

## A FRANKISH ESTATE NEAR THE BAY OF NAVARINO\*

I am happy to represent the area of later Greek studies in this volume of essays in honor of a distinguished teacher and colleague. Few classicists or prehistorians have known and loved post-classical Greece as well as Carl Blegen. Testifying to his interest in Byzantine, Turkish, and independent Hellas is the notable collection of Modern Greek books in the University of Cincinnati Library. It now numbers about 14,000 volumes, the result of his purchases begun in 1930. The quality and range of this collection place Professor Blegen in the select company of such Greek book-collectors as the late Joannes Gennadius, George Arvanitidis, and Damianos Kyriazis.<sup>1</sup>

My purpose is to describe a small feudal estate of the fourteenth century located near the northeastern end of the bay of Navarino. The evidence I shall cite is to be found largely in three unpublished documents preserved in Florentine archives. It will be convenient to refer to these documents by the letters A, B, and C.

Document A,<sup>2</sup> dated at Naples, 16 July 1338, is a charter recording the grant to Niccolò Acciaiuoli of several estates in Messenia and Elis. The grantors were members of the Angevin house of Naples and Sicily, founded by Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis. The kings or lesser members of this dynasty had since 1267 been suzerains of the crusader principality of Achaia or Morea (1205-1432); at times members of the house were themselves princes of Morea. Niccolò Acciaiuoli (1310-1365) was the most talented member of the Florentine banking family of the Acciaiuoli, which made itself indispensable to the Angevin monarchs and was to provide Athens with its last ducal line.<sup>3</sup> For his numerous services to the Neapolitan Angevins he was rewarded with the office of great seneschal of the kingdom and with the hereditary title of Count of Melfi. In both Italy and Greece he was the recipient of many estates.

\* Some of the findings in this article are the result of field work in Peloponnesus in 1959-60. I am grateful to the Research Committee of the American Philosophical Society for a grant that made my travel possible. I wish to thank my colleague Professor Laurence G. Wolf for preparing Figure 1.

<sup>1</sup> The means for Professor Blegen's purchases have been provided by the late Professor and Mrs. William T. Semple and since 1961 from the Classics Fund of the University of Cincinnati endowed by Mrs. Semple. A printed catalogue of his purchases to about 1953, comprising some 7,000 volumes, was edited by Niove Kyparissiotis: *The Modern Greek Collection in the Library of the University of Cincinnati. A Catalogue*, The Hestia Press, Athens, for the University of Cincinnati, 1960.

<sup>2</sup> It is an original parchment in the Archivio Ricasoli-Firidolfi, Acciaiuoli collection, No. 130 (ex 179).

<sup>3</sup> On Niccolò Acciaiuoli see the article by E.-G. Léonard in the *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, I, Rome, 1960.

His Greek domains made him the largest landholder of the principality after the royal family.

Document B consists of an inventory of these estates drawn up in or about the year 1354.<sup>4</sup> The data are arranged under seventeen headings, which are the names of towns, villages, castles, and rural districts. The surviving place names and various indications as to the location of the unidentified toponyms leave no doubt that Niccolò's lands were in the fertile regions of Elis and Messenia. The information under each heading usually consists of the following items: lists of peasants and their dues, of deserted peasant holdings, and of leased lands; sources of supplementary seigniorial income; and lists of persons, either archers or feudatories, owing military service.<sup>5</sup>

Document C is a brief report that complements document B; it, too, can be dated *ca.* 1354.<sup>6</sup>

Of the twenty some estates that Niccolò held in Peloponnesus in 1354, we shall turn our attention in particular to the fief of *Glichi* or Glyky. We need first to locate it with some precision. The name appears four times in documents A and B, as *Cliczi*, *Gliczi*, *Clegi*, and *Glichi*. We have no doubt that the last is the best transcription; it renders the Greek Γλυκύ. This is, in fact, the name of a village mentioned in the Greek version of the Chronicle of Morea. I believe it is identical with our *Glichi*. The chronicler mentions two other places along with Glyky, viz. Platanos and Maniatochori, and he situates all three in the castellany of Kalamata.<sup>7</sup> The three places were among the feudal possessions that the princess Anna, widow of Prince Guillaume de Villehardouin, held in the castellany in the 1280's. Significantly, in document B we find the heading: *In casali*<sup>8</sup> *Cliczi* . . . *in castellania Calamate*. To the Franks the term *Calamata* used alone was roughly synonymous with Messenia, a name hardly known to them. However, by the expression *castellania Calamate* they understood a

<sup>4</sup> It is preserved in a paper manuscript in the Archivio di Stato, Florence, collection of the Conventi soppressi, Convento 51: Certosa di Galluzzo, filza 215, No. 23. It is unfortunately incomplete at the beginning and at the end.

<sup>5</sup> Document B in its entirety and the part of document A in which the properties are catalogued are modeled on the inventories of Byzantine estates, the *praktika*. Cf. G. Ostrogorski, *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine*, Brussels, 1954, pp. 259-368. There is evidence that the inventories of Frankish estates of Morea were made first in Greek and then put into Latin.

<sup>6</sup> This document also is in the collection Conventi soppressi of the Florentine state archives: Convento 51, Certosa di Galluzzo, filza 216, No. 18. Doc. A is in Latin; docs. B and C are in a mixture of Latin and Italian. Jean Longnon, Conservateur honoraire de la Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France and I are preparing these and other documents on the economy of Frankish Morea for publication soon. Cf. J. Longnon, "Dans la Grèce franque: documents sur la vie économique," *Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations*, VI, 1951, pp. 528-531.

<sup>7</sup> *The Chronicle of Morea*, Τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως. *A history in political verse, relating the establishment of feudalism in Greece by the Franks in the thirteenth century*, edited by John Schmitt, London, 1904, verses 8068-8070.

<sup>8</sup> *Casale* = χωρίον, i.e., a village and adjoining lands consisting of the peasants' plots and the seigniorial domain. Such an "agglomeration" often constituted a fief in Latin Greece; sometimes two or more feudatories held parts of the same *casale*.

more restricted area of Messenia. We know that the castellany included choice districts in the lower half of the Pamisos valley and around the bay of Navarino.<sup>9</sup>

The mention of Platanos and Maniatochori in association with Glyky is itself an indication that the last was located at no great distance from the bay of Navarino. For Platanos can be identified with the village of this name situated near Chora (formerly Ligoudista), a few miles north of the bay of Navarino (Fig. 1). It appears in documentary sources of the Frankish period and in the Venetian census of 1689.<sup>10</sup> As for Maniatochori, this was a feudal domain in which Nicholas II de St. Omer, second husband of the princess Anna, built a small fortification against the Venetian colony of Modon and Coron, as the chronicler informs us.<sup>11</sup> While this structure and the name have apparently disappeared, we have no doubt that this fief was situated near the southeastern or southern end of the bay of Navarino. We would place it in the vicinity of the existing village of Mesochori. We hear of it first in Angevin records of the 1280's.<sup>12</sup> It is mentioned frequently in the deliberations of the Venetian Senate between 1408 and 1423, being referred to both as a *locus* and a *casale cum fortilitio*. In these very troubled years the Venetian government was concerned to acquire the modest fortifications of Maniatochori and Grizi along with the strong castle of Navarino, in order to increase the security of the ports of Modon and Coron, "the chief eyes of the Republic."<sup>13</sup> Finally Maniatochori reappears in the records of the temporary Venetian occupation of Morea (1686-1715). Thus we find it in the census of 1689<sup>14</sup> and in a compilation of the villages of Peloponnesus a few years later, by the engineer G. E. Alberghetti. The place it occupies in Alberghetti's list indicates it was near Mesochori.<sup>15</sup> Since the name was known to the Venetians as late

<sup>9</sup> On the limits of the province and castellany of Kalamata consult the Sorbonne dissertation of Antoine Bon, *La Morée franque*, part II of the typescript, pp. 232 ff. (I am deeply indebted to M. Bon for lending me a copy of his unpublished work, which is now fortunately in the press.)

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Bon, *La Morée franque*, part II, p. 282. The Venetian census was published by Sp. P. Lampros, "Ἀπογραφὴ τοῦ Νομοῦ Μεθώνης ἐπὶ Βενετῶν," *Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, II, 1885, pp. 686-710; see p. 702 (*Platano*).

<sup>11</sup> *The Chronicle of Morea*, ed. Schmitt, verses 8093-8095. The same St. Omer, or less probably his nephew Nicholas III, built the old castle of Navarino between 1282 and 1289. See Bon, *La Morée franque*, part II, pp. 248 f.

<sup>12</sup> See Carl Hopf, *Geschichte Griechenlands vom Beginn des Mittelalters bis auf unsere Zeit* (2 vols., Leipsic, 1867-68 = Ersch and Gruber, *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, vols. 85 and 86), I, p. 319, col. A. It is not clear from the way Hopf mentions Platanos and Glyky in col. B on this page whether he found the latter places recorded along with Maniatochori in the Angevin registers. He is, I suspect, mentioning Platanos and Glyky here on the basis of the Greek Chronicle. These registers were destroyed in 1943.

<sup>13</sup> See references and discussion in Bon's thesis, part II, pp. 289 f.; and cf. F. Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Roumanie*, II, Paris and The Hague, 1959, index s. n. *Manticori*.

<sup>14</sup> As *Manctogchori*, an inhabited place of fifteen persons (Lampros, *Ἀπογραφὴ*, p. 700).

<sup>15</sup> In *Breve descrizione corografica del Peloponneso o Morea . . . estratta dal volume di D. Pier Antonio Pacifico*, Venice, 1704, p. 125: *Mamitocori* [= Maniatochori] comes after the known

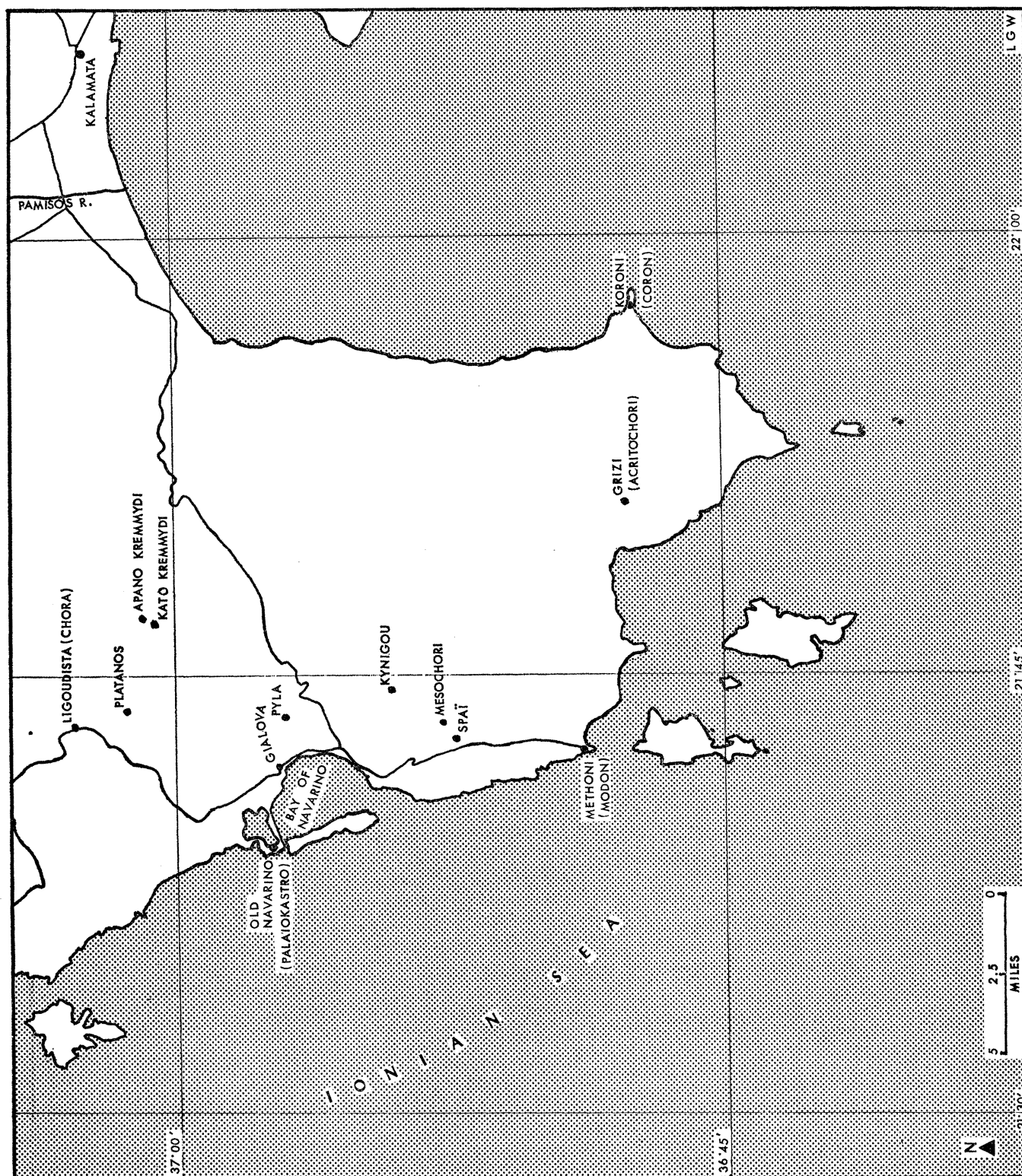


Fig. 1. The Bay of Navarino and Southern Messenia

as about 1700, it may yet be discovered in modern Greek sources.

It is our own documents that furnish more direct evidence on the location of Glyky. Acciaiuoli was granted a fourth part of this fief in 1338. Documents A and B include an inventory of this part, which had once belonged to a judge Guglielmo de Genitocastro and had escheated to the Angevin house. Document B also includes the inventory of another, larger, part of Glyky, which had once been held by a feudatory named Giovanni Caputo. We do not know how Acciaiuoli acquired Caputo's part between 1338 and 1354. Now among the varied sources of additional seigniorial revenue recorded for these two parts of Glyky there occur the well-known place names of *Avarino*, *portu de Junco*, and *Pila*. The first is found once, in an item in document A recording the payment of twenty hyperpers<sup>16</sup> from harbor dues at Navarino. *Junco*, too, occurs but once, in document B, in the item exactly corresponding to the one just cited, except that the amount of the revenue is omitted. *Portu de Junco* is of course Italian for *port de Junch*, "harbor of rushes," the name which the French crusaders gave to the famous bay. As for *Pila*, it is mentioned eight times in document B, as the location of seigniorial farms, an olive grove, a swamp, a salt marsh, and a wine-storage. We have no hesitation in identifying the name *Pila* with that of the existing village of Pyla, situated on a terrace dominating a small plain at the north-eastern end of the bay of Navarino.<sup>17</sup> This plain must coincide, at least in part, with the lands that comprised the estate of Glyky. At the present day, in Pyla and neighboring villages, one hears the expression *ὁ Πυλόκαμπος* for this plain. The expression may be very old, antedating the arrival of the Franks. In any case, we find the phrase *cum plano de Pilla* in a Latin document of 1387; it is highly probable that this renders an existing Greek topographical designation heard by the Franks.<sup>18</sup>

villages of *Chinigù alto e Basso* and *Missocori*, and before *Spai* and *Vrissi*. See the map of the French Expedition to Morea, *Carte de la Grèce redigée et gravée au Dépôt de la Guerre*, etc., Paris, 1852, sheets 16-17, at Kynigou, Misokhori, and Spai. Spai is now uninhabited; although Vrissi is not on this map, it would appear to have been in the district of Mesochori, which today includes a location called *Βρύση* or *Χαπὰ τὴ Βρύση*.

<sup>16</sup> The *hyperperon* was the successor to the Byzantine gold *solidus* or *nomisma*; its value declined considerably in the empire of the Palaiologoi and in the Frankish states of Greece. In Achaia it was divided into twenty sterlings, of four tournois each. In a document of 1 Nov. 1379 reporting income from the Acciaiuoli estates in Morea, hyperpers are reduced to Venetian ducats at the rate of 3 hyp. 15 st. = 1 ducat. See F. Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter*, Greek ed. by Sp. P. Lampros (3 vols., Athens, 1904-06), III, p. 96 line 15, p. 97 line 16 (*soldi* = sterlings).

<sup>17</sup> The present village has had a continuous existence at least since the seventeenth century. It is in the Venetian census of 1689 (Lampros, *Ἀπογραφὴ*, p. 702: *Pila*). Alberghetti lists it as *Pilla*, *olim Pylus* (in *Breve descrizione*, p. 125). Is the name Pyla a reminiscence of the Pylos of Hellenistic and Roman times? Cf. Ernst Meyer, *Pauly's Realencyclopädie*, XLVI, "Pylos," cols. 2125 ff. At the least, the similarity of the names is remarkable.

<sup>18</sup> The Latin expression is used in the charter of July 20, 1387, preserved in the archives of Turin according to which Prince Amedo of Savoy had on the previous day bestowed a large fief in Greece on his follower, John Laskaris Kalopheros. Navarino, Pyla, Maniatochori, Platanos, and

The fact that the holder of the fief of Glyky had rights to the harbor dues of Junch and extensive lands and rights in the plain of Pyla leaves no doubt that this estate was situated around the northern and northeastern shores of the bay of Navarino. Our evidence does not allow us to determine the precise location of the village of Glyky itself. It was surely close to the site of the Pyla of today.

The following passage from document C is further evidence of the fertility of the plain of Pyla and of its immediate access to the sea:

Lo terreno de la Pilla e presso la marina et e loco apto a seminare et fare vigne, ma e tenuto et tenelo messer Johanni Misito, messer lo episcopo de Mothone, Thodoro Barda et altri, et non pagano nulla ragione. Poriali tenere para tre de buovi per fare bona massaria et laborare per li homini de lo Crimidi, et perveneria grandissima quantitate de biava; et plantareli vigne assay perche si lo vino non se vendesse a la Pilla, poria mandare altrove per mare. Item poria se fare a la Pilla un altra pischera.

Acciaiuoli's agent here reports that the land in question, illegally exploited by Misito and Bardas (probably Greek feudatories) and the Latin bishop of Modon, could become a farm (*massaria*) richly productive in grain if worked by three pairs of oxen and by some of Niccolò's serfs of *Crimidi*. It could be planted in vines, too, and the wine sold at Pyla, or elsewhere since it could easily be transported by sea. Acciaiuoli already had a fishing ground at Pyla, and the agent suggests the establishment of another. *Crimidi* is to be identified with the existing villages of Ano and Kato Kremmydia, a few miles northeast of Pyla, which make virtually one settlement.<sup>19</sup> Niccolò's properties at Kremmydi are inventoried in document B. They included 62 peasant households and 21 deserted peasant holdings. We may be sure the peasants of Kremmydi would have preferred to do the corvée on seigniorial lands within the district of their village, rather than walk the entire distance to the plain of Pyla and back.

For a clearer impression of the economy and inhabitants of Glyky in 1354 it will be profitable to cite, with certain omissions, the entries that record the properties and income of the part formerly held by the judge Guglielmo.

In casale Clegi

Hec su la quarta parte ipsius casalis qui fuit Judice Gollelmo.

Ligoudista were among the Messenian estates granted to Kalopheros; the concession, however, remained on paper. Bon cites the relevant passage from the original document (*La Morée franque*, II, p. 276 note 1). Amedeo was a claimant of the principality of Achaia.

<sup>19</sup> They are the *casalia Carimidia* mentioned in the testament of Niccolò Acciaiuoli of 1359 (J. A. Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches historiques sur la principauté française de Morée et ses hautes baronnies*, 2 vols., Paris, 1845, II, p. 175). Cf. *Cremidi* in the census of 1689 (Lampros, *Ἀπογραφὴ* p. 700).

Marululi Corochi habet uxor, filiu Christodolu,  
 bove unu, tenetur solvere ypp. iiij st. viij

[Four entries omitted]

Item larico ypp. j st. xv

Summa : ypp. xiiij st. xvi t. iiij  
 Item li necari

Andreas Bastardo habet uxor et fratres  
 Nuchita et Thoma, tenetur solvere st. xv

[Three entries omitted]  
 L'eremustasi

Stasia Cheretius Alacomata pagat ypp. j st. vij t. j

[Ten entries omitted]

Summa : ypp. xxij st. xv t. j

Item le terre apatuate

Vasilius Sarachinopolu pagat cere lib. ij  
 Georgi Cartofila pagat st. xv

[Eleven entries omitted]

Summa : ypp. ij st. xvij½

Lo quarto de la limena a lo portu de Junco  
 Lo quarto de le terre de Pila  
 Lo quarto de Pila co lolive  
 Lo quarto de le vinee de Sclavoforo co olive  
 Lo quarto de le olive de lo gardeno  
 Lo quarto de lo balto de Pila pagat st. xv  
 La meatate de la taverna de Bliga  
 Lo quarto de lo tarpeto <sup>20</sup>

The first entries record the most valuable property in Guglielmo's part—five peasant families, each of which has a hereditary servile tenure, a *stasia*. The serfs themselves are referred to as *homines*, *vilani*, or *yparici* <sup>21</sup> in various parts of document B. *Stasia*, from the Byzantine term *στάσις*, is used very frequently throughout

<sup>20</sup> From folios 66 recto to 68 recto of document B. Under Guglielmo's part in document A only one *necaro* is registered, and no *eremustasi* or *terre apatuate*. Nor do the two lists of items of additional seigniorial income entirely coincide.

<sup>21</sup> Singular *yparicus*; from *πάροικος*, used often in the Byzantine *praktika* to denote the serf.

our documents. It designated the serf's holding, which consisted essentially of a house in the village and scattered strips of arable land around the village. The word may also be said to express the concept of a unit of taxation, inasmuch as the *στάσις* or *stasia* was the basic object of assessment of rural property.<sup>22</sup> The entry for Corochi is a typical one insofar as it records, besides the head of the household, his wife, son, and a plowing beast. But it is highly abbreviated in recording the annual dues on the *stasia*; it merely states their total, here amounting to four hyperpers and eight sterlings, a substantial payment, as it happens. In contrast, the first entry under *Petoni*, an unknown Messenian village, in document B records the component parts of the annual dues, using technical terms: first the *acrostickum* or basic land tax on the *stasia* (from the Byzantine term *ἀκρόστιχον*), next a tithe (*decimum*) on pigs, and then the payment or gift to the lord called *exenium*, paid in money and in kind (eggs, grain, and must). We assume that Corochi contributed labor service on the seigniorial domain. In other documents recording income from Acciaiuoli's estates we find the corvée being redeemed with an annual payment of five hyperpers by each holder of a *stasia*.

*Item larico* is probably out of place here. A similar entry is found under two other fiefs in document B in the list of the lord's supplementary revenues. While the word is indubitably from the name of the Byzantine tax *ἀερικόν*,<sup>23</sup> we can only guess the purpose of this payment. The five peasant families perhaps owed it collectively.

A *necaro* (*nicarius* in Latin) was a serf whose tenure was less secure than that of a *stasia*-holder. The word was evidently derived from the Greek (ἐ)νοικάρης; we have not, however, encountered it in Byzantine texts. Of the status of the *nicarius* we have very few specific indications. He redeemed his labor service with a payment of only two and a half hyperpers. From the Assizes of Romania we learn that he was not prescribed by any period of time, unlike the serf (presumably the holder of a *stasia*) who could change masters if he lived on the fief of another lord for thirty years.<sup>24</sup> It is to be noted that Andreas Bastardo's payment of fifteen sterlings was well under the average of the dues owed by the five tenants of *stasie*.

*L'eremustasi*, a term found three times in document B, must be a transcription of *ἐρημόστασις*, compounded of *ἐρημος* and *στάσις*. Such a term, however, has not been discovered in Byzantine documents. The scribe of document B no doubt understood it as a plural. Abandoned holdings are more often called *stasie deserte* in this document. To render them productive, we find that some are granted to serfs of the same village, to petty Latin feudatories, or to archers, while many are simply added to the lord's domain. Of the *eremustasi* of Guglielmo's part marginal notations in the list inform us that two have been regranted.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. F. Dölger, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXIX, 1929-30, pp. 342-344.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Ostrogorskij, *Féodalité byzantine*, Index, s. v.

<sup>24</sup> See further P. Topping, "Le régime agraire dans le Péloponnèse latin au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *L'Hellénisme Contemporain*, 2d ser., X, Athens, 1956, p. 282.



The *terre apatuate* were fields of arable land or other immovables (vines, gardens, houses, mills) rented by contract (*pactum*); they are most often called *appactuaciones* in our documents. The rent was paid in money or in wax. None of the thirteen lessees bears the same full name as any of the five holders of *stasie*, although some of the surnames are the same. We know, however, from other documents that peasants holding *stasie* could also hold immovables through the method of the *appactuacio*. These thirteen lessees were perhaps peasants of Glyky belonging to another lord than Acciaiuoli. They were bound to Niccolò only for the payments on their *appactuaciones*.

We have cited the last entries of Guglielmo's part without omissions; they are the eight items of supplementary seigniorial income. Elsewhere in document B such items appear under headings like *le cose de la corte* (or *de lo domanio*) and *bona et iuria alia*. We have already noted the harbor dues of Navarino, here expressed by *limena*, evidently from λιμένας, popular Greek for harbor (λιμήν), though a term like λιμενιατικόν would more technically express the payment for anchoring in the harbor. Income was derived from farms, olive orchards, and a swamp, all at Pyla. There were also a quarter of the vines and olives at *Sclavoforo*, half of the dues paid at a wine-storage at *Bliga*, and finally a quarter of the payments for the olive-press.<sup>25</sup>

Immediately after the entries for Guglielmo's part in document B occurs the heading: In aventario de casale Glichi la parte de dominus Johanne Caputu. In summary, the properties of Caputo's part consisted of seven *stasie*, two holdings of *nicarii*, the service of an *incosatus*, four abandoned *stasie*, twelve items entitled *cose de la corte*, and five *appactuaciones*, in that order. At the very end is found the isolated item: Feudo de Georgiu Scata. The land of a petty Greek feudatory is in question here, but we are told nothing about his service.

In total number of peasant holdings, occupied and deserted, Caputo's part is smaller than Guglielmo's. However, the *stasia*-holders are somewhat more propertied: three of the seven have a pair of oxen each, while another has a flour mill on lease. Furthermore, this part of Glyky included enough land to support a certain Goti Murmuru, of the class of *incosati*, who was obliged to serve Acciaiuoli one month each year for his inheritance (*redetage*). He served honorably with arms, exempt of any servile burdens.<sup>26</sup> Finally, the *cose de la corte* are more numerous and substantial in

<sup>25</sup> *Sclavoforo* is probably an inaccurate transcription of Σκλαβοχώρι, "place of the Slavs." *Balto* is from βάλτος, "swamp." *Bliga* is for Vigla, found twice in the corresponding list in document A. There is hardly a Greek village without a lookout called βίγλα (from Latin *vigilia*), and Pyla is no exception; it is located in the area named Ντάπια, a ridge between Pyla and Gialova. Since the name is so common, we can at most say that it is conceivable that the Vigla of documents A and B was in the Dapia district. This ridge is recorded, along with Pylokampos, by W. A. McDonald and R. Hope Simpson, in *A.J.A.*, LXV, 1961, p. 242, No. 58. *Tarpeto* = olive-press; it is from Latin *trapetus* or *trapetum* and survives in Sicilian *trappitu*.

<sup>26</sup> Murmuru = Μουρμούρης: he may have belonged to the well-attested family of landowners and officials of this name established in the principality. *Incossatus* is the Byzantine term ἐγκουσατός, a form of ἐξκουσατός, derived from *excusatus*. It has a long history in Byzantine usage. Cf. *The Chronicle of Morea*, ed. Schmitt, p. 605, s. v.

the fief that had once been Caputo's. The seigniorial domain was greater. The lord received half, not a quarter, of certain dues, e.g., from the harbor of Junch,<sup>27</sup> the swamp of Pyla, and the olive-press. And he had half of a saline at Pyla, an entire wine storehouse (*taverna*) there, and a tithe (*decima*) of small cattle.

The eighteen peasant households on Niccolò Acciaiuoli's estate of Glyky in 1354 included forty-four individuals presumably able to work.<sup>28</sup> These persons were hardly enough to work all the land available, whether their own plots, unoccupied *stasie*, or the lord's domain. The *terreno de la Pilla* mentioned in document C was no doubt one of the seigniorial farms listed under Glyky in document B. The recommendation that men should be brought from Kremmydi to cultivate it testifies to the shortage of hands at Glyky. More conclusive evidence of the depopulation there is the fifteen deserted *stasie*, a number exceeding that of the tenanted ones. The amount of abandoned land was thus far greater, proportionately, than at Kremmydi. The weak authority of the Angevins in Achaia at the time allowed local feudatories like Misito and Bardas to encroach even on the estates of Niccolò Acciaiuoli, the leading politician at Naples. The village and estate of Glyky were at a heavy disadvantage, too, in being so close to the sea, and thus exposed to the raids of Turkish, Catalan and other pirates infesting Greek waters. In general, the frequent wars in Morea between Byzantines and Franks since 1262 had reduced the population throughout the peninsula. And there is some evidence that the Black Death had taken its toll in southern Messenia.<sup>29</sup>

We have located the estate of Glyky and provided an outline of its classes and agricultural organization. Much more can be inferred about its life from a full study of all the documentary sources on the estates of the Acciaiuoli and other Frankish landholders.<sup>30</sup> The reconstruction of its institutions must also take into full account past and current research on the Byzantine land regime. Even in the brief passages from the documents cited above we have encountered a number of Byzantine terms. Essentially, the Franks in Peloponnesus only adapted a feudal political system to a "régime des terres" that remained unaltered.

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<sup>27</sup> This name does not reappear, only the item, first in the list: La miatate de la limena.

<sup>28</sup> This total comes from the following figures of recorded inhabitants. In Guglielmo's part: 12 in 5 families on *stasie*; 8 in 4 families of *nicarii*. In Caputo's part: 21 in 7 families on *stasie*; 3 in 2 families of *nicarii*. We cannot be certain these were all adults; in any case, no female children are registered.

<sup>29</sup> Serfs of villages on the frontier of the colony of Modon and Coron fled to these ports to escape the plague. See Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise*, I, 1958, p. 86, No. 318.

<sup>30</sup> See the suggestive survey by Jean Longnon based on all these materials: "La vie rurale dans la Grèce franque," *Journal des Savants*, Troisième Centenaire 1665-1965, Jan.-March 1965, pp. 343-357.