the response to Indian religions', and Part 3 focuses on the conversion of higher caste or status individuals to Protestant Christianity.

In his discussion of missionary strategies, Copley contrasts the methods adopted by those missionaries who believed in the importance of non-Christian religions. How far were Protestant missionaries moved to learn and understand these faiths? What if anything did they learn from close contact with Indian society and how far, if at all, were their views modified as a result of their Indian experience? And one could add, how far was there any real difference between the attitude of those involved in schools and the response of non-Christian missionaries to non-Christian religions. How far were missionaries and evangelicals attacked towards 'idolatry' or 'Hinduism', they also shared similar assumptions. One of these was that religions were like scientific objects, that they could be classified and compared with one another—an assumption which lay at the heart of evangelical claims that religion could be placed in a hierarchy with Christianity at the top. Secondly, Copley not only draws too great a distinction between orientalists and missionaries, but bases his entire argument on unquestioned assumptions. He argues that 'the missionaries came [to India] remarkably ignorant of these religions'. What is the evidence, for example, in candidates' papers? Were those candidates who had read something on India as 'remarkably ignorant' as those who had read nothing? Furthermore, are there no distinctions that one might draw between, for example, the knowledge and understanding of candidates who were sons or daughters of missionaries and other applicants who had no family connection with India? But more disturbing is the author's failure to consult basic works in the field, viz. K. A. Ballhatchet's article in C. H. Philips (ed.) Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon (London, 1961) and the first few chapters in Eric Sharpe's work on J. N. Farquhar (Uppsala, 1965). These works would have given him some idea of the factors which help to explain the growth of an increasing openness and sympathy for non-Christian religions even among evangelicals—a trend apparent in papers and speeches at missionary conferences which the author also failed to consult.

Copley discusses the views of a number of individual missionaries and this, if anything, tends to reinforce existing interpretations (such as those of Ballhatchet and Sharpe) that there was some flexibility and change in attitude among evangelicals. But the pity is that the author makes so little of his material. The reader is left to search through one account or quotation after another, to do his or her own research. There is no sustained analysis or closely argued conclusion. Furthermore, the failure to develop this central issue is symptomatic of the book as a whole. The author touches on caste, social reform and the relationship between missionaries and British rule without having read (or by choosing to ignore) some of the most important relevant material and without exploring these issues in any great depth.

This is a readable book, based on substantial work in the archives. Nor is the book without important insights, for example, in what Copley has to say about individual converts and their Christian teachers. But these qualities are insufficient to redeem something which, in the last analysis, adds little to our understanding either of conversion or of Protestant attitudes towards Indian society or culture.


This well-researched analysis by the American scholar A. F. Buehler adds yet another valuable work on a Sufi order which has perhaps attracted more scholarly attention than any other over the last few decades. The fruit of several years' field-research on the Indian subcontinent with special focus on the western (Pakistani-) Punjab, the work under review uses an impressive number of scriptural sources to trace the gradual development of the traditional Sufi shaykh's role in response to the changing socio-historical circumstances in the Islamic world, with special reference to the Indian context.

The ten chapters of the book broadly define and divide the history of Sufism into three major phases. Buehler identifies three corresponding patterns of personal authority exercised by Sufi masters against the constant background of their role as nexus between the human and the Divine: the teaching-shaykh, the directing-shaykh and the mediating-shaykh. Basing his study on the representative case of the Mujaddidi branch of the Naqshbandiya, named after the renowned Indian Sufi Ahmad Sirhindí (A.D. 1564-1624) who bears the honorific title of 'renewer (mujaddid) of the second millennium of Islam', the author integrates these three types of religious and spiritual leadership with the four principal sources from which traditional Sufi shaykhs derive their powerful authority: lineage, spiritual travel, as Prophetic exemplar and as transmitter of...
religions and esoteric knowledge. As the title of the work suggests, major attention is here given to what is Buehler’s most original contribution to the study of Indian Sufism, viz. the elaboration of the concept of what he defines as the ‘mediating-shaykh’, whose emergence, it is argued here, came with the establishment of British colonial rule on the subcontinent and the beginning of the modern age.

Chapter 1 introduces the author’s general concept of Sufi authority tracing its origin in the classical Islamic sources—the Quran and the hadith-literture, enhanced by quotations from texts attributed to early Sufi masters. It tries to establish a parallel between four hierarchical levels of the human condition (body, mind, soul, spirit) and the four levels of participation in the reality of Islam (Islam, Islam, Ihsan and Tawhîd) expressed through the four corresponding categories of authority, viz. parents, the teaching-shaykh, the directing-shaykh and the Prophet Muhammad, as archetypal of the mediator. It is argued that all four typologies converge in the ultimate source of all, at the very centre of the scheme which in the understanding of every orthodox Muslim governs the entire creation—namely God.

From a more temporal perspective, ch. ii analyses the social and historical factors which from the ninth century A.D. onwards gradually led to the transition from the archetypal model of teaching-shaykh to the more institutionalized type of directing-shaykh that went with the process of formation of the Naqshbandi order. It discusses the crystallized forms of their particular spiritual practices during the following centuries.

This outline of a general development within Sufism is followed by a concise description of the Naqshbandiya in India (from its arrival in the fifteenth century to the rise of the colonial power), its most prominent figures and their respective attitudes vis-à-vis both temporal power and Muslim society in general. The next two chapters focus on the concepts of genealogy and of spiritual travel as effective sources of Naqshbandi authority. Reverting to the fundamental concepts of nishāt (spiritual connection), sīsilat (chain of spiritual transmission) and sūbub (spiritual communication between two hearts), p. 84, Buehler highlights first the importance of the directing-shaykh’s ‘inner experimental connection to the Prophet’ (p. 97) which enables him to act as the mediating link between the disciple and the ultimately transcendent source of knowledge.

Buehler then explains how spiritual travel, namely the process of inner transformation and the resulting access to supernatural power, has for centuries ensured the Naqshbandi shaykh’s spiritual authority. In this context, the core of Buehler’s book (chs. iv-vii) gives him an opportunity to present the most essential features of the Mujaddidi doctrine, including those peculiar to this branch of the order: spiritual techniques, such as the cosmological ‘science of the subtle fields’ (‘ilm-i lataif, ch. v, 105–20), and the related spiritual techniques such as the ‘heart invocation’ (dhikr-i qabib) and the ‘bonding one’s heart with the shaykh’s’ (rabita, ch. vi) through the transmission of spiritual energy (tawajuj).

The three final chapters outline a historical framework for the claimed emergence of the mediating-shaykh in colonial Punjab on the basis of an analysis of a number of Islamic revivalist movements, all seen as responding to the challenge of European rule and education which, by the nineteenth century, had begun to affect the middle and upper classes. The modern scientific Western world-view was seen as undermining the institution of the directing-shaykh and his unquestioned authority. Using as an exemplar the case of the Naqshbandi Sufi Jamat ‘Ali (1841–1951), Buehler elaborates on the redefinition of the shaykh’s role in what he describes as the ‘transmission of ideas and of spiritual knowledge’, p. 191, tailored to the creation of a pan-Indian Islamic identity which could attract Muslims of all types from all over the country.

The bibliography is rich in both primary and secondary sources. For his own review, Buehler’s book (chs. iv—vii) gives him an opportunity to present the most essential features of the Mujaddidi doctrine, including those peculiar to this branch of the order: spiritual techniques, such as the cosmological ‘science of the subtle fields’ (‘ilm-i lataif), and the related spiritual techniques such as the ‘heart invocation’ (dhikr-i qabib) and the ‘bonding one’s heart with the shaykh’s’ (rabita, ch. vi) through the transmission of spiritual energy (tawajuj).

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Despite its London imprint, this is a catalogue of an exhibition held at the Metropolitan Museum, New York, from March to June 1997 to celebrate 50 years of Indian independence. The exhibition brought together two collections of Indian painting in the Metropolitan Museum, the Mughal and Deccani paintings in the Islamic Art Department, and Rajput and other non-Islamic styles in the Asian Art Department, while drawing a third of the 83 illustrations from other collections in the private. Some of the great treasures long in the custody of the Islamic Art Department figure among the new and superlative purchases of Rajput painting, supporting the new gallery of Indian art. The various