

vigilantism which are important for developing an understanding of the social condition which produced certain psychological orientations.

The study of psychological aspects has emphasized personal and existential perspectives within a historical context with little effort to establish a clinical test. Clinical testing is impossible under the current circumstances of research. History rather than psychology is the aim of this paper, though psychological resources have been developed in order to better understand historical events which no longer exist. The need to explain psychological developments during a period of extreme social disarray will long continue to be an important issue because explanations using only economic or social criteria are limited in their value in many cases.

Social history has maintained a much stronger position over the past decades, and will continue to do so in one form or another. This paper has dealt with a social problem which is mostly ignored and misunderstood. Many have maintained that the Ottoman Empire made a secure environment for its subject to live and work in, however true this condition may have been in the sixteenth and much of the seventeenth centuries, it was not true in the nineteenth century. Any student of empires in the state of collapse must acknowledge the conditions of civil war, war with external enemies, and social disarray accompanied by the collapse of authority and functioning institutions that most imperial societies endure as a result of changes. This article has thus endeavored to examine a set of social conditions created by the eruption of wars and the rebellions of populations. Much attention has been paid to categories of violent offenders as a special focus for this study. It is acknowledged that efforts must be made to examine the peace-time situations of communities existing in this period of decline, revolt, and warfare because war does not exist as an isolated phenomenon, but as part of a war-peace continuum. Being a preliminary study limited by space, this article has thus emphasized the active conflict phase of the social process just mentioned. Too many analysts now study social communities in an ideal peace setting without attempting to understand the problems which accompany a war sequence in any given set of communities. Subsequent work will attempt to consider the war-peace continuum as a significant variable in examining the issues discussed above.

Greek Officers in the Eighteenth Century Venetian Army

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The capture of Constantinople by the knights of the Fourth Crusade, in April 1204, was followed by the Venetian occupation of large areas of Greek maritime territories, including islands and continental coastal regions. While Venice was eventually deprived of its area holdings by the advance of the Ottomans into the Greek maritime space, the Serenissima was able to prolong control, over parts of it until the modern period. Thus, while Crete was lost to the Ottomans in 1669, following the fall of its capital Candia, it was not until 1797 that the Republic lost the Ionian Islands, its last Greek possessions to Napoleon.

Venetian presence in Crete covered a long period, from 1204 until 1669. Lying on the sea-lanes from Venice to Constantinople and from Venice to Alexandria, the great island, covered at that time by cypress trees, produced wheat and fine wines and was a strategically located base not only for Levantine commerce, but also for military operations in the Aegean sea. Crete was destined to become the most precious territorial possession of the Republic, and after 1571, when Cyprus was lost to the Ottomans, it became the last possession, left to Venice, east of the Ionian islands.

Venetian hold on the island was not easy. Trouble with the local population began almost immediately. Later, after a long string of bloody revolts and also after the disappearance of the Greek political center, at Constantinople, in 1453, the Greek aristocracy of the island, and the new middle class in the cities, reached a *modus vivendi* with the Venetian rulers. However, such was not the case with the peasantry. Exploitation and serfdom persisted; revolts, banditry, mutual savagery and oppression by the authorities were perpetuated until the end of Venetian rule.

The collapse of Venetian administration, during the sixteenth century, on the Greek mainland's coastal areas, especially in the Peloponnesos, in-

creased the strategic importance of the island, transformed it into a staging area for military operations, and made it also a place in which thousands of Greeks, from all social backgrounds, fleeing the advancing Turkish armies, sought refuge. In their new home many young members of the refugee families became soldiers and participated, for generations, in the struggle to resist the Ottoman advance. With the fall of Crete in 1669, the men and women who survived followed, again as refugees, the retreating Venetian armies. Many settled in the Ionian Islands, while others continued on to Venice and settled there. Their descendants continued serving the Serenissima, and even fighting for it, as late as the eighteenth century.

One such family were the Mormoris. The name is mentioned in the sixteenth century either as Mormori or as Murmuri and it appears that the family was active at Nauplion, where it originate. The earliest mention of a member of the family dates from the fifteenth century, when an Emmanuel Mormori, a wealthy landlord from Nauplion, was married to a lady from the powerful Buas family.¹ Manoli Mormori, a landlord, mentioned in a Venetian document of 1501 as representing, along with Januli Calauro, the "communita nostra de Napoli di Romania," could very well be the same person.² The family lived in Nauplion until the collapse of Venetian administration in that city, in November 1540. The loss, to the Ottomans, of Nauplion and of Monemvasia, also in November 1540, and the subsequent expulsion of Venice from the Peloponnesos, was followed by the arrival in the remaining possessions of the Republic, in the Greek lands, of many Greek refugees. Many settled in the Ionian Islands of Zakynthos and Cephalonia; others went to Crete. Very soon the Mormoris, who settled in Crete, distinguished themselves in many fields of social activity. From various sources we have information on a number of individuals, all of them members of the Cretan branch of the family. Marco Mormori, a notary in Candia, is mentioned in 1555,³ Giovanni Mormori, an "ingegniero," was killed in June 1571, during the siege of Ammohostos, in Cyprus by the Turks;⁴ "Ioannes Marmorius Cretensis" graduated, in 1581, from the Uni-

¹ E. Liatas, "Μνεῖες θανάτων Ἑλλήνων τῆς Βενετίας ἀπὸ τὰ ταμειακά βιβλία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἀδελφότητος τῶν ἐτῶν 1536-1576," *Θησαυρίσματα*, 11 (1974) 221, n. 80.

² C.M. Sathas, *Documents inedits relatifs a l'histoire de la Grece au moyen-age* (Paris, 1882) 4, p. 194.

³ C. Mertzios, "Σταχυολογήματα ἀπὸ τὰ κατάστιχα τοῦ νοταρίου Κρήτης Μιχαὴλ Μαυρᾶ (1538-1578)" *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 15-16 (1961-1962) 234, n. 64.

⁴ I.K. Chasiotes, *Οἱ Ἕλληνες στὶς παραμονές τῆς ναυμαχίας τῆς Ναυπάκτου*.

versity of Padua;⁵ "Cavaliere" Jacomo Mormori a wealthy person, contributed financially to the Cretan participation in the battle of Lepanto (7 October 1571), and was Commander, probably during the early to middle 1570s, of the "Stradioti" units stationed in Candia.⁶ The "Stradioti" were mercenary cavalymen mostly of Greek and Albanian origin. Through their actions in the battlefields of Italy, of the Levant, and of Flanders, they acquired, by the sixteenth century, a reputation of being tough and ruthless fighters. Jacomo was the father of Emmanuel and of Zorzi, the best known, and so far the most distinguished, in military affairs, members of the family.

The two brothers participated in the great struggle which marked the eastern half of the Mediterranean, during the last decades of the sixteenth century. Emmanuel or Manoli as he was also known, is first mentioned shortly before 1570. He and a number of other prominent persons were sent by the "Provveditore generale" Cavali to Sphakia, a revolted region in Western Crete, in order to convince the rebels to come to terms with the Venetian authorities.⁷ During 1570 and the first half of 1571, he participated actively in the fighting against the Turks in northern Epiros. In June 1570 he was appointed in charge of the captured fortress of Sopotos, near Chimara. He was, however, unlucky for when the fortress was recaptured by the Turks, Manoli was taken prisoner. He spent four years in a Turkish jail, in Constantinople, and was liberated in June 1575, when prisoners were exchanged between Venice and the Ottoman government.⁸ Manoli Mormori's next mention is contained in a Ducal letter, dating July 8, 1583, issued by Doge Nicolo Daponte (1578-1585). He was, now, a Colonel and was appointed Commander of the Cretan Infantry units known as "Ordinanze." The next reference dates from July 8, 1590, and is again a Ducal letter of instructions addressed to Mormori by Doge Pasquale Cicogna (1585-1595). According to the letter, Manoli was recalled to Italy and charged with military duties for the duration of operations against the rebel

⁵ G. Ploumides, *Οἱ βενετοκρατούμενες ἑλληνικὲς χώρες μεταξύ τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ τοῦ τρίτου τουρκοβενετικοῦ πολέμου (1503-1537)* (Jannina, 1974) p. 129.

⁶ Chasiotes, p. 204; I.G. Giannopoulos, *Ἡ Κρήτη κατὰ τὸν τέταρτο βενετοτουρκικὸ πόλεμο (1570-1571)* (Athens, 1978) p. 88.

⁷ The other members of the mission were: Francesco Vizzamano, Iakovos Kallergis, Assanes Eudiamonogiannis, the Latin bishop of Chanea, and the visiting Orthodox bishop Bessarion Logothetis. See: N. Zoudianos, *Ἱστορία τῆς Κρήτης ἐπὶ Ἑνετοκρατίας* (Athens, 1960) p. 242.

⁸ Chasiotes, pp. 147, 149, 212, 222, 224. M. Rossi, *Documenti relativi*

lord of Montemarciano, in Tuscany, Alfonso Piccolomini. Subsequently, Piccolomini was seized by Tuscan troops and was executed in March 1591. Shortly afterwards, in April 1591, Mormori returned to Crete. In the Summer of 1592 he was again active, dealing with unruly elements in the island.⁹ He is again mentioned in the Summer of 1593, this time as member of a Committee appointed to supervise the construction of the fortress of Assos in Cephalonia.¹⁰

Zorzi Mormori fought alongside his brother in northern Epiros. He commanded the "Stratioti" in Chimara Sopotos, Margariti, Santa Maura, and Corfu, in 1570-1571. He received many distinctions, became "Cavaliere," was decorated by the Doge and was appointed Commanding Officer of the "Stratioti" of Candia. Later, in the 1590s, we meet him as "Soprintendente alla sanita" for Candia, a position of authority, being responsible for health policies in the Cretan capital. He was there when the plague hit, from January 1592 to July 1594, and lost to the epidemic four sons. He is mentioned again in a Ducal letter, from 1611, issued on his behalf by Doge Leonardo Dona 1606-1612). He was, at the time, Commander of the fortress of Suda, in the gulf of Suda, in the western part of the island.¹¹

Following the fall of Crete in 1669, the family was again uprooted, and while some of its members fled to the Ionian islands, others settled in Venice.¹² Members of the Venetian branch of the family continued serving in the Army. As a matter of fact we have access to official information, dating from the first half of the eighteenth century, about two men: Zorzi And(rea) Mormori and Antonio Mormori who were career officers at that time. The information is contained in two Ducal letters, which are part of a series of manuscript documents, issued by the Venetian authorities and catalogued and described recently by this author. All refer to the activities of the Mormori family between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries and

⁹ On Manoli Mormori and the Alfonso Piccolomini incident, see D. B. Hatzopoulos, "Emmanuel Mormori and the Alfonso Piccolomini Incident," *Θησαυρίσματα*, 19 (1983) 90-101.

¹⁰ N.G. Moschonas, "Ἀποστολή ἀξιωματούχων ἀπὸ τὴν Κρήτη γὰ τὴν ἰδρυση τοῦ φρουρίου τῆς Ἀσσοῦ," in *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Δ' Διεθνoῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου* (29 August-3 September 1976) 264-67.

¹¹ On Zorzi and Emmanuel Mormori, see: D. Hatzopoulos, "New Information on the Mormori Family," *Θησαυρίσματα* 21 (1991) 358-68.

¹² C. Mertziou, "Δύο κατάλογοι τῶν ἐν Κερκύρα καὶ Ζακύνθῳ Κρητῶν προσφύγων κατὰ τὰ ἔτη 1682 καὶ 1683," *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 5 (1951) 24; S. Antoniadou, "Οἱ Κρητικοὶ προσφύγοντες ἐπὶ τὴν Κέρκυρα κατὰ τὰ ἔτη 1682 καὶ 1683," *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 5 (1951) 24; S. Antoniadou, "Οἱ Κρητικοὶ προσφύγοντες ἐπὶ τὴν Ζάκυνθο κατὰ τὰ ἔτη 1682 καὶ 1683," *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 5 (1951) 24.

are presently preserved in the Manuscripts and Special Collections section of the McLennan Library, at McGill University.¹³

The first letter, issued by Doge Giovanni Corner II (1709-1722) on May 28, 1718, refers to "Capitano" Zorzi And(rea) Mormori's posting as "Capitano di battaglione" in one of the units, formed in Treviso, ready to move to the Levant. The second one, issued by Doge Alvise Mocenigo III (1722-1732) on July 188, 1730, refers to the appointment of "Capitano" Antonio Mormori as "Sargente maggiore" in the Regiment of the city of Rovigo.

The manuscripts are presented here with a translation in English:

Ms. 687/09. "Ioanis Cornelio, Dei Gratia Dux Vene(tiarum) etc. Universis et Singulis Rapr(esentan)tibus Nostris quibuscunque Il quos hec nostre pervenerint et earum executio spectat vel spectare poterit significamus hodie in Colegio Nostro captam Il fuisse partem tenoris infrascripti videlicet. Dovendosi in ordine alle capitanerie stabilite sotto li 16 Dic(embre) passato con D(omino) Giulio dal Il Corno approbar li Offitiali delle com(pani)e che formato il primo Battag(lione) pervenuto da Trviso che partono per Levante, Il sia per questo Colegio approbato per Capit(an)o de Battag(lione med. . . il Cap(itano) Zorzi

And.

Mormori di famiglia nobile e distinta Il per le benemerenze di suoi auttori. Dovere lo stesso godere il rango, prerogative e antianita al grado, stesso spe-lltari, la paga di d(ucati) quaranta al mese . . . al de . . . to . . . cor. . . te certi di ritra. . . e pagati di pontualita che vogliono Il a rendersi maggiormente cappace delle gratie della Sig(no)ria Nostra. Quare autoritate supradicti Concilii mandamus vobis ut ita Il exequi debeatis. Data in Nostro Ducali Palatio die vigesima octava maii indictioni undecima, anno MDCCXVIII."

Illegible secretarial signature.

Translation: Having to appoint to the Captainships, established on the sixteenth of last December, with the collaboration of

Domino Giulio dal Corno, the officers of the Companies, which form the First Battallion, from Treviso, which a~ now leaving for the Levant, let it be approved by this College, for the position of Captain of the

Battalion . . . Captain Zorzi And. Mormori, who descends from a noble and, because of his ancestors' valorous acts, distinguished family. The same, need enjoy the rank, prerogatives and seniority of the position, and also be assigned the monthly salary of forty ducats . . . and also be paid punctually, in order to render him worthy of the grace of Our Signory.

Ms. 687/10. "Aloysius Mocenico, Dei Gratia Dux Venetiarum etc. Universis et Singulis Rapr(esentan)tibus Nostris Quibuscumque ad quos hec Nostre Il pervenerint et earum executio spectat, vel spectare poterit significamus hodie in Concilio Nostro Rogatorum captam fuisse partem tenoris infrascripti videlicet. Il Dovendosi approbare Sarg(ente) Mag(iore), come di sopra, il cap(itano) Antonio Mormori, che Il dirige una Compagnia nel Reg(imen)to stesso. Offiziale d'habilita e sufficienza come rilevasi dagl' essami et essercizii fatti in Verona sotto li 8 Luglio accompagnati Il dal Prov(editor) est(abilito) in T(erra) F(erma) K(avalier) Pisani. Doveva percio godere la paga, oblihi e prerogative alla carica stessa, altrimenti promettendosi sempre piu un buon Il servizio come ha fatto per il passato. Quare auctoritate supradicti Concilii mandamus vobis ut ita exequi debeatis. Il Datae in Nostro Palado die decima octava Julii Indictione octava, MDCCXXX

Illegible secretarial signature. Il

Regis(tr)ata nel libro delle Il Ducali e servizzi tenuto Il nelli Offici del Regi(mento) di Il S.E. Proved(it)or Est(abilit)o in T(erra) F(erma) Il K(avalie)r Pisani. A(gosto) 10. Il Giusepe Bardese R(egistar). Il A di 10 Agosto 1730 Verona Il Pres(en)tato in mano di S.B. S(igno)r Il Carlo Pisani Cav(alie)r Prev(edito)r G(enera)l in Il T(erra) F(erm)a ve commando la sua executione. Il Zuane Franceschi Il Seg(retar)io."

Translation: Having to appoint a "Sargente maggiore" in the Regiment of the city of Rovigo, let it be approved, by this Council, as "Sargente maggiore" of the above Regiment Captain Antonio Mormori who also commands a Company of the same Regiment. He is an able and efficient officer, as this has been proven by the tests and the military exercises performed in Verona, on the 8th of July, under the supervision of the Provveditore of the Terra Ferma, Cavaliere Pisani. Consequently, he will be able to enjoy the salary, duties, and prerogatives, which accompany the position, promising, in all other respects, a good service, as he has done in the past.

Registrations: Registered in the Book of Ducal letters and services kept in the Offices of the Regiment of his excellency, stained in Terra Cavaliere Pisani. August 10.

Giuseppe Bardese.

August 10, 1730, Verona. Presented to his excellency Signor Carlo Pisani, Cavaliere Provveditore Generale in Terra Ferma, who ordered its execution.

Zuane Franceschi, secretary.

At the present time we have no other information about the two men mentioned in the manuscripts. Because of his first name Zorzi, the officer named in manuscript 687/9, could be a direct line descendant of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries "Cavaliere!" Zorzi Mormori. While Zorzi is a common first name in the family, such is not the case with the other first name: Antonio. To my knowledge this is the first time that information on an Antonio Mormori becomes available. Andrea, Zorzi Mormori's patronymic, is already carried by a Naupliotan Mormori in the early period of the sixteenth century.¹⁴

Both, Zorzi Andrea Mormori and Antonio Mormori served at a time when Venetian power was in the decline. However, in the first manuscript we discern a reflection of the great events which occurred in Southeastern Europe, in the late seventeenth and in the early sixteenth centuries. The war between the Christian League, of which Venice was member, and the Ottoman Empire began in the Spring of 1684. Venetian participation was highly

successful and when on February 21, 1699, peace was signed at Carlowitz between the opponents the Republic had recovered the greater part of its possessions in the Peloponnesos and in Dalmatia. However the former was not to remain under Venetian control for long. When war broke out again, Venice lost entirely, the Peloponnesos, in 1715. Also, in the Summer of 1716 Corfu narrowly escaped capture by the Ottomans. The defeat of the Turks in Corfu, combined with the Austrian victories in the Northern Balkans and the advance of the Imperial armies into Ottoman held territory, were followed by a resumption of the offensive by the Venetians. While the Ottoman army lost Belgrade to the Imperial Commander Prince Eugene, in August 1717, Venetian troops under the command of Count Schullemburg, the defender of Corfu, landed on the Epirotan coast and captured Vonitza and Preveza.

The favorable turn of the events in the Levant caused much excitement in Venice and additional units were prepared to move to the operations' area. Manuscript 687/9 refers to Commands established in December 1717. Although peace talks were initiated in the first days of May 1718, the leading principle from the beginning, appeared to be the "ut possedetis." As a result, the Venetian government kept on the pressure, and in the document we see that in late May, with peace talks going on, the First Battalion, from Treviso (a Venetian dependency on the Terra Ferma since 1344) was leaving for the Levant. Zorzi And. Mormori had the grade of Captain. According to the information provided by the document he descended from a distinguished and noble family and was marked by the valorous deeds of his ancestors (...di famiglia nobile e distinta per le benemerenze di suoi auttori."

When peace was, finally, signed in Passarowitz (21 July 1718), with the exception of its Italian possessions, Venice was left in control of the Ionian Islands and of some places along the Dalmatian and Epirotan coasts (Cattaro, Butrinto, Parga, Preveza, Vonitza).¹⁵ For all practical purposes Venice's role, as a regional power, was finished. The treaty of Passarowitz was the last important diplomatic act of the Republic.¹⁶ From then on Venice withdrew and became a passive spectator of events occurring in Europe. The Republic entered a state of diplomatic torpor.

Manuscript 687/ 10 refers to Captain Antonio Mormor's promotion. A career officer, distinguished in the military exercises of July 1730, in the region of Verona, he was appointed "Sargere maggiore" of the Regiment of Rovigo (Rovigo, in Veneto, a Venetian dependency since 1482), in which

he already served as Captain. The Venetian army had no relation, by that time, with the great armies of the past, when the Republic had to fight alone and resist the might of the Ottoman Empire.

Zorzi Mormori and Antonio Mormori carried the family's military tradition well into eighteenth century, a long way from the late fifteenth century Venetian Nauplion.

¹⁵ Daru, Comte. *Histoire de la republique de Venise*. (Brussels, 1840) p. 148;