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# The Objective Validity Of Religion To Modernity And Iqbal

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## Abstract

With the dawn of modernity and hubris of science and technology, Europe came to believe that reality is that carries in its folds an irrefutable evidence of its existence. So, religion on account of the lack of an empirical truth stayed untenable to the Cartesian mindset of Europe. Modernity to him was a departure from the age of *mythos* to the age of *logos*. Reason stayed sole arbiter of truth with Descartes' proposition that "reason can stand on its own without Revelation". Thus Europe either said goodbye to the religion or relegated it to the private life. Though this approach descended into secular educational institutions of the Muslim World via colonial rule with its peculiar approach to knowledge and succeeded in sowing the seeds of skepticism about religion, yet with the inspirational leadership of Syed Jamal al-Din Afghani religion became a potent force against European imperialism in the Muslim world. Following the legacy of Afghani Iqbal took the plunge to formulate the restatement of Islam as a pragmatic social proposition responsive to modernity. In Western epistemology no idea was more foreign to Modernity and

Enlightenment than the idea of Revelation. Iqbal presented the case of religion in terms of the current stock of philosophical ideas with the plea that knowledge-scientific or religious- seldom can afford independence from concrete experience. In fact religious man stands in greater need of eliminating the alloy of illusions from his experience than the scientist, the mystic seeker who too if not ceases his quest is bound to hug the Ultimate Reality. This paper is based on qualitative research and tends not only to bring into bold relief the objective validity of religion but establishes that in face of modernity-when life has become so complex and problems have multiplied manifolds, modern man stands in greater need of religion than the man of primitive society or medieval era.

**Keywords:** Islam; modernity; West, Enlightenment; Peace of Westphalia; Protestant Reformation; Knowledge; Epistemology; Mysticism; Science; Nationalism; Secularism; Revelation; Atheism; Medievalism; Islamic Modernism; Revivalism; traditionalism; Obscurantism; Normative Islam;

## **Introduction**

European medievalism (500--1400-1500) is characterized as hold of religion, the unjust traditional order of feudal society and numbness of thought. Victor Hugo thought it a “somber” epoch, August Comte termed it an “obscure” period. Nothing seemed to move; men were as if paralyzed under the ruthless rule of clergy and feudal. Hence, it is aptly characterized as Dark Ages. The 15<sup>th</sup> century, however, saw a first upheaval to bring the Europe on the cusp of modern age, thus a great period of European renaissance sets in, which was bound to touch and transform socio-political and economic spheres of Western life. On social realm the access to greater freedom ultimately the primacy of the individual was established; on economic plane the birth of mercantile materialized which culminated into capitalist society; on political sphere the hegemony of the church was challenged which transpired into the idea of nation state and in 18<sup>th</sup> century the Movement of Enlightenment gave birth to scientific revolution paving the way for industrial revolution and in turn religion was almost sent packing from the Western hemisphere or waylaid to private life . This great moment of transformation in European societies is conveyed by the most positive term of modernization. This was actually a protestant reformation movement which challenged the dogmas and superstitions of Christianity to set the minds free of blind conformity. It broke the chains of all intangible dogma and stilted tradition and represented an accession to progress by setting reason, science and technology in motion. As the maxim goes that no one is extra-ordinary, only the extra-ordinary circumstances make one extra-ordinary. It was the whirlwinds, tumults and tornadoes of Protestant Reformation movement that flung open the doors and exposed the musty tradition to fresh currents. The Movement of Enlightenment in 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries was essentially the logical outcome of the Protestant Revolt which brought forth great minds of Europe like Roseau, John Lock, Descartes and Freud etc. The Enlightenment Movement proved a harbinger of scientific revolution that transpired into Industrial Revolution which with modern weaponry and fresh outlook to life ensured

Western hegemony over the rest of the world during 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> till the first quarter of 20<sup>th</sup> century.

However, the movement of European renaissance being reactionary in nature could not pull itself together. It was peace of Westphalia (1648) that though proved an instrument of accession to peace prosperity and power for the war torn Europe yet it was bound to culminate in atheism for it ensured the separation of church and state, and the locus of loyalty was shifted from religion to state with the emergence of sovereign modern states in the West. The church's millennial rule had ruthlessly suppressed reason and science keeping Europe subjugated to foreign rule hence Protestant reformation movement attributed all the ills of Europe to religion and was insistent on no less than utter refutation of the transcendence. Thus the universal ethics of Christianity set forth in New Testament were bound to be replaced by systems of national ethics. "No doubt, Christianity, long before Islam, brought the message of equality to mankind; but Christian Rome did not rise to the full apprehension of the idea of humanity as a single organism. As Flint rightly says, 'No Christian writer and still less, of course, any other in the Roman Empire, can be credited with having had more than a general and abstract conception of human unity. And since the days of Rome the idea does not seem to have gained much in depth and rootage in Europe. On the other hand, the growth of territorial nationalism, with its emphasis on what is called nationalistic characteristics, has tended rather to kill the broad human element in the art and literature of Europe<sup>1</sup>'. The issue is "when man's moral vision is narrowed and the transcendental dimension is gone, then, from the universally objective moral point of view, it is immaterial whether one worships oneself as God or one's society or nation as God (Pace Emile Durkheim). All particularizing of Truth, whether individually subjective or socially (by nation or sect) subjective, numbs moral faculties, and numbs them equally. It is a large price to pay for one's smallness<sup>2</sup>". To Iqbal, Christianity had for long sustained the unity of Europe, the rise of nationalism the sheer spiritual value of modern Western world broke it into smaller states. Nationalism is an essentially a divisive ideology and perhaps the unprecedented greatest roadblock to the ultimate human integration.

On the other hand Europe revels in her achievement. "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. 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>3</sup>" However, Iqbal was contrasting his hopes for the future of Islamic reformation against the reformation through which Western Christianity passed in 16<sup>th</sup> century Europe that replaced universal ethics of Christianity with systems of national ethics. The billion dollar question was and is how the Muslim world could erect the barriers against the surge of Western inspired nationalism when "the intellectual foundations of nationalism are essentially nonreligious<sup>4</sup>". Peace of Westphalia (1648) was a watershed event in the history of

Europe which ensured transfer of territories previously under ecclesiastical control to the dominion of lay political authorities. It decisively shifted priorities, loyalties and aspirations from religion to nationalism. Nationalism developed multiple identities like geography, language, race, color, culture, history and lastly the religion as a heritage rather than an active principle of managing, governing and directing socio-economic and political life, was included in national identities.

To love and sacrifice for the motherland being a powerful instinctual sentiment of man had been an allied force of religion among all religious communities and the two sentiments make an extraordinary liaison. But, when the West turned this primitive nationalism into a political ideology the idea of a nation state strikes roots claiming sovereignty and paramount loyalty with the principle 'nation above everything else'. Here the emergence of extreme nationalism construes religion its arch-rival force and the two part ways in opposing direction, each stands in sharp contrast to the other. But quite different is the case of Islam. Iqbal interpreted hijra as the Prophet's rejection of parochial or provincial nationalism. It denies man's earth-rootedness and confirms his spiritual basis. It demonstrates that being a spiritual being man is charged with responsibility to move toward wider horizons for the universal. For Iqbal, watan (homeland) is somewhat different in the right teachings of the prophet than in the words of politicians. Idolatry (shirk) so often inheres the rhetoric of the latter, whereas "the greatest miracle the Prophet performed was the formation of a spiritually united nation". This was the prophet's goal in the Hijra ; to go forth 'in the way of God", breaking links with the racially-defined society of the pagan Quraysh in order to create in Medina a new community based on the social kinship of faith in God- a society, which in the prophet's day, you will recall, included both Muslims and Jews, and maintained cordial relations with Christians. Iqbal held up the same vision in his commitment to Pakistan. He viewed human integration on the grand ethical principle of Tauheed, and presented a concept of composite nationalism to bring Abrahamic family of religions on a single platform of common cause i.e. Oneness of God for the establishment of world socio-economic and political moral order. He found Middle East conducive and ripe to this enterprise. Because the Prophet had termed Zoroastrianism like the people of the book, it is part of Iqbal's composite nationalism, what else then remains in the region to be excluded from this grand moral venture?

The whole drift of Prophet's career portrays that the first and foremost concern of his strategy kneaded well in an all-out struggle and political wisdom was to bring forward a spiritually unified community of people irrespective of their race and color to establish a ***just moral order on earth***, if the land of Mecca denies its suitability it might be any territory conducive to this moral program irrespective of its geographic specifics, granted Mecca was central to this strategy for being the commercial hub and Vatican city of Arabian peninsula rather than loved one on sheer national basis, hence migration to Medina was not leaving Mecca for ever but was intended to capture Mecca by establishing power base in nearby environs. If Taif had not denied its suitability to this venture Medina would have been remembered as a less known city of Yasrib in the archives of history. How the child of Western nationalism Hitti knowingly or unknowingly misperceives

Prophet's conduct at Medina "the seer in him now recedes to the background and practical man of politics comes to fore. The prophet is gradually overshadowed by the statesman...in this Medina period the Arabianization, the nationalization of Islam was effected. The new prophet broke off with both Judaism and Christianity; Friday was substituted for Sabbath, the adhan was decreed in place of trumpets and gongs, Ramadhan was fixed as a month of fasting, the qibla was changed from Jerusalem to Mecca, the pilgrimage to al-Kabah was authorized and the kissing of Black Stone a pre-Islamic fetish-sanctioned<sup>5</sup>." Equipped with the spectacles of extreme political nationalism as the orientalist are, these lines have become constant feature and furniture of their rigged and sterile scholarship. "There is nothing national about this but a simple manipulation of the actual forces and materieux of history for the moral cause...for neither monotheism nor the feeling for socio-economic justice is peculiarly Meccan or Arab: indeed on the contrary, the egalitarianism it presupposes transcends, by its very nature, any 'national' ideal <sup>6</sup>." Ibn Khaldun termed it actual power and strength (asabiya), a group aspiration that was necessary for the initial launching of Islam<sup>7</sup>. Shah Wali Allah argued on the same principle that Arabian conditioning was absolutely necessary if Islam was to develop as an effective religion in the World<sup>8</sup>. Pointing to the Pact of Medina Nicholson admirably comments "no one can study it (constitution) without being impressed by the political genius of its author. Muhammad does not strike, openly at the independence of the tribes, but he destroyed it, in effect, by shifting the center of power from the tribe to the community; and although the community included Jews and pagans as well as Muslims, he fully recognized, what his opponents fail to foresee, that the Muslims were the active, and must soon be the predominant, partners in the newly founded state<sup>9</sup>". The later developments and subsequent unfolding of Islam on the realm of history is a proof enough to justify the claim that Islam has nothing to do with the Western concept of Nationalism. However, the fact is " the Prophet was not an impractical visionary who simply made high-sounding moral pronouncements. It was a central function of Prophet and his mission, after having made these moral pronouncements, to be effective in society and to move it in a certain direction. In other words, the Prophet was a seer-cum-reformer. But at any given time a reformer, however zealous, cannot change society beyond a certain point. The Prophet, therefore, had to act both on the moral plane and the legal plane.<sup>10</sup>"

Quran is witness to the fact that prophets have been sent to various communities according to native social realities and their treatment. Moses was charged with a native, local or national responsibility to lead people of Israel against Pharaoh. Joseph is accepted only by his community and fails to win Egyptians on his side on communal basis. Jesus comes among Israelites to revive and renovate the élan of Moses' law. But till the advent of Muhammad, mankind with the preliminary teachings of Judaism and Christianity had evolved and was ripe enough to embrace a universal religion. So Muhammad is asked "say I have been sent as an Apostle of God to all of you ()". In such a scenario invoking Arab nationalism on the part of Prophet stands in sharp contrast to the spirit of Islam, and is no less than the betrayal of his own mission which logic and history refute vehemently.

When orientalists spot Arab nationalism in the initial launch of Islam it partly reflects natural habitat of and acclimatization with nationalism in their own tradition and social milieu and partly serves the corporate vested interests of Western imperialism to win coteries from the natives who disengage the masses from commitment to their own tradition. Edward Said's "Orientalism" is the psychoanalysis of the same phenomenon. To say the least, Imperialism and epistemicide (the murder of native intellectual traditions) were, had been and are part of the ineluctable trajectory of Western modernity.

However, modernity is too much a gigantic and equally unsettling phenomenon that each facet of each religious tradition the world over has been touched by the hand of modernity which has been used in so many ways and is often used interchangeably with a variety of related terms (modernization, secularization, humanization, modernism, secularism, and humanism etc.); and too various responses of varying degrees and intensities it has invoked that still its proper definition seems Janus-faced phenomenon, in Churchill's apt phrase a riddle wrapped in a mystery, inside an enigma in the world academic circles. But it is certain that the major events which brought Europe on the threshold of the modern age are three among others. First, the discovery of America and ensuing exploration of the whole world; secondly the Reformation movement which transferred the control of territories from church to the lay political authorities; thirdly the invention of telescope and the development of new science that considers the nature of earth from the viewpoint of universe which was formerly being seen and analyzed under the supervision of church that for almost a millennium had ruthlessly suppressed reason and science.

But in our context of the argument the decisive factor that shaped the history of modern Europe was the 16<sup>th</sup> century Reformation Movement of Protestant Revolt of which the first momentous achievement was the Peace of Westphalia (1648). It not only brought eighty years war between Spain and the Dutch and the German phase of thirty years war to an end, but by expropriating ecclesiastical and monastic possessions started the twofold process of individual expropriation and the accumulation of social wealth. The most vehement and prodigious outcome was the replacement of universal ethics of Christianity by the national ethics as afore mentioned, the development was apt to bring European society at the threshold of metamorphosis. The Peace of Westphalia set forth the basis for the mushrooming of sovereign nation states in the Western world with utmost emphasis on irreligious or antireligious national identities and characteristics replacing religion with nationalism. Being reactionary in nature the momentum of Reformation Movement was so fierce that in its genesis it was destined to uproot all the vestiges of religion just as church had denied and suppressed all expressions of reason and science with the only difference that now shoe was on other foot.

With the emergence of sovereign nation states when extreme nationalism was formulated as a political ideology, it by its very nature demanded secularism. The terms secular, secularization and secularism have different though somewhat shared connotations just as modern, modernization and modernism have different yet allied

shades of meanings. All these are the expressions of modernity. The efforts of John F. Wilson are very useful in distinguishing the meaning of each of these terms. The term modern implies “what is new as opposed to what is ancient, what is innovative as opposed to what is traditional or handed down<sup>11</sup>”. Modernization should be understood as “a programmatic remaking of the political and economic aspects of society in support of the new<sup>12</sup>”. Modernization actually remakes or reforms the traditional character of political and economic institutions of a given culture based on the affirmation of new discoveries and innovations. In an ultimate sense modernization is referent to politics and economics while modernism is referent to religious tradition. Modernism involves a conscientious effort on the part of participant to enlighten a particular religious tradition by accommodating or adapting to the cultural or intellectual innovations of the day. It is “an explicit and self-conscious commitment to the modern in intellectual and cultural matters (or at least support of [sic] the claims of the new as against its critics and detractors)<sup>13</sup>”.

Let us now turn to the origin and development of terms secular, secularization and secularism. “The term secularization came into use in European languages at the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, where it was used to describe the transfer of territories previously under ecclesiastical control to the dominion of lay political authorities. The term secularis was already in use, and the distinction between the sacred and secular, roughly equivalent to the differentiation of Christian conceptions of the supernatural from all that was mundane or profane, was widely invoked to assert the superiority of the sacred<sup>14</sup>.” In fact the origin of secularity lies in Jesus’ statement that “then render to Caesar the things that are Caesar’s, and to God the things that are God’s.” Herein rests the binary typology of sacred and profane. Mircea Eliade in his classic “The Sacred and Profane” attempted to show in what ways religious man attempts to remain as long as possible in a sacred universe, compared to “the man who lives, or wishes to live, in a desacralized world<sup>15</sup>”. Hence we can safely assume that secularization which is in fact restructuring of socio-political and economic institutions in support of new emerged from biblical faith itself and proved Frankenstein monster to engulf its creator in rendering religion as a defunct idea on social realm and served almost as a new religion in itself. “Secularization relates essentially to a process of decline in religious activities, beliefs, way of thinking, and institutions that occurs primarily in association with, or as an unconscious or unintended consequence of, other process of social structural change. Secularism is an ideological; its proponents consciously denounce all forms of supernaturalism and agencies devoted to it, advocating non-religious or anti-religious principles as the basis for personal morality and social organization<sup>16</sup>.” Secularization begins with a humble approach for the separation of church and state for restructuring of socio-political and economic institutions but essentially entails rejection of religion and renders it as a defunct idea by denying its social significance. Thus secularization, euphemisms apart, in an ultimate sense is “liberation of man from the religious and metaphysical tutelage, the turning of his attention away from other worlds and toward this one<sup>17</sup>”. “Secularization

is a process in which religious consciousness, activities, and institutions lose social significance<sup>18</sup>". In actuality, in Western perspective it is an utter loss of transcendence.

In Eastern perspective nationalism and secularism have been sold for the lay man understanding on the plea of religious tolerance and progress in plural societies but the social milieu and religio-political circumstances of Europe in which these emerged does not necessitate the minds of Plato and Aristotle to comprehend that both ideologies organically linked and indispensable to each other, had been developed and nurtured on the grave of religion. Secularism must cut at the roots of religion in both ways: by destroying the possibilities of the unity of religious community externally and by relegating the religion internally to the position of a private matter being something merely between a man's heart and God. In Western *Sitz im Leben* i.e. sociological and historical settings, the umbilical cord that nationalism and secularism have and the symbiotic steel nerves with which both defy and refute religion, it was next to impossible the accommodation or adjustability of any tradition that had any religious bearing even though it should turn upside down or inside out for the both since the outset were apt to thrive and throb at the expense of religion. "Born out of a violent spiritual break with its immediate parent, European medievalism, Western liberalism is a law unto itself and, therefore, will seek no negotiation with any spiritual system or moral ideology."<sup>19</sup>

However, the Age of Enlightenment (17<sup>th</sup> -18<sup>th</sup> century) in its comprehensive sweep flung Europe to new horizons. It laid the foundations of scientific spirit and culminated into an industrial revolution. No sphere of human thought and activity remained untouched by the hand of this gigantic Enlightenment Movement. The great figures like Rene Descartes, John Lock, Newton, Rousseau, Adam Smith etc. transformed the entire universe of knowledge. Through scientific inquiry and an emphasis on reasoned discussion, mankind was finally able to think for itself rather than appealing to the authority of Church, Greek philosophers, or other sources of supposedly revealed truths. The pivotal point of this movement was that "Reason can stand on its own", the Scripture is no more required. Rene Descartes (1596-1650) was the most influential thinker of this movement who was an active member of Reformation Movement of Protestant Revolt and also switched sides to Catholic army of Maximilian but he was through and through a thinker all out set to reform all knowledge. His reliance on reason as the sole arbiter of truth is termed as Cartesian Approach and is mistakenly deemed as an anti-religion thinker in the Western world and abroad. A common misperception is, as if Descartes, that great thinker of modern philosophy, was an atheist or skeptic or as if he believed naively in the perfection of the human spirit and its absolute independence from all natural, as well as supernatural, exterior perception. However, " Descartes did not do anything other than this; when rejecting blind conformity to authority and proclaiming the right of reason, he prescribed the duty of everyone to yield only to real and irresistible evidence...indeed one finds that , in formulating this rule with such care for the method which admits only clear and distinct ideas, the French philosopher has specified in the reflections that he does not intend to talk about things which concern faith or conduct, but about the speculative truth which can be realized only in natural light... Now, who does not see that



this restriction, which Descartes was obliged to make because he felt that Christian faith concerns itself with obscure things<sup>20</sup>.”

The position of Descartes can be understood, if the dynamics of the social milieu he was responding to are grasped well. In the Eastern world the Sufi theosophy (Sufi gnosis or mystic intuitionism) of Ibn al-Arabi formulated in terms of all available stock of philosophic and mystic ideas and traditions enveloped in Greek epistemology further presented in the cast of Avicenna philosophy had transpired into Monism which through Iran journeyed to India to join hands with Hindu patent Vedantic Monism. Consequently the cocktail turned the reality of the world into an Illusion (maya). The real existence and actor, according to Monistic idea was God and everything else the mere puppet in His Mighty Hand. The doctrine is an arctic region a shared geography of layover for almost all religious communities and like a gigantic glacier is apt to grow huge by attracting all sorts of extraneous materials through its sheer size, but when someone of original ideas and credentials challenges its viability it melts away leaving only trail of debris. However, till someone comes, it keeps devouring all the prospects of moral initiative to reform the earth on Divine patterns. The politico-religious culmination of this attitude was Akbar's religion. Ibn al-Arab's monism in alliance with Vedantic philosophy had created a wide gulf between Sharia and mysticism so much so that Badauni a privy to royal court tells that in Akbar's draft of religious manifesto, Muslim rites of worship were termed unnecessary since their purpose was to civilize the barbarian Bedouins of Arabia. Though at the level of masses both Muslims and Hindus refuted the move, yet this phenomenon helps us to gauge the level of utter disengagement between Sharia and mysticism. Thus the world affirming attitude, in the East had become a defunct idea which being a black hole sucked in all wealth of moral energy. The situation was quite opposite in the West where the Reformation Movement of Protestant Revolt, emergence of nationalism and secularism was rendering religion an obsolete idea, a fantasy of the mythical mind, a leftover of the Age of Mythology. While Monism had made the world only an attenuated copy of God in the East, the developments in the West culminated into an utter loss of God. In such a scenario “while Descartes was trying to establish rationally God's existence which was in doubt, Sirhandi is attempting to establish the real existence of the world which was being doubted by the Sufic-Vedantic monism<sup>24</sup>”.

The arch enemy of the religion in the West was neither Protestant Revolt nor the Enlightenment Movement, for many great figures of the movement were supportive to transcendentalism, but the Church itself which had nothing in its folds to respond the challenges of reason and science. Cartesian doctrine of “judging speculative truth only in natural light” against the expectations and warnings (to block the incursion of doctrine on faith and conduct) of Descartes himself seeped into the conscience of Europe to ultimately intrude the body of religious dogma which had been the terra incognita to rationalism, and everything religious was blown away by the winds of reason and science. Church too failed to build storm shelters against the incursions of pure intellect set free by Reformation and its twin children nationalism and secularism. However, to the Muslim scholars, pretty different was the case of Islam that recurrently invites reason to judge

the validity of its claims with a statement of profound magnitude and grandeur that “We will soon show them signs in the external (universe) and internal realms (in their own selves), until it becomes manifest to them that it is the Truth (41:53). In Islam the Text (Scripture) and the Context (universe) respond, echo, and mirror each other and talk of the One. Thus, the Cartesian doctrine presents itself, on this point, as being less arduous and less intransigent than that of the Quran.

To Iqbal, the modern Western thought is a direct descendant of the glorious medieval intellectual culture of Islam. “European culture, on its intellectual side, is only a further development of some of the most important phases of the culture of Islam<sup>22</sup>”. However, in context of modernity when Church’s moral stand proved untenable to the modern mind, Islam’s rational moral program was capable enough to fill the Europe’s spiritual void. But “The ethical basis of the European political systems neglected the ethical advancement which was offered by Islam<sup>23</sup>.” The edifice of the Western modernism has been built on the ashes of religion; anything spiritual was inimical to its essence. It found its basis in Greek civilization. Greece had been locked in wars with Persia for centuries and to establish her racial superiority termed Eastern hemisphere the *other barbarians*. Western modernism resurrected the same binary typology of the West versus East i.e. Occidentalism vs. Orientalism. So beset with racialism is the West that infatuation of the idea is more than conspicuous here and there even in the statements of the great minds of Europe. Spangler’s theory that cultures grow in watertight compartments mutually exclusive to each other was perhaps intended to establish the unique genius of European mind and denying the role of Islam in the genesis of modern Western culture, the theme that Iqbal refuted on high philosophical level in his *magnum opus* with numerous instances from the history of Europe.

However, broadly speaking modernity is an historical phenomenon and Western modernism is one aspect or phase of the same and being a dominant trend of the time has been falsely equated with modernity as a holistic phenomenon, otherwise modernity is an essential characteristic of world life and be it a human community or animal and plant life all are prone to change and instinctually capable to adjust with emerging realities. This is in tune with Iqbal’s poignant remarks that “History always moves forward with the burden of past on its back and world life intuitively sees its own needs and at critical moments defines its own direction<sup>24</sup>”. The movement of history is spiral not cyclic. Its parable is a river which always heads forward, takes sideways along the rocks in the hills, and breaks the obstacles which obstruct its forward march, walks elegantly in the planes, and nothing is more alien to its flow than reverse movement. Advance after advance the world history has covered the thresholds of Stone Age, Iron Age, Agrarian Era, Industrial revolution, Cyber Age and is standing on the precipice of such numerous momentous ages and epochs.

Thus modernity and modernism are poles apart so far as the movement of history is concerned. Quite natural is the phenomenon of modernity for it implies an openness to change. Modernity may incorporate traditional aspects just as tradition may incorporate

modern conceptualizations. These sociological phenomena infiltrate and transform each other. The blind conformity to tradition is basically a static view of tradition, a mere imitation. The critical element that makes an individual a person of tradition is the possession of a historical sense “not only the past-ness of the past”, T.S. Eliot notes, “but of its presence<sup>25</sup>”. Tradition “at its fullest reflects ontological sensibility in which the temporal and timeless are seen to co-exist in a complex, often mysterious contemporaneity<sup>26</sup>.” We may understand the career of tradition in context of history by two terms of botany i.e. palin- genesis and keno- genesis. Palin genesis mean the organism regenerates or resuscitates its hereditary features while keno genesis means a process where the organism is modified by the environment in which it finds itself. Traditions are valuable for living religions that they provide matrices for the creative activity of great minds and spirits, hence need constant revitalization and reform; however the static view of tradition results in their mummification i.e. coming from somewhere but going nowhere destined to fade away.

But in Western perspective because everything religious was strongly abhorred and done away with modernism means commitment to change, elimination of all traditions, values or principles having religious bearings or connotations. The mighty horns of modernity in Western world swept aside all the remnants of religion in love of everything dissimilar to religion holding promise for happy prosperous future. “With the decline of the social, political and religious orders, a whole world of symbols- which served as the common denominator in the communication system of Western civilization- has been replaced by political slogans. Unlike past symbols, which pointed toward traditional values, these modern slogans are oriented toward the future. The expectations they create, coupled with millenarian anticipations, lead to violent rejection of everything in the present as inhibiting the coming of the future...Western civilization is now reaching its end because it has not kept enough of the past to support a viable future. We have reached this point because we have been busy for the last 500 years cutting off the heads which kept bodies of our culture and civilization alive...as we are now reaching the bottom of the social pyramid, more and more people have become involved in this process of destruction, with the result that violence permeates every facet of our life.<sup>27</sup>”

But since the two prong strategy of the Western imperialism had been the geographical occupation and imposition of Western modernity on the colonized whether the social transplant has the genetic affinities and congeniality to the native soils or not, religion was the first casualty of Western modernism, as the more and more inroads secular education made in the colonized world and the more and more influential elites of the natives opted for such modes of learning. In Muslim world, “as the time has passed, a growing body of educated opinion, wholly and consciously secular in its outlook, has refused even to pay lip service to religion, thereby signifying a break with thirteen centuries of tradition.<sup>28</sup>” Islam being the arch-rival of the West has suffered a lot of identity crises on socio-economic and political realms for its adherents clung to the notion that Islam and Abbasside, Mogul and Ottoman cultures and their sterile conventions are same and one. Prisoned in the scholastic shell the world of Islam was ill-

equipped to respond to the forces and challenges of the modernity. The onslaught of modernity on Islam was all-embracing. It brought with itself the political ideology of nationalism, secularism, and constitutionalism, democratic form of governments, secular educational systems, and secular judiciary along with liberalism and concept of laissez faire economy. All the Muslim Asia and Africa during 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries till the first quarter of 20<sup>th</sup> century was submerged in Western aggression. It was Ottoman Empire that by some ad-hock measures survived but soon disintegrated at the culmination of the First World War. It put the entire Muslim world into an abyss of utter despair for the last hand-hold and safe prop to rely on was in smithereens. Hence, “Retrospectively it does not seem surprising that the congress of religious scholars and dignitaries that met in Cairo in 1926 to discuss a restoration of the Caliphate should only have reiterated ancient formulas, and should have found nothing more constructive to recommend than the convening of another congress sometime in future. The text of the debates at the congress, marked by an undertone of impotent pessimism, is suggestive less of a call than of the last gasp of a defunct idea<sup>29</sup>”.

However amidst all these crises and developments the fact that refused to dawn on the Muslim intelligentsia both orthodoxy and political leadership was that “ out of the terrific changes brought about by scientific discoveries and inventions which were almost unbelievable a few decades ago; out of the smoke and shambles of two world wars, innumerable smaller wars and a host of revolutions and counter-revolutions; out of economic disasters which transcend anything hitherto recorded; out of all these tremendous happenings emerges slowly but irresistibly the truth that our conventional ways of life are gone forever.<sup>30</sup>” In changed circumstances the medieval theological constructs, jurisprudence and epistemology are no more valid to cater the needs of our society. Only two options lie ahead either woke to the realities of Quran and the model of Prophet or entirely drift away from Islam to become passive camp followers of the Occident. Change is another word for the movement, and within social organism, movement can be creative as well as destructive. The endeavor to give up medieval scholasticism, second hand formulas and sterile conventions, a genuine recourse to the élan and weltanschauung of Quran and Sunna and to find on these basis new channels for our thought and conduct is a movement of the first kind; and the drift of Muslim society towards Western concepts and institutions, of the second. Muhammad Asad delivered “Islam at the Crossroads” to address the same dilemma of the Muslim world. Asad stressed that Islam stands and falls with its ability to shape our society and to direct our activities and if Islam ceases to be a practical proposition, it will seal its fate as a culture producing force and obliterate it from the arena of history.

The problems and crises being faced by Islam and its potentials to respond at present juncture of history are quite different from the crises it faced and the responses it generated to the challenges flung to its side at the onset of its career. “Islam, ever since its inception, has faced and met spiritual and intellectual challenges and indeed, the Quranic Revelation itself is partly an emergent from the challenges flung to it by the older and developed Jewish and Christian religions. From the 2<sup>nd</sup> /8<sup>th</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> /10<sup>th</sup> centuries

a series of intellectual and cultural crises arose in Islam, the most serious and significant of which was that produced by Hellenist intellectualism, but Islam met all those successfully-assimilating, rejecting and adjusting itself to the new currents. But the Muslims were, at that time, psychologically invincible, politically the masters of the situation and, at the level of the content of religion, not encumbered by a dead weight of tradition-for it was largely the new elements and currents of thought that supplied and built up the content of the Muslim tradition itself<sup>31</sup>". But now the shoe was on other foot. The world of Islam once being the master of its own destiny was forced to serve the history of others. The gigantic transformation and shift from an Agrarian to an Industrial society like all other religions has rendered its arsenal of medieval constructs obsolete and irrelevant to the contemporary needs of the modern man. The impotent pessimism on the part of religious and political leadership aggravated the situation to such an extent that external observers reached a conclusion that "Islam has become internally incapable of reconstituting itself and whatever it might do by way of reconstruction, if at all it can, will be done by influences and borrowings from the West<sup>32</sup>". Man is a dead instrument or a mere puppet in the Mighty Hand of God as the Ash-rite theology and Sufism had inculcated in the minds and hearts of the Muslim over the centuries, in turn deprived of its originality and creativity Islam have become a dead instrument in the hands of modernity, an inert mass receiving the destructive blows or formative influences from the West. However, if politically Islam had not been shaken, the story would have been pretty different.

It was Iqbal, however, who with all the clarity of the view and purpose of Islam drew a sharp line between Western modernism and the normative discourse of modernity as an ineluctable trajectory of the history which needs to be responded rather than rejected. Inspired by the genuine Islamic modernism of Syed Jamal al-Din Afghani as he was, instead of accepting Western modernity lock, stock and barrel he judged all the currents and cross currents of Western modernity in the crosshairs of his own tradition. To him, Islamic tradition too was not a matter of blind conformity but was subjected to a rigorous and intransigent criticism. In the warp and woof of the modern Western civilization he found an atheistic impulse, nationalism and secularism at face value a device of separation between church and state, in depth a mere camouflage or more suitably red herrings to waylay the hearts of the simpletons that religion too is somewhere present, but it must take care not to cross the boundary into a territory where the socio-economic and political life of the people is concerned. In a nutshell in European framework religion or morality was conceded as an amorphous beast that kills reason, science and creative expressions. Thus his calculable attacks on reason in prose that assume momentous vigor and momentum in his magical poetry, in the nature of things are not directed against reason per se but the hubris, and megalomania the reason assumed in the West to get rid of the Scripture or Revelation.

On the one side, Iqbal is wary of the atheistic impulse of the Western civilization, with the same intensity and magnitude he incessantly condemns the intellectual stupor of his community and stresses on the dynamic ethical impulse of Islam on the other that

accommodates the change. The recurrent theme of his poetry and prose is of his thrust and push to Ijtihad i.e. intellectual endeavors to rediscover the dynamic nature of the Quran. Well entrenched in the history and intellectual traditions of the East and the West he had a rare insight of the constituent elements and potent factors at work in both traditions. To him, Western material progress was at the cost of utter loss of transcendence, and if Islam fails to reconstitute itself, the future of Islamic reformations is pregnant with the same pitfalls and illusions under the dominant impact of the forces of Western modernity. He very poignantly remarked “Humanity needs three things today- a spiritual interpretation of the universe, spiritual emancipation of the individual and basic principles of universal import directing the evolution of human society on a spiritual basis. Modern Europe has, no doubt, built idealistic systems on these lines, but experience shows that truth revealed through pure reason is incapable of bringing the fire of living conviction which personal revelation alone can bring<sup>33</sup>”. The tragedy of the Western civilization is that the Protestant Reformation movement though resurrected the society from the cold ashes of conventions and decay at the same time said goodbye to the religion forgetting the lesson of history that civilizations taking birth in the hearts of shepherds (Moses, Muhammad) and fisherman (Jesus) are more viable and enduring than the ones nurtured in the minds of the philosophers. For, “the religio-moral experience, although it certainly has a cognitive element, radically differs from other forms of cognition in the sense that it is full of *authority, meaning and imperviousness* for the subject whereas ordinary form of cognition is simply informative. A man who has a genuinely religious experience is automatically transformed by that experience<sup>34</sup>”. However, the overblown hubris of the Western mind putting all eggs in the basket of reason and science, incapable of seeing beyond certain limits was naming prophetic religious experience a sort of neurosis or fits of epilepsy. “Muhammad, we are told, was a psychopath. Well, if a psychopath has the power to give a fresh direction to the course of human history, it is a point of the highest psychological interest to search his original experience which has turned slaves into leaders of men, and he has inspired the conduct and shaped the career of whole races of mankind<sup>35</sup>”.

The leaders of the Western Reformation movement, whose struggle culminated at Peace of Westphalia (1648) in the replacement of universal Christian values with national ethics, and fathered humanism had failed to understand the fundamental fact of the normative human nature that moral values cannot be made or unmade by man at his own whim or convenience and should not be misused or abused for the sake of expediency. Man being a party to his affairs is inherently ill-equipped to objectively define and set forth the broader contours and the ensuing details of moral laws governing his behavior and conduct, therefore humanism (human answers to human problems in human context) is subjective and liable to be exploited by the interests and the desires of the powerful ones. So far as the original spirit and thrust of the Reformation movement is concerned “communism in its classical statement, is only a systematic and extreme orthodox form of the absolute and uncompromising character of this Western modernity<sup>36</sup>”. Marxism without mincing words owns and adopts the major theme, spirit

and élan of the spiritual forefathers of Western modernism, while capitalism though hypocritically juxtaposes the opposites religion and atheism in its program yet at operational level it presents an out and out a materialistic view of life. Thus in an ultimate sense communism and capitalism are obverse and converse of the same coin i.e. materialism. This is because, Syed Jamal al-Din Afghani, in poetic imagery of Iqbal in *Javaidnama* is being watched saying that life is mere a rebellion to the Communism and a plunder to the Capitalism and man like a mirror is being crushed endlessly between the pair of grinding wheels.

To Iqbal, the tragedy of the West is that the Protestant Revolt set its slate clean of all the universal moral values, ethics and mores that give foothold in the world of perpetual change, the dilemma of the East is that it gave a status of permanence to the second hand formulas and sterile conventions of the medieval Islam leaving no scope for change. "The ultimate spiritual basis of all life, as conceived by Islam, is eternal and reveals itself in variety and change. A society based on such a conception of Reality must reconcile, in its life, the categories of permanence and change. It must possess eternal principles to regulate its collective life, for the eternal gives us a foothold in the world of perpetual change. But eternal principles when they are understood to exclude all possibilities of change which, according to the Quran, is one of the greatest 'signs' of God, tend to immobilize what is essentially mobile in its nature. The failure of Europe in political and social science illustrates the former principle; the immobility of Islam during the last 500 years illustrates the latter.<sup>37</sup>" Had the Reformation leaders of Europe taken a middle of the road position, an integrative golden mean, a synthetic approach, on the one hand to the problem of Church's one sided suppression of reason and science and accepted an appropriately proportionate role and the due autonomy of reason and science on the other, by the accommodation of the universal values of religion in their manifesto, the trajectory of Western modernism would have been pretty different, for it is the secular ethics that led to the nuclear arsenals and climatic catastrophes all set to bring mankind on the brink of utter annihilation a sure recipe to the 6<sup>th</sup> extinction of life from the Earth, the 5<sup>th</sup> had occurred some sixty million years ago. Similarly, should the medieval metaphysics of Islam instead of merely dwelling on the problems of existence, the process of creation, attributes of God, have worked out the ethics of Quran in a pragmatic framework and duly have incorporated the same in the social life of the community, not only the prevalent moral morass, impotent moral pessimism and political cynicism could have been avoided, the world of Islam would have been the community of the Newton and the Galileo. Man, without discrimination of the West and the East, has certainly not yet fulfilled God's [primordial] command (80:23). He failed to execute the Trust, the creation of moral order on the Earth, a responsibility so gigantic in grandeur and magnitude that metaphorically earth despite its vastness, mountains despite their firmness, and heavens despite their heights had frightened to accept. It was accepted by man, whom the Quran tenderly rebukes as "unfair to himself and foolhardy [zulum and jahul]". This is what said by Chomsky that nuclear arsenals and climate change are testimony to the fact that man has proved himself as an evolutionary error. "Under the

impact of pure technology man's vision becomes so myopic that he lives from day to day and loses sight of the "morrow" to use the word of the Quran, and hence his deeds "lose all weight" and meaning. His priorities become warped and distorted. He first manufactures atomic weapons and piles them up and only then thinks of the consequences. He flies to the moon while the affairs of the earth become more complicated and dangerously intractable<sup>38</sup>.

These are the crises of secular ethics. Secularism being a bane of modernity is far worse than that of either medieval Islamic Sufism or medieval Christian theology, since it destroys the sanctity and universality (transcendence) of all moral values. To Iqbal nationalism is a cannibalistic and horrendous of ideologies ever conceived by man; Dr. Fazlur Rahman deems secularism as an ideology that unleashed unprecedented crises for the mankind. Some Western minds too believe "that secularization frustrates deeply grounded human aspirations –most importantly among these, the aspiration to exist in a meaningful and ultimately hopeful cosmos<sup>39</sup>". Emile Durkheim coined the term anomie (Normlessness) to describe the dilemma of modernity. He first used the term anomie to distinguish between the two causes of suicide: egoistic and anomic in his seminal study *Suicide* (1897 [1997]). He suggested that some took their life due to self-deification while others because of massive changes in life institutions. He used the term anomie to describe the decay of the traditional institutions like the family and a sense of "social solidarity". To him, the loss of transcendence was the major contributory force behind these crises so he championed the cause for a *moral education*. For his study had showed him that the suicide rate in the Protestants was far higher than in the Catholics. This is because Fazlur Rahman on the lines of Iqbal felt that Islam offered the world a legitimate, dynamic alternative to the dehumanizing secular ideologies found in the West.

Islamic and Western attitudes to life are poles apart. So far as the social significance of the religion is concerned the Judaic-Christian West had rendered the slate clean but Islam is adamant to surrender its function as society shaping power. Christianity contents itself with preaching beliefs and morals without bothering about their translation into a definite social scheme; and so it remains content with being an accompaniment to a socio-economic state of affairs that has not the remotest connection with Christian ethics. But Islam does not content itself with merely demanding a spiritual attitude having no relevance to the practical life. Hence says Iqbal "Religion is not a departmental affair; it is neither mere thought, nor mere feeling, nor mere action; it is an expression of the whole man<sup>40</sup>". Hence, whereas in the West the winds of Protestant Reformation at the Peace of Westphalia swept religion aside and with the emergence of nation state rendered it obsolete with the power of state, and the Enlightenment Movement further deepened the fissures between state and religion, quite different is the case of Islam, twice in its history, first in Abbasside period under Mamun, secondly in Mogul India under Akbar the state tried to dictate the terms of Islam but both times it met a humiliating failure.

Thus whereas in European context modernity is *commitment to change* not only in utter disregard but contrary to the values of religion, in Iqbal's perspective of Islam it is an



***openness to change*** . He not only buttress his stand from Quran and Prophetic model, to him Omar stands as an archetype for this approach, whom Shah Wali Allah terms as an Absolute Renovator (Mujtahid-e-Mutlaq) for the later law makers of Islam only applied their minds within the broader contours and framework laid down by him instead of providing new foundations or charting terra incognita in the field. Even the more cherished Objectives of Sharia school (Maqasid.i. Sharia) that struck harmony among the various disciplines (law, theology, philosophy etc.) of Islam finds its traces in the huge bulk of reforms done by Omar. If, only a few years after the Prophet to cope with new realities change was accommodated on a massive scale, how a gigantic shift in life patterns from agrarian to industrial society can run our affairs with the outdated scholastics and mechanical repetition of old values, with a fact in view as Hobbes remarks that “to have a succession of identical thoughts and feelings is to have no thoughts and feelings at all<sup>41</sup>”. Iqbal saw the entire Muslim world around him in the seizure of sterile conventions with the only exception of the Turk removing the dust of history from their eyebrows to which life has begun to move, change and amplify giving birth to new desires, bringing new difficulties and suggesting new interpretations. “The question which confronts him (Turk) today, and which is likely to confront other Muslim countries in the near future, is whether the law of Islam is capable of evolution-a question which will require great intellectual effort, and is sure to be answered in the affirmative; provided the world of Islam approaches it in the spirit of Omar- the first critical and independent mind in Islam who, at the last moments of the Prophet, had the moral courage to utter these remarkable words: ‘ The Book of God is sufficient for us’.<sup>42</sup>” He aptly remarks “The only course open to us is to approach modern knowledge with a respectful but independent attitude and to appreciate the teaching of Islam in the light of that knowledge, even though we may be led to differ from those who have gone before us.<sup>43</sup>” Hence, instead of an elaborate casuistry, too often employed by the Western surrogates of Islam who in dead earnest transplant Western modernity on Islamic thought and tradition in utter disregard of the congeniality of the soil and genetic compatibility, Iqbal seems to suggest “adaptation reform” if be necessary “transformation reform” in the body of Islamic thought. It was a clue that Tariq Ramadan carries in his scholarship and notes “Adaptation reform requires religious, philosophical and legal thought just to adapt to the evolutions of societies, the sciences, and the world, and “transformation reform” which equips itself with the spiritual, intellectual, and scientific means to act on the real, to master all fields of knowledge, and to anticipate the complexity of social, political, philosophical, and the ethical challenges. ..What is required is not, in each scientific field, to try to adapt to social and scientific evolutions, but rather to offer an ethical contribution, more soul, humanity, and positive creativity, to societies, to the sciences, and to human progress<sup>44</sup>”.

Hence, whereas in the European context religion is nothing but the relic of man’s barbaric past, in Muslim world it is a very soul of life. To the European mind, religion is a well-meaning biological device meant to build barriers of ethical nature round human society to protect the social fabric against the otherwise unrestrained instincts. Thus in modern

age, in the age of science and reason, according to the newer psychology Christianity has fulfilled its biological mission and equally lost its significance to the modern man. Jung states "Most certainly we should understand it, had our customs even a breath of ancient brutality, for we can hardly realize in this day the whirlwinds of the unchained libido which roared through the ancient Rome of the Caesars. The civilized man of the present day seems very far removed from that. He has become merely neurotic. So for us the necessities which brought forth Christianity have actually been lost, since we no longer understand their meaning. We do not know against what it had to protect us. For enlightened people, the so called religiousness has already approached very close to a neurosis. In the past 2000 years Christianity has done its work and has erected barriers of repression, which protect us from the sight of our own sinfulness<sup>45</sup>". Christianity aside, Western mind rejects all religions. "It must be admitted that the modern criticism of the great world religions is not altogether devoid of foundations. Their intellectual absolutism and their concentration on metaphysical conceptions have tended to turn man's minds away from the material world, and from practical social activity. But this pre-occupation with the Eternal and the Absolute and the spirit of 'otherworldliness' which it generates is antipathetic to the modern mind, since it seems ultimately to destroy the value and significance of relative knowledge- that is to say of natural science-and of human life itself. The present age seems to demand a religion which will be an incentive to action and a justification of the material and social progress which has been the peculiar achievement of the last two centuries.<sup>46</sup>" This indictment of religion applies word for word to Christianity and other mystical religions-but certainly not to Islam. For Quran's metaphysics is pregnant with pragmatic framework which not only belies the dichotomy of spirit and matter but terms afterlife only an organic extension of the worldly life. Quran does not dictate its terms but invites our minds and hearts to the signs prevalent in our inner selves and the outer universe which are sublime pointers to the Reality, if discerned and deciphered properly are capable enough to convey the moral message laid wide open in the constitution of our own beings and the world around us. Hence Iqbal believes though the mystic and scientist have different methods yet have the same aim that is to approach Ultimate Reality. "The truth is that all search for knowledge is essentially a form of prayer. The scientific observer of Nature is a kind of mystic seeker in the act of prayer. Although at present he follows only the footprints of the musk-deer, and thus modestly limits the method of his quest, his thirst for knowledge is eventually sure to lead him to the point where the scent of the musk-gland is a better guide than the footprints of the deer.<sup>47</sup>" The science seeks the mastery of Nature by deciphering the fundamental categories of time, space and causation in the natural phenomena; it is the discernment of the harmony employed in Cosmic Order that points to the certain moral ends which alone make us master of the mastery. If science erects temples only around the chains of cause and effect, no one can stop it from the violent rape of Nature. Its unfamiliarity with the Ultimate Reality gives life in retail, kills wholesale. Nuclear arsenals and climate hazards are the testimony of the science's unawareness of the Absolute Reality. Secularism has not only struck a wide cleavage between state and religion but cuts at the roots of the unity of knowledge. On the one hand it effects secularization

among the various disciplines, severs organic links between them on the other consciously so that there should not emerge a view supporting the cause of religion. So, the fragmented knowledge is the biggest crisis of our age, hardly ever seen before on such a massive scale in the history of civilizations. “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>48</sup>.”

In a sharp contrast to the Western perspective religion is a soul of life to the Muslim. Whereas in the Western experience religious urge is mere a passing phase in the history of man’s development, to the Muslim world religion is the ultimate source of ethics and morality; not the outcome of cheap credulity which any age could “outgrow” - but the only answer to a real, basic need of man at all times and in all environments. In another word, religion is an instinct. It is the memory of the first morning: “and whenever thy Sustainer brings forth their seed from the lions of the children of Adam, and makes them testify touching them-selves, ‘Am I not your Sustainer?’ They say, yes we testify....(7:172). This is a Primordial Covenant, the Pact of origin. “According to Quran, the ability to perceive the existence of the Supreme Power is inborn in human nature (*fitra*) ; and it is this instinctive cognition-which may or may not be subsequently blurred by self-indulgence or adverse environmental influences- that makes every sane human being “bear witness about himself” before God<sup>49</sup>”. Originally this passage is in the past tense, but Asad stressing the continuous recurrence of the above metaphorical question and answer delivered it in the present tense. It portrays that at the time of conception each person he/she individually is endowed with the law of guidance and metaphorically asked would you surrender to your normative nature (moral law) assigned by your Sustainer. Yea of course is the reply. This Command i.e. law of behavior is engraved into the very heart of each person (91:7-10) so that on the Day of Judgment he/she could not entertain the excuse that his/her personality was conditioned by the hereditary genes of ancestors (7:173). “Behold God does not disdain to propound a parable of a gnat, or of something [even] less than that. Now, as for those who have attained to faith, they know that it is the truth from their Sustainer- whereas those who are bent on denying the truth say “What could God mean by this parable?” in this way does He cause many a one to go astray, just as He guides many a one aright: but none does He cause thereby to go astray save the iniquitous, who break their bond with God after it has been established [in their nature], and cut asunder what God has bidden to be joined and spread corruption on the earth: these it is that shall be the losers (2:26-27)”. The part “*He causes many to stray and many He leads to right path*” has been employed by means of elaborate casuistry, twisting the injunction out of context by Asharite theology consequently by Sunni orthodoxy not only

to secure God's omnipotence at the cost of human 'free will' but the same supplied fundamental elements for a splendid edifice of pre-determinism which at face value was intended to counter Mutazilla's utmost thrust on 'free will' which have been buried in the debris of history, but the doctrine of predestination still rules the roost that mars any possibility of moral initiative on individual or communal level a sine qua non of the first generation of Islam.

Ibn Taimiyya has rightly collapsed the extremes of Asharite and Mutazillite theologies into the middle position by the rationale that the former like pagans of Mecca on the cost of free choice put all eggs in the basket of determinism who said had God so willed we would not have committed a shirk, the later like Zoroastrians affirmed an agent other than God for what they believed to be evil and neglecting the Powers and Majesty of God over-emphasized the freedom of the will, however they are better than the former for at least they emphasize the Command (moral imperative) command good and forbid evil, an unmistakable stand of the original Islam. Quran is least interested in the problem of the "freedom of human will" or "determinism" but intends to induce and release creative moral energy and challenges each person to unleash and maximize human moral energy so that neither the power of God nor the responsibility of humanity is discarded. "Determinism and free will, potency and impotency, hope and fear are, in the human case, not contradictions but rather God given tensions within whose framework people must work; should they violate either side of the tension and think themselves to be either omnipotent or impotent, they fall into a Satanic condition that the Quran calls Kufr<sup>50</sup>".

"But none does He cause thereby to go astray save the iniquitous, who break their bond with God after it has been established [in their nature]...(2:26-27). Here attention is drawn to the memory of the first morning (7:172) that God does not arbitrarily cause any one to go astray, misguidedness is a conscious choice of those who violate Primordial Covenant with God by moral obliquity which taints the intellects and ipso facto the unjust ones are entrenched and fixed in the frame of their own iniquities (83:14). "The bond with God apparently refers here to man's moral obligation to use his inborn gifts-intellectual as well as physical- in the way intended for them by God. The "establishment" of this bond arises from the faculty of reason which, if properly used, must lead man to a realization of his own weakness and dependence on a causative power and thus, to a gradual cognition of God's will with reference to his own behavior. This interpretation of the "bond with God" seems to be indicated by the fact that there is no mention of any specific "covenant" in either the preceding or the subsequent verses of the passage under discussion. The deliberate omission of any explanatory reference in this connection suggests that the expression "bond with God" stands for something that is rooted in the human situation as such, and can, therefore, be perceived instinctively as well as through conscious experience: namely, that innate relationship with God which makes Him "closer to man than his neck-vein (50:16)<sup>51</sup>".

Thus the Muslim world is the world of memory. Quran is the Reminder of that memory i.e. the pact of origin. Remembrance of God, the recurrent theme of Quran, is nothing but

to respond to the Primordial Covenant, the moral law, inlaid real normative nature, listening and obeying to the whispers of the soul, a sublime correspondence wherein the sins of omission are as bad as the sins of commission. So intricate are human problems and equally so extra ordinarily vast are his moral potentials that there cannot come a privilege point of history where all problems should stand resolved and all his potentials exhausted. In view of this fact the judgment of Quran that “man has certainly not yet fulfilled God’s [primordial] command (80:23)” has an eternal import and would stay valid even for the last man till the Day of Judgment. For man’s moral potentials like starry heaven are incalculable. In nutshell, religion is not one of the phases of human development, so needs to be dispensed with as Western narrative asserts, it being the most sublime instinct of man is essential not only to tame the most rebellious instincts of aggressiveness and injustice but the exaltation of human positive instincts and attributes is also a perennial task of religion (83:25-28) which to Quran is an ascending steep uphill road (90:11-17), a near impossible task for spiraling upward is far much arduous than the easy free fall or going downward to enmesh in carnal pleasures. In view of the dynamic complexities of life, weapons of mass destruction, burgeoning crisis of unsettling modernity modern age stands in the far greater need of religion than the earlier simpler phases of human evolution. On the side of material progress man is striking missiles at the Mars; on moral plane a man of libido-driven society feels not even an iota of shame in selling his national resources, secrets and prestige in a paltry amount of dollars. This in fact is the Bayeux tapestry of Western modernity, in Asad’s words “a chaos called Western civilization<sup>52</sup>”. Mankind in the blind imitation of the West is standing on the precipice of so many imbalances, unable to live a life of the heart, quite unable to protect the spirituality which makes it be. In such a scenario how do we remain faithful to the pact of origin i.e. primordial covenant when modernity renders us so unfaithful to our humanity?

Born with powerful instincts of aggressiveness and injustice man can incur loss on himself and others not only more than dumb animals but in context of modernity as he has piles of nukes, WMDs at his disposal all the possible combined effects of the forces of natural disasters and catastrophes perhaps seem humble to outdo his capabilities of self-destruction. Then what else save religion and when else than today can save man from himself and others when history of civilizations bears an ample testimony to the fact that nothing can be the bigger source of happiness and reining in the rebellious instincts of man more powerfully and effectively than religion. Denuded of moral bearings secularism and its institutions loaded with the overblown hubristic character of science and technology have brought world life on the verge of 6<sup>th</sup> extinction, “an outcome of what men’s hands have wrought (30:41)”. All of which is, in the last resort, an outcome of man’s oblivion of God and, hence, of all absolute moral values, and their supersession by the belief that material “progress” is the only thing that matters. Of course man did and is still doing a commendable job of mastering the forces and laws of nature; in all this the real worry is not that man is trying to displace nature or imitate God, for man is encouraged to do so by the Quran. The tragedy, on the contrary is that, on many fronts man has vied with the devil to produce distortions of nature and thus violated moral laws. The real

remedy lies in mastering of that mastery of nature which without religion has proved next to impossible despite the taller claims of secular wisdom and conscience. Secularism the essential instrument of nationalism conceived and nurtured in the light of European experience being a bane of modernity has seeped into the body of Afro-Asian communities and has spread its tentacles far and wide so much so that the most pacifists Buddhists of Myanmar who once due to their extraordinary peaceful religion and temperament have evacuated their homes so that the invading British forces might not face any hurdle in their advancement and operations, they with the emergence of Western inspired nationalism have ravaged vast swathes of Muslim populations. What ideology was at play in Rwandan genocide of 1994? What factor was instrumental in the genocide of Armenians by the Ottoman Turks in 1915, the first genocide of the twentieth century? The Armenians were not killed for being Christians. They were killed for being Armenians. 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. Perhaps Kurds are the last victims of the rise of nationalism in the Middle East. All world religions, more or less have succumbed to nationalism on ideological plane, but it is only Islam which has nothing to do with the concepts of race or nation, and so it lacks the cement of racial consciousness which was a cardinal factor in all other civilizations.

Iqbal pleads the case of religion not with apologetic pleas but with swaggering confidence he establishes that issue is not that human intellect is outgrowing its own most fundamental categories-time, space, and causality and reason has surpassed religion, but the basic fault lies with the Western concept of knowledge that due to the lack of fundamental resourcefulness and constituent elements is apt to present a truncated, piecemeal and an atomistic view of reality. "Say [God is] He Who has brought you all into being, and has endowed you with hearing, and sight, and hearts: [yet] how seldom are you grateful (67:23). From this verse and others Iqbal draws Quran's concept of knowledge that is based on faculty of hearing and seeing means the empirical truth testified by the senses and equally collaborated, and endorsed by the faculty of Qalb , fuad i.e. the discernment of the heart or to be more precise the faculty of intuition. He further corroborates his thesis by the verse "we will soon show them signs in the utmost horizons [of the universe] and within themselves, so that it will become clear unto them that this [revelation] is indeed the truth...(41:53). Here it means whatever the gigantic machine of universe reveals through natural phenomena, and whatever your selves with reasoned arguments whisper to you and the truth that from the different and opposing whispers gradually emerges points to the absolute truthfulness of the Message of the Quran, which is an ample testimony to the fact that the Author of the Revelation, the universe and human personalities is the same and the only One God, a Conscious Creator. After a violent break with its parent medieval intellectualism the Western epistemology put all eggs in the basket of empirical sciences and the Orient proved adamant to break with medieval Sufi techniques and moral gymnastics and stayed content with mystic deliriums rather than intuition for the latter too requires up gradation of religious experiences compatible to the advancement of knowledge, cultural evolution and exigencies of life.

Hence, both the Occident and the Orient entertain a partial view of reality. The heart or Qalb (the seat of intuition) is “something which ‘sees’ and its reports, if properly interpreted, are never false (53:11-12)<sup>53</sup>”. The West ignored the faculty of heart, and rushed headlong to the bottomless abyss of materialism, the East failed to discern the value which Quran bestows on positivism and submerged in hollow spirituality.

Iqbal believes that “in domain of knowledge-scientific or religious- complete independence of thought from concrete experience is not possible.<sup>54</sup>” He acutely remarks that “higher religion [higher psychology or Sufism] which is only a search for a larger life, is essentially experience and recognized the necessity of experience as its foundation long before science learnt to do so<sup>55</sup>”. However, as in rational knowledge the idea of the “grades of truth” is accepted by philosophers, Iqbal believes in the relativity of the truth of mystic experience and instead of assigning the status of finality to the theosophical intuitionism (Sufi cognition) which to Ibn al-Arabi being infallible is not liable to scrutiny, he like Sheikh Ahmad Sirhandi believes that a particular mystic experience can be challenged and falsified by the subsequent one which mysticism in practice has often tacitly recognized but in theory has always disdained and sought to reject, especially in favor of its privileged cognitive claims over against rational thought. Iqbal very poignantly concludes that “No doubt he [religious man, mystic] has his pitfalls and illusions just as the scientist who relies on sense-experience 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>56</sup>”. It is in fact delving deep into the potential types of consciousness lying close to our normal consciousness, and is, as such, as critical of its level of experience as Naturalism is of its own level.

To grasp the core of religious experience Iqbal divides religious life into three periods i.e. faith, thought and discovery. In the first period religious life appears as a form of unconditional command without any rational understanding of the ultimate meaning and purpose. This contributes well to the social and political development of people but is not of much consequence for individual’s inner growth and expansion. After complete surrender to the discipline, then sets in the period of rational understanding of the discipline and the ultimate source of its authority. Here religious life develops a *weltanschauung* of God, man and universe. It, the logically consistent view of the isosceles triangle with man and universe lying at the base and God at the top is called metaphysics. In the third period metaphysics is replaced by psychology, and religious life endeavors to come into direct contact with the Ultimate Reality. This is the stage at which human being receives light from the inner depths of life.

However, Iqbal draws a sharp cleavage between concept and percept, the former intellectually manageable and able to be communicated and socialized while the latter is individual experience and incommunicable, the stance at which opinions of al-Ghazal, Mulla Sadra and Sheikh Sirhandi converge. This point is further corroborated by Ibn al-Arabi’s acute observation that God is percept; the world is a concept. “Whether or not this experience had any other content- the eminent Sufis themselves, like al-Ghazali and al-

Sirhandi thought it had none<sup>57</sup>". Ghazali's purpose was "to live through the verities of the Faith through Sufi experientialist method, he concluded that Sufism has no cognitive content or object but the verities of the Faith<sup>58</sup>". Sadra "searched a method that would give him certainty and would transform merely rational propositions into experienced truth<sup>59</sup>". In so far as the method and quality of religious experience is concerned Iqbal is exclusively indebted to al-Sirhandi so much so that "in this sense, with all the richness of thought, Iqbal has but simply rendered in magical poetry what Sheikh Ahmad, the Majaddid, had preached as his central theme three hundred years before.<sup>60</sup>" It was Sirhandi who in light of his own mystic experience perhaps first time in the history of Islam with convincing argument drew a sharp line between prophetic and mystic experience... "Sirhandi has enunciated an important law of religious experience, which he has repeatedly applied himself. This law states that "the descent occurs proportionately to ascent" and can be called the Law of proportionality of Experience and Creativity. The Prophet comes lower down to act in the flesh and blood of the temporal, simply because he has gone highest: which fact bestows an inherent impulsion and fecundity upon his experience to become historic. The pure mystic never comes down quite to the earth, because he has never been quite in the heaven: in its downward movement saintship does not wholly (ba-kulliyat) face the creation: only its exterior is with the world while its inner is with God. The reason is that a saint starts moving downward without having completed all the stages of the ascent. Inevitably, then, he is constantly held back and haunted by his care for the side of the ascent and cannot fully be with the world. The Prophet, on the other hand, comes back after having been 'there' and hence can devote himself entirely to his mission to humanity.<sup>61</sup>" On the same line Iqbal draws our attention to the fact "the mystic does not wish to return from the repose of 'unitary experience'; and even when he does return, as he must, his return does not mean much for mankind at large. The prophet's return is creative. He returns to insert himself into the sweep of time with a view to control the forces of history, and thereby to create a fresh world of ideals. For the mystic the repose of 'unitary experience' is final; for the prophet it is the awakening, within him, of world-shaking psychological forces, calculated to completely transform the human world.<sup>62</sup>"

To Sheikh Ahmad, however, unitary experience per se is a fact but the inertia and repose it garners and the impression of adequacy and finality it generates if not transcended, it impoverishes the personality and becomes harmful. "His view is that the [unitive] experience is genuine and even valuable, that Ibn al-Arabi had this genuine experience, but that by declaring this experience to be the last word and, further, by building a speculative system around this mystic insight, he did incalculable harm...but I know this much that beyond this gnosis there is a higher one and further from this experience another. Those who are imprisoned in this station are prevented from many [higher] perfections and stations<sup>63</sup>". Sheikh actually points that not all 'experience' is of the same order, rather it has grades of intimacy, clarity and authority.

The sublime accuracy, precision and an elaborate style and clarity with which Sheikh Ahmad presents the case of religious experience seems not only modern and telling but



to an utmost extent psychologically coercive enough to render the slate clean of whatever content the traditional mysticism had formulated over the centuries and the community had been habitual to, he in fact with originality and prowess in light of his own mystic experience reestablishes the organic bond and ties of mysticism to the thrust and drift of the Prophet's religious experience and the social reform that it entailed. Knowing the severity and magnitude of the task and endeavors involved in the successful execution of this scheme he termed himself the Renovator of the millennium (Mujaddid-i Alf-i Thani). "His work demonstrates, through a genuine dialectic of religious experience, the true organic nature of the inner experience and the reality of the external world, necessitating a subsumption of the former to the latter, of the intuitive perception to the moral order...the unmistakable stand of pristine Islam.<sup>64</sup>"

The modern treatment of higher psychology has scientifically drawn a difference between prophetic and mystic experiences that the former emerges with moral content like Moses the latter enjoys incommunicable states and forgets the same as soon as he redeems to the normal consciousness. Buddha is a case in point who instead of delivering any content asked his followers to follow him. However, in so far as the narrative of higher psychology i.e. religious experience is concerned Sheikh Ahmad has long before solved the problems the psychology of mysticism has not yet begun to grapple with. The Sheikh states "The spiritual order is, in fact, nothing but the *alam al-amar*, the attributes of God projected into the world. When the mystic takes flight his experience carries him through these Divine Attributes and Names. But each Name and Attribute appears at each level with a different intensity and meaningfulness. The levels are divided into regions and are identified as "the saintship of the saints", "the saintship of the prophets" and "the saintship of the angels". But the distinction seems formal since there is no region which is closed intrinsically to any spiritual traveller provided he possesses the necessary gifts. But now something momentous happens. The apogee of the spiritual journey takes us to the highest Divine Name- Being, and its opposite non-Being. At this point the journeyman re-discovers the world which he thought he had left behind long ago. The pure mystic, the saint, must stop there, for having renounced the world; he is unprepared to enter into this highest spiritual reality. It is the Prophet alone who has kept his 'earth' intact that is capable of entering into this field which is nearest to God: "*the acquisition of these [high est] perfections is peculiar to the prophets, and their perfect followers too can, through the leadership and mediacy of the prophets, share in them.*"<sup>65</sup>" The pure mystic is actually debarred from those higher reaches which are the domain of the prophetic consciousness.

The foregoing account was an attempt to clarify that in domain of knowledge-scientific or religious- thought cannot entertain complete independence from concrete experience. However, as religion zeroes in on transformation and guidance of man's inner and outer life hence stands in greater need of rational foundations of its ultimate principles than the dogmas of science. For, religion requires deed which might be the sacrifice of life; then, how one would hazard action on the basis of doubtful principle. Thus Iqbal seems mystic himself while states "In so far as the ultimate nature of Reality is concerned, nothing is at

stake in the venture of science; in the religious venture the whole career of the ego as an assimilative personal center of life and experience is at stake. Conduct, which involves a decision of the ultimate fate of the agent, cannot be based on illusions. A wrong concept misleads the understanding; a wrong deed degrades the whole man, and may eventually demolish the structure of the human ego.<sup>66</sup> Thus the mystic pours scorn on conceptual framework of the philosophers against the empirical value of his religious experience and dares to see the Ultimate Reality face to face. What is ascension? Only a search for a witness who may confirm thy reality; a witness whose confirmation alone makes thee eternal. "This is because the philosophers, by subjectively setting up their own reason as the safe criterion of truth, trifle with God; but the mystic, even when in error with regard to his findings, tries to find truth in objective experience<sup>67</sup>". Hence on the footprints of al-Sirhandi quite poignantly remarks Iqbal "it seems that the method of dealing with Reality by means of concepts is not at all a serious way of dealing with it."<sup>68</sup>

However, in so far as the incommunicability of religious experience is concerned Iqbal affirms if the mystic is wholly ruled by traditional ways, attitudes, and expectations. The reason being that the human mind never stands still and knowledge is perpetually advancing; and every momentous change in man's world-view demands a fresh interpretations and revaluation of the basic truths of faith. The same applies to the methods and techniques of mystic experience. If science to be ever more precise keeps its modes of experiment ever upgraded how the Sufi modes and techniques can stand still when the agent in sharp contrasts to the scientist has much on stake. Hence, conservatism in mystic enterprise destroys the ego's creative freedom and closes up the paths of fresh spiritual initiative and the venture goes round and round in circles and the parable of the enterprise is like the singing of the wind over sand dunes-coming from nowhere, going nowhere, destined to fade away. But to Iqbal, the case of Naqshbandi order to which Sheikh Ahmad belonged, that is popular in Punjab and Central Asia, is pretty different from all of the Sufi Orders entrenched in medieval mystic techniques unable to produce original discoveries of ancient Truth in that it believes in ever newer techniques compatible to the evolution of life. Hence, the mystic equipped with evolved techniques is not only capable of communicability of the experience but can also rectify the concepts of philosophical theology or at least his higher experience makes him suspicious of the purely rational process which forms these concepts, a fact evident enough from the experience and statement of al-Sirhandi.

The Islamic mysticism had come up with categories of intoxication and sobriety (Sakr –o -Sahw), annihilation and restitution (fana-o-baqa), ascent and descent (Saud-o-Nazul) etc. but failed to turn these categories to a fertile direction for the inadequacy of the unitary experience had failed them to comprehend the dialectical character of the two states which would have rendered them an integrated whole. To the Sheikh, the text is pragmatic and *a genuine insight in the spiritual must result in a meaningful and fresh contact with this world* and as the mystic consciousness, unlike prophetic consciousness, is not quite able to integrate the world consciousness and the God-consciousness this is because the pure mystic abhors to face the realities of the world and likes to remain in a

spiritual realm (alam e amr) where anything can happen without being subject to the chains of cause and effect and these people do not know that in the annulment of causes is the annulment of reason and wisdom, God has veiled himself in the splendid veil (53:16) of the causal processes the purpose of which is to make man endeavor whereby he both realizes his capacities and truly appreciates the meaning of God for the world. It is exactly the pondering over the same causal processes operational behind natural phenomena which makes one spellbound to utter.. O Lord you have not created this (World) in vain (3:11). What a revolutionary in fact a prophetic statement made by a mystic in light of his mystic experience that is meant to insinuate that to be in a world of causal processes, the world of trouble and turmoil where one wields the choice to obey or disobey is more valuable than to be in spiritual realm where one is like a dead instrument in the hand of God having no choice at all. Here in this world the man born with fragile being and hard lot toils towards the Sustainer in painful toil (84:6) and is bound to move onward from stage to stage (84:19). While the peace and quietude in the realm spiritual enamors the mystic and retards his further development. Hence the fright of the world as it is prevents him from discovering the world as it ought to be. This being neutral to the social reality a bane of mysticism is nothing but the outcome of an immature Sufi experience that fails him to integrate the ascent and descent which are not two mutually dislocated experiences- a higher and a lower-but constitute two moments of a single experience. Sheikh's statement that the pure mystic is in fact debarred from those higher reaches which are the province of the prophetic consciousness furthermore their [prophets] perfect followers too can, through the leadership and mediacy of the prophets, share them is highly revealing. It means the common run of the Sufis in their unitary experience are apt to self-indulgence which is prone to confer an inanity on the experience being not so much for the others and the world around them. It seems that with the help of latest and rich Sufi techniques and the leadership of the prophets the Sheikh has imbued from those higher reaches which are the province of prophetic consciousness and "claimed for himself the status of the Renovator of the Second Millennium (Mujaddid-I Alf-iThani) which means that he had after Muhammad, rediscovered fully and vigorously the meaning and purpose of the prophet's mission. The substance of his teachings lends credence to his conviction.

Some sociologists believe that whatever was bestowed on the primitive mankind through Revelation today is a normal fact of life accessible to a man of an average intellect. "To the primitive man all experience was super-natural. Prompted by the immediate necessities of life he was driven to interpret his experience, and out of this interpretation emerged 'Nature'...the total-Reality, which enters our awareness and appears on interpretation as an empirical fact has other ways of invading our consciousness and offers further opportunities of interpretation.<sup>69</sup>" Iqbal, however, believes that "it does not mean the mystic experience, which qualitatively does not differ from the experience of the prophet, has now ceased to exist as a vital fact. God reveals his signs in inner as well as outer experience (41:53) and it is the duty of man to judge the knowledge yielding capacity of all aspects of experience...mystic experience, then, however unusual and abnormal, must

now be regarded by a Muslim as a perfectly natural experience, open to critical scrutiny like other aspects of human experience<sup>70</sup>. For, only the all personal authority, claiming a supernatural origin has come to an end in history of man, not the experience itself. To Iqbal mystic's sense of objectivity is more real than scientist's in his own sphere of objectivity for he passes from experience to experience, not as a mere spectator, but as a critical sifter of experience, who by the rules of a peculiar technique, suited to his own sphere of inquiry, endeavors to eliminate all subjective elements, psychological or physiological, in the content of his experience with a view finally to reach what is absolutely objective. A hundred times repeated successful experiment might at last prove that the success was an outcome of an illusion of thought says Einstein, hence the field of mystic's inquiry is much harder than the scientist's and is strewn with the potholes of traditional mysticism and modern mines of fragmented knowledge standing on the legs of deconstructionism which holds that all "truth" and knowledge are purely subjective and truth is made and not found a far cry from the assertion of theologians that truth cannot be created by the human intellect but must be discovered in the Divine revelations. The tragedy is, whereas the modern Muslim mind is trying to grapple with problems of 21st century with the mindset, tools and concepts developed a millennium ago, the Cartesian mindset of the West is unable to accept the possibility that there are certain eternal and transcendent truths which man must accept, even if they are many millennia old.

In nutshell, religious experience being more thorough in its comprehensive sweep in turn full of authority, meaning and imperviousness is capable of bestowing a fire of conviction to the subject and renders him biologically radically transformed while the intellectual cognition is a mere information. This is because writes Professor Whitehead that "the ages of faith are the ages of rationalism", hence religion on its doctrinal side, "is a system of general truths which have the effect of transforming character when they are sincerely held and vividly apprehended<sup>71</sup>". Iqbal strengthens this assertion by saying that "it is in contact with the Most Real that the ego discovers its uniqueness, its metaphysical status, and the possibility of improvement in that status. Strictly speaking, the experience which leads to this discovery is not a conceptually manageable intellectual fact; it is a vital fact, an attitude consequent on an inner biological transformation which cannot be captured in the net of logical categories. It can embody itself only in a world-making or world-shaking act; and in this form alone the content of this timeless experience can diffuse itself in the time movement, and makes itself effectively visible to the eye of history.<sup>72</sup>" To Iqbal the modern world stands in need of biological renewal. And religion, which in its higher manifestations is neither dogma, nor priesthood, nor ritual, can ethically prepare the modern man for the burden of the great responsibility which the advancement of modern science necessarily involves, and restore to him that attitude of faith which makes him capable of winning a personality here and retaining it in hereafter.

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