

## Maisonneuve & Larose

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#### BOOK REVIEW

mais cela n'entre pas dans le propos de D.G., et il appartiendra à d'autres de le faire.

Une partie de cette littérature a pu voir le jour dans un contexte apocalyptique, notamment dans le milieu des « combattants de la foi » (*muqātila*), confrontés à la mort et assurés de se trouver en paradis : il leur était promis, voire « ouvert », en cas de « martyr », et les visions de l'au-delà, parfois très matérielles, étaient fréquentes dans ce milieu (v. le cas de Muqātil b. Sulaymān qui croyait à la vision béatifique, in J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hishrah*. Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam [ci-après : *TG*], Berlin/New York, Walter de Gruyter [I-VI, 1991-7], II, 1992, p. 516-32). Le lien entre les sermonnaires et les « ascètes » qui étaient souvent les mêmes hommes n'a pas été non plus sans influence dans la naissance et la transmission de semblables récits. Le cas, parmi bien d'autres, de Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir, cousin du côté maternel de 'A'īša, et qui était prompt aux larmes, est représentatif (v. *Ḍahabī, Siyar*, V, p. 353-61). Le passage en langue arabe de légendes qui circulaient dans la région et dont certaines sont parvenues à Mahomet par de ses informants juifs et chrétiens, d'autres aux premières générations musulmanes lors des conquêtes, n'a pas été non plus sans influence. En effet, en passant dans une autre langue, les connotations devenaient autres, notamment avec les réminiscences de la poésie arabe et avec de nouvelles étymologies dues au changement de langue. Les luttes entre les différents courants religieux et les partis d'opposition politico-religieux ont fait le reste.

Depuis que D.G. a écrit ce livre, a paru van Ess, *TG, op. cit.*, IV, 1997, dont les p. 373-424 sont consacrées à un aperçu général sur l'anthropomorphisme dans la théologie de cette période, et dans lesquelles l'on trouvera des réflexions intéressantes sur ce problème et sur sa signification. Il écrit notamment : « Le Coran contient bien moins d'anthropomorphismes que l'Ancien Testament. Son terreau est plutôt le *ḥadīṭ*. Les dits du Prophète au contenu exégétique latent ne sont pas rares dans lesquels on relève un anthropomorphisme sur lequel les « systématiciens » se sont appuyés ; ils montrent comment on lisait le Coran avec un certain savoir qui était à l'arrière-plan. Ce savoir était visiblement lié à des traditions locales » (p. 416).

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M. Sükrü HANIOĞLU, *The Young Turks in Opposition*, Oxford University Press: New York 1995. 390 pp.

The official historical narrative of the Turkish republic often starts with the War of Independence fought between 1919-1922. If pushed, the same narrative depicts the 1908 revolution as the first politically significant sign of democratization culminating in the foundation of the republic. Yet there is substantive ambiguity in this narrative about the initiators of the 1908 revolution, namely the group of Ottoman intellectuals who named themselves the Young Turks and the society of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) which they founded; this ambiguity is rooted in the active opposition (and eventual elimination) of the CUP leaders to the republican regime in 1926. The legacy of the Young Turks and the CUP still weighs heavily in contempo-

rary Turkey in both ideological and institutional practices. The formation of this very significant social group and their organization is thus crucial for a better understanding of the history of modern Turkey, and this is exactly the analysis Hanioglu undertakes in his excellent, highly original, and impeccably researched book.

Hanioglu presents, in ten chapters, a very thorough study of the formation and transformation of the Young Turks from the inception of the CUP in 1889 to their first congress in Paris in 1902. The Introduction neatly defines the four objectives of the book (p. 6) as “the dissection of the organizational framework”, “the differentiation of the CUP from other opposition movements”, “the analysis of the nature of the European diplomatic interaction with the Young Turk movement”, and, finally, “the disclosure of the ideological constitution of the Young Turks”. Hanioglu meets these objectives fully throughout the book. In Chapter Two, he sets the stage for his analysis by tracing the ideological roots of the Young Turks to the westernization movement in the empire. The Ottoman intellectuals negotiated Western science, values and ideas to reform the empire and, in so doing, directly challenged the neopatrimonial system of the sultan; these new “modern” bureaucrats believed in merit and reason rather than loyalty and tradition, and advocated representative government and a constitution. Hanioglu’s contribution to this formative process comes through a very thorough analysis of their writings which demonstrates that very few of these men knew what these new concepts entailed in practice. Unable to execute their visions, these modernists had to build with coalitions with other groups. In Chapter Three, Hanioglu examines the relations of CUP with six such groups who also opposed the sultan and his patrimonial practices. While the Freemasons, *Le Parti Constitutionnel* and *Le Comite Turco-Syrien* established ties with the CUP, the ulema were absorbed by them. The “activist” palace coup organizers established occasional ties with the CUP; some others also undertook individual initiatives against the sultan. It was also at this juncture that rumors of a constitutional coup d’etat started to circulate in the empire and abroad. After historically contextualizing the CUP in the previous two chapters, Hanioglu’s focus shifts in Chapter Four to the rise of the CUP in Ottoman politics from its inception at the Royal Medical Academy as a student movement to its spreading network throughout the provinces and abroad. We learn that high ranking bureaucrats, soldiers and ulema soon joined the movement transforming it into a significant political force; arrests followed almost immediately. As the organization grew, it also started to experience inner tensions – debates broke over whether to allow multi-religious and ethnic participation, and whether to welcome foreign intervention in the empire. The journals published by the CUP became significant in disseminating information and taking stands on political issues.

In Chapter Five, Hanioglu lays out the friction, petty intrigue and conspiracy that ensued as different factions attempted to control and dominate the movement. The European, Egyptian, Syrian, Balkan and Istanbul organizations gained prominence at different junctures while the sultan tried ceaselessly to coopt leaders by “buying them off” with lucrative posts and salaries, and attempted to force European powers to extradite the politically active Young Turks from their countries. Just as the movement was almost annihilated by the sultan, it became revitalized by the escape of the sultan’s brother-in-law and his two sons to Europe. Chapter Six focuses on the new dynamics this escape generated in the movement, especially in terms of the tensions in Europe between the pro-British and pro-German factions. The sultan’s continuous practice of buying off Young Turk presses to close them also led to a very interesting

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financial arrangement: many Young Turks established presses to blackmail the sultan and used the proceeds to replenish the movement. In Chapter Seven, Hanioglu traces the organizational transformation of the CUP as it attempted to reconcile the disparate factions within it. One faction led by Ahmed Riza defended a constitution and parliament for all Ottomans while rejecting foreign intervention; another recommended only the formation of an advisory board to the sultan and tried to secure foreign intervention. The students formed another faction focused on preserving the movement's scientific ideology. All these factions, aware of the significance of the European public opinion, supported the idea of a Young Turk convention in Europe to convey their message and vision to the world. Hanioglu provides in Chapter Eight a very detailed analysis of the first congress of Ottoman opposition in Paris in 1902 and its consequences. Even though the sultan and his representatives tried extremely hard to stop the intended congress in France, the ensuing European public debate about the practice of political freedom in the West constrained the Ottoman government's efforts to only ascertain that the congress be privately held. This first congress of Ottoman opposition led to a significant fissure within the movement; various member groups split apart as their differences became clear. The accepted policy statement advocating a multi-religious and multi-ethnic solution that implied the establishment of contact with separatist groups led several Turkish national organizations to coalesce in opposition. Indeed, it was this emerging "Turkish" opposition within that ultimately triumphed in executing the 1908 revolution.

The excellent discussion of the political ideas of the Young Turks in Chapter Nine demonstrates how the formation and transformation of the movement also altered its ideology. The positivist-materialist stand persevered to valorize science, shun tradition, and misinterpret Islamic sources. There also developed a sense of elitism that was distrustful of the crowd and that was therefore convinced of the need for the guidance of the masses by enlightened intellectuals; this was accompanied by a sense of mission to educate new generations with a new vision. The separatist events within the empire and the uneasy relations with Europe eventually encouraged within the movement the emergence of Turkish nationalism; the Turkish-dominated military joined in to support this nationalist trend. Hanioglu concludes his analysis with a number of original insights, ones that are as applicable to understand the political ideology dominant in Turkey today. He states that although the Young Turks had a rhetoric promoting constitutionalism to hold off foreign intervention, they never adopted liberal ideas and instead tried to develop an intellectual elite to govern the empire. They also took a firm stand against religion and promoted in its stead a positivism which they termed the religion of science. In addition, the Young Turk vision was very much dominated by the presence of a strong state because all the leading intellectuals were also state officials. Nationalism had also not been its official ideology but became so as the Turks gained the upper hand and the rest were marginalized. This popular materialist-positivist ideology and the gradually emerging Turkish nationalism provided the ideological basis for the transformation from the empire to the nation-state, one, this reviewer would argue, that still persists in Turkey to this day.

This book also offers very significant insights into that complicated transition from empire to nation-state. One insight centers on the paternalistic policy of the sultan to pardon the rebels and offer them significant posts and salaries in his empire; such a policy quickly gives way to a much more punitive one in the emerging nation-

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state as such rebels are often executed. Another insight corroborates Benedict Anderson's observation of the significance of print culture in political transformations and also adds a new twist, à la James Scott, by demonstrating the Young Turk resistance to print censorship by blackmailing the sultan to buying off their presses and replenishing their political movement with the proceeds. Still another observation concerns the continuous Young Turk obsession with science and progress: such an ideological stand was replicated throughout the non-Western world, as Hanioglu's brief reference to the movement in Latin America suggests (pp. 204-5). Perhaps the most significant insight is the chronicling of the gradual replacement of the multi-ethnic and multi-religious fabric of the empire with a monochrome, citizen-based republic: Hanioglu beautifully demonstrates the gradual marginalization of the non-Muslims and ethnic groups within the movement as the transition from the empire to nation-state occurs.

The extensive (approximately 140 pages long) footnotes and the vast selected bibliography of this book are a tour de force in historiography; they meticulously support each argument made with a vast number of sources ranging from private papers to published documents and official publications to the works of the Young Turks to journals. The broad archival study includes work in the archives in Albania, Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Israel, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom and, of course, Turkey. This is the most exhaustive study of a movement in Turkish history this reviewer has ever seen; one quickly forms the impression that there cannot possibly be a single source Hanioglu could have acquired but did not.

This most impressive work hopefully will be followed by another, one focusing on the 1902-1908 period of the Young Turk movement. Those crucial years would benefit immensely from Hanioglu's impeccable historical analysis and provide us with significant insights into that complex process which led to the formation of the Turkish republic. Only then can we go beyond the Turkish official historical narrative to see which paths and options were available, which were not taken, and which *were* taken and at what costs.

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Stefan C. REIF : *Hebrew manuscripts at Cambridge University Library, A description and introduction. assisted by Shulamit Reif and incorporating earlier work by S. M. Schiller-Szinessy, H. M. J. Loewe and J. Leveen, and including palaeographical advice from E. Engel ; with the cooperation of the Hebrew Palaeographical Project and of the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts at the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997, 626 p. 32 plates.

Cambridge University Library possède depuis la fin du siècle dernier la plus grande partie des fragments trouvés dans la *Gueniza* du Caire (environ 140 000 qui comptent près de 600 000 folios). Cette richesse a laissé dans l'ombre la collection de