quran, and the speculative nature of Greek philosophy which enjoyed theory and was neglectful of fact, that attempt was foredoomed to failure. And it is what follows their failure that brings out the spirit of the culture of Islam, and lays the foundation of **modern culture** in some of its most important aspects.

Iqbal in his "Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam" acknowledged Spengler's view that Western Culture is anti-classical. However refutes his thesis that every culture like island is separated from others and grows and prospers in isolation. To him, Culture of Islam has given prop to the Western Culture, for European culture's anti-classicism owes much to the revolt of Muslim thinkers against Greek thought. So the dimension or orientation of Western culture, it's ever expanding intellectual horizons and disciplines, inductive logic, thought process and analytical capabilities are result of its owing allegiance to the intellectual traditions of Muslim Spain.

Iqbal's major boon of contention with Spengler lies in the fact that anti-classical spirit of modern world was arisen out of the revolt of Islam against Greek. However, if Spengler acknowledges this viewpoint that anti-classical spirit of modern culture is due to the inspiration it received from the culture immediately preceding it, his thesis of the complete mutual independence of cultural growths would collapse. Iqbal's major contribution to Islamic cultural thought is, on the one side he dislodges Magian crust or overlaying from the culture of Islam, on the other discovers congruence and confluence between Islam and Western culture which to him is an extended version of Islam. Favoring reconciliation between Islam and West enthusiastically says Iqbal "the most remarkable phenomenon of modern history, however, is the enormous rapidity with which the world of Islam is spiritually moving towards the West. There is nothing wrong in this movement, for European culture, on its intellectual side, is only a further development of some of the most important

phases of the culture of Islam<sup>1</sup>". On the other hand Western scholarship seemed adamant to accept it. Dr. Fazlur Rahman says "in philosophy Western scholarship has come out with some excellent monographs and also with certain histories, which, however treat the subject in a truncated manner, for they have assumed that whatever worthwhile Islamic philosophy there was ended with Ibn Rushd- whence it passed into the stream of Western medieval philosophy through Latin translations- which is a capital mistake. A basic difficulty with this kind of study is that it requires highly complicated and sophisticated intellectual and linguistic equipment: not only is a thorough knowledge of Greek and modern philosophy or science, or both required but a high intellectual caliber is needed as well<sup>2</sup>".

However, to refute Spengler's thesis of mutual independence of cultural growths Iqbal marshals an overwhelming array of facts from western historians to justify the role of culture of Islam in bolstering European culture or modern world. Robert Briffault's "Making of Humanity" brings forward numerous accounts of such phenomena and equally rejects Western claims of her being father or originator of experimental method.

"..It was under their successors at that Oxford school that Roger Bacon learned Arabic and Arabic sciences. Neither Roger Bacon nor his later namesake has any title to be credited with having introduced the experimental method. Roger Bacon was no more than one of the apostles of Muslim science and method to Christian Europe; and he never wearied of declaring that knowledge of Arabic and Arabian science was for his contemporaries the only way to true knowledge. Discussions as to who was the originator of the experimental method...are part of the colossal misrepresentation of the origins of European civilization. The experimental method of the Arabs was by Bacon's time widespread and eagerly cultivated throughout Europe<sup>3</sup>"

Briffault proceeds forward to acknowledge Muslim Spain's role in scientific progress of Europe "Science is the most momentous contribution of Arab civilization to the modern world, but its fruits were slow in ripening. Not until long after Moorish culture had sunk back into darkness did the giant to which it had given birth rise in his might. It was not science which brought Europe back to life. Other and manifold influences from the civilization of Islam communicated its first glow to European life". The writer tears apart Spengler's view with a weighty argument. "For although there is not a single aspect of European growth in which a decisive influence of Islamic Culture is not traceable, nowhere it is so clear and momentous as in the genesis of that power which constitutes the paramount distinctive force of the modern world, and the supreme source of its victory- natural science and the scientific spirit<sup>4</sup>"

It is an admitted fact that at long last it is theology or metaphysics which constricts or expands communal intellectual horizons, prospects of progress and mastery over nature and last but not least to be master of mastery and it essentially emerges from religious

psychology; at this plane Europe is highly indebted to Islam also. Philip.K. Hitt acknowledges it. "Thomas Aquinas, one of the greatest theologians of Christianity, and later Pascal were indirectly affected by the ideas of al-Ghazali, who of all Muslim thinkers came nearest to subscribing to Christian views <sup>5</sup>". Ghazali knew Jesus from Islamic referent point rather than Christianity. So his theological weltanschauung sprouts from Quran. Ghazali was perhaps first genius of Islam who's deep down deliberations drew conclusion of profound order from the Quran. Quran terms its verses 'signs' and same employs for natural phenomena in cosmic order. Hence Ghazali called Scripture al-Kitab al-mastur "written book" and termed universe as al-Kitab al-manshur the "outspread book" which is the theological as well as physical mirror of Quran. How beautifully Tariq Ramadan infers "when the heart's intelligence, and not only analytical intelligence, reads the Quran and the world, then the two texts address and echo each other, and each of them speaks of the other and of the One. The signs remind us of what it means to be born, to live, to think, to feel, and to die<sup>6</sup>". He concludes "This theme was common in early renaissance European literature and gradually changed the outlook of the world, which was seen as a space to be deciphered, interpreted, and understood: a horizon open to reason, learning, and science."<sup>7</sup> Scholars of overwhelming learning know well for how long Ghazali's theological constructs had been taught at Oxford in early European renaissance period and to what extent he would have shaped Europe's viewpoint regarding theology, science and philosophy for vivacity of Quran speaks high in him "if a person claims that Islam is contrary to the formulae of geometry, the arguments of philosophy and the laws of physics, he is a foolish friend of Islam and the injury done to Islam by such foolish friends is greater than that done by atheists and the enemies of Islam. Since the laws of physics, the formulae of geometry and arguments of philosophy are all self-evident, if anyone says that his religion is contrary to axiomatic truths, and then it means that he has, as it were, denied the truthfulness of his own religion<sup>8</sup>"

However, to counter Spengler's thesis Iqbal states some distinctive ruling concepts of the culture of Islam and their inherent force distinguished from Magian culture, which brought Islam on the helm of world affairs, and that ultimately laid the foundation stone of the modern world. For it he first vaguely draws difference between Sufi and prophetic experience. For Sufi 'unitary repose' is an end while for prophet it is beginning of an end or means to an end. In nutshell Prophet's religious experience is pregnant with cognitive content. So prophet's return from that 'unitary repose' is creative and pragmatic test of the value of his religious experience. Prophet's will judge both itself and the world of concrete fact to objectify itself. He injects a **moral order** into flesh and blood of history to create a fresh world of ideals. However Iqbal's view that mystic experience qualitatively does not differ from the experience of prophet and, then, however abnormal and unusual, must now be regarded by a Muslim as a perfectly natural experience, open to critical scrutiny like other aspects of human experience, creates confusion, for says Fazlur Rahman "whether or not this



experience had any other content—eminent Sufis themselves like al-Ghazali and al-Sirrhindi, thought it had none, and this view seems to me both intelligible and correct—it(mysticism) was mostly either neutral to social morality or negatively related to it<sup>9</sup>”.

Anyway, Iqbal is more than justified in laying utmost emphasis on the cultural value of the great idea of finality of the institution of prophet hood in Islam. Partly because it put man on his own resources with the birth of reason and critical faculty, intended to make man master of his environment by inhibiting the formation and growth of non-rational modes of consciousness through which psychic energy flowed at an earlier stage of evolution to economize individual thought and choice by ready-made judgments, choices and ways of action; partly due to the annulment of the overriding principle of Magian religions i.e. Messianism a constant looking forward to the coming of ‘Reformer’ to redeem the balance of history. This perpetual attitude of constant expectation to the coming of Zoroaster’s unborn sons, the Messiah, or the Paraclete of the fourth Gospel had kept the followers of Magian religions silent spectators rather than making the history field of **Divine Activity**. Implicit in this notion is the conception of world-historical struggle between Good and Evil, with the power of Evil prevailing in the middle period and the Good finally triumphant on the Day of Judgment. It lets the Evil unleash its lashes of tyrannies for the victory of Good is conditional to the advent of awaited ‘Reformer’ and that too is expected near the Day of Judgment. When notion like it overwhelms psyches, ideas of predetermination and fatalism take roots. In such a scenario, the doctrine of finality in Islam must be regarded as the psychological cure for the Magian attitude of constant looking forward to the coming of ‘Reformer’ which giving false view of history had been burning vitalities of the adherents of such notion. Such views had reappeared in Islam under the pressure of Magian thought. However, Ibn Khaldun with the spirit of his own view of history refuted the basis of an idea similar<sup>10</sup>.

Iqbal partially endorses and partially negates Spangler’s thesis that on the one hand it was an anti classical spirit of European culture and peculiar specific genius of European mind which paved the way for modern world and Islamic culture is Magian in spirit and character on the other. Iqbal agrees with Spangler’s view regarding the spirit of modern culture, he contends, however, that the spirit of modern world was arisen out of the intellectual revolt of Islam against Greek thought. The cognitive revolution that western academic orthodoxy vehemently attribute to Descartes, Roger Bacon and other great figures of Enlightenment Movement on the realm of natural sciences that transpired into scientific cum industrial revolution, to Iqbal, in its genesis was the hallmark of Islamic culture of Muslim Spain. Roger Bacon was no more than one of the apostles of Muslim science and method to Christian Europe. It was Nazzam who formulated the principle of ‘doubt’ as the beginning of all knowledge. Ghazali enhanced and amplified the same in his “Revivification of the Sciences of Religion” which proved to be a foundation stone for Descartes’ Method. To some neutral observers, if Ghazali had been translated in French before Descartes’ Method, case of

plagiarism would have been levelled against Descartes. Roger Bacon received his scientific training from the Muslim universities of Spain. He regurgitates Ibn Haitham's Optics in his Opus Majus' part v titled "Perspective". Question arises why Europe is ill-disposed or adamant to recognize the Islamic origin of her scientific method? In fact in this recognition not only Spangler's thesis of Europe's cultural exclusivity and mutual independence of cultural growths collapses, the major themes of European culture and civilization i.e. racial superiority of western man, the moral principle of white man supremacy, the mission civilization, the binary typology of Orient and Occident which actually means Occident versus the other barbarian, the lesser existence of the Eastern communities, incapability of Eastern mind to produce culture and civilization, inherent scientific and technological inferiority of Easterners etc. are at stake. These themes are sine qua non of western imperial interests. "Imperialism and epistemicide are part of the ineluctable trajectory of Western modernity <sup>11</sup>" says De Sousa Santos. While the knowledge of the others is subaltern in character how it can shape or widen the intellectual horizons of inherently superior minds.

However, to Iqbal the birth of Islam is the birth of inductive intellect. It struck a gigantic paradigm shift from deductive to inductive approach on the realm of intellect. Prophecy reaches its finality in Islam. Man had traversed a long arduous journey of his articulated evolution and become capable enough to be thrown back to his own resources with the spirit that life cannot forever be kept in leading strings. An ultimate purpose of man is to realize and actualize his potentials in world life. So at some stage of evolution leaving him to his own devices for full self-consciousness and self-realization seems part of the subtle scheme of The Creator. Hence prophecy in Islam reaching its perfection discovers need of its own abolition. Constant looking forward to the coming of Zoroaster's unborn sons, the Messiah, or the Paraclete of the fourth gospel had rendered the earlier religious communities impotent to make history a field of Divine activity. The psychological cure of history was long overdue. So be it the constant appeal to reason and experience in Quran and emphasis on Nature and History as source of knowledge or abolition of priesthood and hereditary kingship in Islam all are manifestations of the same idea of finality. Thus "the Prophet of Islam seems to stand between the ancient and the modern world. In so far as the source of his revelation is concerned he belongs to the ancient world; in so far as the spirit of his revelation is concerned he belongs to the modern world<sup>12</sup>". "The ancient world was, as we saw, pre-scientific"; Islam was the originator of experimental method which it inculcated to Europe via Muslim Spain and the same transpired in scientific and industrial revolutions by the channel of Enlightenment Movement. To Shariati, it was crusader's exposure to the world of Islam during crusades that culminated in Protestant movement in Europe which fathered European renaissance. However, Europe denies this vital fact due to obvious reasons and terms Protestant Movement a home-grown phenomenon. "Thomas Aquinas, one of the greatest theologians of Christianity, and later Pascal were indirectly affected by the ideas of

al-Ghazali...the scholastic shell constructed by al-Ashari and al-Ghazali has held Islam to the present day, but Christendom succeeded in breaking through its scholasticism, particularly at the time of Protestant Revolt. Since then the West and the East have parted company, the former progressing while the latter stood still <sup>13</sup>".

Iqbal refutes the claim of Orientalists that whatever philosophy and science nurtured in Islam was due to its compromise with Greek thought and the intellectual traditions of the vanquished lands. At the outset Muslims accepted Greek thought lock, stock and barrel accepts Iqbal. However, instead of honing it kept numbed the practical temperament of the Arabs for almost two hundred years. They mistakenly saw Quran in light of Greek thought which obscured their vision and it took two centuries to come to their own. Their uncritical attitude towards Greek thought brought them in conflict with traditional theology and orthodox creed with tragic results immediately for philosophy but for the long run for orthodoxy itself. Under Greek influence philosophers especially Avicenna stayed philosophy or pure intellect near equivalent of religious discourse by the statement that "on all the points where the frontiers of religion and rational thought met, the two neither reached utterly different results nor yet were they identical but seemed to run parallel to one another. Not just on one point but all along the line where the traditional theology and philosophy faced one another<sup>14</sup>". By this systematic parallelism philosophers made saltus mortalis and concluded 1) philosophy and religion are essentially same tackling exactly the same questions, dealing with exactly the same facts and exactly the same way, 2) the Prophet was, therefore, primarily a philosopher, but 3) since the Prophet's addressees were the masses so he talked down to their level in terms intelligible to them. In fact they failed to differentiate between religio-moral cognition and the modes of cognition that pure intellect entails. Religio-moral principles need no consensus through social dialectics a sine qua non of philosophy, just as science treats its subject matter. On the other hand though religious experience certainly has a cognitive element it differs from other forms of cognition for it is encapsulated in authority, meaning and imperviousness while ordinary form of cognition is simply informative. Philosophers simply on an artificial edifice of parallelism assimilated Prophet to the philosopher, the prophetic experience to intellectual cognition. This parallelism transpired in their thoroughly Hellenized idea of God- as a principle which "explains" this world, rather than a Creator who directs this world; an intellectual formula rather than as a moral and dynamic imperative. This Hellenized conception of God was contrary to Quran's weltanschauung which deems alternation of day and night as symbol of the Ultimate Reality which appears in a fresh glory every moment (55:29) and is ever on the watch (89:14); and an atom's weight of good or bad can never escape his vision (99:7-8). "God's is still the directing hand in all affairs; he does not sit apart, careless of mankind or of any of His creatures. But his working shows new Splendor every day, every hour, and every

moment<sup>15</sup>". From tone, tenor and tune of the Quran gushes forth a reality God instead of being silent spectator is in intimate touch with history.

The Greeks were interested in theory rather than empiricism or experimentalism. Their speculative approach being inimical to empiricism kept them entrenched in scholasticism. Time in Greek thought was either unreal as in Plato and Zeno, or moved in a circle, as in Heraclitus and the Stoics. They entertained a static view of universe. The Classical world, before Islam, be it Greece or India or Confucius China, having a decimal system of fixed number had a fixed or static view of the universe. Cyclic movement of time in their conception gave rise to the dicta "History repeats itself"; "Nothing is new under the sun" etc. Greeks were immersed in proportion rather than infinity. So, the physical presentness of the finite with well-defined limits occupied their mind.

As long as Muslims remained infatuated with Greek thought lock stock and barrel, it kept winds out of their sails and their vision of Quran obscured. At long last, it was recourse to Quran that broke the ice and Arab practical temperament came to its own. Socrates focused on the human world alone, oblivious of natural phenomena which Quran calls the signs, the subtle pointers pointing towards Ultimate Reality. Plato despised sense perceptions. Quran stayed faculty of hearing and sight valuable gifts of God. Muslims dissatisfaction with purely speculative Greek philosophy paved the way for surer methods of knowledge. Nazzam introduced principle of doubt as beginning of all knowledge. The principle of doubt is pivotal point in the whole range of pure intellect means empirical sciences as well as religious psychology i.e. Sufism. The Prophet of Islam saw Absolute Reality face to face in cave of Hira, so deep down was the 'principle of doubt operational in his religious experiences, says Lesley Hazleton, that he even doubted the Absolute Reality even though it had exposed itself vividly and fully. Ghazali too employed and amplified the principle of doubt in his religious experience "to live through the verities of the Faith" that culminated in his work Ihya (The Revivification of the Sciences of religion). The same proved corner stone for Descartes' Method. Al-Ghazali, at large followed Aristotle in logic, al-Razi was the first who cast doubt on Aristotelian logic which finds acclaim in John Stuart Mill in modern time. However, systematic refutation of Greek Logic found expression in Ibn Taimiyyah and Ishraqi. In his Refutation of Logic Ibn Taimiyyah bringing forward epistemology of Quran shows induction is the only form of reliable argument. Hence, Arab practical temperament comes to its own, the method of observation and experiment arises.

So, after this watershed event an intellectual revolt of Islam against Greek Thought manifests itself in all departments, equally leads and transpires into modern world. It unfolded in Ibne Khaldun that history as a continuous movement in time, is a genuinely creative movement and not a movement whose path is already determined for the cyclic movement can be repetitive not creative at all. Since as communities are judged collectively, so the movement

of history is cumulative and the entire historic movement is like a spiral, not a cycle. History moves forward with the burden of past on its back and sees its direction intuitively. Time, in Muslim Metaphysics was conceived as objective reality as opposed to Greeks, and life as an evolutionary movement. Al.Biruni approaching the mathematical idea of function refuted the basis of the static view of universe with purely scientific viewpoint. The function idea introduces element of time and turns fixed into variable. This stays the universe or nature as becoming rather than being. "And it is We who have built the universe with [Our creative] power; and, verily, it is We Who are steadily expanding it (51:47; see also 21:30)". To Asad here *انا للموسعون* "foreshadows the modern notion of expanding universe. That is the fact that the cosmos, though finite in extent, is continuously expanding in space<sup>16</sup>". Spangler thinks mathematical idea of function is peculiarity of European mind of which no other culture even has a hint. However, it was Khwarizmi movement which transformed Greek concept of number from pure magnitude (fixed number) to pure relation that proved a giant leap forward from Arithmetic to Algebra. Iqbal furnishes an overwhelming array of facts to establish that the birth of Islam was a birth of inductive logic, as a corollary the culture of Islam being anti-classical in spirit proved a corner-stone of modern world.

Islam vehemently brought forward an idea of the unity of human origin. "And we have created you all from one breath of life (4:1; 6:98; 7:189; 39:6)". To Iqbal, though long before Islam Christianity preached equality of mankind but the idea of humanity as a single organism is a particularity of the culture of Islam. Neither Christian Rome nor modern Europe could rise to the appreciation of this noble idea. Instead, modern Europe emerged with horrendous and cannibalistic idea of territorial nationalism with emphasis on nationalistic characteristics, the sole spiritual value of anti-religion Western civilization. Christian Europe instead of striking broader contours of humanity as a single organism moved towards divisive tendencies and ultimately fell into the abyss of racialism giving the gifts of two World Wars along with catastrophes of French and Bolshevik revolutions to mankind. However, in Islam the idea of humanity as a single organism was neither a concept of philosophy nor a dream of poetry. It is a living factor in Muslim's daily life.

Tragedy of the formerly colonized third world had been that the while they rejected Western imperialism, embraced Western nationalism lock, stock, and barrel. Nationalism is essentially an ideology of difference. History tells us that Arminian genocide in 1915 by the Ottoman Turks was the first genocide of the twentieth century. Dr Eqbal Ahmad says "the Turkish genocide of Armenians was the first expression of Turkish nationalism. The caliphate was still there, the Ottomans were still ruling, but they were already ceasing to be Ottoman rulers and becoming Turkish nationalists, which is why they lost the Middle East. They lost the loyalties of the Arabs because they turned to nationalism. Armenians had lived with the caliphate in relative safety until this particular ideology of difference, that is, nationalism, took hold. The ideology was that anyone who was not a Turk by blood was the

Other. The Armenians were not killed for being Christian. They were killed for being Armenian. The Armenians in a very genuine sense were the first victims of the rise of nationalism in the Middle East. The Jews were the last victims of the rise of nationalism in Europe. And I hope that the Kurds are the last victims of the rise of nationalism in the Middle East<sup>17</sup>.

The idea of finality of Prophecy in Islam, to Iqbal, proved moonshot mission for the culture of Islam. Though Quran termed History and Nature as two viable sources of knowledge yet the mystic experience, which qualitatively does not differ from the experience of prophet, did not come to a grinding halt. Quran regards Anfus (self) and Afaq as sources of knowledge (41:53); reveals His signs in inner as well as outer experience. Whereas the intellectual value of this idea is no more than to create an independent critical attitude towards mystic experience as all personal authority, claiming supernatural origin has come to an end in the history of man, the functional value of the idea is to open up fresh vistas of knowledge in the domain of man's inner experience. So, now Mystic experience must be regarded as perfectly natural experience, open to scrutiny like other aspects of human experience. "No doubt he (religious man of religious psychology) has his pitfalls and illusions just as the scientist who relies on sense perception has his pitfalls and illusions. A careful study of his method, however, shows that he is not less alert than the scientist in the matter of eliminating the alloy of illusion from his experience<sup>18</sup>." Thus we can safely assume that religious inference in Islam is three dimensional. Quran terms to its sentences as signs (ayat) which are mistakenly translated as verses on the pattern of Bible. Quran equally refers to the natural phenomena as signs, sublime pointers to an Ultimate Reality. We shall show them our signs in Anfus (self) and Afaq (world) clearly portrays enough that the stream of thought gushing forth from the depths of unbiased sensitized alert selves or hearts are also termed as signs (ayat) by Quran. Signs in the universe and within themselves means "through a progressive deepening and widening of their insight into wonders of the universe as well as through a deeper understanding of man's own psyche-all of which points to the existence of a Conscious Creator<sup>19</sup>". This is because al-Ghazali in his theological framework called Quran Book of Text (kitab almustur) and Universe a Book of Manifestation, an Outspread Book (Kitab al-Manshur). The wavy streams of thought issuing forth from the inner states i.e. crests and troughs of the self (Nafs) are also called signs by the Quran. So, the torrential whispers of the self might be categorized as Book of the Self (Kitab al-Nafs). Thus again we are apt to quote Tariq Ramadan "when the heart's intelligence (Kitab al-Nafs) and not only analytical intelligence reads the world (Kitab al-Manshur) then the two texts address and echo each other, and each of them speaks of the other and of the One. The signs remind us of what it means to be born, to live, to think, to feel, and to die". The dead and blind, to Quran, are the people who do not pay heed to decipher the signs revealed in their outer and inner experience. Who does not see these signs in this life will remain blind to the realities of the

life to come (17:72; 25:73). But as for him who shall turn away from remembering Me – his shall be a straitened economy (life of narrow scope) and on the day of resurrection We shall raise him blind (20:124). It means he would be sterile and spiritually narrow, without any real meaning or purpose. This élan of Quran find way in Iqbal's magical poetry:

زندگی جہد است واستحقاق نیست جز بہ علم انفس وآفاق نیست

Life is no more than to struggle and excel to decipher and discern the underlying value of signs which are being revealed into our outer (world) and inner (self) experience. This valuable exercise ultimately leads and materializes into intensive spread (richness of faith) as well as extensive spread (political domain). This is what had been told in (41:53), and came true.

Iqbal draws his conception of knowledge from Quran (67:23) i.e. sense perception (empirical sciences) and intellectual faculty of heart (intuition) in a joint venture grapple with the holistic reality. Science gives piecemeal, truncated, and atomistic view of reality. "But we must not forget that what is called science is not a single systematic view of Reality. It is a mass of sectional views of Reality- fragments of a total experience which do not seem to fit together. Natural science deals with matter, with life, and with mind; but the moment you ask the question how matter, life and mind are mutually related, you begin to see the sectional character of the various sciences that deal with them and the inability of these sciences, taken singly, to furnish a complete answer to your question. In fact, the various natural sciences are like so many vultures falling on the dead body of Nature, and each running away with a piece of its flesh <sup>20</sup>".

Iqbal dived deep into the cultural reservoirs of Islam to emerge with the pearls of spiritual ideals and spiritual dimension in which they need to be translated on the realm of history. It was really a two pronged moonshot project. For before Iqbal there were three models of Muslim response to Western geographic, civilizational, cultural and intellectual colonialism. The first of Traditionalists, to them whatever transpired in Abbasid period, Muslim Spain, Mughal India etc. was a culture of Islam and stands in need of preservation, perseverance and persistence. "In consequence, our current theology and fiqh resemble now nothing so much as a vast old clothes shop where ancient thought-garments, almost unrecognizable as to their original purport, are mechanically bought and sold, patched up, and re-sold again, and where the buyers only delight consists in praising the old tailors' skill<sup>21</sup>". The second of Revivalists, in essence it too a traditionalist, with a minor difference, emphasizing the need of going back to the pristine Islam discarding whatever accretions history made on pure Islam. With their eyes persistently turned to the past, deprived of historic sense as they are, living in orgy of remembrance of the past they could not understand that without deriving moral responsibility, rationale and values, simply going back to past is going to the graves. The third of Modernists, equipped with the fundamentals and historical unfoldment of Islam,

brimming with historic consciousness had an essential zeitgeist to be the qualified successor of Prophet as they were, they perceived that Islam stands and falls with its ability to shape our society and to direct our activities with a particular spiritual dimension. They desired not merely to “serve” Islam but to live it. To them, Islam is a practical proposition. Jamal al-Din Afghani was the first genuine Muslim modernist, a real proponent of this serious scheme of thought, to whom it unfolded perhaps with an utter validity that Muslim community cannot be truly Muslim unless it fulfils the cardinal demand of an Islamic polity. “The man, however, who fully realized the importance and immensity of the task, and whose deep insight into the inner meaning of the history of Muslim thought and life, combined with a broad vision engendered by his wide experience of men and manners, would have made him a living link between the past and future, was Jamal al-Din Afghani. If his indefatigable but divided energy could have devoted itself entirely to Islam as a system of human belief and conduct, the world of Islam, intellectually speaking would have been on a much more solid ground today<sup>22</sup>”. Afghani was categorized as a Muslim response to Western Imperialism by Nikkei Kidde. His challenger from within community was Sir Syed Ahmad Khan of sub-continent a la secular modernist. He judged Islam on the touch-stone of Western modernity, whatever irreconcilable to the criterion was either interpreted anew to be reconciled or discarded. Grown fascinated by the brilliant deceptive façade of Western civilization the Muslim secular modernists proved vanguard of Western modernism. Pointing perhaps to the Traditionalists and secular modernists of Islam says Jacques Berque “today too many militants and intellectuals are either proponents of authenticity (tradition) with no future or western modernism with no roots<sup>23</sup>”. The secular modernists of Islam are termed apologists by Wilfred Smith, “who wish to build pride regarding Islam, while the underlying standards by which they interpret it are really modern and Western<sup>24</sup>”. “They are passive camp followers of Western Civilization”. Denying Islam of its role as society shaping power they opt Western modernity lock, stock, and barrel; take Islam as an icing on the cake or mere a spiritual music. On the one side traditionalists are tenaciously clung to the dumb heritage of Aristotelian and Neo-Platonic ideas, the secularist modernists sought solace in swimming with the current on the other, and the current happens to be Western both in its origin and in its direction. That is why Sir Syed could not find place even in footnote of Iqbal’s “Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam”.

Iqbal very consciously owned, enhanced, and amplified the legacy of Afghani. In his two prong strategy he first analyzed the spirit of Islamic culture and evaluated the major themes and spiritual ideals of Islam. Secondly he thought whereas the lion’s share of means, methodologies (constructs of medieval era.) seems redundant and irrelevant with the change of conventional ways of life, the spiritual ideals of Islam stand in need of fresh cast. For this, the achievement of Islamic polity becomes a matter of life and death. Thus to Iqbal state assumes a status of springboard for religio-moral reforms, unequivocally the matrix of



cultural reforms in Islam. Afghani deemed political emancipation first step forward towards religious reforms, without it even Aligarh University to him, was no more than breeding ground of British spies. Be it Zia Gokalp of Turkey, Iqbal, or Ali Shariati of Persia, later Dr. Fazlur Rahman or Tariq Ramadan, for them Afghani's weltanschauung serves as a light house for adjusting spiritual dimension.

Afghani had dreamt of the foundation of Islamic Republic on Muslim majority area of Central Asian States and North West India. Iqbal's view of Pakistan was based on intense spiritualism and rigorous pragmatism. Pakistan was intended to translate spiritual ideology of Islam into flowering culture of socio-political and economic reforms sprouting from a harmonized blend of tradition, reason and intuition. To him establishment of state was sine qua non for the elimination of socio-economic and political inequalities for striking **just moral order** on the earth wherein the dichotomy of master and slave, ruler and the subject, donor and beggar evaporates into thin air.

کس دریں جا سائل و محروم نیست عبدو مولیٰ ، حاکم و محکوم نیست

So, to Iqbal Pakistan was conceived as an instrument for realization of spiritual ideals into living culture of Islam. He wrote to R.A Nicolson "I am absolutely sure that territorial conquest was no part of the original program of Islam. As a matter of fact, I consider it a great loss that the progress of Islam as a conquering faith stultified the growth of those germs of an economic and democratic organization of society which I find scattered up and down the pages of Quran and the tradition of the Prophet. No doubt, the Muslims succeeded in building a great empire, but thereby they largely re-paganized their political ideals, and lost sight of some of the most important potentialities of their faith<sup>25</sup>". Islam in sharp contradistinction to Christian idea of pure spirituality at the outset of its career had sought state to clothe its very spirituality in cultural cast. "The religious ideal of Islam, therefore, is organically related to the social ideal which it has created. The rejection of the one will eventually involve the rejection of the other. Therefore the construction of polity on national lines, if it means a displacement of the Islamic principle of solidarity, is simply unthinkable to a Muslim. This is a matter which at the present directly concerns the Muslims of India<sup>26</sup>". Further, Iqbal consciously reaches a conclusion that "the life of Islam as a cultural force in this country very largely depends on its centralization in a specified territory. This centralization of the most living portion of the Muslims of India, will eventually solve the problem of India as well as of Asia<sup>27</sup>."

However, to Iqbal the creation of Islamic polity is not based on hate against Hindus, for to him, "a community which is inspired by feelings of ill-will towards other communities is low and ignoble. I entertain the highest respect for the customs, laws, religious and social institutions of other communities. Nay, it is my duty according to the teachings of the Quran, even to defend their places of worship, if need be. Yet I love the communal group which is

the source of my life and behavior and which has formed me what I am by giving me its religion, its literature, its thought and its culture and thereby recreating its whole past as a living operative factor in my present consciousness<sup>28</sup>". Iqbal deemed an establishment of Islamic polity in best interests of both India and Islam. Islam after righteous caliphs had fallen into the hands of Arab imperialism i.e. Umayyad's, Abbasids etc. consequently its spiritual ideals were stifled and stultified under dictatorship. Now, the modern era, provides an opportunity for Islam to tap its unsullied springs of ethical ideals. For India such polity would guarantee security and peace both from within and without. He said "I therefore demand the formation of a consolidated Muslim state in the best interest of India and Islam. For India it means security and peace resulting from an internal balance of power; for Islam an opportunity to rid itself of the stamp that Arabian imperialism was forced to give it, to mobilize its law, its education, its culture, and to bring them into closer contact with its own original spirit and with the spirit of modern times<sup>29</sup>"

Honed and cultured in Western secular traditions the Muslim aristocracy in India was convincing the masses that Iran and Turkey are parroting nationalism, what else do we need? Iqbal warned that you need not to be hypnotized by such Western ideas which are product of their own social milieu but irrelevant to ours. "Nor should the Muslim leaders and politicians allow themselves to be carried away by the subtle but placid arguments that Turkey and Iran and other Muslim countries are progressing on national i.e. territorial lines. The Muslims of India are differently situated. The countries of Islam outside India are practically wholly Muslims in population. The minorities there belong, in the language of the Quran, "to the people of the Book". There are no social barriers between the Muslims and "the people of Book". A Jew or a Christian or a Zoroastrian does not pollute the food of a Muslim by touching it, and the law of Islam allows intermarriages with "the people of the Book". Indeed the first practical step that Islam took towards the realization of a final combination of humanity was to call upon peoples possessing practically the same ethical ideal to come and combine<sup>30</sup>". This view finds its traces from "o people of the Book! Come [let us join] on a platform [literally: a formula] that may be common between us - that we serve not except God (3:64).

This unity of "the people of the Book" Iqbal deems first step forward towards the final integration of mankind. Some historical facts have obstructed as yet the realization of this grand ethical ideal of Oneness of God that intends to strike One God one mankind paradigm, human integration as an ultimate destiny of mankind. "The wars of Islam and Christianity, and later, European aggression in its various forms, could not allow the infinite meaning of this verse to work itself out in the world of Islam. To-day it is being gradually realized in the countries of Islam in the shape of what is called Muslim Nationalism<sup>31</sup>". Reconstructing Muslim political theory in context of modern nationalist ideals, Iqbal formulated a new theory of composite nationalism of the followers of Abrahamic Faiths. He even broadened

the scope of his theory by including in its folds Zoroastrians and others possessing the same worldview. "The human race is one. This oneness of humanity is more than a phrase; it is not a mere dream. It is becoming a historic fact. With the speeding up of communication, ideas and tools now belong to man as man. The necessities of the historical process are making the world into one. We stand on the threshold of a new society, a single society. Those who are awake to the problems of the future adopt the ideal of the oneness of mankind as the guiding principle of their thought and action.<sup>32</sup>"

To Dr. Fazlur Rahman, the proposition "that we serve not except God (3:64)" is a statement of the platform, not of the task that has to be performed on the earth and whose details are to flow from this platform or formula of "service" to one God. It should also be noted that this invitation is "for cooperation in building a certain kind of ethico-social world order and is not of nature of contemporary forms of "ecumenism" where every religious community is expected to be nice to others and extend its typical brand of "salvation" to others as much as it can! For Islam, there is no particular "salvation"; there is only "success [falah]" or "failure [khusran]" in the task of building the type of world order we are describing. It is striking, indeed, even in "ecumenism" Christianity, which never envisioned any social order, thinks inevitably in its own terms and will envisage inter-confessional relationships only within the parameters of those terms which primarily surround the cult of Jesus<sup>33</sup>". However the dualism of spirit and matter, the separation of church and state and relegating religion to a private matter, pure spiritualism in Christianity is a historical accretion, to William Montgomery Watt "the recent occidental conception of a purely spiritual movement is exceptional. Throughout most of human history religion has been intimately involved in the whole life of man in society, and not least in his politics. Even the purely religious teaching of Jesus – as it is commonly regarded- is not without political relevance<sup>34</sup>". Had it not been the case Charlemagne would not have spread Christianity among the Saxon tribes of Germans and not extended the political domain of Christianity to almost all Europe. Judaism under Moses got rid of Pharaoh Rule and built state of its own, it is more near to Islam than Christianity because of latter's peculiar origin and development. However, it too had a fervor and zeal of building social order that proved next to impossible due to persecutions of mighty Roman Empire. With Charlemagne assuming power, Christianity fulfilled its cherished goal of building a social order. The millennial ruthless church rule exercised theocracy with dumb orthodox formula and sealed the fate of Christianity as a "practical proposition".

Iqbal has widened the cultural horizons of Islam by devising the narrative of composite Muslim –Christian-Jewish Nationalism in context of modern nationalist ideals. As Zoroastrians were termed like "people of the Book" by Prophet (PBUH) and later treated alike, some modern Muslim scholars entertain same view regarding Hindu-Muslim hotchpotch areas. If materialized, could enliven the hopes of human integration by the establishment of universal government which would be an instrument of striking moral

social order on earth as envisaged in (3:64)... If God had so willed, He would have made all of you one community, but [He has not done so] that He may test you in what (sharia law) He has given you; so compete in goodness... (5:48). Multi-religious world is God willed for positive competitive environment among various religious communities, to excel in goodness and assume the steering wheel of history. With his broad-gauge scholarship Asad exquisitely states “the fact that Prophet Muhammad is “the seal of all prophets”, i.e. the last of them (33:40), the Quran represents the culminating point of all revelation and offers the final, perfect way to spiritual fulfilment. This uniqueness of the Quran does not, however, preclude all adherents of earlier faiths from attaining to God’s grace: for-as the Quran so often points out- those among them who believe uncompromisingly in the One God and the Day of Judgment and live righteously “need have no fear, and neither shall they grieve<sup>35</sup>”.

Iqbal’s sage and serene view of Composite Muslim Nationalism has closer affinities with Shah Wali Allah’s theory of **Irtifaqat**. Iqbal was interested to grasp this concept in entirety, in a letter to Shibli Nomani, he asked what irtifaq literally means. To Shah Wali Allah, though great deal of human behavior like that of animals arise from instincts i.e. natural intuitions (ilhamat jibilliyya), it is a faculty of reason and moral sense, however, which distinguishes him from animals, capable enough to think and work out a superstructure of a sophisticated, elaborate and beautiful life-style, with complicated socio-economic and political institutional networks. For such a solid irtifaq-substructure in religious idiom is nothing but a conduit for moral and spiritual advancement. Irtifaq, which literally means “planning useful measure” Wali Allah employs to mean “socio-cultural-political development” or simply culture. American scholar Mercia Hermansen translates Irtifaq as “the support of civilization<sup>36</sup>”.

To Wali Allah, action not inner state or disposition is a locus of morality. Human conscious action, apart from affecting the extra-human realm recoils upon the agent’s self (Nafs, personality, khudi) constructively or destructively as per nature of the deed per se: humans are what they do. Actions are anchoring point of human behavior. “No one would hazard action on the basis of a doubtful principle of conduct. Indeed, in view of its function, religion stands in greater need of a rational foundation of its ultimate principles than even the dogmas of science. Science may ignore a rational metaphysics; indeed, it has ignored it so far. Religion can hardly afford to ignore the search for a reconciliation of the oppositions of experience and a justification of the environment in which mankind finds itself.<sup>37</sup>” Because socio-cultural and political development (irtifaqat) necessarily involves faculty of reason and moral sense to build an elaborate life-style with complicated socio-economic and political institutional networks, action stays fundamental unit of this superstructure, and being carrier of morality essentially contribute to moral and spiritual development. Morality requires social cast and stands and falls with its ability to shape society and direct our activities.

The cultural development of man from primitive to the most advanced state, wali Allah distinguishes four stages. The first stage of culture (irtifaq) is the condition of the primitive man. Each stage is an expression of specific human form which gradually develops, refines and sophisticates in latter stages transforming only the quality not nature of life. Human relationships –socio-economic and political- become more refined, organized and complex. Arts and crafts assume new forms, education and communication undergo changes, and aesthetic sense becomes refined and differentiated. Thought becomes far more complex, comprehensive, and capable of capturing truth better and communicates more effectively.

In Aristotelian school and latter Neo-Platonic framework man was termed social animal and accepted lock, stock, and barrel by Muslim philosophers. It was Shah Wali Allah who refuted this misnomer calling man a **moral being**. To him, mankind had a gregarious life from the very beginning. If accepted, then some sort of rudimentary socio-political organization and a kind of instinct based nature religion should have existed. In the second irtifaq stage, family life improves with better shelters, refined foods, and better medications. Marital and other social institutions take root. At third irtifaq stage political institutions assume well organized form. Though natural instinctive guidance (ilhamat tabiyya) keeps functional, but in complex socio-economic and cultural fields reason takes over. Religio-moral sense appears, selfish individual and tribal interest disappears, and humankind begins to look beyond immediate, here and now. It is a kingdom's era and a sort of communal or national sense emerges improving socio-economic and political institutional networks with the best of means and human resource available.

At fourth irtifaq stage, mankind with a giant leap forward assumes a status of universalism by the establishment of international political order and a universal religion with its universal mores and universalizable law. Here, Wali Allah does not envisage a merger of communal or national cultures into a one colorless humanity. Customs and traditions distinctive to local cultures must be retained until unless those become harmful and distorted. Even if it be necessary, instead of abrogation or replacement the very traditions should be reformed. For customs in relation to socio-cultural utilities (irtifaqat) are as the heart is to the body of man. Wali Allah insists that particularly 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> irtifaq stages should never be abandoned because it is a social cast or laboratory (socio-economic and political institutions) wherein humans are nurtured, cultured, developed and propped. Neither esoteric monasticism, nor sinking into luxury and comfort is required. Here it seems contradictory that on the one side of spectrum comfort and luxury are recommended for cultural development, the same are discouraged as being contrary to social development on the other. In this regard whatever, Wali Allah seems to suggest is an utter moderation, equity and middle way, for from the lack of socio-cultural utilities (socio-cultural networks) arises moral inability while [a certain amount] of comfort and luxury leads to a healthy human temperament and a balanced morality. To him *adalah* (justice) is an essential moral trait of

human beings. This individual consciousness needs to be augmented on collective realm where its maintenance leads to solid irtifaq superstructure. Justice encompasses the entire spectrum of diverse human pursuits. "When *adalah* (*adalah*) is expressed in dress, manners and mores, it is *adab* i.e. etiquette. When it is maintained in matters relating to income and expenditure, it is economy. Its observance in the affairs of state is called politics<sup>38</sup>".

This is the cultural theory i.e. irtifaq superstructure of Shah Wali Allah so meticulously distilled and derived from the Quran's matrix of socio-economic political and cultural reforms. Iqbal thought, the nexus of mysticism, orthodoxy and dictatorship over the centuries rendered Islam a defunct force, blind imitation brought forward cultural senility and sterility. To make Islam a living factor and an organic reality in the comity of nations its cultural virility stands in need of an independent territory wherein actualization of its cultural potentials would serve as a light house for the world. Furthermore, Iqbal visualizes Composite Nationalism which transpires in unity of Abrahamic family of religions i.e. Islam, Judaism and Christianity. With further enlightenment of human conscience after suitable evolution, human integration on the grand ethical ideal of the Oneness of God is an ultimate destiny of man. However, Dr. Fazlur Rahman not only owes allegiance to the intellectual legacy of Shah Wali Alla, and Iqbal but also formulates their cultural ideas into more consistent, coherent, integrated and concrete terms. To him, *al-amana* or the Trust which mountains despite their firmness, heaven despite their heights, and earth in spite of its vastness refused to accept and man despite his fragile being accepted is a metaphoric statement of the severity of task which man boldly took on in the midst of alarm bells ringing high and tender rebuke of his Creator (33:72). Trust here symbolizes the perennial task of the establishment of moral social order on earth. "It is this mission- the attempt to create a social moral order on earth – which the Quran describes as the "Trust" <sup>39</sup>. The very verse was revealed in the middle of Madina period, in the midst of trials and toils of heart wrenching armed struggle when Prophet of Islam (PBUH) was dead busy in long drawn wars for society building or in more appropriate terms for the creation of moral social order. In sharp contradistinction to the hanifs of Meccan society who have arrived monotheistic conception of religion, Muhammad's monotheism from the very outset was linked up with a humanism and a sense of social and economic justice whose intensity is no less than the intensity of monotheistic idea, so that whoever carefully reads the early Revelations of the Prophet cannot escape the conclusion that the two must be regarded as expressions of the same experience ( *al-Maun*).

Thus, the fulfillment of Trust meant social equilibrium i.e. elimination of socio-economic and political inequalities from social realm. Addressing the socio-economic and political disharmonies to strike a balanced moral order was testimony of belief that history is a redeemable phenomenon. Elimination of socio-economic and political disparities from the social plane is a pragmatic test of the realization of grand ethical ideal of Tauheed. "For

Muhammad's monotheism was, from the very beginning, linked up with a humanism and a sense of social and economic justice whose intensity is no less than the intensity of the monotheistic idea, so that whoever carefully reads the early Revelations of the Prophet cannot escape the conclusion that the two must be regarded as expressions of the same experience (al-Maun) <sup>40</sup>". The establishment of moral social order on the earth is such an ever evolving, ever expanding, ever progressing forward and continual perennial cultural task in Islam; and man so oblivious of this fundamental obligation that Quran sobs "man has certainly not yet fulfilled God's [primordial] command" (80:23)

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