THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCHOLARLY TRADITION IN THE EARLY PERIOD OF ISLAM

Dr. Shahida Parveen*

It is a proved fact just like the sun in the universe, Islam religion knowledge and reason, has emphasized mankind to acquire knowledge without any distinction of gender. Muhammad SAW paid equal attention in the training of men as well as women, He always appreciated the persons who were eager for learning, and women were also addressed, guided and answered, for any complication, which they suffer. The appreciation of Holy Prophet SAW, encouraged women to show eagerness for learning and knowledge and they requested Muhammad SAW to allocate a specific day for their training and he did so. This paper will highlight the marvelous role of Muslim women in the development of scholarly traditions in the early period of Islam. A handsome number of Muslim women, was a source of guidance for Muslim society, even great companions of Mohammad S.A.W. approached them for guidance like mothers of believers HadratA'ishah,HadratHafsa and Umm Salma etc. Women had a sound opinion and sometimes they differed with the opinion of male scholars as Umar and HazratA'ishah about a matter pertaining to Islamic Law and he could not convince her, and scholars of different school of thought accepted her opinion. In present day, there is a lack of Muslim women scholars as they have lost their legacy. The aim of this paper is to provide historical proves from early period of Islamic history and urge the present Muslim women folk to strive for. Gender discrimination has caused a lot of damage to their prestigious position. Though, ratio of female higher education is grooming, yet the scholarly position is still vacant and women have to work hard to occupy their previous position.

Keywords: Role of women, scholarly traditions, early period of Islam, female higher education in contemporary Muslim world.

1-Introduction

Islam encourages every follower to seek knowledge and wisdom, in very first revelation of Qur'an Al mighty Allah ordered believers to read and learn, Allah says

Read (O Prophet) in the name of your Lord, Who created: created man from a clot of congealed blood. Read: and your lord is most

^{*} Assistant Professor, Dept. of Islamic Studies, University of the Punjab, LHR

edited several magazines, including The Movement and The Reasoner Holyoake was the last person in England to be imprisoned on a charge of atheism, for saying at a public lecture in Cheltenham in 1842 (at a time of economic hardship): "I f I could have my way, I would place the deity on half pay as the Government of this country did its subaltern officers." It was Holyoake who suggested the term 'secularism' and organised the early Secular Societies, becoming Vice-President of the National Secular Society. Bradlaugh was preferred as President because he was a much more eloquent speaker. He campaigned with Bradlaugh for secular affirmations. Some of the other causes Holyoake championed were a free press, the rights of women and the liberation of oppressed nationalities. In 1899 he presided at the inaugural meeting of the Rational Press Association which has spent the last 100 years publishing books such as the Cheap Reprints of The History of Science series and The Thinker's Library, in order to undermine religious superstition and help the spread of rationalist principles. See also: A Dictionary of the Social Sciences, editor: Tulius Gould, p. 625, Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, editor: James Hasting, (Edinburgh: T & T. Clark, 1955), vol. XI, p. 347.

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⁴⁶ Davis, Derek H., "Law, Morals, and Civil Religion in America," Journal of Church and State, Summer 97, vol. 39, issue 3, p. 4.

⁴⁷ Rodney Clapp, "Where Capitalism and Christianity Meet," Christianity Today February 4, 1983, in Wuthnow, Robert, "Divided We Fall: America's Two Civil Religions," p. 401.

⁴⁸ Falwell, Wisdom for Living, Victor, 1984, pp. 131, 102, in Wuthnow, Robert,

"Divided We Fall: America's Two Civil Religions," p. 401.

⁴⁹ "The Christian Choice Between Capitalism and Socialism," in Liberation Theology, edited by Ronald H. Nash Mott, 1984, quoted in Wuthnow, Robert, "Divided We Fall: America's Two Civil Religions," p. 402.

⁵⁰ The Secret Kingdom: A Promise of Hope and Freedom in a World of Turmoil, (Thomas Nelson, 1982), p. 151, quoted in Wuthnow, Robert, "Divided We Fall: America's Two Civil Religions," p. 403.

51 Schaeffer, Francis, A Christian Manifesto, p. 33.

52 See Yip, Francis, Ching-Wah, Capitalism as Religion? A Study of Paul Tillich's Interpretation of Modernity, (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2007), pp. 10-18.

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²² Tocqueville, de Alexis, *Democracy in America*, (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1980), vol. 2, p. 110.

²³ Ibid p. 115

²⁴ Ibid., p. 116

²⁵ Stuckrad, Kocku von, (ed.), The Brill Dictionary of Religion, Revised edition of Metzler Lexikon Religion, edited by Christoph Auffarth, Jutta Bernard and Hubert Mohr, trans. From German by Robert R. Barr, (Leiden: Brill, 2006), vol. I, p. 412.

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²⁷ Russell E. Richey and Donald G. Jones, (eds.), American Civil Religion, (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), pp. 4-18.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 30.

²⁹ Coleman, John, A., "Civil Religion," Sociological Analysis, 31(2):67-77

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30 Gehrig, Gail, American Civil Religion, An Assessment, (New York: Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, 1981), p. 18.

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35 The Bible 1 Corinthians 12: 12, 13, 17, (The First Epistle of Paul the Apostle

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³⁶ Morgan, Edmund, S., (ed.), Puritan Political Ideas, pp. 84-86, in Robert, Bellah, "The Revolution and the Civil Religion," Jerald C. Brauer, (ed), Religion

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- ⁶ Bellah, Robert, "Civil Religion in America," in Beyond Belief, Essays on Religion in a Post-Traditional World, (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), p.

⁷ Huntington, Samuel P., Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004), pp.103-106.

- 8 "I believe in the United States of America as a Government of the people, for the people; whose just powers are derived from the consent of the government; a democracy in a republic; a sovereign Nation of many sovereign states; a perfect union, one and inseparable; established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice, and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes. I therefore believe it is my duty to my country to love it; to support its Constitution; to obey its laws; to respect its flag, and to defend it against all enemies."
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- 15 Coleman, John A., "Civil Religion," in Sociological Analysis 31, no. 2 (1970),
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Conclusion:

Conor Cruise O'Brien argues in his book66 that the American civil religion may be the major force working for the preservation of the Enlightenment, and with it democracy, in the world.

The Enlightenment secular tradition has even produced its own kind of generic public religion, a religion of the Republic, which Bellah has immortalized with the term civil religion. Historically, it is this common faith that supports the republic and tends to identify with its secular values. Civil religion has provided a sacred legitimation for capitalist and democratic system.

Although civil religion's roots are found in Enlightenment period, but this idea has now developed in Muslim countries. After Enlightenment period, religion could not be relegated from society. So the western philosophers developed the idea of civil religion to secularize the religious teachings or to use it for secular purposes.

If we use religious feelings for nationalism, in fact we borrow religious doctrines from any traditional religion. If we use it to unite and strength the modern society which is multicultural or plural society, it will also be called civil religion.

We have inferred from the above discussion that civil religion contains two aspects. Our further discussion will envisage these aspects of civil religion:

- ❖ Civil religion is to the "use" of traditional religion as an instrumentality for the attainment of national goals, as we shall discuss it in the coming chapters.
- Civil religion is a movement to secularize the traditional religions, so that they can be compatible with modern structure liberal democracy socio-political enlightenment values, as we shall see it in detail in second part of this dissertation.

Civil Religion→Global Theology or Universal Religion or Secularization of Religion→Universal Civilization NOTES AND REFRENCES

¹ Comte, Auguste, The Positive Philosophy, freely translated and condensed by Harriet Martineau, (London: George Bell & Sons, 1886), p. 522. This six volumes of the Positive Philosophy were condensed and liberally translated by

becomes, paradoxically, a threat to our existence. And there is a limit to the economic exploitation of other human beings, beyond which the global economy begins to founder and growth goes into reverse."63

Global theology means to tend the religion from dogmas, self-purification of all the outer and inner defilements to humanitarian and worldly issues like poverty, unemployment, environmental crisis human rights and family planning and other democratic and enlightenment values.

Civil religion or Global theology will be the part of universal civilization. So, these are interrelated concepts.

Universal Civilization and CR:

What is meant by universal civilization? Huntington says:

"The idea implies general the cultural coming together of humanity and the increasing acceptance of [Enlightenment] common values, beliefs, orientation, practices, and institutions by peoples throughout the world".64

He further says:

"The concept of a universal civilization is a distinctive product of Western civilization. In the nineteenth century the idea of 'the white man's burden' helped justify the extension of Western political and economic domination over non-Western societies. At the end of twentieth century the concept of a universal civilization helps justify Western cultural dominance of other societies and the need for those societies to ape Western practices and institutions. Universalism is the ideology of the West confrontations for with non-Western cultures."65

In this way, civil religion is a movement to secularize the traditional religions of world so that they might be compatible with the idea of universal civilization or enlightenment ideology. Tocqueville also did this work during enlightenment period, Tocqueville indicates in his discussion of Christianity that the alliance between Christianity and liberal democracy was much more fragile.

secularization thesis seems to be rivaled only by that of the phenomenon of religion itself. Roberson depicts a mutual politicization of religion and religionization of politics on an international scale, while Cipriani perceives a secular adoption of religious elements are appropriated. Lambert discerns the emergence, in a French village, of a Catholicism secularized and privatized humanism') transcendental as (characterized which is nonetheless capable of sacralizing area of Amir Arjomand explores public life. Said of political conditioning intellectuals' contemporary Islamic religious revival and stresses the importance of modern political, organizational, and ideological elements in this puritanical espousal of all-embracing fundamentalism. In a number of contributions, empirical findings provide a basis for cogent criticism of the secularization thesis. Lembert suggests that secularization theory underestimates the limits of modern rationality as well as the adaptive and productive capacities of religion."60

Global Theology and CR:

After the fall of U.S.S.R. 1989, the importance of religion as social phenomena has been considered. Now western philosophers want to compatible religions of the world with democracy, capitalism, and other secular ideas like human rights, freedom, etc. Euben⁶¹ and Fukuyama⁶² developed the idea of compatibility of traditional religions with secular democratic ideas. We can say it a secularization of religion. We can also say it Global Theology or Universal Religion. Global theology is a relatively new way of thinking. It is an attempt to understand the present global situation from the secular viewpoint. According to Global theology:

"We are now having to think of the totality of our earthly existence, and of its new, or newly discovered, limits. There is a limit to human interference with life on the globe, beyond which the globe begins to die. There is a limit to the accumulation of military defence, beyond which it

secularization of religion. Civil religion thus borrows from the sacred to give meaning to the secular.

In enlightenment period, two ideologies were developed. Although the western philosophers of these ideologies were agreed on one point that religion has no right to play any role in socioeco-political structure of society. So science and modern philosophy took over and replaced religion.

First was that to perish the religion and religious ideas.

Second was that to see the religion as a social phenomenon.

On the basis of first ideology, U.S.S.R. was being into existence, because Karl Marx called the religion opium. So his followers perished the religion and religious ideas people in their country after revolution. But western countries did not follow this ideology, they considered religion only a personal matter of an individual. Due to the lack of religion and religious emotions, Russian society was collapse in 1989. Russian philosophers could not understand that elements of general religiosity to be necessary to the creation of a unified social order and religious doctrines are essential for society, because these doctrines develop enthusiasm and unite the people. Rousseau had all these things in his mind, so he developed the idea of civil religion. This viewpoint focuses on the power of religion to legitimize the liberal and democratic ideas.

From Rousseau to Bellah, civil religion or transcendent universal religion concept is consisting of one meaning which was religious nationalism. When Bellah reconsidered this idea in 1965, it was introduced in the background of American nationalism. Now it has another meaning which would be the secularization of traditional religion.

Civil religion is itself set against the backdrop of secularization in the West. We can say that in the postmodern age secularization theory now has failed. Roger O'Toole says same thing in the following words:

"Through the secularization thesis has fallen on hard time, no new paradigm has yet emerged to administer the coup degrace invoked anticipated by its most vehement critics. Despite all the slings and arrows that assail it, the concept of secularization persists in intriguing sociologists of religion and in dictating their subdisciplinary Paradoxically, the tenacity of the agenda.

interpreters of American civil religion in which the state stands under the judgment of a higher law.

Is CR a Secularization of Religion?

Revitalization of Secularism in Postmodern Age:

The term secularism itself is actually of very recent origin. It was coined in 1854 to express "a certain positive and ethical element which the terms 'infidel', 'skeptic', and 'atheist' do not express."57

Secularization refers to the "diminishing social significance of religion." Berger contends that "secularization has occurred on three levels: societal, cultural, and individual. At the societal level, religious institutions no longer exercise substantial control or influence over the state or other important social institutions, such as education. Secularization involves the separation of other institutions from organized religion and religious ideas. To illustrate, we can point to the degree to which functions such as education, social welfare, and social control. once become institutions. have religious responsibility of responsibility of the liberal democratic state. In this sense, religious symbols and institutions have been relegated to a position in which their influence over the larger society has diminished. Patterns of secularization have also influenced various aspects of cultural life. As secularization precedes, the arts, literature, and philosophy less frequently draw on religious sources for inspiration."58

Berger further says that "the main cause of secularization is modernism. The western scientific and technical mood of the Enlightenment claimed that science knew better than religion. The attack took its toll. Religion wasn't defeated but, henceforth, competed with other claims to truth. Science has proved to be a formidable adversary."59

But contrarily in civil religion, religious enthusiasm its religious symbols, and religious teachings are used in support of secular ideas and its socio-political institutions. We can say in other words, to legitimate, support, and justify various aspects of secular ideas and pattern of life is called civil religion. Secularism minimizes the role of religion in society but in civil religion, traditional religious teachings are legitimized in a society only for the justification of liberal and non-religious ideas and institutions. We can say, it is also a dimension of secularization which is a

destroyed the unity of the State. [A] perpetual conflict of jurisdiction has resulted from this double power, which has rendered any good polity impossible in Christian States; and no one has ever succeeded in understanding whether he was bound to obey the ruler or the priest'. Authority, then, is the crux of the matter—more precisely, authority to set iurisdictional boundaries and transcendental sanctions. For these twin problems Rousseau offers a single solution: civil religion. Civil religion is religious because it is necessary that citizens be disposed to 'love their duties', and it is civil because its sentiments are those of 'sociability, without which it is impossible to be either a good citizen or a faithful subject'. Therefore, 'the dogmas of civil religion ought to be simple, few in number, precisely fixed, and without explanation or comment. The existence of a powerful, wise, and benevolent Divinity, who foresees and provides the life to come, the happiness of the just, the punishment of the wicked. the sanctity of the social contract and the laws: these are its positive dogmas. Its negative dogmas I would confine to one-intolerance', Rousseau's overall concern in Social Contract is to identify an effective but nondespotic government, a vehicle for expressing the general will. In the book's final part, he discusses several means for 'strengthening the constitution of the State', and it is in this context he introduces the notion of civil religion, an aid in governing. Clearly, by calling it 'civil', he intended it in some sense to be independent of the church, and, by calling it 'religion' he likewise intended it to be independent of the ruling regime."56

But there is a difference between Bellah's and Rousseau's concept of civil religion. Rousseau's civil religion has no transcendental reference point. The general will of the people is sovereign and stands under no "higher law." In this respect Rousseau's civil religion differs from that described by most

The liberal view of civil religion focuses less on religion as such, and more on humanity in general. Robert Wuthnow says:

"In this view, America has a vital role to play in world affairs not because it is the home of a chosen people but because it has vast resources, has caused many of the problems currently facing the world, and simply as part of the community of nations has a responsibility to help alleviate the world's problems. Rather than drawing attention to the distinctiveness of the Judeo-Christian tradition, liberal civil religion is much more likely to include arguments about basic human rights and common human problems. Issues like nuclear disarmament, human rights, world hunger, peace and justice receive special emphasis."55

The problem of nuclear arms occupies an especially prominent place in liberal civil religion. Liberal clergy have so often taken the lead in seeking solutions to the arms race that the peace movement has come to be identified in many circles as a religious issue. Other issues in the liberal version of American civil religion include civil rights, international justice and ecology.

Objectives of Civil Religion:

Why Rousseau too much concerned with civil religion, Bellah tells us about it in the following lines:

"It is instructive to reflect on why Rousseau was concerned about civil religion, advocated it, and coined the term for it. No doubt part of the reason was to provide a substitute belief system for those whose faiths had been shattered by the forces of Enlightenment. But there is a more important reason. Civil religion was not to be just another religion; its purpose was precisely to harmonize religion and politics. Pagan religions had been so co-extensive with their political orders that 'there was no way of converting a people but by enslaving them.' Christianity, by projecting a 'kingdom of the other world,' changed all that. 'Jesus came to establish on earth a spiritual kingdom, which, separating the religious from the political system,

"America's role in world affairs is perceived much differently in the liberal version of civil religion. The nation has a responsible role to play in the world not because it is a chosen people but because it is uniquely blessed with vast resources to be shared. Rather than focusing on issues of personal morality, liberal civil religion is likely to stress global issues such as human rights, nuclear disarmament, world hunger, and peace. importance attached to these issues is generally not legitimated with reference to any particular secular mandate, but simply on the belief that these are matters of life and death. Nevertheless, religious faith is frequently the motivation for involvement, differentiating civil religion form purely secular or humanist beliefs. The cry of the Old Testament prophets for peace and justice is the authoritative directive for liberal civil religion. Liberal civil religionists typically show a greater concern than their conservative counterparts in seeking peace and justice. Feeding the world's poor is a central focus, as illustrated by liberal support organizations as Bread for the World, Lutheran World Relief, Catholic World Relief, and World Vision. And a recent survey by the American National Election Study indicated that liberal religious lobbies are more than twice as supportive of defense spending reductions as conservative religious lobbies."53

Robert Wuthnow says about this version of civil religion:

"The liberal version of American civil religion draws on a different set of religious values and portrays the nation in a very different light. Few spokespersons for the liberal version make explicit reference to the religious views of the founding fathers or suggest that America is God's chosen nation. Indeed, the idea of one nation under God is rejected because of its particularistic connotations and, more generally, because of the way it has been interpreted by conservatives."54

"These men truly understood what they were doing." They knew they were building on the Supreme Being who was the Creator, the final reality. And they knew that without that foundation everything in the Declaration of Independence and all that followed would be sheer unadulterated nonsense. These were brilliant men who understood exactly what was involved."51

This view has deep roots in conservative thinking. In the 19th century a close relation between America and God was often heralded in millennialist language. America not only was called of God, but existed as a chosen people, brought into being for the final fulfillment of God's purposes on earth. Herman Melville's much-read novel White-Jacket, for example, described Americans as "the Israel of our time" and the nation as a "political Messiah" sent as an advance guard to "bear the ark of the liberties of the world." Walt Whitman's epic poem "Passage to India" drew an even more direct connection between the nation's wonders and God's purposes. In the 20th century, war and economic depressions dampened much of this millennial enthusiasm. Yet as America increasingly found itself in the forefront of world military and economic affairs, some of the traditional zeal continued to be voiced.

Francis Ching-Wah Yip relates Tillich's theology to contemporary theological interpretations of global capitalism and modernity. Yip argues that one should go beyond Tillich's analysis by placing much more emphasis on the material-economic basis of culture. He draws on Durkheim to show the quasi-religious dimension of capitalism as a global civil religion and as the culture of modern society.⁵²

Utilitarian or Liberal Civil Religion:

The liberal version of American civil religion is also linked to religious values, but in a different way. As Wuthnow points out, few spokespersons for the liberal version make explicit reference to the religious views of the founding fathers or suggest that the United States is God's chosen nation. Indeed, the idea of one nation under God is rejected because all nations are considered to have the equal concern and affection of God. Derek H. Davis says about this version:

Economist George Gilder, who identifies himself as an evangelical Christian, has argued, 'Give and you'll be given unto' is the fundamental practical principle of the Christian life, and when there's no private property you can't give it because you don't own it....Socialism is inherently hostile Christianity and capitalism is simply the essential mode of human life that corresponds to religious truth'. 47 Falwell has also been an outspoken apologist for American capitalism. I believe in capitalism and the free enterprise system and private property ownership....people should have the right to own property, to work hard, to achieve. to earn, and to win'. For Falwell, this is not simply an assertion of personal opinion, but a position that has divine sanction: 'God is in favor of freedom, property ownership, competition, diligence, work, and acquisition. All of this is taught in the Word of God in both the Old and New Testaments'. 48 Other spokespersons for conservative civil religion also connect Christian doctrines to American capitalism. Ronald Н. Nash, arguing against liberation theology, for instance, suggests that capitalism is the preferred system because it is impossible to have 'spiritual freedom' without 'economic freedom'. 49 Pat Robertson draws directly on Gilder's work to arrive at the conclusion that 'free enterprise is the economic system most nearly meeting humanity's Godgiven need for freedom'."50

On the conservative side, religious leaders argue that America's vitality rests on a distinct, historic relation to God. According to this interpretation, our form of government enjoys lasting legitimacy because it was created by Founding Fathers who were deeply influenced by Judeo-Christian values. Although in their personal convictions they may have strayed occasionally from this standard, Washington, Franklin, Witherspoon and Adams knew the human heart from a biblical perspective and thus understood what kind of government would function best. As the late Francis A. Schaeffer, a popular evangelical author, asserted in A Christian Manifesto:

they made certain that the documents reflected biblical truths, such as the separation of powers which was intended as an auxiliary check on human sinfulness. As Francis Schaeffer, a popular evangelical author, asserted in A Christian Manifesto:

"These men truly understood what they were doing. They knew they were building on the Supreme Being who was the Creator, the final reality. These were brilliant men who knew exactly what they were doing.",44

In 1953, Congress, under encouragement from President Dwight Eisenhower, sought to solidify the nation's religious moorings by adding the words "under God" to the pledge of allegiance. A year later, it decreed the nation's motto to be "One Nation Under God.",45

Conservative Civil Religion and Capitalism:

Derek H. Davis writes about the legitimization of Capitalism by Conservative civil religion:

"Conservative civil religion also sanctifies the American economic order. Typically, capitalism is praised as being fundamentally biblical. Economist George Gilder, who identifies himself as an evangelical Christian, once argued, 'Give and you'll be given unto' is the fundamental practical principle of the Christian life, and when there's no private property you can't give it because you don't own it....Socialism is inherently hostile to Christianity and capitalism is simply the essential mode of human life that corresponds to religious truth'. And for Jerry Falwell, American capitalism enjoys divine sanction: "God is in favour of freedom, property ownership, competition, diligence, work, and acquisition. All of this is taught in the Word of God in both the Old and New Testaments."46

Robert Wuthnow also says same thing in the following words: "Conservative civil religion also voices strong arguments about the propriety of the American economic system. These arguments grant capitalism absolute legitimacy by drawing certain parallels between capitalist principles and biblical teachings.

men-or is it the right to do whatever we please so long as we do not harm our fellow men too flagrantly? Is the pursuit of happiness the realization of our true humanity in love of Being and all beings, as Jonathan Edwards⁴⁰ would have put it or is it, as Locke would contend, the pursuit of those things-notably wealth and powerwhich are means to future happiness, in Leo Strauss s words, "The joyless quest for joy"? Does life mean biological survival in our animal functions or does it mean the good life in which our spiritual nature and our animal nature are both fulfilled?⁴¹

It would simplify matters if Christians had consistently followed what I am calling the biblical interpretation of our civil religion, and deists and rationalists had followed the utilitarian interpretation. Such was not, however, the case. Not only have Christians been on both sides of the fence but we can find the same cleavage in the Enlightenment thought of the founding fathers. The stress on virtue that we have already noticed-Jefferson's "love of others," Franklin's "zeal for the public good"—is very close to the biblical archetype, while the stress on self-interest that is also common among the founding fathers suggests the powerful influence of the utilitarian archetype. 42

Biblical or Conservative Civil Religion:

Robert Wuthnow writes:

"The civil religion to which we so blithely pay homage has become deeply divided. Like the fractured communities found in our churches, our civil religion no longer unites us around common ideals. Instead of giving voice to a clear image of who we should be, it has become a confusion of tongues. It speaks from competing traditions and offers partial visions of America's future. Religious conservatives offer one version of our divine calling; religious liberals articulate one that is radically different.",43

Wuthnow described the basic framework of the conservative and liberal forms of American civil religion. The conservative version posits that America is a chosen nation. On this interpretation, our form of government enjoys lasting legitimacy because it was designed by founding fathers sensitive to God's leadership. While the framers omitted specific references to God in the Constitution,

to overcome the failings of fallen or natural man and create a holy community, based on love. In an effort to actualize the biblical commandments Winthrop and his friends sought to create a holy commonwealth in England, and if not there then in America. The moral and religious fervor at the root of that effort was the source of much that is good in American society ever since, but we must not forget its dark side: the moral crusade, the holy war, what Paul Tillich called the sin of religion, to confuse one's own will with the will of God. And Winthrop, for all his moderation and humanity, did display that dark side as when several times he turned persecutor and drove religious dissidents from the Bay Colony.³⁸

Partly in reaction against the Puritans the great founders of modern philosophy in England, Hobbes and Locke created a position that was in a sense the dialectical opposite of that of the Puritans. Disturbed by sectarian fanaticism, finding the Puritan goal utopian and finally destructive because, they thought, unrealistic about human nature, they drastically lowered the moral demand, abandoned the principles of Christian politics, and started with natural man, the fallen man of Winthrop, the man who loves himself alone. Thus when, over fifty years after Winthrop's sermon, John Locke discusses the purpose or the end of government he finds it to be not love, as Winthrop would have said, nor justice, as Aristotle would have said, but:

"The great and chief end therefore, of Mens uniting into Commonwealths, and putting themselves under Government, is the Preservation of their Property."

Or again:

"The commonwealth seems to me to be a society of men constituted only for the procuring, preserving, and advancing their own civil interests. Civil interests I call life, liberty, health, and indolency of body; and the possession of outward things, such as money, lands, houses, furniture, and the like."39

Bellah further says that now one can read the great tenets of the civil religion in either of the two perspectives—as Winthrop would have read them, or as Locke would have read them. Is equality a condition for the fulfillment of our humanity in covenant with God or is it a condition for the competitive struggle to attain our own interests? Is freedom almost identical with virtue—the freedom to fulfill lovingly our obligations to God and our fellow