

Church” and “Church of the East” replace the “Jacobites” and “Nestorians” (respectively) from Kawerau’s original work.

Together with its appendices’ lists and tables, the volume would be particularly useful for introducing students to the medieval history of Syriac Orthodox Christianity. However, a more thorough copyediting of the volume could have corrected some minor technical errors throughout the footnotes and bibliography (where we find unnecessary capitalizations of publication titles, irrespective of language), as well as in the rendering of some personal names (e.g., Hidemi Takahashi’s name in the Translator’s Preface and an inconsistent use of -os and -us suffixes throughout). It should also be mentioned that the volume lacks an index, which impedes a more serious scholarly engagement with its content. For a useful index of Kawerau’s work, we still depend on its second edition from 1960.

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***Shi’ite Rulers, Sunni Rivals, and Christians in Between: Muslim-Christian Relations in Fāṭimid Palestine and Egypt.* By Steven Gertz. Islamic History and Thought 32. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2023. xii + 185 pp. \$95.00 cloth.**

The setting of *Shi’ite Rulers, Sunni Rivals, and Christians in Between* is the multi-religious environment of Palestine and Egypt in the eleventh century, when both territories were ruled by the Ismaili Shiite Fatimid Caliphate, sworn enemy of the Sunni Abbasids in Baghdad. The author lays out several chief lines of inquiry, which concern especially the place of Christians in the Fatimid realms. How did the “sectarian milieu” affect Fatimid “identity formation” (1–2)? Did the principles expounded in Ismaili Shiite legal writings guide Fatimid policy toward the state’s Christian *dhimmīs* (non-Muslim protected subjects)? Did sectarian conflict between Sunnis and Shiites affect the Fatimids’ treatment of Christians?

Overall, the book is structured less as a systematic investigation of these questions than as an analytical overview of four major textual sources related to Shiism and the Fatimids, with observations relevant to the book’s major questions interspersed along the way. Chapter 1, a sizeable introduction, lays out those questions and describes the sources the following chapters will study. It also takes up a series of historiographical matters, such as the late Shahab Ahmed’s theorization of Islam as an object of analysis, the direct utility of which to the book’s concerns is not always evident. Given the book’s focus on sectarianism, the introduction’s discussion of sociological approaches to that topic is welcome. Surprisingly, the book does not engage with the already significant scholarship on how to conceive of sects and religious communities in the Fatimid Caliphate, particularly Marina Rustow’s *Heresy and the Politics of Community: The Jews of the Fatimid Caliphate* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

Each of the following four chapters takes one textual source as its focus. Chapter 2 is curious in comparison to the others, as it is concerned with a product not of the Ismaili

Shiite milieu of North Africa, but of the Twelver Shiite milieu of Iraq. The text at hand is the *Nahj al-balāgha*, a collection of sermons and writings attributed to ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the revered first Imam of all Shiite traditions. The author rightly points out that many texts contained in the *Nahj* must have been in circulation among the North African Ismailis as well as the Iraqi Twelvers. But from this vantage point the book might have made better use of the *Nahj* as a supplementary source to be consulted alongside Ismaili works rather than as the centerpiece of its own chapter.

Ismaili writings take center stage in Chapter 3, which examines the *Da‘ā‘im al-islām*, the most important extant Ismaili juristic work produced under the Fatimids. The author notes that the text exhibits a negative view of ‘Alī’s opponents in the conflicts that beset the earliest Muslim community, as is to be expected of a Shiite text. More germane to the book’s wider concern with sectarianism is the observation that the *Da‘ā‘im*, like the law of the Twelver Shiites but unlike that of the Sunnis, considers various forms of contact with non-Muslims to be ritually polluting.

The book follows that observation in Chapter 4, which looks at how a chronicle by a major Egyptian Muslim author of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, al-Maqrīzī, depicted the Fatimid caliphs’ treatment of their Christian subjects. No obvious connections are evident between the minutiae of Ismaili law and Fatimid policy, despite the book’s suggestion of “indirect effects” of the former on the latter (115). For example, that the Fatimids enacted policies against the memory of the Shiite Imams’ enemies does not seem to be inspired by specific juristic rulings in the *Da‘ā‘im*, but is rather a manifestation of a bedrock Shiite theological tenet that also influenced Ismaili legal thought.

Chapter 4 effectively highlights a number of interesting episodes in the Fatimids’ relations with their Christian subjects that have not received as much attention as the policies of the caliph al-Ḥākim, infamous for ordering the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. But one wishes that this chapter had engaged with the very rich primary source materials beyond al-Maqrīzī available for the study of the Fatimids’ *dhimmī* policy. Chief among these are documentary sources, such as the petitions to and responsa of several Fatimid caliphs related to the Monastery of St. Catherine at Mt. Sinai, published in S. M. Stern, *Fāṭimid Decrees: Original Documents from the Fāṭimid Chancery* (London: Faber and Faber, 1964), which the book mentions on p. 48 but does not discuss. Similarly, Cairo Genizah scholarship on the Jewish communities of the Fatimid realms could have been mined for essential comparative data.

Chapter 5 seeks to offer a contrasting perspective to that surveyed in Chapter 4 by examining a Christian-authored Arabic chronicle, the *Kitāb ta’rikh al-dhayl* of Yahyā b. Sa‘īd al-Anṭākī, a Melkite (that is, an Arabophone Chalcedonian Orthodox Christian). The chapter also takes up a short, problematic text contained in a nineteenth-century Melkite manuscript. Like the preceding chapter, this one is valuable in highlighting little-studied reports on the Fatimids’ interactions with their Christian subjects. As in Chapter 4, the choice of source material limits the scope of the analysis. Since the chapter’s goal is to consider Christian views of Fatimid policy, perhaps the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, the major Arabic chronicle of the Coptic Church that has plenty to say about life under the Fatimids, might have been examined alongside al-Anṭākī’s text.

Shi‘ite Rulers, Sunni Rivals, and Christians in Between offers a collection of noteworthy commentary on key sources related to the Christians of the Fatimid realms, a worthy subject for a monograph and one on which much work remains to be done.

The author has ample scope to pursue further systematic study of this topic with the full breadth of available materials in his future work.

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***Jewish Muslims: How Christians Imagined Islam as the Enemy.* By David M. Freidenreich. Oakland: University of California Press, 2022. x + 301 pp. \$29.95.**

The title of David Freidenreich's book is deliberately provocative: *Jewish Muslims* might lead the reader to wonder about previously unknown syncretic movements, or stir thoughts about unusual combinations of ethnicity and religion. However, the subtitle and the introduction of the book quickly redirect us from identity to representation: how and why did Christians conflate Jews and Muslims? This conflation is well known to medieval historians – it is difficult to avoid in Christian texts. But the association is often taken for granted, and *Jewish Muslims* explore how this association developed across eastern and western Christian traditions, beginning with letters of Paul and going into the seventeenth century, with an epilogue that discusses contemporary events.

The book is divided into three parts. The first, "Biblical Muslims," uses Paul's letter to the Galatians to explore how Christians understood Muslims not through the lens of experience or contemporary information, but through the lens of well-established anti-Jewish tropes. Paul's interpretation of the story of Abraham, Sarah, and Hagar was intended to warn his followers to avoid preachers who urged them to follow Jewish law in matters such as circumcision. Paul understands Hagar as the mother of those who misunderstand scripture and are enslaved to the Law, while the community that Paul has established descends from Sarah and are the "children of promise." A century later, Paul's exegesis was understood to be about Christians (sons of Sarah) and Jews (sons of Hagar), as Freidenreich traces in chapter 1. With the emergence of Islam in the seventh century, this frame became useful as a way to make sense of Islamic domination (chapter 2). Arabs ascribed their origins to Ishmael and Hagar as did their neighbors; thus, the metaphorical genealogy of Jews overlapped with the claimed biological descent of Muslims from Ishmael and Hagar. When added to the very broad parallels between Jewish and Muslim practice from a Christian perspective (circumcision, avoidance of pork, and so on), Christians understood Muslims through Biblical tropes previously applied only to Jews. Freidenreich suggests that Paul's arguments were written from the perspective of a community facing persecution by a more powerful rival, a perspective that matched the feelings of Christian communities under Islamic rule. Chapter 3, "Drive Out the Slave Woman," examines how the story of Hagar serves to legitimate acts of violence against Muslims, whether in war or against Muslim communities living under Christian rule. Chapter 4 examines the conflation of the Dome of the Rock with the Temple of Solomon.

The second part, "Judaizing Muslims," moves away from the impact of Paul, and explores the many ways the conflation of Jews and Muslims was put to use. Chapter 5,