famille de son frère chez elle. Mais il est clairement démontré qu'il a continué à enseigner à la place de son frère. Ce sont ses livres qu'il a enseignés. Même après la mort d'Abû Hamîd, il continua à enseigner l'Ihûdâ et il en fit le premier condensé, appelé Lubbûd al-Abîd. Il a aussi traduit le Traitât des isâeûs que son frère avait probablement d'abord écrit en arabe.

Tout ceci montre que les deux frères sont restés en bonnes relations, alors qu'ils avaient 40 ou 50 ans, et ce jusqu'au dernier jour d'Abû Hamîd.

Lorsque Muhammad Ghazarî est retourné à Tûs, bien des années après sa mort, il a préféré y rester et y finir ses jours. Nous ne savons pas si Ahmad y était aussi. Mais nous pouvons prêsumer que, s'il n'y vivait pas, il a souvent rendu visite à son frère. Nous sommes, par contre, sûrs qu'il était présent le jour de sa mort. Cela montre bien la relation intime qui existait entre eux. C'est aussi symbolique de la première « mort » d'Abû Hamîd : de la même façon qu'Ahmad l'a aidé à renoncer à sa vie mondaine et à prendre la voie du mysticisme, dix-sept ans plus tard, Ahmad est à nouveau présent, au moment de son départ pour l'autre monde.

Ahmad le raconte lui-même : « C'était un mardi matin. Mon frère fit ses ablutions. Après avoir fini ses prières, il me demanda de lui apporter son linceul. Quand je le lui eus apporté, il le prit, l'embrassa, le porta à ses yeux et dit : “Ô, mon Dieu, je t'entends et je t'obéis : je suis prêt à me rendre en ta divine présence.” Puis il s'allongea, étendit ses jambes en direction de la Qiblah et rendit son âme à Dieu. »

MYSTICISME ET DÉVELOPPEMENT

Un dialogue entre la « Vivification des sciences de la foi » (Ihûdâ 'ulâm al-Din) de Ghazarî et une « Vivification des sciences du monde » (Ihûdâ 'ulâm al-Dunga) ?

PAR

HASAN HANAFI

Le titre de ma communication est « Mysticisme et développement ». Le sous-titre pourrait être : « Vivification des sciences religieuses », ou « Vivification des sciences du monde ». Alors, je vais entamer un dialogue avec Ghazarî étant donné que je fais partie de la tradition ; je ne suis pas un occidental, je ne suis pas un savant exogène de la tradition, mais je suis une partie de la tradition ; je sens la responsabilité d'un Ihûdâ 'ulâm al-Din au même titre que Ghazarî. Ghazarî et Ibn Shûhî sont, peut-être, les deux auteurs les plus vivants dans les rues de Damas, du Caire, de Bagdad, de Téhéran et partout ; je sens donc la responsabilité et le poids de l'histoire. C'est pour cela que je m'excuse de mon ton un peu oratoire, un peu mondain, pour simplement vous communiquer quelques idées. Dans quelle mesure peut-on reconstruire le mysticisme étant donné que notre génération est une génération de développement, de progrès ? Nous tâchons de réformer nos sociétés, nos institutions, nous sommes la quatrième génération du reformisme, mais quand même, comme al Afgânî l'a fait et Mohamed 'Abdou dans Rasûlul al-Wârîd, qui a essayé de réformer le mysticisme, de le récupérer en le mettant de nouveau au monde.

Voilà le sens de ma communication de ce soir.
I. INTRODUCTION

Mysticism is an integral part of Islamic culture. It is one of the four major traditional (Naqshī) rational (Aqīlī) sciences. After al-Ghazāli's attack on rational sciences such as philosophy which was part of Mu'tazilī theology embodied Islamic rationalism through four centuries, from the second till the eighth centuries of Hijrah, mysticism intertwined with traditional theology, namely Suhphī, took over all Islamic sciences in the following seven centuries and during the Ottoman Empire till the modern Reformist movement.1

II. HISTORICAL BIRTH OF ISLAMIC MYSTICISM

Mysticism entered the Islamic world and became a permanent and absorbing part of its cultural life with the political division between Ali and Mu'awiya, that is, between prophets and state, between idealists or compromisers. Radicals took the part of Ali representing legality, authenticity, piety, truthfulness, austerity and the defence of general interests (Madāhī Amma) of the community (Ummah). Realists, compromisers, careerists and opportunists took the part of Mu'awiya representing the opposite value-system: illegality, inauthenticity, power-politics, persuasion, seduction, avidity for the new accumulated power and wealth, and in defence of a rising middle class and a future state apparatus.

Since the defeat of radicalism and the victory of careerism, piety returned to its own origin in the human soul. The individual, instead of being in the world withdrew from the world. The majority, instead of rallying to unite the ideal with its price of sacrifice and martyrdom, left the arena choosing the practical life, leaving the cause as a nice dream and abandoning it as merely wishful thinking. The self, being incapable of saving the other saved itself, and instead of moulding the external world withdrew to the internal world. Since the world became refractory to the will, the will dropped the world thus leaving its natural field of action void of content. As a subject, it created from itself its own object, becoming at the same time subject and object.2

Since radicalism, becoming mysticism, had lost its legality in the world, it tried to find a substitute legality in the origin of political thought, in the legal code itself, namely the Qur'an. It began to interpret the origin itself, not the world, as the source of mysticism. The psychological situation of the present projected itself on the code of the past while the partial historical situation imposed itself on the universal model of human conduct. The Qur'an became mystical reading; the Prophet was cast as the chief of mystics, his companions forming the first mystical order. The manipulation of the letter by the impious pushed the mystics towards a new reality beyond the letter through the image. The fall of the material and visible world into the hands of the impious motivated the mystics to look for another sensible and material world from a higher order, that of the spirit. The Tawwīl was a tool by which mystics realized a certain conciliation between themselves and the world, switching from losses to gains from nothing to everything and from despair to hope. The texts were psychologically recuperated, returned to the emotions and to the lost value-system of the abandoned struggle: patience, reliance, austerity, piety, resignation, asceticism, acceptance, etc. This was the origin of the mystical "steps" (Maqama). Political defeat in history was transformed into a spiritual victory outside history. The opposition between the ideal and the real became unity between God and the world; the absolute separation between truth and falsehood became an absolute unity in everything.

Is the struggle between legality and illegality today a hopeless case as it was in the beginning? How many martyr's fallen in our times equal those of early times? How many revolts occurring in our daily equal the early ones, Khurājī, since the time of Husseīn? Is it possible to restore the ideology of struggle by returning to the external world instead of being only active in the internal world? Is it possible to reconstruct the mystical value-system steps (Maqama) and states (Ahādī) as a real ideology in a total struggle, for development and progress?

Since mysticism was born in given historical circumstances to overcome political and military defeat, to sublimate the defeat of the body in the victory of the spirit, can mysticism now help in

1 Al-Ibād begins the first section on ritual (Shabbā; 1st chapter) by a classification of sciences (the virtues of science, teaching and learning) linking mysticism with the science of Tawḥīd and the science of Fiqh, in order to give both science of beliefs and actions a mystical foundation. The second chapter deals directly with articles of faith (Qanā') al-Isā'ī and exposing the Suhphī theology, theory of essence, attributes and acts. From Sunūgī, he chose only one: faith and action. Prophesy and incantation were dropped. Exegetology is integrated with the fourth section on the savours (Sunūgī: 10th chapter).

2 In Ibhād, the first section, 8th chapter, is on "good manners (Iddāh)" in reading the Qur'an.
overcoming the military, economic and socie-political defeat of our
time called underdevelopment? Is it possible to reconstruct a
mythical value-system, moral steps, psychological states and an
absolute unity to help modern generations face their challenges? If
through mysticism they succeeded in obtaining victory, unobtained
by previous generations, mysticism would return to its original
setting of struggle between truth and falsehood, between legality and
illegality, and between piety and impiety.

III. HISTORICAL REASONS FOR THE MYSTICAL OPTION

There are no rights and wrongs in historical movements but only
social forces, power politics and conflicting hierarchies of
values. The fifth century for which al-Ghazali wrote *Renunciation of
religious sciences* (Ihyā’ *al-Al-Dīn*) was characterized by:
1. Pluralism of truth, of approaches, of methods, of premisses and of
conclusions which was pushed to the extent of equating argument
and counter-argument, the thing and its opposite, the proposition
and its counter-proposition. Pluralism ended in scepticism (every-
things is equal to everything) and relativism (everything is partly
right and partly wrong). Islamic sectarian theology pushed this
pluralism to the maximum. Since the spirit of the culture is based
on the existence of a universal truth which does not vary from one
person to another, a reaction to this pluralism was necessary to
define the unity of truth, vision and reality. A call to return back
to the source was made, to approach the cultural periphery to
the revealed centre. That is why in the first section of *Ihyā’*, the last
three chapters are on *Qur’anic* and prophetic recitations.
2. Reason became a source of knowledge parallel to revelation and
even identical to it. In the case of opposition between the text and
rational evidence, the text its interpreted according to
reason. Eschatology became mere images for more spiritual
values such as happiness, joy of knowledge and beatitude. This
danger came from Mu’tazilī theology as well as from
philosophy. A reaction was necessary to maintain revelation and
textual arguments and to defend the correspondence between
revelation and reality beyond and over rational evidence. This
explains why *Ihyā’* *al-Al-Dīn* adopted scriptural arguments in
all its four sections and forty chapters even with week narratives.
3. The five pillars of Islam were transformed into pure ritual forms
without content, movements without meaningful articulation,
without spiritual elevation. The *Fiqh* that means legal acts in
conformity with the law dominated motivations and final
causes. That is why in the *Ihyā’* the whole first section is on
rituals (*ibaddī*) giving their internal reasons in order to counter-
balance external forms.
4. The Muslim world at that time reached a high degree of prosperity and
wealth. The accumulation of capital through trade was
tremendous. The style of life was characterized by opulence,
pomp and worldliness as a continuation of the victory of impiety
and the defeat of piety in the first century. Against this worldly
and materialistic trend, mysticism reacted in order to overweight
the balance of the spiritual world or at least to make it even.
5. In the face of the external threats and military invasions of the
Mongols from central Asia or from the Crusaders from Western
Europe, this returning back to one’s soul or folding up on one’s self
was a defensive mechanism against the outside world. This is also
behind modern fundamentalism in the Muslim world which faces
threats of military, economic and cultural invasions from across its
borders. Social customs and manners have to be protected against
imitation of outsiders and in defence of specificity in praxis as it is
clearadays in the upsurge of Islamic ritualism. The
second section of the *Ihyā’* is an affirmation of Islamic customs
(*‘Addī*) relating to social relations and practices (*Mu‘āmalāt*).

Nowadays, some of these reasons are no longer present. The
historical situation has changed and a new situation has arisen:
1. Pluralism, which was one of the glorious moments of Islamic
culture in its golden age, was buried behind the Islamic classical
reassurance. Since this pluralism disappeared, Muslim societies
have been reduced to the most horrible unilateralism represented
by one System, one Thinker, one Ruler, one Truth, one Hero,
etc. The actual crisis of political opposition in the Muslim world
comes from the absence of an intellectual justification for it, given
the absence of alternatives in the wake of unilateralism as a
historical continuum. Pluralism now is not a vice as it was in the
time of *Ihyā’* but a virtue. The mystical option aimed at bringing
back the whole Muslim world and culture to the source was a virtue
and may be now a vice if it means unilateralism and textualism. A pluralistic universe in which all options are
proposed again is much more useful for the Muslim world nowadays
then the old unilateral option.
2. The way of reason which lead in the time of *Ihyā’* to scepticism,
relativism and agnosticism is nowadays an urgent need for the
Muslim world and a high virtue. All reformist movements
struggled for more rationalism to counter-balance Fidwism such as M. 'Abdou in Riadat al-Tauhid, switching from Asharism to Mu'tazilism If not in the name of union at least in the name of justice (Adil) by recognizing the rational and universal judgements on good (Huqoq) and bad (Dhikr) is one of the major obstacles to development is illiteracy, the mythical world view, depending on miracles, overwhelming emotionalism and rhetoric. The reconstruction of reason is more necessary today than the destruction of reason in classical mysticism.

3. Ritualism, nowadays, continues as it was before, pure forms void of content, appearances without reality, and divorced from articulations final cause. The old mystical solution was the spiritualization of rituals, universalization, the transformation of the acts of the organism to acts of the heart. In development, what is needed is social action, the transformation of rituals to social contents as they were originally conceived in the law; the expression of unity through political opposition by the double act of negation (La Ildha), and of affirmation (Illa Allah) included in the witness (Ishahada); prayer aiming at social action and the symbolic redistribution of wealth; fasting as social co-hesion; pilgrimage as mutual community consultation and the unity of the Ummah.

4. Nowadays, reaction to accumulated wealth by denying it is almost impossible, impractical and a purely individual option. Ethical exhortations are even used to justify the joys of life or the enjoyment of legal earnings. Such renunciation is usually recommended to the poor and oppressed classes as compensation for their misery. A social reaction to this worldly and mundane trend would be the engagement of the whole society in the national cause of development. The commitment of the whole nation in development as a national project would prevent it from falling into this dualism between materialism and spiritualism.

5. A reaction to military invasions of the Muslim world from the West or from the East can cause a certain kind of a folding-in of the self, returning to its origin, holding to its own voice and finding refuge in the unconsidered soul. This is natural and normal but not as a definitive reaction, since this step-back is only a prerequisite for a second step-forward. A counter-offensive to external invasions, mobilizing all its powers, physical and moral, material and spiritual would be also nowadays a natural and normal reaction. This would prevent the Muslim world from falling into another dualism between mysticism and military professionalism.

In the Muslim context, the criteria of global development can be summarized in seven points:

1. Liberation of the land from external domination to complete the process of total decolonization, began in the 1960's (Palestine, Afghanistan, Kashmir, Eritrea, Mindanao, etc., in continuation of the huge reformist movement initiated by al-Afghani) as well as the liquidation of all military bases and the cancellation of all military pacts treaties.

2. Liberation of the peoples from the internal oppression of dictatorships royal or military, from the usurpation of legal power and the rule of the law in defiance of mass consent and people's delegation of power.

3. Equity and social justice in the distribution of national wealth to solve the problem of accumulated capital in the hands of the few with the expansion of poverty among the majority, and to implement socialism, an urgent need of our time.

4. Reunification of the Muslim world after its dismantlement by foreign powers which imposed artificial borders thus initiating wars between enemy-brothers.

5. Affirmation of identity against all forms of alienation especially Westernization, against remnants of colonialism at the level of culture and social behaviour.

6. Global development of societies to improve production, self-sufficiency in food, industrialization, public services and to build the necessary infrastructure for the satisfaction of basic human needs.

7. Mass-mobilization to promote the people's participation in political, economic and social development and to counter-balance centralization and bureaucratization.

Can mysticism help us today to face these major challenges of our time as it helped as a self-defence mechanism against internal and external threats of the old times? Since mysticism is an ideology of inverted struggle, of the internal and spiritual victory of the self against the other by abandoning the world of defeat, it is easy to bring it back to the real world and to switch again from the vertical to the horizontal, from upwards to downwards, from passive values to active values. Since mysticism as a road (Tariqah) contains three phases, the more phase, the ethico-psychological phase and the metaphysical phase, it is possible to utilise these phases and their major
components in the process of development? Is it possible to switch
the components of the moral phase from the soul to the body, from
inferiority to exteriority, from individual ethics to social politics,
from secluded meditation to open action and from mystical orders to
socio-political movements? Is it possible to change the components
of the psychological phase from passive values to active values and
from ethico-psychological states to social struggle? Is it possible to
reconstruct the metaphysical phase from the vertical dimension to
the horizontal dimension, from moral steps to periods of history, from
the other world to this world and from imaginative unity to realized
unification? If this is done, the old Muhdiyya and Senousiya will
return. The sunni and the ribat will recuperate their militant
functions. If mystical and mystical orders were capable of pro-
pagating Islam in earlier centuries, they are capable of defending
Muslim societies in this century.

IV. Reconstruction of the moral phase

In the moral phase, mysticism appeared as an ethical science
aiming at the moral perfection of the individual. If society is lost, at
least the individual can be maintained. The question now is: Is society
lost for ever or can it be recuperated? Development begins
by the assumption that a society exists and that its development is
possible. The question is how to shift again from the individual to
society and from ethics to politics?

1. From the soul to the body

Since one early crisis from which mysticism originated was caused
by the avidity of the soul, the ambition of the will, the destruction of
values, the impurity of the heart and the corruption of behaviour,
mystics reacted positively and returned back to purify the soul by
spiritual exercises, the refinement of morals, the cure of “heart
diseases”, etc. Nowadays, the ills of the body are not less important
than those of the soul: organic diseases, hunger, malnutrition, lack of
decent clothing and housing. If the problems in the past were
related to the soul, the problems of the present are often related to
the body. 

2. From interiority to exteriority

Since old mysticism opened a new world of interiority as
compensation of the material world of exteriority, everything was
interiorized, text, language, phenomena, etc. Everything had
a double-meaning since reality has a double-face. If social and
political powers usurpated the external, mysticism maintained the
internal, something similar to modern political jargon often heard
after 1967 defeat: our arms are defeated but our will is not; we lost
a battle but not the war. In development era, what makes a problem
is the external world, rural as well as urban development, industrial-
ization, exploitation of national resources, digging for new sources of
underground water to solve the problem of drought, “bonification” of
land constructing houses, building roads and creating a whole
infrastructure for public services. Socio-political powers controlling
the external world can be changed since there is no development
without power.

3. From individual ethics to social politics

Since one of the major reasons for the birth of the ancient
mysticism are the corruption of individual ethics, a natural reaction
was to promote an individual morality and to create a new ethical
code. In Ihya‘, six chapters of ten making the 3rd section on
Mulkikate disapprove individual vices such as anger, ranceur, envy,
averice, avarice, hypocrisy, conceit, arrogance, and seek to purify
the heart from the love of wealth and material things.

4. From secluded meditation to open action

After the defeat of piety and the victory of impiety, after many
unsuccessful efforts to restore the world to the control of law and
truthfulness and in spite of the numbers of fallen martyrs in every
generation, meditation was the only way left for the pious to express
their anxieties, sorrows and hopes. Reflection on the present

(3) The same three phases appear in the historical development of mysticism: the
moral phase in the first three centuries (the early sects and weepers in the first
century, Riba‘a al-Adawiya and al-Husayn al-Basri in the second, and al-Nun and al-
Nafri in the third); the ethico-psychological phase in the fourth and fifth centuries (al-
Hallax in the fourth century and al-Isfahani in the fifth); and the metaphysical phase in
the sixth and seventh centuries al-Suhrawardi, Ibn al-Farid and Ibn Arabi in the sixth
and Ibn Suhayn in the seventh.

(4) In classical treatises on mysticism there are always chapters on the soul, the
spirit and the secret, but rarely on the body as in the writings of jurists, theologians
situation, lamenting the lost piety of early generations and precipitating the coming of future glory—all occurred in seclusion. But now, in spite of the importance of individual thinking and reasoning, open action is necessary for change. A people’s participation in development is as important as social planning. Spiritual development is not an alternative for social development but complementary to it.

5. From mystical orders to socio-political movements

When the pious returned to their homes after their defeat and isolated themselves from established society, they formed their own closed societies within their own practices, rituals and orders. Today, mystic orders all over the Muslim world are better organized even than modern political parties and enjoy the trust of the masses. Is it possible, in this era of development, to switch from closed mystical orders to open social groups that participate in socio-political development? It has been successfully done, e.g. Senoussiya in Libya, Mahdiyya in Sudan, etc. The stumbling block for all social movements and political parties, namely the lack of mass-participation, can be avoided in these socio-mystical groups since mystical orders, at the core of religious movements and activities, enjoy mass-trust and are already present in the streets and market places.

V. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ETHICO-PHYSIOLOGICAL PHASE

The second phase is the ethico-psychological phase in which mysticism progresses from practical morality to individual psychology, from a behavioural science to the pure psychology of human passions. Mysticism does not deal with external behaviour but with internal acts of piety. The focus is no more on the members of the body but on the acts of the heart. Mysticism now is the science of the secrets of the heart. This science is composed of two sections: moral steps (Mawama) and psychological states (Ahrad).

From passive to active values

Most of classical moral steps (Mawama) and psychological states (Ahrad) were passive as a last resort against the victorious enemy (political evil) and rely on the inner good. Moral steps such as repentance, patience, gratitude, poverty, asceticism, reliance, acceptance, are conceived as defensive mechanism against world avidity and concupiscence. Such moral steps intertwined with psychological states are savours (Manjiqal) from avidity, wealth and concupiscence of the flesh which are mortal dangers and causes of punishment (Mahdiyya). These passive values aimed at the protection of the few pious people from degeneration and corruption. If the world cannot be saved, at least the self can. If the impious is evil of the whole world let it be. What will man take if he wins the world and loses his self? The pious, namely the mystic, prefers poverty against the wealth of the impious, asceticism against avidity, reliance on God against dependence on political power, giving against having, accepting the minimum against asking for the maximum. How far has the present situation changed? A review of these moral steps makes the answer possible [...]

VI. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE METAPHYSICAL PHASE

Once the mystic crosses the heartland of the mystical road, the middle stage, he arrives finally at the last stage which does not require all the previous efforts since the mystic already has passed all hurdles with great success. The third phase, the metaphysical one, is indeed the fruit to be collected, the result to be obtained and the reward to be received. However, even this phase needs to be reconstructed in order that development is achieved on earth.

1. From the vertical to the horizontal

Since mysticism directed itself upwards and since the world after being surmounted by the will of the impure was refractory to the will of the pure, it is no longer easy to bring science is composed of present generations, at least four, have tried to cope with the world again. Huge efforts were previously made for decolonization and nowadays for development. But these efforts appear limited because they have evaporated, spent somewhere else. However, if the
vertical is transformed to the horizontal, these efforts may be conclusive and productive. If the movement of the mystical way is from the exterior (moral phase) to the interior (ethico-psychological phase) to the superior (metaphysical faith), the movement in development is from the superior (planning) to the interior (managing) to the exterior (achieving). If mysticism lost the world and was compensated by Heaven, nowadays developing countries are trying to conquer the Earth again. God is at the same time God of the Heavens and Earth. Land whether for decolonization or for labouring has become paramount.

2. From moral steps to periods of history

Since moral steps are periodic phases in the ascendant road, is it possible to conceive these moral steps as successive phases in development or as progressive periods of history? In mysticism, there is exactly what development requires: mobility, change, progress, periodization, perfection, sense of direction, the return to sources, finality, passion, commitment, struggle, hope, sense of victory, etc. It is only a matter of switching the relation between two parts of the equation, from the vertical relation to the horizontal. The superior in mysticism becomes progress in development and the inferior in mysticism becomes backwardness in underdevelopment. Development till now has not been conceived within the framework of history. Political development was extracted from the historical consciousness. The accurate and achievable plan is that which fits the transitional society from a historical period to another.

3. From the other world to this world

Since mysticism in its origin was a reaction to the defeat of piety and truthfulness in this world, it oriented itself towards the other world as a final refuge, unreachable by the impiety and falsehood of this world. When life on earth was impossible, the pious having died in martyrdom, eternal life after death became possible. The Ihyā’- ud-Din ends by the description of eternal life after death. Is it possible to bring life back to this world leaving the dead to bury the dead? One development goal is the satisfaction of basic human needs: physical, psychological, moral and cultural in order to maintain life on earth individually, socially and culturally.

What is the purpose of all this detailed description of death and life after death, the final part in Ihyā’? All depends on narratives, not on reason. The descriptions are purely hypothetical and sometimes frightening, especially the narratives relating to “Tortures in the grave”. What is the purpose of describing agony in detail, or the scenes of the last judgement such as: scale, stratus, pool, paradise walls, lands, trees, rivers beds, covers, sofas, tents, virgins and boys? To frighten and excite are two ways in the logic of persuasion. However, development thinking is concerned with life rather than with death, with living people in urban areas in big cities such as Cairo and not with those in the grave.

4. From imaginative unity to realized unification

Since the defeat of piety and the victory of impiety, a separation between the ideal and the real was made. The unity between both became a mere hope within mysticism. Mystics used several images to express this unity between God and the World, truth and reality, spirit and nature, etc. The aim of mysticism and its final goal is unity as process, namely unification which corresponds to the active noun Tawhid, the corner-stone in Islamic faith. Why not switch from an imaginative unity between the ideal and the real to a realized unification of Islamic societies beyond artificial boundaries imposed on them as a left-over from the colonial era? The metaphysics of unity in mysticism can play an essential role in the achievement of unity as a political goal. The revivification of worldly sciences can be restructured as a conceptual framework for Pan-Islamism.

V. Conclusion

It is better for the Muslim world to develop through its own traditions, including the mystical tradition. Otherwise, the Muslim world will be always torn between traditionalism and secularism, between conservation and progressivism, between fundamentalism and Westernism. A change through continuity is much more durable and safe than change through discontinuity. The challenge is how to develop the Muslim world through its own traditions including
mysticism, not through the secular ideologies of modernization: Marxism, socialism, nationalism, liberation, etc. The first is deep-rooted in the heart of the masses as mass culture and mass behaviour. The second is uprooted from mass culture and can be easily accused of Westernization and alienation.

This is only an example, hastily written, of how mysticism, a legacy from the past and still living in the present, can be used to solve the drama of the present, namely development.

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