9 “Speaking from experience”

Comparing Mahdawi and Pentecostal approaches to equipment for outreach

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Introduction

This chapter is partly about two paths and two journeys. “The image of the Path” has been used by charismatics across religions. Schimmel has written about the three-fold spiritual journey in Christianity, namely, purgation, contemplation, and illumination,¹ which has parallels with the *Cambridge History of Spanish Literature*’s outline of purgation, illumination, and union.² The two are not necessarily different, since the nature of the relationship and the extent of proximity (conveyed by the term “union”) between God and the human subject is central to both classifications. Schimmel, however, goes a step further by comparing this journey with the Islamic one: *shari’a* (lit. the main path), *tariqa* (lit. a branch of the main path), and *haqiqa* (reality/the internal stages of this path). Those who travel this path are therefore considered travellers journeying towards an intimate experience of God or union with God.³ Mahdawi, a Sufi-inspired sect,⁴ could give one a more detailed view of this journey. Going beyond Schimmel’s categories, the disciples of this sect do not aspire to “union” or “vision/illumination” as the end in itself. The experience serves as a preparation or certification of readiness for missionary outreach. The journey involves finer steps: retreat/trust in God, remembrance-ritual, the vision/illumination, and speaking from experience.

My early experiences as a Pentecostal explain my interest in charismatic phenomena. I am interested particularly in the apparent similarities I see between the Mahdawi case and memories of my own Pentecostal tradition. Pentecostalism and Mahdawyya obviously belong to different religious spheres and are marginal to mainstream Christianity and Islam respectively; and yet both are expressions of millenarianism.⁵ In this light, my aim here is to first present a simple comparative description of “the journey” using the Mahdawi case as a provisional template. The form of the presentation in this section follows “comparative juxtaposition”;⁶ this is a simple way of comparing apparently similar ideas or practices. The aim is to look for theological meanings behind apparent similarities. In this sense, this is a theological search. The inspiration for this approach comes from

Approaching God.⁷ Human effort in seeking nearness with God is not a one-sided exercise; God reciprocates human effort at seeking him. Phenomenology involves comparative descriptions of the subjects' experiences as they appear or are presented to the researcher; theology presupposes the reality of God and his initiatives and responses towards his creatures. This is therefore a search for meaning by a student of Sufism and a Christian traveller on a Godward journey.

Comparative juxtaposition

Retreat and trust

Both the notions of retreat and trust are associated in Sufism with asceticism. Mahdawi *dairas* (communities) were open to receiving any number of people who wished to submit to the rigorous conditions of the community retreat leading up to the experience of God:

Anyone who intends to live in this world and does not depend on God, God permits him to leave [the *daira*]. . . . God is merciful and forgiving. He has not said that you should seek the world or desire it or go to the houses of those who seek the world.⁸

Even friends or strangers could potentially lead the believers on this mission astray.⁹ Those who chose this path of experience were expected to "die before death".¹⁰ One did this not in isolation but in the context of a community of likeminded aspirants and enablers: "in the *subhat* (company) of the [other] seekers of God (*taliban-e khuda*)".¹¹ The attitude of trust involved two steps. The first step involved voluntary poverty or the absence of personal possessions – absence of personal initiative for gathering food, money, or property. The idea was not to engage in any immodest economic activity or wealth generation. The examples of failures were meant to teach the aspirants how not to live in the *daira*: "Hadrat Mahdi said, 'whoever [in the *dairas*] trusts in food, has not learned to trust God'. Hadrat Mahdi [further] said, 'Anyone who waits for gifts has not learned to trust God'".¹² The second step involved trust in God alone. *Insaf* defines trust in God as the principal means by which the believers orient themselves towards God: "*Trust* is the name for one's release from the world (*makhluq*). It enables you to turn your gaze upon God".¹³

One can highlight cases of mainstream church-going Christians becoming similarly conscious of the need for deeper trust in God. In writing about the "pentecostalization of mainline churches" in Cameroon, for example, Akoko argues that the "mass defections from the established churches" were a way of "addressing spiritual and material needs of the followers", a way of finding "spiritual fulfilment" or a way of maintaining an existing spiritual practice.¹⁴ Socio-economic research into Pentecostalism highlights

not just the “taxonomies of prosperity” but also specific “case studies” in the global charismatic movement.¹⁵ Before the influx of the idea of asking “and you shall be given”,¹⁶ Wacker’s work reminds readers, “primitive Pentecostalism” emphasised personal asceticism, a behaviour pattern inspired by millenarianism.¹⁷ The tradition of Pentecostalism I grew up in also enforced “symbolic fences” between the believers and the world out there, and those excluded often included other Christian traditions. Gambling, alcohol, tobacco, and any practice involving amusement (including TV, cinema, dancing, etc.) were banned. My list of several other banned luxuries coincides with Wacker’s and includes any demonstration of wealth, even something as simple as wearing jewellery of any sort.¹⁸ Life in the privacy of the family was not spared, and even the bedroom was not out of bounds in a bid to control any urge for “excess” or “inordinate fun”. Those caught in any such “immoral behaviour” could risk censure or even excommunication unless they were willing to repent and reset their holiness through prayer and deliverance from the devil. An instance of the absolute trust in God and not human agency can be found in Lindhardt’s work on Chilean Pentecostalism; humans are utterly powerless and all good things are made possible only through God’s agency.¹⁹ We lived life in the expectation of Jesus returning unannounced and no one wished the believers to remain behind. Pentecostalism has perhaps come a long way. It was seen to be “incompatible with capitalist enterprise” or as a millenarian “ecstatic religion” of people looking to “forget their failures”.²⁰ Today, it is pointed out to be a religion of “super-capitalists”; no more “the epitome of ‘primitive’ religion”, today Pentecostalism is said to be a far cry from its old self, an “ultramodern” religious movement.²¹

Remembrance-ritual

The ritual of remembrance (*dhikr*) among the Mahdawis distinguished a “believer” from a “non-believer”.²² A believer was one who performed the ritual at prescribed times, just as faithful Muslims performed the ritual prayer: “the believer is one who remains turned towards God morning and evening and in all circumstances”.²³ *Dhikr*, it appears in this context, was understood by Mahdawi leaders to be synonymous with ritual prayers but exceeded it. Prayers said five times a day were considered “the abundant *dhikr*”, but for those who had attained the state of perfection (those performing eight *dhikrs*), a return to the five-time prayers and the accompanying *dhikr* was tantamount to backsliding.²⁴ This was “the new way of doing the *namaz*”;²⁵ *dhikr* was considered the “inner dimensions” of the *namaz*.²⁶ The Mahdawi disciples were allowed to perform *dhikr* in whatever posture they were in.²⁷ *Dhikr* was seen to be not merely a simple repetition of words (as in the *namaz*) but rather a means of accessing the deeper meanings of the scriptures, “the *batin* of the Qur’an”.²⁸ The following example might suffice. In one of the sources, Sayyid Khundmir was asked if the reading

of the Qur'an was useful. The reading of the Qur'an as a mere intellectual exercise was not adequate.²⁹ The aim was to seek divine knowledge so as to be able to speak from experience. This knowledge was gained not through intellectual effort, but through unveiling (revelation of God). Even the illiterate could gain it. Thus, for instance, in the case of the Mahdi himself, it was reported that God wipes out his acquired knowledge before filling him with the hidden knowledge (*batini 'ilm*). The *dhikr* worked like the longing of lovers that draws them together. Pen, paper, and ink were not essential in this process, for "it is a matter of *'ishq* (love), which a workplace (*daftar*) cannot encompass".³⁰

There is possibly nothing comparable to the circadian ritual of the *dhikr* in Pentecostalism or in charismatic Christianity in general. Perhaps the ritual practice that comes closest to it was called the *prabhu bhoj*, the Lord's Table in my tradition of Pentecostalism.³¹ It was a weekly affair and involved a form and content not too dissimilar to other Christian traditions. As a child, I was especially aware during this phase of a range of ritual practices. It was made to seem especially mysterious, and as a child, it fascinated me more for its mystery than its significance as a means of remembering the sacred substitutionary sacrifice of our Lord and as a celebration of the hope of fellowship with Him. I was, for years, quite in dread of the ritual and do not remember ever "unlawfully partaking" of the sacred objects for fear of divine punishment. Unlike in the Muslim case, here this remembrance-ritual did not necessarily play the role of a gateway to the experience of God. The experience itself and its manifestations seemed rather *ad hoc* and dispersed. Manifestations of the Spirit could happen without warning at any point in the service, although times of prayer, preaching, healing segments and singing seemed like the most likely occasions for this. Thus, the experience of God itself was dispersed rather than being logically arranged in a sequence of cause and effect.

This does not mean, however, that Pentecostalism is bereft of rituals. Csordas' work can help to illustrate my point about the lack of sequence. He classifies every event in a believer's life as "Charismatic and Pentecostal ritual". To him, the "specific ritual practices" include speaking in tongues, laying on of hands, and resting in the Spirit; his list of "ritual events" includes prayer meetings, healing services, and revival meetings, and the "ritual language genres" include prophecy, prayer, teaching, and witnessing.³² Ryle would add reconciliation through repentance from sin to the list of rituals, based on her work on the charismatic healing services led by a priest from India in Fiji.³³ The ritual life of Pentecostal believers has been a topic of an edited volume by Lindhardt.³⁴ Often the emphasis in commentaries is placed upon the *charismata*, personal salvation and the second coming of Jesus; what is often missed is the reality of what Lindhardt describes as "high degrees of ritual activity".³⁵ Robbins too in his essay refers to the idea of "ritual activity" in all forms of charismatic Christianity. He sees the "high degree of ritual activity" as the main feature of Pentecostalism.³⁶

Experience of God

When the Mahdawi disciples saw God, they were considered perfect believers (*mu'min*). Mentoring by qualified teachers was the key to this end: "If the seeker is faithful (*sadiq*) and *murshid* (teacher) is perfect (*kamil*) then he (the seeker) will soon find Allah, the Most High".³⁷ It was believed that God waited to be seen by the believers: "Where will God go except to be in front of the seeker? This means that if there is a seeker, he will find God without much effort".³⁸ The seeker's experience of God was facilitated by a teacher; the teacher's responsibility was to enable the student to recognise God in the experience, because "though people generally see God, often they do not recognise him".³⁹ Despite being commonplace, the disciples' declaration of having seen God was an occasion worthy of celebration. One saw God through a) the physical eyes, b) the eyes of the heart, or c) in a dream state. Seeing God through the heart, or in dreams, was understood to be as real as physical seeing: "if one does not see God through 'the eyes in the head' [physical eyes], or 'the eyes of the heart', or the dreams, he shall not be a believer".⁴⁰ Seeing happened to those who, like lovers in the passion of love, directed their hearts towards the supreme object of desire, God.⁴¹ The model for such proximity and seeing was drawn from the Qur'anic and traditional accounts of the prophet's nocturnal journey and ascension (Surah 17.1) – a journey that may happen in dreams or be unfolded upon the heart, or on rare occasions through spiritual or bodily ascension.

My sources do not provide the details of exactly what the disciples saw. We know from the writings of mystics like Ibn 'Arabi, for example, that this proximity was perhaps about witnessing the root of the entire affair in God, or seeing the majesty of God, or about the experience of unity with God. The disciples showed visible signs of their inner states, so the teachers could make their declarations about their progress. We know one of the external signs of the inner states of seeing was their loss of consciousness (*jazbas*). This indicated their absence from the world and their proximity to God. The teachers routinely debriefed their disciples. The disciples' reports, combined with the judgement of the teachers, probably played an important part in deciding whether or not the seeing had occurred.

Mentoring also plays an important role in the Church of Pentecost in Ghana (COP).⁴² Discipleship and leadership training models of the COP are part of Tsekpoe's ongoing doctoral research. In an unpublished paper on the topic, Tsekpoe argues that direct mentoring is happening in an increasingly institutionalised manner in his church.⁴³ "Christ-like living and personal . . . devotion to God" is emphasised and, here, the aim is to enable the disciples "know Christ in a personal way".⁴⁴ Various ritual events here also include prayers for people to "receive the Holy Spirit and speak in other tongues".⁴⁵ The mystical spirituality in Pentecostalism appears to be fundamentally not about ascension, though dreams and visions may happen; it is about the descent of God through the Holy Spirit. Part of Pillay's

research on Pentecostalism focused on Indian converts' testimonies in South Africa. All of them attributed their transformation to the experience of the Spirit that was understood to be "real". This resulted in their sense of God being real like a person; knowing God and not about him; and God being with them/in them and not just in heaven (immanent rather than transcendent).⁴⁶ Pillay argued that The Apostolic Faith Mission, the Full Gospel Church of God South Africa and the Assemblies of God all had "identical positions regarding the baptism of the Holy Spirit".⁴⁷ The baptism of the Holy Spirit was, for them, not a sign of regeneration but a consequence of it; it was to enable the believers to achieve a higher level of preparedness and empowerment, as promised in the scriptures (Luke 24:49, Acts 1:5-8, etc.). All believers had the potential and indeed the privilege "to receive this supernatural experience" and this was distinguished from the conversion experience or "the experience of the new birth".⁴⁸ Pillay offers what he calls "descriptions typical of the experience of 'having the Spirit'", who reaches out to the believers:⁴⁹ the Spirit is experienced as "the power from heaven"; "immersion in the Spirit"; the Spirit entering "the soul of a person" and filling "his whole life";⁵⁰ overtaking the disciples' will and motivating the believers' lives. This experience was expressed outwardly through *glossolalia*, a moment in this encounter when the believers conversed with God. The believers' life following this (in service, healing, prophecy, etc.) manifested this state of communion.⁵¹

Missional engagement

In the Muslim case I investigated first, the experience of God as described previously was not the end in itself. It was like achieving the qualification and equipping for missional engagement through going out into the world and preaching. The word used for this phase was *hijrat* (exodus). I expect similar evidence in the Pentecostal cases, although I understand there will be variations.

Going out into the world

Muhammad's *hijrat* (exodus) and the Sufi practice of engagement in society⁵² provided a model for going out. This was also a model for the growth of the sect I investigated. The aspirants who successfully completed their terms in their mother community began their own communities, usually by going out voluntarily, but also sometimes due to persecution, differences of position, or outright excommunication.⁵³ The onset of the *jazbas* heralded their readiness to speak: "you ought to know that after the *jazbas* the message from God came to Hadrat Imam [the Mahdi] that, 'O Sayyid Muhammad, perform the *hijrat* for Us'".⁵⁴ Stories immediately following this quotation suggest that the Mahdi used the principle of *hijrat* to preach in different locations. He won his early converts in these locations. Some of the outstanding early

converts became the Mahdi's immediate successors.⁵⁵ The *hijrat* was linked with the starting of the *dairas* with one of the newer disciples in control. The *shawahid* testifies to the newly qualifying disciples performing the *hijrat* to as distant a region as the Deccan in the south of India from Gujrat in the northwest of India. The *shawahid* also speaks of the king of Deccan welcoming the *muhajirs* and inviting others, "like the saints" he has met from Gujrat, to settle in the Deccan.⁵⁶ Miyan Mulk, an early disciple, is said to have attracted several hundred "seekers of God"; these were people leaving their homes and beginning to live around him. The reason for the unusual following of Miyan Mulk was his perceived extraordinary ability to speak. That is, he had "something new to tell each day" to his disciples and what he told his disciples each day was said to be "from God".⁵⁷

We know from the COP's example⁵⁸ that schisms within a rapidly growing church probably help rather than stunt growth. These schisms afforded an opportunity to similarly gifted leaders to strike out on their own and lead and grow the movement more rapidly than would have been possible otherwise.⁵⁹ Disciples who were understood have completed their apprenticeship were "posted to the field";⁶⁰ disciples with different manifest gifts understood to have been equipped "for the work of ministry" were expected to replicate this model of director mentoring. The ability to speak in tongues was considered merely "the initial evidence of this experience".⁶¹ This was the external sign of the believers' experience of God through the Spirit. Pillay also notes the exceptional case of Bethesda (the Indian branch of the Full Gospel Church). Whereas in the AOG churches public speaking in tongues followed a ritualised process involving prayers, fasting, and pursuit of holiness (also accompanied by ecstasy, convulsions, etc.), in the Bethesda community, speaking in tongues was rare in public and was not expected as evidence of the experience of the Holy Spirit. It was seen to be a possible initial sign of the Spirit, and the baptism of the Spirit was understood to be much bigger than mere speaking in tongues.⁶² This experience was distinguished from both regeneration/conversion and baptism into the church. Consequently, the gifts of the Spirit generally meant for all believers were distinguished from the gifts of the Spirit following the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. Again, it was clear that the purpose of the experience and the gifts that accompanied it was neither just for the subjects nor for the mere edification of the community to which the subjects belonged, but for "the enlargement of the church"; it was to provide "divine direction" and to infuse those having the experience with "spiritual power for service" and for going out to engage.⁶³ Bialecki's work on "Quiet Deliverances" stresses the socio-anthropological description of Pentecostalism in terms of both experience and embodiment. He presents the concrete example of the Vineyard to illustrate this point. A Pentecostal denomination, the Vineyard originated in California and is now global. It combines "both Pentecostal and Evangelical practice" in that its emphasis on embodiment derives from experience; going out to plant churches is the very purpose and end of the experience

of God.⁶⁴ Robbins observed too that "it is . . . Pentecostalism's promotion of ritual to the centre of social life that has allowed it to travel so well and to build institutions so effectively".⁶⁵ Thus Pentecostalism's ability to spread globally and build institutions is owed to its "ritualised approach to social life".⁶⁶ Ritual creates opportunities for people to travel or gather in order "to experience ritual" (e.g. revival); the experiences generated by this were then replicated elsewhere; rituals generated trust in people who would otherwise be socially distant – something necessary for movements.⁶⁷

Speaking as a revelatory process

It was evident that a Mahdawi person who had been through the process outlined was qualified to preach.⁶⁸ Preaching involved three interrelated aspects: plain report or testimony (a witnessing role), the eloquent exposition of the scriptures (an interpretive role), and expressing God's revelation (a prophetic role).

"PLAIN REPORT" AND TESTIMONY

Chapter 2 of the *shawahid* contains a brief "history" (*tarikb*) from Adam to Muhammad and Muhammad to the Mahdi; the term used to refer to this *tarikb* is *bayan*, which in the context means "plain report" or "account".⁶⁹ The mysterious guide of Moses, traditionally called the Khidr, is presented as passing on the guardianship (*amanat*) from Muhammad to the Mahdi; the retelling of this experiential story of how the *amanat* is passed on to the Mahdi is also called *bayan*; clearly *bayan* here means an account.⁷⁰ Similarly, the events relating to the Mahdi's state of ecstasies (*jazba*) were called "the account of the Mahdi's *jazbas*".⁷¹

It has been suggested that Pentecostalism is "pre-literate and oral based".⁷² Lewis has noted, therefore (as have also many others he cites), that testimonies play an important part in the emerging theology. Personal testimonies also play a role in according positions to individuals in a dynamic "social matrix" where aspirants can aspire to and gain progressively higher positions by testifying to their ever deepening experience of God.⁷³ Testimony plays another important role in "outreach to non-believers"; Lewis sees this to be a characteristic of the relational oral cultures where narrative is thought of "as the source of knowledge". Knowledge is gained relationally "within the relationship with God"; what one sees or hears is what one speaks, and there is no sense of dichotomy between the subject and the object of experience.⁷⁴

EXPOSITION OF THE SCRIPTURES

The Mahdi is said to have given a *bayan* (exposition) on Sura al-Fatiha in a manner unsurprisingly judged by Mahdawiyya as "perfect eloquence", so

that the critics simply could not find any faults in any of his utterances. Further, this *bayān* was alleged to have been presented in such a skilful manner of weaving the utterances with what the critics knew from their schools of law (*madhhabs*) and commentaries (*tafsirs*) that their carefully prepared questions and arguments became unnecessary. The power of his words was believed to be so great and the depth of his knowledge so vast that he was able to hold the attention of people and sustain their interest in the exposition on Sura al-Fatiha for the whole period between the two ritual prayers. True to the form of other similar narratives of the Mahdi's encounters with *ulama* (religious scholars), the critics' experiences led them to accept their defeat: "our knowledge ('ilm) is like the babble of children" and "no one except Muhammad himself did the *bayān* in similar fashion".⁷⁵

Pentecostals have a high view of scriptures, and so hermeneutics as a "science of understanding" plays an important role. Their experiential narratives connect them to the world of the Bible. Pentecostals, therefore, belong to neither a purely "literate" nor a "pure oral culture".⁷⁶ Pillay speaks of four "basic tensions" in Pentecostal theology and here the first concerns authority (scripture/revelation and Pentecostal hermeneutics).⁷⁷ The antithesis here is not between experiences and the scripture, but between "literal and non-literal approaches" to generating meanings. The Pentecostals normally hold on to the belief in the inerrancy and authority of the whole and parts of the Bible. This does not mean that there is no space for interpretation. Since the experience the believers have is that of the Spirit (who is also the fount of the revelation), the meanings one uncovers are therefore assumed to be aligned with the scriptural revelation and are thus declared as "the plain' meanings"; there are no creative readings rendered by the application of methods such as historical criticism. Thus, the Bible's authority as "the final word" is maintained. Experiences the believers have of the Spirit enable them to reconcile the authority of the Bible in its fixed textual form and the orally expressed revelatory meanings.⁷⁸ Gifford's work on the Bible in African Pentecostalism highlights not just the Spirit-filled "expository preaching", but also a use of the scripture that is "fairly loose". The preaching from the scripture is often "a launching pad for ideas that may have a rather tenuous link back to the text", but importantly both in his mind and in the listeners' the words emanate from the direct experience of the Holy Spirit, and often the words are assumed to be God's and not the preacher's.⁷⁹

REVELATION FROM GOD

Speaking in the Mahdawi sect derived its authority from the belief that it expressed the aspect of God's revelation that remained hidden in the scriptures or in the Prophet. The revelatory knowledge was passed on to the disciples without involving any intellectual effort on their part.⁸⁰ They consequently did not need to be particularly qualified as experts. The

hagiographers of the Mahdi tell us that he was able to give Qur'anic "expositions" as he drew directly on the hidden aspects of revelation. This was considered to be the essence (*mahiyya*) and the gist (*muradan/murad*) of prophecy. The Mahdi also answered questions on the Qur'an that even the great Sufi Shaykh Danyal struggled with.⁸¹ Even at the age of 12, he was recognised among the *ulama* for his extraordinary abilities.

A report on Pentecostalism defines it as being "energetic and dynamic"; the insiders are "driven by the power of God moving within them". The emphasis is laid upon "the baptism of the Holy Spirit" – which transforms the believer and prepares them to "live a truly Christian life". This "direct experience of God" is manifested externally through "tongues, prophecy and healing".⁸² Thus this experience, leading to its expression, can be characterised as "revelatory", though presumably delimited by the scriptural revelation. *The Economist* article on "Global Pentecostalism" highlights two principal characteristics which are relevant here: "Ecstasy and Exodus".⁸³ In the article, Teju Hassan is said to be from a far country (Lagos, Nigeria), a convert engaged in "reverse mission" in Ireland among a "multi-national congregation". His 100 followers are "people who seek an ecstatic experience", through the "baptism of the Holy Spirit". They are described here as "charismatic", and although their worship is apparently not as organised in set stages as in the Mahdawi case I described, the key aspects of their community lives are not too dissimilar: there is both ecstasy and exodus. An ecstatic form of "Christianity thrives among people on the move"; it "offers a sense of self-transcendence" among people cut off from their roots; the experience of God through charismatic phenomena such as exorcising of demons, miracles, visions/dreams and other forms of seeing, or hearing or speaking (prophecy) provides stability and purpose in lives lacking balance and certainty.⁸⁴ An example of the revelatory nature of "speaking from experience" comes from Coleman's review of Kenneth Hagin Sr. (the founder of Rhema Bible Training Center in the United States). A charismatic preacher, Hagin justified similarities in the content of his words and E. W. Kenyon's by appealing to "a charismatic version of a Durkheimian conscience collective" – the idea being they were both inspired by the same God and thus their revelatory utterances were unsurprisingly similar.⁸⁵

Comparative categories

I could easily be faulted for forcing a set of stages in the spiritual preparation of "speakers" from a tradition in Islam upon the Pentecostal context, especially since a similarly structured ritual focus is lacking in the latter. That would be a fair methodological critique; but what is clear is that even though one could add or remove specific elements here and there, the broader impulse for proximity to God or the Spirit of God and its observable outcome in "speaking from experience" appear not to be too dissimilar. Even if one is methodologically faulted for being inordinately reliant on or

privileging the Islamic case for deriving the categories for comparison, the comparison itself says a lot more than the stages outlined. Thus, for example, it highlights several underlying themes that are undeniably characteristic of both traditions and hence worth a review. In order to identify these themes, I used Microsoft Word to do the analysis for me. This analysis from the data for the comparative description above brought to light three recurring themes worth highlighting here which unsurprisingly apply to both traditions: community, scripture, and speaking (from experience).

Community

In a relatively brief chapter such as this, there were ten key references to community. Social identity theory explains, among other things, “the bases for differentiation and discrimination between groups”,⁸⁶ but also conditions under which individuals see themselves (self-categorise) as being part of a group.⁸⁷ Retreat from the world, understood to be different, even evil, is often a standard means of differentiating oneself/one’s group from the others. Here, the insiders or likeminded aspirants intermix with the enablers in what can be said to be a repetitive ritual or a set of rituals in order to replicate communally sanctioned experiences. The key aspects of community life may be summarised by the two Es: “ecstasy” and “exodus”. As I have observed before, based on Robbins’ work, charismatic phenomena appear to flourish especially among people who are on the move. Experience is therefore not just for the benefit of the individuals or the mother community which nurtured them, but for the replication of this community. The effect of this nurturing can thus be said to be “missional”. The experience is embodied in the broader sense of becoming an extension of one’s mother community, and this becomes an instrument or means of this community’s lateral growth.

Scripture

Hermeneutics is understood simply as a means of interpretation, not just of texts,⁸⁸ but also of “verbal and non-verbal communication”.⁸⁹ The term is used in its broadest sense, which includes reading, performative practices involving texts, or performances on their own. Hermeneutics in this sense occurs on both the Mahdawi and the Pentecostal sides. The texts acquire a dynamic reality, especially when they are performed in rituals or where the texts feature as part of sacred performances. Those observing play a key role in generating meaning, understanding, and knowledge of the performed texts. The “reader” may appear to be at centre stage as someone engaged in mining for meanings; however, he/she becomes a less central figure once the connection between him/her and the source of revelatory knowledge (God) is established. Just as in the *jazba*, the Spirit’s operation exhibited externally through prophecy or tongues becomes not only a sign of regeneration but a

consequence of it; regeneration through conversion is thus a separate stage in the disciples' preparation for the baptism of the Spirit or seeing God. The resultant phenomenon of "speaking" (preaching, teaching, tongues, prophecy, testimony, etc.) is not seen to be unconnected to the scriptures; it is seen to be bounded by it/its spirit and is often claimed to "expose" the scriptures. The believers in both camps appear to have a high view of their sacred texts, but it is their spiritual experiences that connect them to the very reality that brings the scriptures into being. As noted before, one sees that the antithesis is not between the experience and the scripture, but between literal and non-literal "meanings of the scriptures". The science of understanding/accessing knowledge therefore involves being connected to God, who underlies the scriptures.

Speaking (from experience)

There were about 45 references to experience in the comparative part of this chapter. One could use different adjectives to make a finer point about the nature of experience, such as "spiritual", "sacred", or "mystical". Any such experience remains largely subjective and unbounded until the subject begins to describe it in words through testimonies or through the disparate "signs" that accompany these testimonies. In classical Pentecostalism, as also in the Islamic case here, asceticism involving retreat and absolute trust in God could be advanced as one such sign (or prosperity and wellbeing in certain other traditions of Pentecostalism).

In the Islamic case, the gateway to experience involves certain ritual practices, the most central of which is the remembrance or *dhikr*. In Pentecostalism, rituals are dispersed and therefore cannot be said to be a stage or a means to experience, so prayer, preaching, healing, speaking in tongues and singing, etc. are not as neatly organised as steps towards experience and its exhibition. The cause and effect is not as clearly distinguished as in the Islamic case. But ritual itself plays an equally significant role in Pentecostalism. In fact, Pentecostalism's ability to become global is owed partly to the "ritualised approach to social life"; this is why, it has been suggested, the study of rituals should be "central to our approach to Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity".⁹⁰ Such rituals, however dispersed they may be in community events, replicate the right environment for all to participate in and with the experience that results from such a participation; this also generates trust and cohesion in the community. There is in both cases, however, an intent, expectation, or even requirement to experience and report.

The experience of the Spirit (Spirit baptism) is to be distinguished from the conversion experience or "the new birth" in Pentecostalism, as also in the Islamic case – i.e., normally it is those who are already deemed to be insiders that engage in the ritual performances and therefore are the ones that interpret their experience or others like it in terms of the religious framework they subscribe to. In both cases, one of the main means

of outward manifestation is through word, as e.g. (at the risk of repetition) through testimony, preaching, tongues, prophecy, etc. The words spoken bear a revelatory authority. Although there is often a revealing word for the insiders, the experience is not an end in itself; it is the starting point for the “departure” for one equipped for outreach. One concrete example from the Pentecostal angle may suffice: the Church of Pentecost (COP). The COP exhibits different “mission models” which “depart from the general pattern” of church-led missions; rather than being shaped by a specialised mission organisation, it is the COP “members at the grassroots” who shape what is described as “a mission from below”.⁹¹ What characterises these models is the dynamic involvement of people on the move locally, regionally or beyond.⁹² White’s work gives us a better view of how “leaders” are equipped for missional engagements. Each aspect of the five-fold ministry (apostle, prophet, evangelist, pastor, and teacher) that this formation entails involves speaking; each of these also involves a structured process of nurturing or mentoring to uncover both “one’s spiritual gift or calling” and also theological knowledge.⁹³

A theological rationale

It is one thing to engage in such an exercise involving a Christian tradition on its own, but quite another to juxtapose this with another tradition. This unsurprisingly raises more questions, not least of which is a fundamentally theological one: how does one theologically justify a comparative approach such as this – and to what end?

To begin with, I am not so naïve as to suggest that resemblance equals sameness. If anything, the comparative juxtaposition has highlighted significant differences between the ritual dimensions of the cases; if space allowed, one could also have dug deeper into comparing the nature of the experience of God and how it is differently controlled and justified. What I have highlighted is that the idiom of the “journey” is a helpful starting point; though ritual plays an important role in both, in the Islamic case, the “journey” was far more firmly structured (and therefore more easily comparable to Christian mysticism) than in the Pentecostal tradition. This does not mean that such a design or intent is lacking in Pentecostalism, as is evident from Pentecostal theological schools focused on the “backend” task of training and spiritual formation. These institutions arguably work in support of churches’ ministry and mission. There is also evidence of emerging institutionalisation of “direct mentoring” in the broader context of the congregations in some examples of Pentecostalism, such as the COP, which I shall refer to in what follows.

My theological justification for the comparative framework arises from both ontology and theology. Arguably, the idea of “the divine spark” in Western mystical traditions comes from Gnosticism. The idea is that this spark in human beings “derives from the divine realm, fallen into this world

of fate, birth and death, and needing to be awakened by the divine counterpart of the self" and return to God (hence the idea of journey in mysticism). This has been argued to be a parallel sort of revelatory tradition to the biblical and Qur'anic revelatory traditions.⁹⁴ In Gnostic Christianity, Jesus was seen to be the divine being who in the form of man was calling humanity back to the Divine Light; this idea is picked up also from the Gospel of John (John 1:1–5). A similar idea is also found in the equally ancient traditions of philosophy from India. *Atman* (true self/spirit) resides in all beings. This is the essence of people, and liberation involves recognising the true nature of self and its affinity with the *paramatman* (the Great Soul/Spirit). Many Indian Christian theologians have argued for what Sathianathan Clarke calls "the cosmic potency of Jesus".⁹⁵ Panikkar came from a mixed Hindu and Christian background and was deeply interested in forms of common expressions in religious experiences. Christ, as the face of God for us, was all important to him. This Christ was Lord of all and is present in Hinduism as in Christianity, even though he often remains unknown.⁹⁶ Unlike many converts, Panikkar saw the best of the two religious faiths, and so a positive image of encounters that defined his theology of religion was drawn from the Indian notion of "sacred rivers" – "Christian waters and the Hindu river".⁹⁷ The essence of the sacred waters was the unknown Christ whom Hindus will encounter when the "rivers merge". The notion of the universal Christ parallels the discourse on *logos*, which has its own history. This discourse

compels Christian theology to clarify the relationship between . . . the God of Jesus Christ and the discourse about God present in other religious traditions. The bond between Christ and the cosmos, which the Christian faith confesses, precisely seeks to give the reason for that universality.⁹⁸

The context of Genesis 1 highlights for me humanity's dignity and pre-eminence in the created order, which has been conceptualised in terms of *homo imago dei*. Psalm 8:5–9 is also relevant here, as it brings human beings in close comparison to angels; here human persons' dignity is affirmed in terms of the idea of the crown of "glory and honour". But is this meant only to accord dignity to human beings in relation to creation, or does it also have ontological substance? If the latter is true, then Christian theology needs to take religious experience and beliefs seriously. Altman asks the same question: is *imago dei* merely about the "dignity of human beings", or is this anchored more deeply? In the history of the *imago dei*'s interpretation, Christians have understood the phrase differently. Tarus has suggested that their understanding ranges from "substantialist" to "relational" and "functional" senses.⁹⁹ Altman speaks of a view subscribing to the idea of *imago dei* mainly in relation to Jesus (in line with II Corinthians 4:4; Colossians 3:10; Ephesians 4:24; John 1:1–5) and only offers the distinction of

becoming an image of God through faith in Christ. Another view suggests that although human beings were created in the image of God, they were “destined to remain a man . . . liable to sin”; sin causes the loss of the image, which can only be regained through faith and obedience.¹⁰⁰ Altman also points out that Calvin rejected the Platonic notion of “man as an image or copy of God”.¹⁰¹

The substantialist approach is particularly significant for our understanding of human dignity. This approach presupposes an ontological connection between humanity and God, and not merely one that is functional or relational. This means that humanity is possibly good in essence (despite being marred by sin). Some, like Mendelssohn, writing in the Enlightenment context, emphasised the idea of “the essential goodness of man” and “implicitly rejected the theological doctrine of original sin”.¹⁰² The Genesis account seems unambiguous in supporting an essential understanding of the image in humanity without abandoning the notion of sin: “God made man in his own image” (Genesis 9:6); the Fall tarnished this, but we see that Paul applies the distinction to all humans: “he is the image and glory of God” (I Corinthians 11:7). Sin does not cause the image to be lost. This seems to be a more wholesome position. The presence of the image in human beings is by design and ontology. The image in humanity must be understood in a non-deterministic sense; what this means is that there is room for sinning, but also for being Godlike. The presence of the image is therefore not acquired by effort; it is tarnished and suppressed, but humans never cease to belong to God. The best example for this comes from the parable of the Prodigal Son. When the son was away, despite his transgressions, in his father’s eyes he was still his son, always welcome and deserving of the privilege and distinction. It is true that the New Testament does not identify those not in Christ as the children of God; but this is not because they are not God’s children, but because they refuse to acknowledge God as their father.¹⁰³ In Islam, for example, the traditional conception of God as the Master is only one aspect of the bigger picture. Sufi traditions are full of imageries of intimacy and proximity to God even to the extent of considering God to be closer than one’s “jugular vein” (Surah 50.16). The ideas of perfection, friendship, and unity of witness and being are not just debated, but part of everyday living and spiritual practice.

Much of the 19th-century Christian missionary theology of religions was rather unsympathetic and antithetical. Even scholars like Monier Monier-Williams (1819–1899) and Frederick Fiske (1815–1850) – associated with Oxford (1878) and Cambridge (1849) respectively – while understandably favouring scholarship for the service of evangelisation, did not see much comparative value in Hinduism or Islam. John Nicol Farquhar (1861–1929) was exceptional in being one of the first in the late 19th/20th century to construct a missionary theology not “on Christian assumptions alone but on the belief that God speaks/acts universally and that this is evident also in the universal witness of God”.¹⁰⁴ He saw revival and reform in religions around

him which may have been owed to the challenges of colonialism and missionary enterprise, but for him these were also signs of the "steady advance of the ancient faiths".¹⁰⁵ The reforms encompassed movements towards the worship of one God, and excluded polytheism, mythology, idolatry, and veneration of men; these reforms included a renewed interest in seeking conversion and socialisation; these also included aspirations to broader socio-religious transformations. For Farquhar, these movements were a sign of the Spirit's operation in religions.¹⁰⁶ His sympathetic approach significantly dwelt on commonalities rather than differences. His model of missionary theology was not the only one; in 20th-century India, several other missionary theologians such as C.F. Andrews (1871–1940) and E. Stanley Jones (1884–1973) modelled their practice on this approach.

Roland Allen (1868–1947), a prominent missiologist, was a "radical critic of the church". He supported the idea that local churches should "be adapted to local cultural conditions and not be mere imitations of Western Christianity". The lack of such indigenisation was due to missionary control over leadership and the paucity of trust in "the Holy Spirit to guide the new church in its development". These views were underlined through his visit to India in the early 20th century.¹⁰⁷ Allen's approach sought "commonalities" and "common ground" rather than differences, and in this he was inspired by Paul's strategy towards the Athenian philosophers (Acts 17:16–34) and patristic apologists such as Justin Martyr.¹⁰⁸ Rutt outlines Allen's approach to missionary theology developed particularly in the context of China. This approach was based on what he saw as three basic characteristics: a) conservative instinct – the tendency which attracts the Chinese to remain attached to "the tried, the ancient, the historical" – and rather than opposing this and "demonising" Chinese traditions, he recommended missionaries work with these and even embrace them; b) love of propriety – the tendency to favour authority structures and hierarchy, which involved the question of linkages and connections with those higher up in the chain; and c) love for union – with an emphasis on belonging to a community with broader affiliation, rather than an "individualist doctrine" emphasising mere personal salvation.¹⁰⁹

This theological rationale relates to the simple comparative juxtaposition of the Mahdawi and the Pentecostal phenomena. Notwithstanding the limitations of this approach, this theological discussion helps me (and hopefully the readers) to not just dismiss the apparent similarities in my cases as mere accident. Religious experiences may be manifestations of human attempts at seeking God; but if humans long for God and seek him, would not God respond to them as those bearing his image (however tarnished this may be)? Why would God not be reaching out to those who search for him? Reforms in religions could therefore be seen as signs of a dynamic response of God to a human cry to him. Visions and dreams that transform individuals, families, and societies could also be God's gifts to them as first fruits of the fullness of the vision of God in Christ. If this is the case, should

we not accord greater dignity to other faiths and indeed the faithful seekers belonging to them in seeing them as “the children of God” waiting for their redemption in Christ? So, as readers can see, this remains an unrealised theological quest, not least for me as a student of Sufism and a Christian traveller on a Godward journey.

Conclusion

The search for understanding of the phenomenon of “speaking (from experience)” is rooted both in my background as a Pentecostal and in my training as a student of Sufism. My particular study of a millennial sect inspired by Sufism focused on a structured programme involving experience or seeing of God which had a missional purpose. In investigating the Islamic case, I highlighted five broad stages which provide a more detailed view of the journey Schimmel speaks of in relation to both Christian and Islamic mysticism. I understand that I am guilty of imposing the details upon the Pentecostal case. The simple juxtaposition was, however, not fruitless. Three themes emerged which were critically central to experiences across my cases: a living community, the dynamic role of scriptures, and the experience of God leading to missional engagement. Methodologically, my approach drew from phenomenology and theology. What this chapter underlined was that the human search for nearness with God is arguably never one-sided. God does not abandon his creation; he reciprocates human effort at seeking him. Phenomenology involves comparative descriptions of the subjects’ experiences as they appear or are presented to the researcher; theology presupposes the reality of an all-powerful God who not only creates living/feeling/thoughtful beings, but also expects them to seek communion with him. The power and presence of God encompasses the world he has created and, thus, there is no place and no genuine story of experience where he is absent. Roland Allen’s insight is useful – there is in all religions the undeniable presence of a “conservative instinct”. This draws those that belong to them back towards the ideas that are fundamental to them. The Christian missionary can dismiss them and want to replace them, but this is where one needs the mind of Christ and a cultivation of an attitude also informed by the example of his servant Paul (Acts 17:22).

This is a continuing search for meaning – not one by a mere scholar, but also by a believer.

Notes

- 1 Annamarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 98.
- 2 David T. Gies, *The Cambridge History of Spanish Literature* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), 173.
- 3 Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 98.

- 4 There are an estimated 150,000–300,000 Mahdawi. A Mahdawi Murshid from Hyderabad believes that the total number of Mahdawis today is around 10 million, which appears grossly inflated. Mahdawiyya, an Islamic millenarian movement, was founded by Sayyid Muhammad Jawnpuri (847/1443–910/1505), the proclaimed Mahdi (henceforth the Mahdi), and continues until today in pockets (see Jan-Olaf Blickfeldt, *Early Mahdism: Politics and Religion in the Formative Period of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985); P. B. Clarke, *Mahdism in West Africa: The Ijebu Mahdiyya Movement* (Avon: Luzac Oriental, 1995); and Butt Qamaruddin, *The Mahdawi Movement in India*, IAD Oriental (original) series 28 (Delhi: Idarah-e Adabiyat-e Dehli, 1985). Mahdawi sources highlight Mahdawiyya’s connection to the mainstream Chishti brotherhood of Sufism (Hadrat Burhan, *shawahid al-wilayat al-muhammadiyya ‘al-aqaua’ad al-hujjat al-muhammadiyya* (Hyderabad: Dar al-Isha‘at Salaf al-Salihin Jami‘a Mahdawiyya, 1379 AH/1959), 3.29). We know that the Mahdi’s teacher Shaykh Danyal belonged to the Chishti order of Sufism (Burhan, *shawahid*, 4.31ff. and Hadrat Yusuf, *ma³la’ al-wilayat* (Hyderabad: Dar al-Isha‘at Salaf al-Salihin Jami‘a Mahdawiyya, 1374 AH/1954), 8 ff.) widely practised in South Asia.
- 5 Stephen Hunt, *Christian Millenarianism: From Early Church to Waco* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001); Stephen Hunt, “Deprivation and Western Pentecostalism Revisited: The Case of ‘Classical’ Pentecostalism,” *PentecoStudies* 1, no. 1 (2002): 1–32.
- 6 See the idea in Nelson Ndubisi, “Factors of Online Learning Adoption: A Comparative Juxtaposition of the Theory of Planned Behaviour and the Technology Acceptance Model,” *International Journal on E-Learning* 5, no. 4 (2006): 571–91.
- 7 Patrick Masterson, *Approaching God: Between Phenomenology and Theology* (New York and London: Bloomsbury, 2013).
- 8 Hadrat Wali, *hashiya insaf nama*, 2nd ed. (Hyderabad: Dar al-Isha‘at Salaf al-Salihin Jami‘a Mahdawiyya, 1418 AH/1997), 31.
- 9 Ibid., 75.
- 10 Ibid., 214; D. E. Singh, “The Way of the Heart for Understanding Religious Plurality,” *Dharma Deepika* 2, no. 2 (1998): 15–26.
- 11 Wali, *hashiya*, 45.
- 12 Ibid., 23, 64, 67–68.
- 13 Hadrat Wali, *insaf nama* (Hyderabad: Dar al-Isha‘at Salaf al-Salihin Jami‘a Mahdawiyya, 1407 AH/1987), 68; see also Hadrat Mahmud, *Tark-e dunya- islam aur mahdawiyyat: ta’limat-e mahdi maw‘ud ‘alay al-islam*, vol. 1 (Hyderabad: Markazi Anjuman Mahdawiyya, 1407 AH/1986), 6.115, emphasis mine.
- 14 Robert Mbe Akoko, “‘Ask and you shall be given’: Pentecostalism and the Economic Crisis in Cameroon” (Doctoral diss., Leiden, 2007), accessed July 19, 2018, www.researchgate.net/publication/28649259_Ask_and_you_shall_be_given_Pentecostalism_and_the_economic_crisis_in_Cameroon.
- 15 Katherine Attanasi and Amos Yong, *Pentecostalism and Prosperity: The Socio-Economics of the Global Charismatic Movement* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
- 16 Akoko, “‘Ask and you shall be given’”.
- 17 Grant Wacker, “The Function of Faith in Primitive Pentecostalism,” *The Harvard Theological Review* 77, no. 3–4 (1984): 353–75.
- 18 Ibid., 371.
- 19 Martin Lindhardt, “When God Interferes: Ritual, Empowerment and Divine Presence in Chilean Pentecostalism,” in *Practicing the Faith: The Ritual Life of Pentecostal-Charismatic Christians*, ed. Martin Lindhardt (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2011), 220–48.

- 20 Trad Nogueira-Godsey, "Weberian Sociology and the Study of Pentecostalism: Historical Patterns and Prospects for the Future," *Journal for the Study of Religion* 25, no. 2 (2012): 51–70, 66–67.
- 21 Nogueira-Godsey, "Weberian Sociology and the Study of Pentecostalism," 51–70, 66–67. In further nuancing this, one needs to recognise that the "primitive" forms continue well into our times, especially in India but also in many movements in Africa and Latin America. Clearly not all are prosperity-oriented or ultramodern. See Grant Wacker, *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).
- 22 Mahmud, *Tark-e dunya*, 5.10–125.
- 23 Wali, *hashiya*, 4.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 *Namaz* is the five-time obligatory ritual prayer of Muslims.
- 26 Wali, *insaf*, 10.210.
- 27 Ibid., 11.239–40.
- 28 Ibid., 10.212–13.
- 29 Ibid., 10.209–11.
- 30 Ibid., 10.216; Hadrat Burhan, *Hadiqa al-haq'a'iq haqaqa al-daqa'iq*, Book II, Text with translation into Urdu by Sayyid Muhammad alias Rôshan Miyañ (Hyderabad: Majlis-e Intezami, 1400 AH/1978), 134; Burhan, *shawahid*, 33.432; and Shaykh Gujrati, *Makatib* (Hyderabad: Dar al-Isha'at Salaf al-Salih Jami'a Mahdawiyya, 1414 AH/1993), 8, 105–6.
- 31 I grew up in an Assemblies of God (AG) church context in Northern India. Both my parents were theological educators in a small AG seminary training pastors and missionaries. My early years were immersed in charismatic environments and regular community worship and prayers. Witnessing the experience of speaking in tongues, prophecy and other spiritual manifestations was a fairly normal part of my upbringing. I am well past the phase of "rebellion", but I feel I have, to use Wacker's image, "one leg still stuck in the tent", and hence this comparative work. See Wacker, *Heaven Below*, x.
- 32 Thomas J. Csordas, "Ritualization of Life," in *Practicing the Faith: The Ritual Life of Pentecostal-Charismatic Christians*, ed. Martin Lindhardt (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2011), 129–51.
- 33 Jacqueline Ryle, "Laying our Sins and Sorrows on the Altar: Ritualising Catholic Charismatic Reconciliation and healing in Fiji," in *Practicing the Faith: The Ritual Life of Pentecostal-Charismatic Christians*, ed. Martin Lindhardt (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2011), 68–97.
- 34 Martin Lindhardt, ed., *Practicing the Faith: The Ritual Life of Pentecostal-Charismatic Christians* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2011).
- 35 Lindhardt, "Introduction," in *Practicing the Faith: The Ritual Life of Pentecostal-Charismatic Christians*, ed. Martin Lindhardt (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2011), 1–48.
- 36 Joel Robbins, "The Obvious Aspects of Pentecostalism: Ritual and Pentecostal Globalisation," in *Practicing the Faith: The Ritual Life of Pentecostal-Charismatic Christians*, ed. Martin Lindhardt (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2011), 49–67, 50.
- 37 Wali, *hashiya*, 210.
- 38 Hadrat 'Alam, *naqliyyat az-hadrat bandagi miyañ sayyid 'alam* (Hyderabad: Dar al-Isha'at Salaf al-Salih Jami'a Mahdawiyya, 1376 AH/1956), 52.
- 39 Ibid., 45; Wali, *hashiya*, 72.
- 40 Wali, *hashiya*, 214.
- 41 Ibid., 75.
- 42 Christian Tsekpoe, "The Development of James McKeown's Mission Models and its Implication for the Church of Pentecost, Ghana," paper presented at the doctoral seminar at OCMS on 1 August 2018.

- 43 Christian Tsekpoe, "Direct Mentoring as a Discipleship and Leadership Training Model in the Church of Pentecost, Ghana," unpublished paper presented at OCMS, 1–5 August 2018.
- 44 Ibid., 2.
- 45 Ibid., 4.
- 46 Gerald J. Pillay, *Pentecostalism among Indian South Africans* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1994), 183–84.
- 47 Ibid., 196.
- 48 Ibid.
- 49 Ibid., 194.
- 50 Ibid., 195.
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 See Richard Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur, 1300–1700* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015). Sufis were part of their society, both Muslim and non-Muslim. In this, they often came into conflict with the Ulema, the upholders of "orthodoxy" and at times the state.
- 53 Yusuf, *ma³la'*, 64, 66, 70–72.
- 54 Burhan, *shawahid*, 8.51.
- 55 Hadrat Husayn, *Tadhkira al-salihin* (Hyderabad: Dar al-Isha'at Salaf al-Salihin Jami'a Mahdawiyya, 1381 AH/1961), 6–270.
- 56 Burhan, *shawahid*, 40.524–25.
- 57 Wali, *insaf*, 8.183.
- 58 Citing Christine Leonard, Robert Wyllie, and Kingsley Larbi, Tsekpoe ("The Development of James McKeown's Mission Models") points out a British missionary; James McKeown was one of the first Apostolic Church missionaries. The church experienced several schisms, which in a sense helped its expansion; one of these indigenous Pentecostal churches in Ghana was led early on by McKeown himself. This church is called the Church of Pentecost (COP), which alone has over 20,000 congregations and over 3 million members.
- 59 Tsekpoe, "Direct Mentoring," 1.
- 60 Ibid., 4.
- 61 Ibid.
- 62 Pillay, *Pentecostalism among Indian South Africans*, 197–98.
- 63 Ibid., 196.
- 64 Jon Bialecki, "Quiet Deliverances," in *Practicing the Faith: The Ritual Life of Pentecostal-Charismatic Christians*, ed. Martin Lindhardt (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2011), 249–76.
- 65 Robbins, "The Obvious Aspects of Pentecostalism," 50.
- 66 Ibid., 65.
- 67 Ibid., 62–63.
- 68 Wali, *hashiya*, 220.
- 69 Burhan, *shawahid*, 2.23.
- 70 Yusuf, *ma³la'*, 11.
- 71 Ibid., 15.
- 72 William MacDonald, "Pentecostal Theology: A Classical Perspective," in *Perspectives on the New Pentecostalism*, ed. Russell Spittler (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1976), 58–74, 59.
- 73 Paul W. Lewis, "The Baptism in the Holy Spirit as Paradigm Shift," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 13, no. 2 (2010): 301–44, 317.
- 74 Lewis, "The Baptism in the Holy Spirit as Paradigm Shift," 317–18.
- 75 Burhan, *shawahid*, 54–55.
- 76 Lewis, "The Baptism in the Holy Spirit as Paradigm Shift," 318.
- 77 The other three are freedom (work and grace), history (chosen remnant and the idea of church), and certainty (crisis of faith).
- 78 Lewis, "The Baptism in the Holy Spirit as Paradigm Shift," 211–13.

- 79 Paul Gifford, "The Ritual Use of the Bible in African Pentecostalism," in *Practicing the Faith: The Ritual Life of Pentecostal-Charismatic Christians*, ed. Martin Lindhardt (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2011), 179–97.
- 80 Hadrat Giroh, *Jami' al-usul* (Hyderabad: Jami'a Mahdawiyya, 1402 AH/1982 AD), 5; Wali, *insaf*, 211, and Wali, *hashiya*, 10.
- 81 Burhan, *shawahid*, 5.38–39; Yusuf, *ma'la'*, 11.
- 82 BBC, "Pentecostalism," February 2009, www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/christianity/subdivisions/pentecostal_1.shtml, accessed February 11, 2020.
- 83 *The Economist*, "'Global Pentecostalism': Ecstasy and Exodus," January 23, 2016, www.economist.com/international/2016/01/23/ecstasy-and-exodus.
- 84 See "'Global Pentecostalism': Ecstasy and Exodus."
- 85 Simon Coleman, "Voices: Presence and Prophecy in Charismatic Ritual," in *Practicing the Faith: The Ritual Life of Pentecostal-Charismatic Christians*, ed. Martin Lindhardt (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2011), 198–219.
- 86 R. Spears, "Group Identities: The Social Identity Perspective," in *Handbook of Identity Theory and Research*, eds. S. J. Schwartz, K. Luyckx, and V. L. Vignoles (New York: Springer, 2011), 201–24, 201.
- 87 S. A. Halsam, P. J. Oakes, J. C. Turner, and C. McGarty, "Social Identity, Self-Categorization and the Perceived Homogeneity of Ingroups and Outgroups: The Interaction between Social Motivation and Cognition," in *Handbook of Motivation and Cognition*, vol. 3, eds. R. M. Sorrentino and E. T. Higgins (New York: Guilford, 1995), 182–222.
- 88 William L. Reese, *Dictionary of Philosophy and Religion* (Sussex: Harvester Press, 1980).
- 89 Joann McNamara, "Dance in the Hermeneutic Circle," in *Researching Dance: Evolving Modes of Inquiry*, eds. Sondra Horton Fraleigh and Penelope Hanstein (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998), 162–87, 167. Cf. Joann McNamara, "From Dance to Text and Back to Dance: A Hermeneutics of Dance Interpretive Discourse" (Doctoral diss., Texas Woman's University, 1994).
- 90 See Robbins, "The Obvious Aspects of Pentecostalism," 66.
- 91 Tsekpoe, "The Development of James McKeown's Mission Models."
- 92 See Daniel Okyere Walker, "The Pentecost Fire is Burning: The Models of Mission Activities in the Churches of Pentecost" (Doctoral diss., University of Birmingham, 2010).
- 93 Peter White, "A Missional Study of Ghanaian Pentecostal Churches' Leadership and Leadership Formation," *Harvard Theological Studies* 7, no. 3 (2015), <http://dx.doi.org/10.4102/hts.v71i3.2865>.
- 94 Soren Giversen, Tage Petersen, and Jorgen P. Sorensen, eds., *The Nag Hammadi Texts in the History of Religions* (Copenhagen: Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, 2002), 157.
- 95 Sathianathan Clarke, "The Jesus of Nineteenth Century Indian Christian Theology," *Studies in World Christianity* 5, no. 1 (1999): 32–46.
- 96 See Raimundo Panikkar, *The Unknown Christ of Hinduism* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1964); and Raimundo Panikkar, *Salvation in Christ: Concreteness and Universality, the Supername* (Santa Barbara: Privately Published, 1972).
- 97 Ibid., 144.
- 98 Giuseppe Tanzella-Nitti, "Jesus Christ, Incarnation and Doctrine of Logos," in *INTERS – Interdisciplinary Encyclopedia of Religion and Science*, eds. Giuseppe Tanzella-Nitti, I. Colagè, and A. Strumia, 2008, <http://inters.org/jesus-christ-logos>, doi:10.17421/2037-2329-2008-GT-2.

- 99 David Tarus, “Imago dei in Christian Theology: The Various Approaches,” *Online International Journal of Arts and Humanities* 5 (2016): 18–25. “Substantialist” suggests that the image of God in humanity means we are like God in some sense; “relational position” suggests that humanity acquires God’s image by being in relation; and the “functional position” suggests that humanity has the role of being a representative of God over creation.
- 100 Alexander Altman, “Homo Imago Dei in Jewish and Christian Theology,” *The Journal of Religion* 48, no. 3 (1968): 235–59, 257–58.
- 101 Ibid., 235–59.
- 102 Ibid., 258.
- 103 Interview with Damon So at OCMS on 3 August 2018.
- 104 J. N. Farquhar, *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1920), iii–iv.
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