

from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries (pp. 129–41) makes artful use of numerous sources in no way diminished by some of the more speculative conclusions presented.

Moving into discussions of modern Ibādism, the contribution by Amal Ghazal (pp. 271–81) stands out notably, as she discusses the intellectual formation of the twentieth-century scholars Qāsim al-Shammākhī and Ibrāhīm Aṭfayyish and the journalist/poet Abū l-Yaqzān. Negotiating Ibādī identity in unity and conversation with another type of “salafism,” the pan-Islamic modernism of Muḥammad ‘Abduh, such thinkers found a place for new empirical sciences in the Ibādī *Weltanschauung* and participated in a greater republic of letters facilitated by the new print culture in the Arab world. Ibrāhīm Aṭfayyish stands out here as an important articulator of Ibādī identity in the modern world, addressing the relationship to Khārijism head-on with an eye to both historical precedent and contemporary rapprochement with global Islam. The historiographical and political significance of this is palpable not least in the series of Ibādī public initiatives of which this conference is but one example.

Two further articles treat the hugely influential scholar Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Aṭfayyish (d. 1914), great-uncle of Ibrāhīm. The first, by Moustafa Ouinten (pp. 283–96), provides a survey of his theological works and appraisal of his theological stances in rapprochement with Ash‘arism. Then Farīd Bouchiba (pp. 297–317) discusses and problematizes Aṭfayyish’s borrowing of an Ash‘arī literary model for an heresiographical text—a work by ‘Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī specifically. The question of influence in matters of theology is a thorny one, asking of the historian whether philosophical or exegetical positions must always be characterized in terms of sectarian affiliation as opposed to the sum of their own discursive premises. The question of agency is similarly found in Anna Coppola’s study (pp. 315–24) of a gloss by scholar Nūr al-Dīn al-Sālīmī (d. 1914) of a didactic theological poem that occasions revisiting Ibādism’s relationship to Mu‘tazilism—one thousand years after the fact. Facing notions of Greek or “Western” science, prime examples of genetic essentialism, scholars of the Muslim world have grappled with claims of influence from outsiders in modernity as well as antiquity, and the same may be said to apply to matters of intra-Islamic influence as well; e.g., must rationalism be Mu‘tazilite or extremism be Khārijite? Similar conceptual concerns lie at the basis of the article by Biancamaria Amoretti (pp. 223–31), who questions the historical timelessness of genealogical categories in understanding Ibādism past and present.

Finally, Yacine Addoun explores the “unthought” in Ibādī scholarship, channeling Mohammed Arkoun to critique Ibādī scholarship’s view of slavery from the ninth to the nineteenth centuries (pp. 233–42). His discussions on race, ritual, and the jurisprudential view of abolitionism are valuable; however, the pinning of slavery’s persistence on the desire to free slaves (thereby earning God’s reward) remains the article’s chief weak spot.

A number of the contributions to this volume lack sufficient copyediting and there is much redundancy due to the necessarily repetitive introductory preambles to articles that treat similar topics. The reader would be well advised to consult not only those articles that are of interest, but also the accompanying bibliographical lists, which contain some of the most recent publications (primary and secondary) in the field.

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Gouvernance et libéralités de Saladin: D’après les données inédites de six documents arabes. Edited by JEAN-MICHEL MOUTON; DOMINIQUE SOURDEL; and JANINE SOURDEL-THOMINE. Documents relatifs à l’histoire des croisades, vol. 22. Paris: ACADEMIE DES INSCRIPTIONS ET BELLES-LETTRES, 2015. Pp. 148. €30 (paper).

Do not let the slender appearance of this book put you off; in it the authors have gathered together six valuable manuscripts from the reign of Saladin (564–589/1169–1193), which they have reproduced, edited, translated, and analyzed. They have chosen manuscripts that provide information about

Saladin's activities as a statesman and politician, consciously aiming to provide a counterweight to the preponderance of scholarship that examines his activities as a conqueror and counter-crusader. As a result, this volume follows a developing trend, in that a number of scholars have sought recently to provide studies of the sultan's life and career that consider him in a wider sense (most notably Anne-Marie Eddé's masterful *Saladin*, published in French in 2008 and in English in 2011; see my review in *JAOS* 134.1). What makes *Gouvernance et libéralités de Saladin* a very important addition to this body of scholarship is the authors' direct demonstration of the ways in which original manuscripts of letters, court documents, certificates, and other day-to-day records can support and supplement analyses based on the more commonly used chronicles, biographies, and the like.

All six of the manuscripts examined in this book are drawn from the collection known as the "Damascus Papers," which were originally preserved in a storage room in the Umayyad Great Mosque in that city and then moved to the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum in Istanbul after their discovery in 1893. Only Document 4 was previously published, but the authors have taken the opportunity to republish it with newly discovered information. The volume itself is one of a number of works published by the authors in recent years that address documents from the Damascus Papers collection and make available these rare examples of original documents from the reign of Saladin.

After the preface and introduction, the authors open their examination of these documents with a chapter situating them in their respective time periods. With one possible exception, the documents all date from before Saladin's defeat of the crusaders at Ḥaṭṭīn in 583/1187 and subsequent takeover of the Levantine coast. As a result, the documents reflect the reign of a ruler who was not yet riding the wave of triumphalism and popular support that characterized the aftermath of the Battle of Ḥaṭṭīn and conquest of Jerusalem, but rather was forced to be careful and shrewd in his activities. We shall return to the authors' comments on this below. The next six chapters each deal with one document, following a standard structure: each chapter opens with a description of the manuscript, then the Arabic text (along with a readable image of the manuscript), the French translation, and a detailed and thoughtful analysis exploring the significance of the document, how it reflects its historical context, and what we can learn from it.

The first document consists of a private letter sent by an unnamed merchant in Cairo to an unnamed recipient in Damascus in 565/1170, when Saladin was vizier to the Fatimid caliph. The lack of identification of the sender and the addressee is a result of damage to the manuscript. Its significance to the reign of Saladin is that the merchant indicates that he will be entering the former's service, in return for which he has been promised a salary and other gifts, though they have not yet materialized. In addition to the information that this gives us about Saladin's recruiting practices and administration, the rest of the letter refers to other matters of concern to merchants of the time, allowing us to see a snapshot of mercantile society during this early stage of Saladin's career.

Document 2, which dates from shortly after the death of Nūr al-Dīn in 569/1174, gives us another insight into Saladin's recruitment practices. It takes the form of a petition submitted to the sultan by the eunuch Iqbāl *al-khādīm* (d. 603/1207), a former slave of Nūr al-Dīn's, who passed into the service of Saladin and then to Saladin's sister Sitt al-Shām (who freed him). He had already established a good reputation for his abilities in service under Nūr al-Dīn, and he became an influential figure in Saladin's inner circle, undertaking a number of ambassadorial duties for his master. The document presented here is his initial overture to the sultan after the death of Nūr al-Dīn, which was evidently successful. As the editors point out, the document illustrates how Saladin was careful, when assembling his retinue, to recruit men with proven track records, and in this case he was able in the process to emphasize further his image as Nūr al-Dīn's successor.

Requests for support from Saladin continue in Document 3, which is a petition from the Kurdish emir named Mankalān ibn Dāwud (d. 571/1176) submitted to Saladin between 570 and 571*h*. In it the emir requests an *iqṭā'* (grant of a tax district in return for military service). It would seem that this request for favor was granted, for Mankalān became a member of the sultan's bodyguard. As it happened, his good fortune was fleeting, as he was fatally wounded shortly thereafter while protecting Saladin from an attempt on the latter's life by the Syrian Assassins. What is striking about this document is that it demonstrates the detailed, personal attention that Saladin gave to the requests of his

followers, as well as being another reminder of his careful consideration of the qualities of those with whom he surrounded himself.

With Document 4 we move away from requests made of Saladin to a gift made to him. The document, dating from between 570/1174 and 576/1180, consists of a fragment of a certificate recording a pilgrimage carried out on Saladin's behalf by a Sufi sheikh named 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Qushayrī (d. 576/1180). As noted above, this document has been previously published by the editors, but its republication is here justified by the fact that they have been able to identify the document's author. Al-Qushayrī served Saladin as *shaykh al-shuyūkh* in Damascus, and he was sent by his master to perform the lesser pilgrimage (*umra*) on Saladin's behalf. This document testifies to that act and in a wider sense to Saladin's engagement with and support of Sufis, which again was a continuation of Nūr al-Dīn's policies.

A rather more prosaic motivation lies behind Document 5, a memorandum on work done and money spent on the renovation of a bathhouse (*ḥammām*) in Damascus in 577/1182. This document is of interest for the insight it gives us into building practices, as well as for its contribution to our knowledge of the historical topography of Damascus. However, it is perhaps the most peripheral to the study of Saladin himself.

Finally, Document 6—written some time between 580/1184 and 589/1193—is a rough draft of a petition to Saladin about the Mālikī religious college (*madrasa*) in Damascus. The *madrasa* students seem to have been concerned about a conflict between two of their teachers, and had written a request that Saladin intervene. The fact that not all of the individuals involved in the conflict are named makes the exact intention of this document difficult to determine, but the document nonetheless provides interesting insight into the culture and administration of religious colleges at the time.

After the presentation of the documents, the authors provide two chapters of further discussion, one on Saladin's use of requests and largesse, the other on his preference for direct and personal government. These chapters consider the ways in which Saladin used documents like those presented here as part of his efforts to extend his influence into the juridical and religious realms, as well as to engender loyalty through generosity rather than fear. As part of this discussion, the authors also note the evolving nature of Saladin's methods of governance, including his attempts to build on the legacy of Nūr al-Dīn. The authors then conclude their work by noting how these documents testify to the skill with which Saladin wielded power over the course of his career.

Gouvernance et libéralités de Saladin closes with an appendix by Jean Richard, the editor of the series in which this volume appears, on some Frankish slaves of Saladin. In it he gives a brief analysis of the fate of four Frankish girls of noble lineage, including daughters of Balian of Ibelin and Hugh Embriaco of Gibelet, taken as slaves at Jerusalem in 583/1187. He notes that they seem to have been retained as slaves, rather than being later freed or ransomed by Saladin, so as to enhance the sultan's prestige among his subjects through the humiliation of his noble enemies. This appendix serves to remind the reader that despite Saladin's overarching reputation for kindness and generosity, he was still capable of treating his enemies in ways that strike modern readers as distasteful and brutal, thus providing a useful corrective to the image of the sultan as the unblemished epitome of chivalry that tends to dominate the modern popular view.

This is a very useful book for a number of reasons. As noted, it makes some valuable manuscript sources available, which help to give us further insight into the “nuts and bolts” of how Saladin ran his state, how his subjects approached and sought to deal with him, and how those living under his rule conducted their lives. However, the succinctness, design, and layout of this book would also make it ideal for teaching—it is an excellent text that could be used to introduce upper-level students, at least those who read French and Arabic, to the use of Arabic manuscripts. With this use in mind, it would also be worth producing an English translation in order to widen its potential audience.

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