issued a decree enforcing sumptuary laws that required non-Muslims to distinguish themselves from Muslims. "Aha!" one can almost hear al-Nābulusī cry, "Now is my chance to get back in favor with the court." It was also an opportunity to avenge himself on his enemies there, not a few of whom were Coptic converts to Islam. The text in our hands, however, was written and edited over a period of some years, perhaps decades. The final version was completed in 1261 or 1262, based on an internal reference.

On the one hand, al-Nābulusī's text belongs to a long tradition of advice works written by bureaucrats for powerful patrons in an effort to secure promotion or employment. Yarbrough compares al-Nābulusī to the sixteenth-century Ottoman bureaucrat Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī, who was similarly venomous in his literary attacks on his rivals. On the other hand, however, Yarbrough argues that al-Nābulusī's text is best understood in the context of two historical developments: the "Sunni shift," which brought about a close alliance between rulers and religious scholars, and the "counter-crusade," in which a series of Muslim rulers fought ideologically charged holy wars against Western Christian invaders and the states they established in the Middle East.

Both of these explanations enjoy some support in the historiography of the medieval Muslim world. Nonetheless, they seem to be of limited utility in explaining the genesis of this specific text. One would like to know more about the history of relations between the Coptic Church and community and medieval Muslim states. It is not clear, for example, how widely read this text was or whether it influenced Ayyubid or Mamluk policy. Tamer el-Leithy has noted the composition of a number of anti-Coptic treatises in the late Ayyubid and early Mamluk sultanates ("Sufis, Copts, and the Politics of Piety: Moral Regulation in 14th-Century Upper Egypt," in *The Development of Sufism in Mamluk Egypt*, ed. A. Sabra and R. McGregor [Cairo, 2006], 75–120). A more detailed history of anti-Coptic polemic would have been beyond the scope of the introduction to this translation, but is necessary to assess the impact of this treatise. In general, the Ayyubid period (1171–1250) was significantly less destructive for the Coptic Church than the first half of the fourteenth century, when much harsher measures were put in place and conversion to Islam was much more common.

These facts raise questions about whether the Sunni shift proposed by Yarbrough really helps us to understand the circumstances in which the text was composed. Certainly, the Ayyubids presented themselves as champions of Sunnism and as holy warriors against the Franks, but there are plenty of examples from this period that show them to be much more flexible than their ideological claims might suggest. More to the point, it is questionable whether opposition to the Crusader states influenced Ayyubid official opinion against the Copts they employed in their administration. Al-Nābulusī portrays the Copts as a potential fifth column, but generations of Muslim rulers had found Coptic administrators to be useful tools of the state.

This brings us to what may be the supreme irony of al-Nābulusī's text. He is incensed that non-Muslims and peasants are being allowed to occupy the highest positions of government. For al-Nābulusī, state service is a hereditary occupation, and upstarts from inappropriate backgrounds need not apply. Conversion is insufficient to address the issue of religious loyalty, and generations must pass before the descendants of converts can qualify as sufficiently Muslim to be entrusted with such great responsibilities. The irony is that state service, especially in the financial sector, was a hereditary profession in some Coptic families, and had been since the time of the Islamic conquest of Egypt. Although Muslims were increasingly employed in these tasks, during the Ayyubid period many Coptic Christians continued to follow in their ancestors' footsteps.

Inevitably, this text will be read in the context of Muslim–Christian relations in the Islamic world. It paints a significantly less tolerant picture of medieval Islam than one might desire, and Yarbrough is careful to hedge against a literal reading of the text as historical truth. He makes good use of Cornell Fleischer's work on Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī (*Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541–1600)* [Princeton, 1986]), and it is tempting to refer here to Fleischer's concept of bureaucratic consciousness. Readers of this text and translation will learn much about al-Nābulusī's worldview and about the obsessions of a mid-thirteenth-century Egyptian bureaucrat, but how useful an entrée that is into the world of interreligious relations in the Middle Ages is open to debate.

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Land Tenure, Fiscal Policy, and Imperial Power in Medieval Syro-Egypt. By Daisuke Igarashi. Chicago Studies on the Middle East, vol 10. Chicago: Middle East Documentation Center, University of Chicago, 2015. Pp. vi + 264. $79.

The state and society of the declining Mamluk sultanate in Egypt and Syria have long been a topic of discussion in the field of Mamluk Studies and among Islamic historians in general. The characteristic features of the sultanate were the leading role of a military of foreign ethnic origin, the institution of military slavery, the introduction of a system of an allotment of arable land in exchange for military service (*iqṭāʿ*), and a deliberate patronage of Sunni religious culture. All these had roots that went back to the fourth/tenth century but came to a certain culmination under earlier Mamluk rule. The

first half of the eighth/fourteenth century, when the decline began, witnessed a transformation of the military regime and its accompanying landholding system, which opened up a new dynastic framework for centuries to come and the gradual entering of the Eastern Mediterranean and Western Asian worlds into a global economic system that was itself in transition and on the threshold of the early modern era.

The book under review is a Japanese dissertation from Chuo University in Tokyo. Originally submitted in 2006, it has since been enlarged and brought into its present English form after extensive additional research undertaken by the author, Daisuke Igarashi, at the Middle East Documentation Center at the University of Chicago. Its focus is the period from the death of sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn in 741/1341 through the transitional phase that led to the installation of the Burjī or Circassian regime in 784/1382 and to the Ottoman conquest and the subsequent downfall of the Mamluk regime in 922/1517. Against the traditional opinion held by medieval historiographers and many modern historians of Islam claiming that this was a period of decline, the author contrarily emphasizes its pivotal importance for both the historical development of the Mamluk sultanate and for medieval Islamic history in general. He maintains that the handling of events in the middle of the eighth/fourteenth century by elites of the sultanate resulted in reforms of the land tenure system and fiscal policy that had long-term implications for the state and societal structure as a whole. Igarashi is especially concerned with the transitional period immediately following al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn's rule and leading to the establishment of Circassian rule, i.e., the second half of the eighth/fourteenth century. He considers this period as pivotal for a change of the age of the *iqṭāʿ* system, which had been continuously undermined during preceding centuries.

A careful introduction leads the reader to the major issues of the period examined. It contains overviews of the establishment of the military regime and the *iqṭāʿ* system during the centuries preceding the Mamluk sultanate, of the political and fiscal system of the sultanate, as well as of important socio-economic factors that were both peculiar to the Mamluk sultanate and affecting its economy, namely, the plague and the alienation of productive land into religious endowments (*waqf*). In the first chapter the author treats in detail the political system of Egypt and Syria after the death of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn, which in the end led to the creation of a "Mamluk regime" under the Circassian or Burjī sultans half a century later, taking the place of the former hereditary system of the Qalāwūnid or Baḥrī sultans. A second chapter examines the establishment of a special financial bureau (*al-dīwān al-mufrad*) at the beginning of the Circassian period under al-Ẓāhir Barqūq. This was a reaction to the loss of control over state land and the increased access of the sultans' mamluks to land tenure, but in the end it failed its purpose, as Igarashi convincingly shows, because it could not ward off the real causes of the collapse of state landholding in that period. Other attempts to reorganize the financial system of the Mamluk state in that time of transition during the eighth/fourteenth century are treated in detail in chapters three and four, namely, the creation of a private sultanic fisc independent of the official state budget. Powerful officers followed the sultan's example by creating their own budgets with landed property and engaging in commerce; thus, they accumulated financial resources and an influence in society beyond the sultan's control.

In chapter five the author expounds on the altered conditions of a new international situation during the ninth/fifteenth century with challenges posed by the expansion of the Ottoman empire that gave the Mamluk sultanate no escape. The raising of funds for military expenditures became the sultans' primary concern. To satisfy these new demands, the later Mamluk sultans invested to an unprecedented extent in religious endowments (*waqf*) as a form of private bank that made the sultanic fisc independent of the official state budget and its institutions. A side effect of this policy was the rise of a new elite of non-military men of formerly lower rank who became important in the governmental hierarchy on account of their role in managing the sultans' endowments. All this is extensively discussed in chapter six, on the basis of documentary sources from the National Archives and the Ministry of Religious Endowments in Cairo as well as from the libraries of the Arab League in Cairo and the Institut Français du Proche-Orient in Damascus.

The author clearly shows how the changes in the political and power structures of the sultanate and its land tenure system contributed to the new "Mamluk regime" under the Circassian sultans after the former regime had come to an end around the mid-eighth/fourteenth century. He demonstrates how institutional reforms had been undertaken in this period of transition to guarantee the state's control over land distribution and agricultural production. This led to large-scale privatization of former state land and to the creation of new elites of state scholars and bureaucrats that had been excluded from landholding under the *iqṭāʿ* system but now joined in as managers of a parallel economy of *waqf* landholding. Even if the initiatives failed in the end, as they were mere reactions to the symptoms rather than a treatment of the causes of change, the system of *waqf* was a powerful alternative to the older system of *iqṭāʿ* and guaranteed that the sultans continued to maintain financial and social influence and to control their elites. The author establishes how stabilizing this policy in fact was as a vehicle for sustaining effective Mamluk domination for a remarkably extended period of almost two centuries, until the early tenth/sixteenth century.

The book is very well written and carefully organized. There are almost no printing errors or inconsistencies to

be found, which is an achievement in current publishing. All chapters are clearly structured with an introduction outlining the aim of research, its transparent implementation, and explicit final conclusions. Very useful are the numerous tables attached to the different chapters that show the financial aspects of land and its assignation to *al-dīwān al-mufrad*, the types and geographic distribution of state land that was turned into private and *waqf* lands, the office holders in the management of "waqfized" lands, and others. This is a very good study of available sources and an important presentation of the state of the art of one of the pivotal moments in Islamic history.

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Aḥmad al-Ghazālī, Remembrance, and the Metaphysics of Love. By Joseph E. B. Lumbard. SUNY Series in Islam. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2016. Pp. x + 259. $80.

Until recently the less famous of the Brothers Ghazālī had attracted surprisingly little scholarly attention. Turns out that growing up even posthumously in the long shadow cast by one of the most revered Muslim sages of all, Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), is hard. This new study by Joseph Lumbard sheds welcome light on the younger Aḥmad (d. 1123), revealing a remarkably creative thinker and author who has at last begun to hold his own under the glare of scholarly interrogation.

Lumbard's chief accomplishments in this study are three. First, he has extracted from a wide range of sources the first (to my knowledge) coherent version of Aḥmad's personal religious history. I found Lumbard's thoughtful acknowledgment and critique of the hagiographical dimension of Aḥmad's larger narrative particularly interesting. After years in the reflected glow of Abū Ḥāmid, Aḥmad not only outshone his sibling in the reverential estimation of some, but became a benchmark against whose spiritual qualifications even earlier stalwarts suddenly found their reputations slipping. More importantly, Lumbard does a very credible job of redressing the lack of historical detail that for so long created a vacuum that only effusive and suspiciously credulous adulation could fill. Lumbard's survey of "Primary Sources for al-Ghazālī's *Vita*" is excellent. The breadth of his coverage of corroborating material, not only regarding hagiographical themes, but across the board, is impressive both in historical sweep and the diversity of authorities he explores. His evaluation of the importance of accounts of Aḥmad's "sessions" in rounding out the shaykh's image is noteworthy. Emerging from the welter of evidentiary material is a rich but critically evaluated biography that follows Aḥmad from his early years in northeastern Iran, through his gradual westward migration as far as Baghdad, and his continued regional peregrinations as an itinerant preacher that brought him back to northwestern Iran toward the end of his life. Studying with a variety of mentors along the way, both in the "exoteric" religious sciences broadly and Sufism in particular, Aḥmad also developed and taught his own distinctive brand of spiritual/psychological discernment.

Second, Lumbard has situated Aḥmad in a broader intellectual history, from influences on his life and thought, through his own appropriation and integration of both the theological and literary contributions of his forebears, to key aspects of his reception history and impact on subsequent generations. Lumbard sifts through the rather meager previous scholarly debate on works attributed to Aḥmad to produce a well-substantiated catalog of his actual output. Of particular interest, and pedagogical utility, is Lumbard's concise and highly informative overview of already-classical sources from which Aḥmad drew as he developed his distinctive views on the centrality of the much-debated notion of love. Lumbard argues persuasively that Aḥmad's bold take on love was a "watershed event in Sufi history, the impact of which has shaped Persian Sufi literature to this day" (p. 149).

Third, Lumbard has analyzed in arresting detail both the literary and epistemological aspects of Aḥmad's unique contribution to the "metaphysics of love." Al-Ghazālī's sophisticated appreciation of the relationships between form and meaning builds upon his familiarity with masters of classical Arabic and Persian lyric poetry. He refines for his theological purposes (as other Sufi authors before and after him) ore from the rich veins of metaphor earlier tapped by "secular" poets, resulting in imagery all the more striking for that provenance. Lumbard deftly describes Aḥmad's integration of the aesthetic and affective meanings of the interwoven concepts of spirit, heart, beauty, and suffering love into the complex process of transformative spiritual journeying.

Lumbard's work makes a welcome contribution by filling in a major lacuna in the historical study of Sufism and medieval Persian (and Arabic) religious literature. It will also make for an excellent teaching tool in graduate or advanced undergraduate courses. Given the relative technical density of the text, the inclusion of a glossary of Arabic and Persian terms would have facilitated the latter purpose.

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