

writings indicative of his own worldview? How much of this is rhetorical and expressions of a genre that is meant to please the audience? After all, if Vasif were such an imperceptive person, he would not be attending European music concerts, operas, and ladies' salons in Spain. Similarly, he would not be convinced of the absolute need for reform if he did not get much out of his embassies. Lastly, we are told in the title of the book that Vasif was the first of the "modern Ottomans." Menchinger only alludes to this issue in the introduction by stating that modernity should not be defined solely by technology and progress but also by mentality and worldview (p. 8). In the rest of the book, however, he does not detail what exactly makes Vasif modern, let alone the first modern. In my view, if we are to assign someone this title, it should be İbrahim Müteferrika, a figure about whom Menchinger also writes in this book. Even though he lived almost half a century before Vasif, he tackled even more impressively and progressively many of the issues Vasif struggled with in his works.

Regardless of these issues Menchinger has adeptly taken on a daunting task. He offers us a rare glimpse of the inner workings of the mind of an Ottoman intellectual in a tumultuous era. His work should be of interest to anyone who wants to learn how the Ottoman intellectuals grappled with the major internal and external crises at the onset of modernity. I believe a complementary study on peacemaking and peacemakers in the Ottoman Empire, one perhaps by Menchinger himself, would be another major contribution to our understanding of the empire in the 18th century. Such a study, no doubt, would help us revise our notions of the Ottoman statesmen and bureaucrats as hawkish war propagators.

CONSTANTIN A. PANCHENKO, *Arab Orthodox Christians under the Ottomans: 1516–1831*, trans. Brittany Pheiffer Noble and Samuel Noble (Jordanville, N.Y.: Holy Trinity Seminary Press, 2016). Pp. 688. \$29.95 paper. ISBN: 9781942699088

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Arab Orthodox Christians under the Ottomans by Constantin Panchenko, the Russian scholar and historian of Middle Eastern Christianity, was first published in Russian in Moscow in 2012. Brittany Pheiffer Noble and Samuel Noble have done readers a great service by making it available to us in English. Panchenko's study offers a detailed and comprehensive account of the history of Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire stretching over four centuries, the first of its kind for the early modern period. In doing so, Panchenko aspires to nothing less than a *histoire totale* of Eastern Christianity, one that extends far beyond the well-worn trails of religious history in order to present an all-encompassing ("maximally complete" in his words) study of the "entire way of life" for one community of Middle Eastern Christians. The first two chapters set out the relevant historical (6th–15th centuries) and political (Ottoman) contexts. Each of the successive chapters excavates various layers of the history of Orthodox Christianity: geography and demographics in Chapter 3, social and religious authority in Chapter 4, monasticism in Chapter 5, connections with other empires beyond the Ottoman world in Chapter 6, the holy places in Jerusalem in Chapter 7, foreign relations in Chapter 8, the conversion of some members of the community to Catholicism in Chapter 9, and the literary and cultural production of Orthodoxy in Chapter 10.

This book is important for several reasons. Although ostensibly a study of the Orthodox Christians of Syria and Palestine—the Arabic-speaking communities of the Orthodox Church under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople—Panchenko's approach is not constrained by the dogged focus on doctrine or theology that too often muddles our understanding of the social

history of Middle Eastern Christians. Instead, he explores the relations that connected Orthodox Christians in everyday life to a wide range of other communities, non-Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire, to be sure, but also Christians in the Mediterranean world, the Latin West, and further afield in central and eastern Europe as well as the Muslim neighbors, friends, and patrons that surrounded them at home. The book also offers readers a firsthand glimpse of the invaluable and precious sources for the study of Eastern Christianity that are preserved today in Russia, along with a taste of the debates and insights of the scholarship of Russian Orientalists. Of particular interest is Panchenko's use of a corpus of travelogues, pilgrimage narratives, and the writings of other contemporary observers of Orthodox Christianity originally written in Russian, much of which will be unknown and otherwise inaccessible to most readers of *IJMES*. This is a testament to the impressive array of sources brought together in Panchenko's work: in addition to local Arabic chronicles—Paul of Aleppo's account of his father the Patriarch of Antioch's travels to Russia in the late 17th century looms large—correspondence (both private and official), and other ecclesiastical and personal sources, the book draws extensively on an array of Arabic manuscripts and documentation preserved in Russian archives. The existence of such documents is itself a testament to a series of historical exchanges between Russia and the Arab world that remains unknown to American and European scholars, specialists aside. Perhaps the most revealing section in this context is the book's chapter on "foreign relations" where Panchenko describes Russia's rise to power and the place of the Christian East in reinforcing the claims of Russian tsars to spiritual and political authority. Yet in some ways, the book's greatest asset also contributes to one of its main limitations. At times, Panchenko's analysis is unfulfilled and not adequately in conversation with the wider body of scholarship on Middle Eastern Christians that has been published more recently and outside of Russia. The consequence is that he sometimes uncritically accepts conventional ideas from an earlier generation of scholarship that are less persuasive today than they perhaps once were. His breezy account of the workings of the millet system in the early modern period is a prime example (pp. 72–80).

At least three important points emerge from this book. Firstly, while recognizing how the Ottoman conquest enabled the consolidation of important connections across the Orthodox world, Panchenko is keen to dispel any lingering ideas of a uniform *dhimmī* experience across the Ottoman Empire. Instead, his is a story of diversity and the importance of local contexts between and within Christian communities that were scattered across a vast and varied geography. Secondly, Panchenko's book—unlike any other I have read before—most effectively captures the extent to which Syria and Palestine in this period were connected to Central and Eastern Europe, for example the Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia as well as Georgia, Ukraine, Serbia, and Russia. An entire world of exchanges comes alive: Orthodox patriarchs with immense landholdings and estates in central Europe (p. 129); Syrian alms-collectors seeking financial assistance in Moscow (p. 232), Georgian bishops and members of the royal family on pilgrimage to Jerusalem (p. 227), and Romanian voivodes in Moldavia and Wallachia contributing in important ways to the economies of the patriarchates in Syria and Palestine (p. 240). All of this is known to scholars of Eastern Christianity at a basic level, but Panchenko's book gathers the details in such a way as to recover the expansive personal networks that linked Orthodox Christianity to other parts of the world. And he manages to do this without the triumphalism or fanfare of global history, an important reminder that the discipline of Oriental studies still has something important to offer towards current scholarly interests in the study of connectedness. But perhaps the most important contribution in this book is the skill with which Panchenko unearths traces of ecumenism in Eastern Christianity that have only received limited attention in the past. He has an eye for important details: he writes, for example, about the shared use of a church by Orthodox Christians and Maronites (p. 98), or an unrealized proposal for union between the Maronites and the Orthodox in the 16th century (p. 253). No doubt these are complicated episodes yet they speak to a sort of intra-Christian religious interaction in the Middle East that has until now been difficult to grasp,

not least given the focus of a previous generation of scholars on doctrine and theology. For this reason, one wishes that he had turned his talents to writing a specific chapter on religious practice and belief, a topic that, strangely enough, seems absent in Panchenko's otherwise-encyclopedic study.

There are also some misfires, occurring mainly when Panchenko's meticulous attention to the evidence is distracted by wayward commentary on social and political structures. One example will suffice here, and this relates to an argument he makes about the "tribalism" of some Christian communities in the Ottoman Empire. In Chapter 4, he argues that some Christians "in remote and isolated areas" experienced a process of "social archaization and the revival of tribal relations" (p. 122), a theme to which he returns in the conclusion when he argues that these Christians experienced a "loss of many cultural traditions, the revival of tribal relations, and primordial belligerence" (p. 493). The consequence of this—in Palestine, for example—was the emergence of "a semiwild Arab Christian hinterland side by side with the relatively educated monastic and senior clergy of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, consisting of foreigners" (p. 494). Here, and in other cases, the foreigners that infused new life into the local Christians appear to be, at various points, Greeks, Western Catholics, individuals from Central or Eastern Europe, and so on. On scrutiny, these ideas appear to owe something to the author's reading in the work of scholars writing about the 20th century, for example anthropologists working on Christians in Iraq. But his deployment of social theory in this way is distracting and accomplishes little, and the frequent mention of tribalism is not sustained by any real evidence from the sources. This is not to say that kinship and clan alliances do not matter—indeed, Panchenko is right to point to the importance of such forms of association alongside (and in some cases, in place of) religious identity—only that he might have offered better evidence for these sweeping generalizations. This is one of a few places where a bit of editorial pruning would have improved the book. The same goes for his allusion to Lev Gumilev's idea of a "dying ethnos" in the final pages of the book. Here, Panchenko's rigorous empiricism is replaced by speculation: the "best representatives" of the Orthodox Christian community, we are told, were "totally devoid of inner fortitude and firmness of belief or some inner core," "willing to trade their beliefs and identity," and suffered from "an inability to sacrifice personal ambitions for the sake of abstract goals and values." Admittedly, this may be an instance of something having been lost in translation, but how can Panchenko really know any of this? At such moments, this reader at least wished that the author had stuck to his sources and left the speculation to the psychoanalysts.

It should proceed from the above that *Arab Orthodox Christians under the Ottomans*, highly informed and successful as it is, is a somewhat idiosyncratic book. Even so, it is clear that it is also an excellent work that offers a first-rate introduction to the main themes and sources of Orthodox Christianity in the early modern period. It should be read, and read closely, by anyone interested in the history of Christianity in the Middle East. Without a doubt, Panchenko has written a masterful, exhaustive study of the life of Arab Orthodox Christians that complements what other scholars have taught us about the experience of Christians in the Ottoman Empire. His account of the importance of lay elites resonates with what Febe Armanios has written about the Coptic community in Egypt; his vivid depiction of the dynamism of the "culture of the Orthodox Orient" makes us think again about what Bruce Masters and Bernard Heyberger have written about the lure of Catholicism in this period; and his account of the conversion of Orthodox Christians to Catholicism should be read with a copy of Ussama Makdisi's study of sectarianism nearby. His focus on internal migration provides some context with which to better understand the subsequent global migrations of Ottoman subjects studied for a later period by Andrew Arsan and Akram Khater; and his description of rivalry between Greeks and Arabs offers another way of making sense of the 19th-century developments studied by Christine Philliou. Ottomanists too will have much to gain from what Panchenko has extracted from the Arabic sources, for example a particularly rich anecdote describing how one patriarch

of Antioch sought in 1659 to reduce the tax payments owed by the Christians of Damascus (p. 92).

ASEF BAYAT, *Revolution without Revolutionaries: Making Sense of the Arab Spring* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2017). Pp. 308. \$24.95 paper. ISBN: 9781503602588

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For Asef Bayat, the Arab uprisings of 2011–12 are revolutions without revolutionaries. In his book of the same title, he compares them to the Islamic Revolution of 1979 in Iran as the culmination of revolutions *with* revolutionaries typical of that earlier time period. Bayat was a keen participant observer in the Islamic Revolution, so he explicitly sets his analysis of the Arab Spring in systematic comparison. According to him, the new Arab revolutions are distinctive because unlike the Iranian case they lacked radicalism, simultaneously displaying “dissent and deradicalization” (p. 20). Because they did not have “any associated intellectual anchorage” in traditional notions of nationalism, socialism, or Islamism, they resulted in “no fundamental break from the old order” (p. 11). They were “*revolution as movement*” through widespread mobilization, but not “*revolution as change of the outcome*” (p. 13, emphasis in the original). Liminality is their striking feature, but it is liminality in itself and not as the trigger to revolutionary political reconstruction: “Half Revolution, No Revolution!” as one protester’s placard displayed (p. 147). Indeed, Bayat chooses the term “*refolution*” to describe how the Arab uprisings were such half-revolutions, surprisingly without any reference to Timothy Gordon Ash, who first explicated this specialized term to mean a combination of reform and revolution after the collapse of Communism in 1989.

What set the Arab uprisings in motion was not any focus on the political, as manifested in radical political ideology espoused by an organized party, but “radical impulses to the social,” as Chapter 9 emphasizes. The protagonists of the social in the Arab Spring were varied, and their concern with the social was clustered at the two ends of the spectrum, ranging from the liberal demands of youth, women, and the insurgent poor, to those of pious Muslims, including the Salafis, who were, by implication, predominantly male, not young, and not poor. The upsurge of the social appears as the counterpart to the disavowal of radical ideology in what Bayat describes, here and in his other works, as post-Islamism. Such is the great strength of this work. Bayat is an urban sociologist known for his work on the ordinarily quiet encroachment and everyday politics of the urban poor—now interchangeably and ambiguously called the “subalterns.” His forte has always been the detailed analysis of the transformation of “subaltern politics”—or how various informal groups and social networks with divergent goals coalesce in a moment of revolutionary enthusiasm. This book characterizes this impulse well, and the microanalysis presented is illuminating.

Bayat’s macroanalysis in this book, by contrast, is vitiated by his constant invocation of “neoliberal globalization” as the explanatory *deus ex machina*. Bayat’s attribution of the Arab Spring’s deradicalization of dissent to the impact of neoliberalism and the structural adjustment imposed by the IMF and the World Bank is unconvincing. It is not clear what “the old social contract” that collapsed was, or the “right to the city” that “all but vanished” under the impact of neoliberal policies, if they ever existed. Are we to think of the Circle of Justice in the age-old theories of kingship that were Islamicized after the Muslim conquests or of the ephemeral Arab socialism of the 1960s that bankrupted Egypt? How, in this period of massive urbanization, can “the growth of the middle-class poor” be plausibly attributed to neoliberalism? Do we find “taxi