

From amongst the minorities in Turkey, special consideration goes to the "Greek" minority, since her status had been an issue expressly addressed to in the Lausanne Treaty, with Turkey agreeing to guarantee her well-being. However, on September 6, 1955, approximately ten years after Varlık Vergisi, another Turkish government, this time headed by Adnan Menderes, launched a similar campaign against that same minority. As Rıdvan Akar rightly claims, this kind of policies were observed during the following years as well, ultimately resulting in a dramatic decrease in the number of Greeks living in Istanbul today (3-4 thousand) and in a score of abandoned churches and schools. We warmly thank Mr. Rıdvan Akar not only for choosing this topic, but also for his thorough scientific research.

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Kenneth M. Setton, *Venice, Austria, and the Turks in the Seventeenth Century*, Philadelphia 1991. pp. 502 (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge, vol. 192)

Kenneth M. Setton, Professor Emeritus at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey, is a well-known historian. He has made a splendid contribution to the literature on late mediaeval and modern European (including Greek) history with such works as: *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311-1388* (Cambridge 1948; second edition, London 1975); *A History of the Crusades*, 2 vols (University of Pennsylvania 1955; second edition, London 1969); *The Byzantine Background to the Italian Renaissance* (Philadelphia 1956); translated into Greek by P. P. Panayotou as, *To Βυζαντινό υπόβαθρο της Ιταλικής Αναγέννησης* (Athens 1989); *Great Problems in European Civilization* (with Henry Winkler, second edition, Prentice-Hall 1966); *Europe and the Levant in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (London 1974); *Athens in the Middle Ages* (London 1975, Variorum Reprints); and *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, 4 vols (Philadelphia 1976-84).

Professor Setton's latest book, *Venice, Austria, and the Turks in the Seventeenth Century*, is published by the American Philosophical Society as No 192 in its *Memoirs* series. The title is reminiscent of Ekkehard Eickhoff's *Venedig, Wien und die Osmanen: Umbruch in Südost-europa 1645-1700*

(Munich 1970); so much so, in fact, that the reader is prompted to turn to the bibliography to find out whether Professor Setton is familiar with Eickhoff's book. There is no bibliography, however. The author is apparently one of those who consider a bibliography superfluous. And so the reader is forced to plough through the footnotes to find out how fully the book is supported by other scholars' writings. (Nor does Professor Setton provide a list of the unpublished sources he has used from the Venetian Archives and the Library of St Mark.) The index (pp. 462-502) contains no entry for "Eickhoff"; indeed, it does not include names of authors at all. So the suspicious reader embarks on the laborious task of searching through the footnotes for a reference to Eickhoff — and eventually tracks him down in note 13 on page 109.

Professor Setton very movingly dedicates this bulky volume to the memory of his wife, Margaret. It was she, he confesses in the foreword, who inspired his love for Italy and the Italian archives.

The book is divided into fourteen chapters: I. Austrians and Turks in the war of 1592-1606, the succession of Bohemia, and the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War (pp. 1 ff.); II. The continuation of the War, Gustavus Adolphus, Cardinal Richelieu, the Habsburgs, and increasing French interest (pp. 40 ff.); III. The final stages of the Thirty Years' War and the Westphalia treaties (pp. 79 ff.); IV. Venice, Malta, the Turks, and the outbreak of the Cretan War (pp. 104 ff.); V. The Turco-Venetian War (1646-53) and unrest in Constantinople (pp. 137 ff.); VI. Naval battles in the Dardanelles (1654-7), the war on Crete, papal assistance to Venice (pp. 172 ff.); VII. Alvise da Molin's embassy to the Porte, the French fail to relieve Chania and Francesco Morosini hands the city over to the Turks (pp. 206 ff.); VIII. Turco-Venetian relations (1670-83) and the Turkish siege of Vienna (pp. 244 ff.); IX. The Austrians' conquests in Hungary, the mutiny of the Turkish army, and the Venetians in the Peloponnese (1684-7) (pp. 271 ff.); X. Francesco Morosini, the invasion of Attica, and the destruction of the Parthenon (pp. 301 ff.); XI. The Venetians withdraw from Athens taking antiquities with them, and Morosini fails to take Chalkida (pp. 331 ff.); XII. Girolamo Corner's success in Monemvasia, Domenico Mocenigo's failure in the Aegean, and the death of Francesco Morosini (pp. 363 ff.); XIII. Louis XIV, the Turks, and the war of the League of Augsburg; the Treaties of Ryswick and Karlowitz; the uneasy peace between Venice and the Porte (pp. 389 ff.); XIV. The Turks' reconquest of the Peloponnese, the victories of Eugene of Savoy, Schulenburg's defence of Corfu, the peace of Passarowitz, and Venice as a focus of European rivalries (pp. 426 ff.).

Professor Setton's book is, to some extent, a sequel to his four-volume *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, with a shift of emphasis from the Holy See to Venice and Austria. He has devoted much more time and effort to the Venetian Archives (where his researches began forty years ago) than to those of the Vatican. His initial intention was to seek answers to some of his desiderata in the Haus-, Hof- und Staats-archiv in Vienna, but, as he admits with disarming frankness and scholarly candour, since the book was growing much longer than he had intended he cancelled his planned research in the Vienna Archives and relied exclusively on those of Venice and the Vatican. All the same, he could have pointed out that the Austrian documents have already been investigated to the same purpose by Ekkehard Eickhoff. At any rate, focusing on the Venetian view of events, Professor Setton believes that the seventeenth century ended not with the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699, but with that of Passarowitz in 1718.

To return to the archival evidence, Professor Setton informs us that he has reproduced names and terms in precisely the same varied forms as they are encountered in the documents: we thus have, for example, *Costantinopoli* and *Constantinopoli*; Morosini and Moresini; *provveditore* and *proveditor*; *giovane*, *giovine*, and *giovene*; *principe* and *prencipe*. The explanation will doubtless spare some readers who are unfamiliar with the diversity of the Venetian documents a certain amount of confusion. Even though he opts for this almost photographic reproduction of names and terms, the author does not provide an appendix of the documents. Admittedly, an appendix might include already published documents; but its absence presupposes a thorough familiarity with all the relevant literature on even the most abstruse details, which, given the broad temporal and thematic scope of the book, is an impossible aspiration.

At a conference held in Philadelphia in April 1986, Professor Setton presented excerpts from his (as yet unpublished) book, concerning the Venetians in Greece and the destruction of the Parthenon. Though the papers presented at the conference have been published, their circulation has been limited.

The Venetians and the Austrians had to deal with the Turkish *Drang nach Westen*. The salvation of Europe and the whole of Christendom was in their hands. But it was the Greeks who paid the heaviest toll. Mortality on Crete in particular, from Turkish massacres and from epidemics, reached very high levels: according to the Marmori manuscript in the Library of St Mark, in the first two years of the Cretan War 18,000 people were slaughtered, leaving only two fifths of the island's population alive — indeed, in

some areas less than a fifth survived (Setton, p. 148, n. 24).

The Ottoman government covered the enormous expense of sending its expeditionary force to Crete by stopping payment of state pensions to the poor; ulemas, widows, and orphans; by which means it saved itself seventeen million aspers in a year (1650-1). On p. 161, n. 42, Professor Setton points out the mistake made by Hellert, who, in his translation of Hammer-Purgsrall (*Gesch. d. osman. Reiches*, V, 518-21), increased the sum from *siebzehn Millionen Aspern* to *soixante-dix millions d'aspres* (X, 255-8). Professor Setton is also honest enough (p. 164, n. 46) to confess to an error of his own (albeit a typographical one) in *The Papacy and the Levant* (IV, 1101a), where the Battle of Paros is dated to 10 July 1650 instead of 1651. Possibly misled by old sources, he refers to the islands of the eastern Aegean from Samos to Kos as the "Sporades" (p. 164), which, nowadays at least, they are not. On p. 182, n. 7, he takes Graziani (*Francisci Mauroceni ... gesta*, 1698, pp. 45f.) and Arrighi (*De vita et rebus gestis Francisci Mauroceni*, 1749, book 1, p. 36) to task for calling Monemvasia "Epidauros" (Limira).

On pp. 215, 231, and 489, the Professor mentions a certain "Turkish dragoman Panagioti": he was in fact a Greek, Panayotis Nikousios, who worked as an interpreter for the Turks. On p. 226, n. 33, Professor Setton tells us that he read most of the manuscript sources in the archives and libraries in which they are kept, but also used microfilms on some occasions. This was the case with the letters of Vincenzo Rospigliosi concerning the siege of Chania and the participation of the French in the town's defence. Professor Setton acquired a microfilm of the letters from the Vatican Archive many years ago, but it has been damaged by damp, making about a third of it illegible. So, as he indirectly admits, the Rospigliosi manuscript does not provide all the information he requires. However, the sources in the Venetian State Archives do make the nationality of the traitor Barozzi clear: he was a Venetian (p. 227, n. 34).

Typical of Professor Setton's dry humour is his observation, with reference to the exportation of wine from Venice's Ionian dominions to France in 1675, that "maybe the French were drinking too much Greek wine" (p. 254). If the French, those great producers and connoisseurs of wine, held it in such high esteem, that Greek wine must have been of superb quality.

Professor Setton also refers to Alexandros Mavrokordatos (like Panayotis Nikousios) as the "Turkish grand dragoman Alessandro Mavrocordato" (p. 262). But citizenship (Ottoman) is one thing and ethnicity (Greek) quite another, and the adjective "Turkish" is certainly misleading here. The Professor improves matters somewhat in n. 39 on the same page by explaining

that Mavrokordatos was in fact a Greek, but the initial impression is not so easily corrected.

In the chapter on Francesco Morosini and the destruction of the Parthenon, the Professor points out (p. 302, n. 2) a mistake made by Pavan, who, in his relatively recent book (1983), dates the Turkish conquest of Evvia to 1540 instead of 1470. He also corrects (p. 308, n. 8) Laborde's dating of a Venetian council of war to 27 instead of 29 September 1687; and on p. 316, n. 13, he corrects another of Laborde's chronological errors, which is repeated by Mommsen and Pavan (p. 317, n.).

In the middle of August 1687, Königsmarck proposed that a canal be opened to link the Gulf of Corinth and the Saronic Gulf. But mariners had to wait another 200 years for the Corinthian Canal (1881-93). During the 200 days of Venetian rule in Athens, the Acropolis suffered more damage than it had in the previous 2,000 years. Another incident connected with these operations was the bombardment of Turkish-held Thessaloniki in the spring of 1688 by Loranzo Venier's ships. Professor Setton corrects another chronological error by Laborde on pp. 357-8.

The Treaty of Passarowitz (Pozarevac) in 1718 was the most advantageous and impressive diplomatic agreement the Habsburgs ever made with the Porte. For the Venetians, however, it meant heavy losses — albeit less severe than the Serenissima would have suffered without Austrian intervention. Moving on selectively into the late eighteenth century, although the book ostensibly covers only the seventeenth, Professor Setton describes the Russo-Turkish War of 1768-74 as the first Greek War of Independence against the Sublime Porte (p. 453).

*A few technical remarks.* The reader is struck by the enormous length of footnote 23, which starts on p. 117, fills pp. 118-19, and ends on p. 120. It comprises a rather slipshod reproduction of a number of Venetian dispatches, which really belong in a separate appendix. Footnote 35 on pp. 155-7 is likewise excessively long. On p. 253, n. 18, the dates are given in reverse chronological order: "1 and 3 August and 23 May 1675". The reference to "fols. 126r, 124, and 125" on p. 408, n. 45, is a little confusing: if 126 is not a misprint, it should, of course, come last. On pp. 290-1, 493, and 498 (under "Tocco"), "Lefkada" is spelt "Leucadia". On pp. 296, 338, 431, and 500 (under "Vitulo"), the fortress of "Kelefas" (or Kelefa) is spelt "Kialepha". On p. 341, "Salamina" (Koulouri) is spelt "Koluri". On pp. 344 and 490, the port of "Gavrio" on Andros is spelt "Gavrion",

*Typographical errors.* On p. 139, n. 5, there should be no full stop after "254"; there may have been an r or a v there in Professor Setton's manuscript (cf. p. 147, n. 22, last line). The same applies to p. 184, n. 11, last line. On p. 247, I. 24, for "Koprülü" read "Koprülü". On p. 318, last line, for "moderno" read "moderna". On p. 369, n. 10, I. 4, there should be a full stop after "Delib" (Deliberazioni). On p. 399, n. 30, last line, for "Chas." read "Char.". On p. 402, n. 32, I. 3, for "trans" read "trans.".

In the Index (pp. 462-502), the place-name "Corbie" on p. 469 is defined as a "French fortress town on road to Paris"; this is unclear, and should in fact read "French fortress town, ten miles east of Amiens on road to Paris" (see p. 68). On p. 472, the reference "Epirus, see Albania" is unlikely to be favourably viewed by Greek readers. On p. 478, we read "Hospitallers (knights of S. John of Jerusalem, of Malta, of Rhodes)"; chronological consistency requires "of Rhodes" to precede "of Malta". On p. 480, under "Karlowitz", for "Karlovici" read "Karlovci" (cf. p. 403). On p. 482, under "Mansfeld, Count Karl von", there should be no comma after "lith". On p. 493, under "Samos", the island is described as being "in the Sporades", which it is not. The same mistake is found on p. 164. On p. 500, under "Verneda", there is a reference to "pp. 337, 334"; in the absence of a typographical error, the two numbers should, of course, be reversed.

The book is plain and sober in presentation; though it must be said that one map at least would not have come amiss. Professor Setton admits on p. 95, n. 31, that he has not consulted A. Zanon Dal Bo's *Alvise Contarini mediatore per la Repubblica di Venezia nel Congresso di Vestfalia (1643-1648)*, Lugano 1971, though he does not explain why, given that the book is a relatively recent one. Generally speaking, Professor Setton relies more on unpublished documents than on published literature (cf. p. 134, n. 52). Furthermore, he uses only one Greek work, and that an old one: Lambros' book (p. 311). But his aim is to compress the events of a single century in Central Europe and the Near East into one, albeit bulky, tome; and this justifies his use of only isolated publications and rare references to specialised articles (cf. p. 448, n. 28, p. 454, n. 36), in addition to his extensive archival coverage. Professor Setton's book is a great synthetic work.