

developments. One cannot reduce all internal changes to the generalization that "they were caused primarily by the changing international context". By attempting to explain the changes through the agency of foreign or international factors, the author minimizes, the endogenous forces which played a decisive role in the transformation of the grain-exporting economy into an incipient capitalist economy.

As a whole, however, the work of Professor Chirot is a very important contribution to the study of the social and economic history of Wallachia, especially the study of the peasant, or agrarian, question which remained a central issue in the Romanian history down to the present time. The book is not only original in its conceptual interpretation of the history of Wallachia, but it opens new avenues in continuing the exploration into other fields. It is highly recommended to all those who are interested in the history of Romania and the Balkan area in general.

University of South Carolina
Coastal Carolina College
Conway, SC

JAMES J. FARSOLAS

Lord Kinross, *The Ottoman Centuries. The Rise and Fall of the Turkish Empire*, New York, William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1977, pp. 638.

In this posthumous work, Lord Kinross tells the 650 year-old story of the Ottoman peoples. He notes their rise from wandering fourteenth century tribesmen in eastern Anatolia to the world's greatest sixteenth century power. He chronicles the shock of Napoleon's Egyptian invasion from the West, the competitive power of Muhammad Ali in Cairo, the rise of reform-minded sultans and pashas who hoped to resuscitate the "Sick Man of Europe" and the collapse of the liberal Constitution of 1876. He traces thirty-two years of autocracy under Abdul Hamid II, the decade of Young Turk dictatorship, the disaster of World War I, and the amazing revitalization of the Anatolian Turks who, in establishing the Republic in 1923, discarded forever the sultan-caliph's regime.

Though he relies almost entirely on western sources for pre-nineteenth century material, Lord Kinross delightfully pulls together the classic (and sometimes erroneous) version of the foundation, rise, and fall of the Turkish Empire. We read Edward Gibbons' views of the conquest of Constantinople, Ambassador Busbecq's account of the armies of Suleiman the Magnificent, and Joseph von Hammer's version of the decline of seventeenth and eighteenth century Ottoman power. For the period after Napoleon's invasion, Kinross leans heavily on the work of European scholars but also, happily, the brilliant study by Professor Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (Oxford, 1961) which helps to balance the pro-West emphasis.

In this regard, Lord Kinross attaches a certain aura of European superiority over the Ottoman peoples: the great reforming sultan Mahmud II "may have had a French mother", which obliquely suggests a European origin for the reforms; he implies strongly that the *Hatt-i Humayun* of 1839 was not as much the result of Ottoman labor as of the brilliant British ambassador to the Porte, Stratford Canning. When in 1854 the Ottoman commander of Silistre was killed in battle, asserts Kinross, two young British officers gave important counsel which eventuated in an Ottoman victory. And so on.

The author also chooses curious points to emphasize. He devotes one half a page to the Ottoman capture, in 1517, of the eastern Mediterranean region (modern Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Jordan, the Arab Peninsula including Mecca, Egypt and Libya), but three pages to the

capture of the island of Rhodes and three more pages relating the exploits of "the ambitious monk Martinuzzi", an obscure mid-sixteenth century Hungarian enemy of the Habsburgs. He uses a paragraph to tell of an undistinguished seventeenth century commander, Ferhad the Foolhardy, but not a word about Ferhad's contemporary, the grand vizier Kuyuju Murad Pasha who, by establishing peace with Austria and wiping out the Anatolian rebels, saved the Empire. He dismisses the important religious rebellion of the conservative Wahhabis in the nineteenth century as "a rebellion in Arabia". As for the "Terrible Turk", he admits the Bulgarians began the massacre of Muslims, but goes on to detail the Turks' savagery which, he asserts, "was more terrible" than the Bulgarian, because the Turkish massacre was "indiscriminate". It seems strange indeed that an author who lived through both World Wars and also knew of the American experience in southeast Asia could assert, when writing of massacres of any kind, that one people were more or less "discriminating" than another.

Despite these curiosities, the book should be read by anyone who enjoys precise, well-organized, exciting chapters with a story-line which moves like a script from the BBC's *Masterpiece Theatre*. He will visualize the Battle of Nicopolis in 1396 when flower of European chivalry fell to the bold strokes of Bayezid the Thunderbolt. He will feel almost a part of the sultan's household in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent. He will find that the United States in 1877 sold rifles to Sultan Abdul Aziz which, when used by Osman Pasha's force at Plevna, held the Russians at bay for weeks. He will enjoy well-selected pictures throughout the book which add an important dimension to the cultural understanding of the Empire. He should read the book for its wit and charm, as a delightful introduction to an important subject. Afterwards, recognizing the book's deficiencies, he should move from Kinross to the growing number of specialized monographs, in which greater accuracy, based on Ottoman sources, will balance his point-of-view.

Colorado State University
Fort Collins, Colorado

WILLIAM J. GRISWOLD

Ergun Özbudun, *Social Change and Political Participation in Turkey*, Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1976, pp. 254.

Multi-party democracy has come to most countries in the world as a foreign import, wished upon them by colonial or neo-colonial powers, or by a "Westernized" native leadership which accepted democracy (or at least its trappings) as an indivisible part of modernization. The developing countries without a democratic tradition have adapted their political life to this new import in various ways, often by merely expressing the old, pre-democratic power relationships in democratic dress.

Professor Ergun Özbudun of Ankara University examines the process of Turkey's political modernization concentrating on the period 1960-70, with short remarks about democracy in the Ottoman Empire and in the first four decades of the Republic. The author holds that economic and social modernization brings changes in four different aspects of political participation. First, the *nature* of a voter's participation changes as he is exposed to mass communications, new work and income situations, and new social possibilities: from being a "mobilized" voter who makes his choices at the behest of a village *aga* or workshop *patron*, the modern voter becomes more and more "autonomous", making his choices as best fit his personal interests. Along with this development comes a second change, in the *motives* behind a voter's choices: before modernization, his choices would be "deferential", based on his re-