al-Aqhisari explicitly exhorted individual Muslims to action. Indeed, for Sheikh, it was al-Aqhisari's words, not those of other known partisans, that were the actual call to action that unleashed Qadizadeli violence. Here again, though, reliance on written exposition without accounting for social behavior tends to take historical actors purely at their written word. The book thus detaches two of the fieriest mosque preachers, Qadizade Mehmed and Ustuwani Mehmed, for example, from the sermons they regularly delivered at Istanbul's most important mosques. In so doing, Sheikh discounts the reality of reception, the impact on large, and usually military-laden, male audiences of weekly incitements, however inexplicit, if they *were* inexplicit, with regard to violence. The Ottoman chronicles and other historical narratives should not be so easily dismissed in the search for cause and effect in the Qadizadeli turn to physicality in "forbidding evil." Sheikh's lack of Ottoman Turkish is especially problematic in these regards and constitutes the book's most serious shortcoming.

Textual analysis in Chapter 3, "The Muhammadan Path," and Chapter 4, "Innovation (Bidʿa)," takes the reader more deeply into al-Aqhisari's thought, with particular attention to its affinities with the doctrinal positions of Ahmad ibn Taymiyya (d.1328), his pupil Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d.1350), and Naqshbandi Sufism. Although in agreement with Ibn Taymiyya's and Ibn Qayyim's condemnations of *bidʿa*, al-Aqhisari's comfort with the mysticism exemplified by the Naqshbandis establishes, in Sheikh's view, a certain distance, on this point at least, from the tradition of Ibn Qayyim. Sheikh's quest for the sources and influences animating al-Aqhisari's views on innovation results in meticulous side-by-side comparisons not only with Ibn Qayyim but between the *Majalis* and both Ibn Taymiyya's *Iqtidaʾ Sirat al-Mustaqim* and Birgili Mehmed's *Tariqat al-Muhammadiyya*. Students of Islamic studies, and of the Ottoman early modern era generally, will be indebted to Sheikh for his enlightening demonstration of the sources' intertextuality.

Not everyone will agree with Sheikh's thesis of the direct connection between al-Aqhisari, the "forgotten puritan," and the Qadizadeli movement per se. However, the book's insights regarding 17th-century Ottoman revivalism and its relationship to broader historical trends, including developments in the present day, will surely open up discussion on more productive lines and encourage scholars to explore the textual tradition of these phenomena. To do so with regard to Ottoman-era manifestations, of course, will require thoroughgoing exploration of Ottoman Turkish materials.

YOUSEF CASEWIT, *The Mystics of al-Andalus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017). Pp. 372. $125.00 cloth. ISBN: 9781107184671

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By the beginning of the 12th century, Sufism had been practiced in the Islamic East for at least 300 years. It was not until the first half of the 12th century that three major mystics emerge who seem to mark the beginning of Sufism in the Islamic West (al-Andalus and the Maghrib): Ibn Barrajan (d. 1141), Ibn al-ʿArif (d. 1141), and Ibn Qasi (d. 1151). Their

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stories are intertwined with one another in ways that have made them central figures in a narrative about politics and Sufism in this period.

The standard interpretation has been that Sufism emerged in al-Andalus under the inspiration of al-Ghazali's *Revival of the Religious Sciences* (*Iḥyaʾ ʿUlum al-Din*). Ibn Barrajan was called "the Ghazali of al-Andalus," which scholars took as evidence that he was a follower of al-Ghazali in his Sufism. Ibn al-ʿArif was said to be the head of a group known as al-Ghazaliyya. Ibn Qasi's book *The Doffing of the Two Sandals* (*Kitab khalaʿ al-naʿlayn*) contains a short excerpt of al-Ghazali's *Jerusalem Letter* (*al-Risala al-qudsiyya*).

The story went on to trace how this derivative, Ghazalian Sufism, was opposed by the Almoravid regime, which correctly saw it as a threat. The Almoravids summoned Ibn Barrajan and Ibn al-ʿArif to their capital of Marrakesh for a hearing. Ibn Barrajan died in custody, and the sultan ordered that his body be thrown on a garbage heap without funeral rites. A famous Sufi and proponent of al-Ghazali's *Revival*, Ibn Ḥirzihim (d. 1165) called the people of Marrakesh to a funeral in defiance of the sultan. Ibn al-ʿArif was acquitted but died shortly thereafter under suspicious circumstances. Shortly afterwards Ibn Qasi led his followers, known as "the Aspirants" (*al-murīdūn*), in a revolt against the Almoravids in what is now southern Portugal.

When this account first coalesced, most of the writings of Ibn Barrajan, Ibn al-ʿArif, and Ibn Qasi had not yet been published. Even after their publication, the superficial evidence from the biographical and historical sources seemed to obviate their careful study; there seemed no need to revise the image of 12th-century Andalusi Sufism. This view had begun to change slowly in recent years; and then, with Michael Ebstein's *Mysticism and Philosophy in al-Andalus: Ibn Masarra, Ibn al-ʿArabi and the Ismaʿili Tradition* (Leiden: Brill) in 2014 and Ali Akhtar's 2017 *Philosophers, Sufis, and Caliphs: Politics and authority from Cordoba to Cairo and Baghdad* (Cambridge: Cambridge Press), it has been radically challenged through careful analysis of the writings of these three Andalusi mystics. Yousef Casewit's *The Mystics of al-Andalus* is the third monograph in as many years to greatly enrich this field of study.

Casewit offers an exhaustive study of the life and writings of Ibn Barrajan of Seville, and his findings are striking. Though there was a contemporary tradition of self-identifying Sufis in al-Andalus during Ibn Barrajan's lifetime, he himself was not a part of it. While he was sympathetic to Sufism, he identified as an heir to a separate tradition founded by Ibn Masarra, that of the "Contemplators" (*muʿtabirūn*), who undertook the "crossing" (*ʿibra*) into the unseen. Ibn Barrajan was a mature thinker by the time al-Ghazali's writings reached al-Andalus, and his designation as the "Ghazali of al-Andalus" belonged to an Andalusi tradition of naming accomplished Maghribi thinkers after Mashriqi masters in the corresponding field of expertise. (Casewit names no fewer than seven other examples of thinkers known as "the X of al-Andalus" [p. 60, n. 9].) Ibn Barrajan was influenced by Ibn Masarra, the Brethren of Purity, and Fatimid Ismaʿilism, but not by al-Ghazali. Ibn al-ʿArif and Ibn Qasi also belonged to this Contemplators' tradition, which produced the 13th-century Andalusi mystics Muḥi al-Din Ibn al-ʿArabi (d. 1240), al-Shushtari (d. 1269), and Ibn Sabʿin (d. 1270), who would be influential in the Islamic East.

Casewit's analysis is based on a close study of all three of Ibn Barrajan's surviving works, both published editions and surviving manuscripts. Even for Ibn Barrajan's lost

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early book *The Guidebook to the Pathways of Guidance* (*Kitab al-Irshad Ila Subul al-Rashad*), Casewit tracked down excerpts in subsequent works, especially Badr al-Din al-Zarkashi's (d. 1391) *The Demonstration of the Sciences of the Qurʾan* (*al-Burhan fi ʿUlum al-Qurʾan*).

The book is divided into eight chapters. The chapters are too rich and detailed to be summarized adequately in the confines of a short review, but the following is an attempt: Chapter 1 treats the Andalusi historical background and religious debates relevant to Ibn Barrajan. Chapter 2 deals with Ibn Barrajan's immediate context, as well as his contemporaries Ibn al-ʿArif and Ibn Qasi. Here Casewit makes the case that Ibn Barrajan saw himself as a member of the full-fledged school of the *muʿtabirūn*; he writes of the Sufis as a foreign, eastern tradition, distinct from his own. There was, however, a sense of solidarity between the two groups, as shown by the funeral performed by Sufis of Marrakech after Ibn Barrajan died in an Almoravid prison there (p. 82).

Chapter 3 reconstructs Ibn Barrajan's biography. Because of the "patchy and often conflicting data" offered in the sources, this is a necessary task. Chapter 4 presents Ibn Barrajan's four major works, including a reconstruction of the first, *The Guidebook to the Pathways of Guidance*. Casewit covers chronology, content, manuscript tradition, and reception. The *Guidebook to the Pathways of Guidance* is a book on the Prophet's sunna, which rejects traditional assessments of the authenticity of hadith based on *isnād* (chains of transmitters) in favor of testing them against the content of the Qurʾan. Those that accord with the Qurʾan are to be accepted, and those that do not are to be rejected, regardless of the status of their *isnād*. The *Commentary on the Beautiful Names* (*Sharḥ al-asmaʾ al-ḥusna*) is a "mystically mature" work of utter originality, treating 132 names of God derived from Qurʾan and hadith. Each is treated in terms of lexical analysis, "contemplative crossing" (*iʿtibār*), and devotional practice of servanthood. *Alerting Intellects to the Meditation on the Wise Book and Recognition of the Signs and the Tremendous Tiding* (*Tanbih al-afham ila tadabbur al-kitab al-ḥakim wa-taʿarruf al-ayat wa-l-nabaʾ al-ʿazim*) is Ibn Barrajan's first Qurʾan commentary, and *Wisdom deciphered, the Unseen Discovered* (*Iḍaḥ al-ḥikma bi aḥkam al-ʿibra*) is his somewhat shorter second. Both were works of Ibn Barrajan's old age. Casewit describes Ibn Barrajan's approach in both as "disorderly and somewhat carefree" (p. 162), though this rambling style covers a profound range of material, and the former work is one of the most important *tafsīr*s of the Muslim West.

Chapter 5 treats the relation between God, the heavenly realm, and the world. Casewit writes that, while the theologian insists that there is no connection whatsoever between the world and the heavenly realm, and the anthropomorphist sees heaven as an extension of the world, Ibn Barrajan presents the world as an extension of heaven. As such it can serve as an object of contemplation to better understand God, whose artistry is evident in the world to those who can perceive it. Casewit covers several key concepts in Ibn Barrajan's cosmology in this chapter in impressive detail. Two of these, "The Real Upon Which Creation is Created" (*al-haqq al-makhluq bi-hi al-khalq*) and the Universal Servant (*al-ʿabd al-kullī*), were appropriated from the Brethren of Purity.

Chapter 6 returns to Ibn Barrajan's understanding of the Qurʾan and principles of his exegesis, greatly expanding the treatment of his two *tafsīr*s in Chapter 4. Ibn Barrajan's approach owes little to the Sufi tradition of exegesis that preceded him, focusing on different passages and thematic concerns. Ibn Barrajan's "contemplative" (*iʿtibārī*) exegesis

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insists on the harmony and coherence of the Qurʾan and the correspondence between it and God's signs in the natural world, the two major venues for the divine self-disclosure. The chapter treats exegetical issues unique to Ibn Barrajan as well as his approach to the standard concerns of exegetes, such as the theory of abrogation, the disconnected letters, and the variant readings.

Chapter 7 surveys Ibn Barrajan's use of Arabic translations of the Christian Bible in his Qurʾanic exegesis. Casewit tells us that all of the Biblical passages quoted by Ibn Barrajan would fill some twenty printed pages, making it an important source for the study of Andalusi Arabic Christian (Mozarabic) Bible translations, most of which have been lost. The Bible was for him the third most important source for understanding God's revelation, the first and second being the Qurʾan and hadith. He was likely the first Qurʾanic exegete to refer so extensively to the Bible without polemical aims. There were, however, nonexegetes who also cited Jewish-Christian sources, namely the Brethren of Purity and the Ismaʿili philosopher al-Kirmani (d. 1020). Given the influence of the Brethren and Ismaʿili writers on Ibn Barrajan, Casewit suggests that his approach to the Bible may have been inspired by them as well (p. 249). Ibn Barrajan typically drew on the Bible when it corresponded with his understanding of the Qurʾan and when it added detail to Qurʾanic narratives.

Chapter 8 treats the important, related concepts of contemplation (*iʿtibār*) and the crossing into the unseen (*ʿibra*), as well as Ibn Barrajan's understanding of cycles of time and the role these played in his famously correct prediction that Jerusalem would be recaptured by the Muslims in 1187. The authenticity of this prediction has been challenged because the oldest manuscripts of Ibn Barrajan's first *tafsīr*, *Alerting Intellects*, in which it is found, postdate the event. Casewit argues that the prediction is authentic, pointing to the fact that it is firmly rooted in and consistent with Ibn Barrajan's cosmology and theory of cosmic cycles and not a forgery haphazardly inserted into the text. A full translation of the prediction is provided at the end of the chapter.

The Mystics of al-Andalus is a milestone in Andalusi intellectual history, raising the bar for all future studies and making it impossible to ignore Ibn Barrajan's seminal contributions to Qurʾanic exegesis, Andalusi mysticism, and Islamic mysticism as a whole. Al-Ghazali's influence in the Islamic West has been exaggerated, as Yousef Casewit has richly demonstrated in the case of Ibn Barrajan, who was honored with the title "the Ghazali of al-Andalus" precisely because he was a highly original mystical thinker. Casewit ends his book with the cheeky suggestion that al-Ghazali might equally be honored by the epithet "the Ibn Barrajan of Khorasan." It's unlikely to catch on, but perhaps not entirely out of place.

FALLOU NGOM, *Muslims beyond the Arab World: The Odyssey of ʿAjamī and the Murīdiyya*, AAR Religion, Culture, and History (New York: American Academy of Religion and Oxford University Press, 2016). Pp. 336. $105.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780190279868

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The term *ʿajamī* has long been used by Africanists to refer to African language writing in the Arabic script, a tradition that has flourished in Muslim societies across the continent

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