

20th-century developments. Pipes, however, then carries reference to the 50 percent ratio back to earlier periods, stating in particular that the minorities of Syria, no longer content with Sunni predominance, sought from the early 1800s "power commensurate with their half of the population" (p. 21).

It is a measure of Pipes' achievement that he has not only formulated thought-provoking observations on the complicated interplay of political perceptions concerning Syria, but that he has also added to them.

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TURKEY

Religion and Social Change in Modern Turkey: The Case of Bediüzzaman Said Nursi, by Şerif Mardin. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989. ix + 232 pages. Bibl. to p. 251. Append. to p. 255. Index to p. 267. \$18.95.

Islam in Modern Turkey: Religion, Politics and Literature in a Secular State, ed. by Richard Tapper. London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 1991. Distrib. St. Martin's Press, New York. v + 303 pages. Contribs. to p. 307. Index to p. 314. \$59.95.

Reviewed by Fatma Müge Göçek

How can one define the position of an Islamic movement within a society? Few studies on religious movements properly address this significant question. The two excellent books under review are therefore most welcome additions to the field. Şerif Mardin's thorough study locates the emergence of Said Nursi's Islamic movement within the Turkish social and political context. The anthology edited by Richard Tapper unearths the intersection of Islam with social forces such as nationalism, secularism, and modernity in contemporary Turkey. The most significant contribution of both studies lies in their depiction of the multi-

plicity of meanings the Islamic movement acquires within Turkish society.

As the Ottoman Empire was transformed into the Turkish nation-state, the interpretation of religion changed with it. The movement of Said Nursi became significant as it provided an ever-evolving cultural framework for a populace marginalized by the Turkish nation-state. As he explains this transformation, Mardin carefully draws into his account the tensions between individuals and subjects, elites and the populace, orthodoxy and mysticism, etatism and populism, center and periphery, and politics and religion. He engages in dialogues with social thinkers such as Ernest Gellner, Anthony Giddens, Pierre Bourdieu, and Michel de Certeau in articulating the shifting boundaries of this movement.

The book thus recreates, in theory and in substance, the complex position Said Nursi's movement occupies within Turkish society. In his narrative, Mardin depicts the followers of Nursi not—as they have hitherto been portrayed—as errant Turkish citizens, but as individuals belonging to a community. He thus provides, for the first time, a recognition of their agency as social actors. This novel social analysis is thus an excellent example of what studies of religious movements should entail. Only by following Mardin's example can one go beyond the state-centered analyses that often obfuscate the complex nature of such movements.

Tapper's anthology on Islam in modern Turkey also captures the multiple meanings of religion over time and in various locations. These articles, based exclusively on original research, focus on the ways the tension among Islamism, secularism, and nationalism determines the spectrum within which religion is interpreted. One observes the extent to which religion is embedded in the presumably secular political culture, the connections between religion and republican nationalism in the construction of Islamic "fundamentalism," the significance of the cultural norms of family and gender in defining the boundaries of religion, and the fascinating dimension of ethnicity in constructing Turkish religious identity.

How are these diverse dimensions of religion expressed? Readers are told that Islamic education does not yet provide a coherent worldview. Instead, the articles capture the various Islamic images of society as represented in the expanding religious literature. Innovative analyses of the works of Islamic intellectuals, children's picture books, and provincial and urban periodicals reveal that most of the religious discourse in Turkey occurs not as an alternative to modernity, but in opposition to it. The appropriate religious behavior in all instances is significant in the context of the dominant Western, secular culture's inadequacies. The position of women and children, for example, is often defined in terms of behavioral boundaries on what not to do. Different religious orders also espouse disparate solutions to address these questions. Some, such as the Nakşibendi, advocate political radicalism, while others, such as the Kadiri, preach passivism. Some periodicals target the urban populace and accommodate both Western and Islamic values, while others focus on the Islamic past. One concludes from the anthology that the Islamic movement in Turkey reflects a search for identity between the West, which Turkey aspires to join but cannot reach, and the East, which it tries in vain to abandon.

There are some minor points of criticism. The introduction to the anthology is informative but brief. It does not fully provide a guide to religious diversity in modern Turkey. A more detailed analysis of context, especially of the religious orders, would have highlighted even more the ingenuity of each article. Further, the anthology lacks a study on the Turkish state's policy of secularism, a policy that is itself currently undergoing some change, with dramatic implications for gender, health, and family issues.

Both of these volumes are excellent examples of the type of research and analysis needed to capture and explain the complexities of religion and its place in society. Both works have the potential to set the standard for future studies of religion in the context of the Middle East.

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MODERN HISTORY AND POLITICS

The End of Empire in the Middle East: Britain's Relinquishment of Power in Her Last Three Arab Dependencies, by Glen Balfour-Paul. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991. xxiii + 198 pages. Notes to p. 235. Bibl. to p. 241. Chron. to p. 268. Index to p. 278. \$49.50.

Reviewed by J.C. Hurewitz

Glen Balfour-Paul examines selective aspects of the collapse of Britain's Middle East empire in the quarter century after World War II. He analyzes the process of withdrawal from three of the eight "units" of the regional empire—the Anglo-Egyptian condominium in Sudan, the crown colony of Aden and the protectorates in its hinterland, and the string of protected shaykhdoms, minus Kuwait, along the Arabian peninsular coast of the Gulf. In the Middle East empire, all three were peripheral. Yet what *The End of Empire in the Middle East* lacks in centrality and scope, it largely makes up in other virtues.

Most dedicated alumni of Britain's imperial Middle East service wrote pallid memoirs or passed through an unprinted dotage. Not this one. Balfour-Paul puts career-gleaned knowledge into a book brimming with inventive analysis, authentic insights, and a lively narrative. When his 13-year Foreign Office stint in Sudan—the last nine in its political service—ran out with the condominium in 1955, he remained in the diplomatic service until retirement 22 years later. In mid-term (1964–68) he served as a political agent in the shaykhdoms—today the United Arab Emirates—and later in Bahrain. The author also makes solid use of former colleagues' experience, and draws on open files in the Public Record Office and private papers of his former chief, William Luce, the most prominent

prominent authors, were made to suppress Aldington's work. Moreover, letters were written to various newspapers and periodicals attempting to discredit Aldington and his book even before it was published. Liddell Hart, in an attempt to alienate potential American readers, went so far as to charge that Aldington's study was "communist inspired" (p. 101).

Public opinion slowly swayed in Aldington's favor. His publisher, Collins, finally declared on 15 June 1954 that, "Whatever the faults of the book, it presents a very decided point of view, and the author is entitled to his point of view whether one agrees with it or not" (p. 104). After publication in January 1955 of *Lawrence of Arabia: A Biographical Enquiry*, Liddell Hart tried to coordinate and influence negative and abusive reviews of the book, but Aldington's major points could not be refuted. Aldington's book remains an indispensable milestone in Lawrence historiography.

Chapter seven, "His Brother's Keeper," enumerates the role of A.W. Lawrence in preserving and perpetuating the "Lawrence of Arabia" legend by all means, including the concealing and embargoing of compromising documents, withholding permission to quote, and erecting other obstacles. In the mid-1970s, A.W. designated Jeremy Wilson to be Lawrence's "authorized biographer." Since that time (and especially after A.W.'s death in 1991), Wilson has seemingly assumed, with the collaboration of the "Seven Pillars of Wisdom Trust," the mantle of guardianship of Lawrence's idealized reputation. According to Crawford, for perceived slights in various reviews and other commentaries, or "inaccuracies" in more recent Lawrence studies, Wilson has made numerous—and generally unfounded—objections, threats of legal action, and on at least one occasion demanded the forced ouster of a journal editor (pp. 165–67). Wilson has apparently never followed through with his threats of legal action, has failed to provide offered and requested substantiating documentation, and seemingly continues to denigrate Lawrence biographies that he does not like, agree with, or contradict his own version of the Lawrence canon.

The penultimate chapter, "Aldington and the Documents," is a comprehensive and methodical evaluation and critique of Wilson's "authorized biography" of Lawrence. Wilson's biography generally did not, as boasted and anticipated,

refute the controversies and questions raised by Aldington; indeed, Wilson "simply provides fuller detail of what we have known for some time but he does not resolve or even illuminate the more controversial issues" (p. 175). It seems that Wilson perceived his role as an historian to have been simply the categorical recounting of events, generally without assessment, interpretation, or evaluation. Wilson rejects or criticizes wholesale earlier works on Lawrence instead of trying to determine valid and useful information and evidence. The "authorized biographer's" statements are (according to Crawford) occasionally unreliable, frequently not supported by documentary source material, at times contradictory, and indicate a heavy reliance on Lawrence's own uncorroborated writings, "confusion" in statements, and "misdating" of letters. Aldington's study was groundbreaking, a long-needed corrective to Lawrence hagiography, and its discoveries have held up exceedingly well—even to Lawrence's "authorized biography."

Crawford's fascinating, impeccably-researched, superbly-written, and thought-provoking study is subtitled "A Cautionary Tale." This is because it chronicles and assesses "the precarious position of an author [Aldington] who presumes to challenge the established view of a national hero, the extensive legal means available to those who can afford them to force a publisher to alter or suppress a manuscript, and the ability of an influential coterie to damage the reputation of a book even before people have had a chance to read it" (p. ix). This book is recommended wholeheartedly, not only to those interested in the creation and sustainment of the "Lawrence of Arabia" legend, but more importantly, to Middle East scholars, historians, and others who seek historical truth—regardless of the consequences—in this era of stifling political correctness.

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SOCIAL CONDITIONS

The Kin Who Count: Family and Society in Ottoman Aleppo 1770–1840, by Margaret L. Meriwether. Austin, TX: Texas University

Press, 1999. viii + 212 pages. Appends. to p. 234. Notes to p. 256. Bibl. to p. 268. Index to p. 278. \$45 cloth; \$22 paper.

Reviewed by Fatma Müge Göçek

The author states in the Preface that she “wr(ote) a book that will be useful to Middle Eastern scholars interested in families, in gender, and in Ottoman cities, and at the same time accessible to nonspecialists and to students” (p. vii). She has indeed succeeded in this endeavor: this is a very well-written book that demonstrates mastery of both archival and secondary sources on both Aleppo and the larger Middle East, and even the pertinent Western European literature. The comparative dimension the author develops by placing her work within the context of Middle Eastern history, especially the Ottoman empire, is its most significant strength. Following the new trend in Middle East historiography of taking into account Ottoman historical sources that had been shunned by earlier generations of Arab scholarship, the author portrays the intricate, constantly changing mosaic of the family throughout the region.

Meriwether focuses specifically on three aspects of family life—household, marriage and inheritance—among the notables of Aleppo who, unlike other social groups, could be traced through the sources due to their class position. The individual chapters of the book explore these aspects of the family. After the introduction, which concisely sets the stage for the work, chapter one focuses on the concept and meaning of lineage which provided all members of the patriline a social identity and position within the social hierarchy. Chapter two explores the boundaries of the group that comprises the family, by concentrating on the concept of the household, whose size and composition are determined by life course and mortality. Chapter three moves outside the physical boundaries of the family and explores the ties that develop with the rest of society, by focusing on marriage bonds and marriage partners; through marriage, connections within the family are reinforced and alliances with other families are cemented. Chapters four and five develop the temporal dimension of the family, by exploring how inheritance in the short term and endowment in the long term affect family structure. The discussion of inheritance highlights

the economic network among the kin and the eventual devolution of property; the examination of endowment captures the attempts to create a more permanent network among the kin.

In the conclusion, the author states that, in spite of the diverse ways in which families are organized, most members belonged to three family groups—the lineage, the narrowly extended family, and the elementary (nuclear) family—where the ideal of the large patriarchal, patrilineal family was rarely achieved, and where women negotiated the gender system differently in different family arrangements. Meriwether then notes that the book’s central research question (reflected in its title) of which kin counted within the family and why, “remains elusive” (p. 207). And therein lies the only weakness of the book, for Meriwether poses a question that her research methodology does not enable her to answer. Dismissing Western travel literature on Aleppo as biased, she relies mostly on court records and secondary sources and draws insufficiently upon cultural sources (e.g., biographies, local chronicles, stories, and poetry) that would have helped her identify how people gave meaning to family life and how they preferred some kin over others. Meriwether could have then compared these cultural scenarios with her historical cases to locate the family members who successfully negotiated the power dynamics both within the family and with society at large. Still, the comparative dimension of the work and its meticulous analysis make the book a mandatory read for all those interested in the history of the family in the Middle East.

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WOMEN

The Veil: Modesty, Privacy, Resistance, by Fadwa El Guindi. Oxford: Berg 1999. xx + 185 pages. Notes to p. 213. Bibl. To p. 234. Index to p. 242. \$60 cloth; \$19.50 paper.

Reviewed by Lila Abu-Lughod

Not since Elizabeth and Robert Fernea published their classic 1979 article “A Look Behind the