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Changing Economic Patterns in Latin Romania: The Impact of the West

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The dramatic fall of Constantinople in 1204 and the Latin conquest of the empire's provinces in the following decade resulted in the dismemberment of Romania. The Latins established a fairly large number of new political entities in the region, most of which remained under their rule for more than two centuries. These long-term political and territorial developments also generated profound economic changes.¹ The present survey is not aimed at providing an overall picture of the complex economic evolution of Latin Romania until around the mid-fifteenth century. Rather, it attempts to determine, as far as possible, the nature, extent, and pace of the Western impact on some of its aspects and trends. To this effect, it will be necessary time and again to look back at conditions and patterns existing before the Fourth Crusade.

It would be tedious to review the complex history of the political entities created by the Latins on Byzantine soil after 1204. However, two of them warrant our attention, since they were of particular importance for the economic evolution of Latin Romania and happen to be fairly well documented: the Venetian maritime empire and the Frankish principality of the Morea in the Peloponnesos. Venice laid the foundations of its centralized maritime empire in 1207, when it began the conquest of Crete and occupied Coron and Modon, two ports of southern Messenia. In 1211 it obtained a quarter in the main city of Euboea, Euripos, called Negroponte by the Latins, a name also used for the island itself. The second stage of Venetian expansion in Romania took place in the 1380s and 1390s, when Venice extended its domination over the island of Corfu, the whole of Euboea, and several cities and lordships in the Peloponnesos and the Aegean.² The principality of the Morea was the largest among the lordships created in non-

¹ I shall not deal here with the short-lived Kingdom of Thessalonica and Latin Empire of Constantinople, nor with the few islands of the Aegean occupied by the Genoese in the 14th century. They differed markedly from most territories of Latin Romania in their economic evolution.

² General historical background and detailed treatment of various issues by S. Borsari, *Il dominio veneziano a Creta nel XIII secolo* (Naples, 1963); idem, *Studi sulle colonie veneziane in Romania nel XIII secolo* (Naples, 1966); F. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au Moyen Age: Le développement et l'exploitation du domaine colonial vénitien (XIIe–XIVe siècles)*, Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 193, 2d ed. (Paris, 1975); D. Jacoby, *La féodalité en Grèce médiévale: Les "Assises de Romanie." Sources, application et diffusion* (Paris–The Hague, 1971), 185–308; J. Koder, *Negroponte: Untersuchungen zur Topographie und Siedlungsgeschichte der Insel Euböia während der Zeit der Venezianerherrschaft*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften 112 (Vienna, 1973); short survey by P. Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500* (London–

Venetian territories, most of which adopted a Western-type feudal regime. The return of Byzantium to the Peloponnesos in 1262 compelled Prince William II of Villehardouin to seek the support of King Charles I of Sicily, who extended his rule over Frankish Morea after the prince's death in 1278. The direct and indirect domination of the king's successors over the principality continued for more than a whole century.³ Among other topics, it will be useful to investigate whether differences in political conditions between the Venetian colonies and feudalized areas, primarily Frankish Morea, had any impact on their respective economic evolution.

Two intertwined processes promptly following the conquest had a marked impact on the economy of Latin Romania: the confiscation and redistribution of urban and especially rural resources, the most important components of which were land, the peasantry, and public rights of taxation; and Latin settlement in the conquered territories. The extent to which resources were confiscated varied from one area to another. It was largely determined by the circumstances leading to the submission of the local population, either based on agreements with the Latin leaders or imposed by force, by the size of lordless property, and by the amount of assets required for the needs of the conquerors. Large estates belonging to the Byzantine crown, to members and relatives of the imperial family, as well as to magnates, dignitaries, and ecclesiastical institutions closely associated with the imperial court and based in Constantinople were clearly among the first to be seized by the Latins. Such was the fate, for instance, of estates in the western Peloponnesos held before 1204 by Irene, daughter of Emperor Alexios III Angelos, members of the Kantakouzenos and Branias families, and Constantinopolitan monasteries.⁴ There were also estates belonging to the crown and to Constantinopolitan landlords in Crete and in other territories occupied by the Latins.⁵ In addition, the conquerors took hold

New York, 1995), 142–60; also D. Jacoby, "Byzantium after the Fourth Crusade: The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Frankish States in Greece," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 5, c. 1198–c. 1300, ed. D. Abulafia (Cambridge, 1999), 525–42.

³ See J. Longnon, *L'Empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée* (Paris, 1949); A. Bon, *La Morée franque: Recherches historiques, topographiques et archéologiques sur la principauté d'Achaïe (1205–1430)* (Paris, 1969); Jacoby, *Féodalité*, 17–91, 179–83; idem, "The Encounter of Two Societies: Western Conquerors and Byzantines in the Peloponnesos after the Fourth Crusade," *AHR* 78 (1973): 873–906, repr. in idem, *Recherches sur la Méditerranée orientale du XIIe au XVe siècle: Peuples, sociétés, économies* (London, 1979), no. II; K. M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)*, vol. 1, *The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1976), 1–162, 405–73; Lock, *Franks*, 1–134, 193–239, 266–309; D. A. Zakythinos, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, 2d ed. (London, 1975). On Latin Romania in general, see D. Jacoby, "Les états latins en Romanie: Phénomènes sociaux et économiques (1204–1350 environ)," in *XVe Congrès international d'études byzantines (Athènes, 1976), Rapports et co-rapports*, vol. 1.3 (Athens, 1976), 1–51, repr. in idem, *Recherches*, no. I; idem, "Social Evolution in Latin Greece," in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton, 2d ed. (Madison, Wisc., 1969–89), 6:175–221.

⁴ See D. Jacoby, "Les archontes grecs et la féodalité en Morée franque," *TM* 2 (1967): 422–27, repr. in idem, *Société et démographie à Byzance et en Romanie latine* (London, 1975), no. VI. The church of the Theotokos at the Blachernae in Constantinople presumably also had land in the western Peloponnesos prior to 1204. This is suggested by the monastery bearing its name, recorded in the 15th century and later, which stood to the east of Chiarenza; its construction goes back to the Byzantine period: Bon, *Morée*, 325, 561–74.

⁵ For a general view of Constantinopolitan estates throughout the empire, see J.-C. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210)* (Paris, 1990), 237–45; P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180* (Cambridge, 1993), 160–71.

of assets previously owned or held as *pronoiai* by local landlords who had fled or had opposed the Latin armies. Finally, whenever convenient they curtailed the property of Greek lay landlords, churches, and monasteries remaining under their rule.⁶ While varying in density, the number and especially the distribution of knightly fiefs in the Peloponnesos suggest large-scale confiscations.⁷ In Crete the state's seizure of property belonging to various archontes who had submitted to Venetian rule triggered a Greek rebellion in 1212.⁸

Confiscated lands and peasants were partitioned and partly allotted, both in feudalized and Venetian territories, in return for specific military and fiscal obligations that do not concern us here. In Crete, however, Venice retained under its direct authority the city and district of Candia, as well as the latter's rural workforce, and appears to have acted similarly in the territories of Coron and Modon.⁹ As for the rights of the Byzantine crown, they were privatized in feudalized areas and taken over by the state in Venetian territories. Some Greek archontes, though, benefited from the collapse of Byzantine authority, since they retained in their hands usurped imperial land and rights. The judicial and fiscal prerogatives exercised by Alexios Kallergis in Crete in the late thirteenth century, the most conspicuous and best documented such case, suggest that his ancestors too had enjoyed them since 1204, if not earlier.¹⁰ It has recently been argued that a free peasantry directly accountable to the state still existed in the empire in the early thirteenth century.¹¹ If this indeed was the case in the territories occupied by the Latins, free peasants too would have been affected by the processes just described.

These processes did not alter the nature of the predominantly agrarian economy of the conquered territories, although they had a definite impact on various phases of its operation that will be examined below. In the short term, however, the remaining Greek and the new Latin landlords as well as the peasantry had a common interest, regardless of the political regime and the changes in lordship imposed by the conquerors in their respective territories. They were eager to ensure the preservation of the Byzantine economic infrastructure in the countryside and the continuity of the latter's exploitation.

⁶ See Jacoby, "Archontes," 441–42.

⁷ R. Hiestand, "Nova Francia—nova Graecia: Morea zwischen Franken, Venezianern und Griechen," in R. Lauer and P. Schreiner, eds., *Die Kultur Griechenlands in Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Dritte Folge 212 (Göttingen, 1996), 59, argues that the Greeks of the Peloponnesos who cooperated with the conquerors did not suffer any losses. If this had indeed been the case, no land would have been available for distribution in large areas.

⁸ See Borsari, *Dominio*, 32–33, and for an overview of Greek rebellions in the 13th century, *ibid.*, 27–66.

⁹ For Crete, see Borsari, *Dominio*, 27–28; for Coron and Modon, Jacoby, *Féodalité*, 225–26.

¹⁰ See Jacoby, "Etats," 11, 26–28; *idem*, "Evolution," 184–85, 201; C. Maltezou, "Byzantine 'consuetudines' in Venetian Crete," *DOP* 49 (1995): 270–71; further evidence on the standing of Alexios Kallergis in eadem, "Creta fra la Serenissima e la Superba," in *Oriente e Occidente tra medioevo ed età moderna: Studi in onore di Geo Pitarino*, ed. L. Balletto (Genoa, 1997), 768–69.

¹¹ See J. Lefort, "Rural Economy and Social Relations in the Countryside," *DOP* 47 (1993): 101–13, esp. 111 ff. Archaeological evidence suggests a dwindling free peasantry in southwestern Boeotia already earlier, in the 11th–12th century: see J. Bintliff, "The Frankish Countryside in Central Greece: The Evidence from Archaeological Field Survey," in *The Archaeology of Medieval Greece*, ed. P. Lock and G. Sanders (Oxford, 1996), 4–5; for a more general view, see A. Harvey, "Peasant Categories in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," *BMGS* 14 (1990): 250–56. For Crete, see M. Gallina, *Una società coloniale del Trecento: Creta fra Venezia e Bisanzio*, *Deputazione di storia patria per le Venezie, Miscellanea di studi e memorie* 28 (Venice, 1989), 85–88.

Indeed, there was continuity in the patterns of land and water uses, crops and types of cultivation, animal breeding and pastoral activity, as well as in the production of wine, cheese, hides, wool, and silk, to name the most important products of the rural economy.¹² Continuity also prevailed in the forms of exploitation, either by the peasants themselves in their small household holdings or on domain land held by the landlords, who for that purpose relied on a variety of means. These included *corvée* or compulsory labor services owed by the peasants, the *ἀγγαρεία* of the Byzantine period,¹³ hired labor,¹⁴ and various contracts associating peasant and landlord and entailing a division of produce between the two parties or the payment of rents by the peasant. Continuity in these fields is well illustrated by the survival of Byzantine institutions and practices, whether administrative, fiscal, or legal, by the structure of the large estates in Frankish Morea, reflected in fourteenth-century surveys, as well as by numerous agricultural and pastoral contracts drafted in Crete, which make abundant use of Greek terms.¹⁵

It remains to determine the extent of continuity on the ground. The Latin conquest was largely conducted in swift campaigns that do not seem to have affected the operation of the rural economy. Later, however, intermittent warfare in the 1270s between Frankish and Byzantine forces in Euboea must have inflicted some damage upon the countryside.¹⁶ More severe disruptions in the exploitation of rural resources took place in Crete. The first instance occurred in the years 1207–11, during the struggle between Venetian forces and those of the Genoese Enrico Pescatore, who for several years ruled large sections of the island.¹⁷ A letter written by some Cretan Greeks to the Venetian doge Pietro Ziani in 1224 or 1225 offers convincing evidence to this effect.¹⁸ The same

¹² For details, see below.

¹³ Originally, the Byzantine *ἀγγαρεία* constituted a public labor service owed to the state, which occasionally transferred it to landlords and was then used for the cultivation of their domain land: see A. Stauridou-Zaphraka, “*Ἡ ἀγγαρεία στὸ Βυζάντιο*,” *Byzantina* 11 (1982): 23–54. Its public nature was preserved under Venetian rule in the districts of Coron and Modon: see D. Jacoby, “*Un aspect de la fiscalité vénitienne dans le Péloponnèse aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles: Le ‘zovaticum’*,” *TM* 1 (1965): 408, repr. in idem, *Société*, no. iv. About 1270 labor services existed on a moderate-sized Byzantine estate with about a dozen peasant households: see J. Lefort, “*Une exploitation de taille moyenne au XIII^e siècle en Chalcidique*,” in *Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν Νῆκο Σβορόνο*, vol. 1 (Rethymno, 1986), 362–72, esp. 366. For Crete, see Gallina, *Società*, 79–80, 86.

¹⁴ For Crete, see Gallina, *Società*, 49–50, 88–89; C. Gaspare, *Ἡ γῆ καὶ οἱ ἀγρότες στὴ μεσαιωνικὴ Κρήτη*, 130ς–140ς αἰ., National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute for Byzantine Research, Monographs 4 (Athens, 1997), 175–78.

¹⁵ See Jacoby, “*Evolution*,” 216–18; idem, review of A. Carile, *La rendita feudale nella Morea latina del XIV secolo* (Bologna, 1974), in *BZ* 73 (1980): 359–61; idem, “*From Byzantium to Latin Romania: Continuity and Change*,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 4 (1989): 10–23, repr. in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. B. Arbel, B. Hamilton, and D. Jacoby (London, 1989); Maltezos, “*Byzantine ‘consuetudines’*,” 270–74; eadem, “*Ὁ ὄρος ‘metacherissi’ στὶς ἀγροτικὲς μισθώσεις τῆς βενετοκρατομένης Κρήτης*,” *Byzantina* 13 (1985): 1142–46; Gallina, *Società*, 31–58, 71–72, 78–79; Gaspare, *Ἡ γῆ*, 143–75; P. Topping, “*Viticulture in Venetian Crete (XIII C.)*,” in *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Δ’ Διεθνoῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, vol. 2 (Athens, 1981), 509–20.

¹⁶ On the military operations, see D. J. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West, 1258–1282: A Study in Byzantine-Latin Relations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 235–37, 296–99.

¹⁷ On this struggle, see below, pp. 207–8.

¹⁸ Ed. G. B. Cervellini, *Documento inedito veneto-cretese del Dugento* (Padua, 1906), 13–18, esp. 14–16. For its dating, see Borsari, *Dominio*, 32–33, esp. n. 17.

letter refers to the harsh measures implemented during the Greek rebellion of 1222–24 by the duke of Crete, Paolo Querini, which led to the death or flight of numerous peasants.¹⁹ During the Greek rebellions of the thirteenth century, Venetian military operations and forays by the insurgents caused at times severe destruction.²⁰ In addition, the Venetian government prohibited on several occasions cultivation and grazing in areas likely to provide supplies to the insurgents. Though not continuous, the most serious interruptions in land use resulting from such cases occurred between 1287 and 1299, the year in which the rebellion led by Alexios Kallergis came to an end.²¹ In 1307 Andrea Corner requested the Venetian government to compensate him for revenue losses incurred in that period in Lombaro, a village located in the Lassithi area that belonged to the *militia* or fief he had obtained from the Commune.²² He referred to the period in which the village had been partly deserted, “quando e lomefo deshabitadho,” indicating that of the thirty-three villein households settled earlier, only seven remained. He also mentioned damage caused by fire and the neglect of vineyards cultivated by peasants under lease.²³ Incidentally, the detailed document he submitted is of particular interest, since it offers a unique insight into the components and sources of income of a Cretan fief. Several feudatories other than Andrea Corner had suffered similar losses.²⁴

It should be noted that in all these instances the disturbances were circumscribed to specific localities or areas of Crete, peasants either fleeing or being moved to new locations in which they contributed to the extension of cultivation.²⁵ For instance, Gabriele Querini was allowed between 1234 and 1236 to transfer his villeins to the new military tenement the Commune had granted him, since he could not exploit the one he held in the Lassithi plain.²⁶ Land appears to have been only temporarily abandoned by peasants and herdsmen, generally for less than five years, considering the cases adduced earlier.

¹⁹ For the dating of Querini’s action, see Borsari, *Dominio*, 32, 39–40, 128.

²⁰ On Greek rebellions in the first half of the 14th century, see Thiriet, *Romanie*, 164. The one of 1332–33 was short-lived and localized; the one begun in 1342 appears to have inflicted more damage: see F. Thiriet, “La condition paysanne et les problèmes de l’exploitation rurale en Roumanie gréco-vénitienne,” *SrVen* 9 (1967): 59, repr. in idem, *Etudes sur la Roumanie gréco-vénitienne (Xe–XVe s.)* (London, 1977), no. xiii.

²¹ Borsari, *Dominio*, 82–83; particular instances are recorded in documents drafted in 1307: S. M. Theotokes, ed., *Θεσπίσματα της Βενετικής Γερουσίας, 1281–1385, Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν, Μνημεῖα της Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας, τόμος Β, vol. 1* (Athens, 1936–37), 41–47, 48–56, esp. 43, nos. 9–11, 13–16.

²² Partial edition by Borsari, *Dominio*, 81–82 n. 76, and full one by Theotokes, *Θεσπίσματα*, 1:47–48, no. 12, yet both are marred by several mistakes. The legal nature of the Cretan *militie* and *serventarie* differed from that of fiefs and sergentries, respectively, in feudalized territories: see Jacoby, “Evolution,” 192–93.

²³ Note the important share of newly planted vines in the damage estimate: Theotokes, *Θεσπίσματα*, 1:48, lines 1–3. A contract for the planting and cultivation of a vineyard precisely at Lombaro, dated 1279, appears in M. Chiaudano and A. Lombardo, eds., *Leonardo Marcello, notaio in Candia, 1278–1281*, *Fonti per la storia di Venezia*, Sez. 3, *Archivi notarili* (Venice, 1960), no. 102 (hereafter *Marcello*).

²⁴ See above, note 21, and esp. Theotokes, *Θεσπίσματα*, 1:53, lines 91–106; Gaspare, *Η γη*, 201–8 and 299–330, nos. 1–6.

²⁵ On the status and transfer of villeins, see Jacoby, “Etats,” 35–39; M. Gallina, *Vicende demografiche a Creta nel corso del XIII secolo*, *Quaderni della Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi*, *Studi bizantini e slavi* 2 (Rome, 1984), 12–21.

²⁶ C. Maltezou, ed., *Venetiae quasi alterum Byzantium. Ὁψεις της Ἱστορίας τοῦ Βενετοκρατουμένου Ἑλληνισμοῦ, Ἀρχεαικά Τεκμήρια* (Athens, 1993), 152, no. 9. Similar moves of peasants from the Lassithi area occurred during the rebellion of Alexios Kallergis: see above, note 24.

In 1222 and 1252 the Venetian government expected the military settlers sent to Crete to ensure the resumption of land cultivation in the area granted to them within two years after their arrival, state subsidies ensuring their livelihood in that period.²⁷ Exceptionally, though, land exploitation was discontinued for some eight years.²⁸

In addition to general circumstances, spontaneous peasant mobility also determined the degree of continuity in land use.²⁹ In Crete peasants mainly moved within the island itself, although some of them attempted to flee. The authorities sought to prevent their escape and to attract immigrants.³⁰ Peasant mobility appears to have been greater in the Peloponnesos. The unclear definition of boundaries between Frankish Morea and the Venetian enclaves of Coron and Modon, on the one hand, the existence of a Byzantine province in the Peloponnesos since 1262 and its subsequent expansion, on the other, prompted peasants to cross the common borders of these territories, whether in one direction or the other.³¹ However, in the late thirteenth and in the first half of the fourteenth century this movement may have been somewhat restricted by the peaceful coexistence of Latin and Greek lords in specific areas along the Frankish-Byzantine borders. These lords jointly exploited several villages of Frankish Morea and shared their revenues and, therefore, had a vested interest in the stability of the local peasantry.³² While generating individual mobility, agreed exchanges of peasants between landlords did not disrupt rural work. In Crete the state occasionally granted villeins to military settlers or authorized these to settle a number of them on their tenements.³³ On the whole, then, it would seem that the thirteenth-century mobility of the rural workforce in Latin Romania was neither general nor continuous, but rather a local or regional phenomenon, limited in both extent and time. Recent research points to demographic growth in eleventh- and twelfth-century Byzantium.³⁴ This trend appears to have been sustained in the territories occupied by the Latins for another century, as suggested by evidence regarding the peasantry, the demand for land, and rising yields.³⁵

Conditions changed for the worse in several coastal areas and islands of the Aegean from the early fourteenth century, once the Turks of Asia Minor began their forays,

²⁷ D. Jacoby, "La colonisation militaire vénitienne de la Crète au XIIIe siècle: Une nouvelle approche," in *Le partage du monde: Echanges et colonisation dans la Méditerranée médiévale*, ed. M. Balard and A. Ducellier (Paris, 1998), 304, 309, 311. The land granted in 1222 had been hit by the rebellion of 1217–19.

²⁸ Theotokes, *Θεσπίσματα*, 1:52, lines 36–37.

²⁹ For an overview of peasant mobility in Latin Romania, see D. Jacoby, "Une classe fiscale à Byzance et en Roumanie latine: Les inconnus du fisc, éleuthères ou étrangers," in *Actes du XIVe Congrès international des études byzantines (Bucarest, 1971)*, vol. 2 (Bucharest, 1975), 139–52, repr. in idem, *Recherches*, no. III; idem, "Etats," 36–39.

³⁰ See previous note; Gallina, *Vicende*, 12–14; and below, p. 230.

³¹ On Frankish-Venetian boundaries, see Jacoby, *Féodalité*, 223–25, 229–30; C. Hodgetts and P. Lock, "Some Village Fortifications in the Venetian Peloponnese," in Lock and Sanders, *Medieval Greece* (as in note 11), 77–80.

³² See D. Jacoby, "Un régime de coseigneurie gréco-franque en Morée: Les 'casaux de parçon,'" *MélRome* 75 (1963): 111–25; repr. in idem, *Société*, no. VIII.

³³ See above, note 29; for Crete, see also Gallina, *Vicende*, 28–47.

³⁴ See A. Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire, 900–1200* (Cambridge, 1989), 47–67, 245–48, 250–55.

³⁵ These last two aspects are discussed below. For Crete, see Gallina, *Vicende*, 9–47, an essentially positive assessment. I no longer maintain the view to the contrary, expressed in Jacoby, "Classe fiscale," 142.

which occasionally resulted in severe damage and depopulation.³⁶ On the other hand, territories shielded from their activity, such as Crete, benefited from an influx of refugees.³⁷ The Black Death appears to have inflicted serious demographic losses, aggravated by subsequent bouts of plague, upon the peasantry of Latin Romania as a whole.³⁸ The comparison of two surveys of the same villages in Frankish Morea, one carried out in 1338 and the other in 1354, thus before and after the Black Death, respectively, enhances this assessment.³⁹ It has been argued that in Crete demographic losses were partly offset by the import of slaves. To be sure, slaves were occasionally put to work in the countryside, yet compared with villeins they surely remained a marginal factor in its exploitation, since most of them, whether male or female, lived in urban households.⁴⁰ Losses of rural labor resulting from the plague were compounded in the Peloponnesos by unstable political conditions in the following period and the Turkish, Byzantine, and Albanian incursions related to them. In 1396 the prince of Morea requested the return of peasants who had moved from the principality to the Venetian territories of Coron and Modon. Three years later Venice took measures to induce the villeins of Argos to return to their land, while in 1407 Latin landlords of Coron requested manpower from the Commune in order to bring their abandoned land under cultivation.⁴¹ Although many Albanians

³⁶ On their activity, see D. Jacoby, "Catalans, Turcs et Vénitiens en Romanie (1305–32): Un nouveau témoignage de Marino Sanudo Torsello," *StMed*, 3d ser., 15 (1974): 246–47, 251–53, 257–61, repr. in idem, *Recherches*, no. v; E. A. Zachariadou, "The Catalans of Athens and the Beginning of the Turkish Expansion in the Aegean Area," *StMed*, 3d ser., 21 (1980): 821–38, repr. in eadem, *Romania and the Turks (c. 1300–c. 1500)* (London, 1985), no. v; eadem, "Holy War in the Aegean during the Fourteenth Century," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 4 (1989): 212–18, repr. in Arbel, Hamilton, and Jacoby, *Latins* (as in note 15); documents in R.-J. Loenertz, ed., *Les Ghisi, dynastes dans l'Archipel, 1207–1390* (Florence, 1975), 236 (lines 63–68), 241 (no. 72), 251 (no. 76): attacks on the area of Corinth and other regions of the Peloponnesos in the 1340s and movement of villeins between Aegean islands and Crete in the 1350s and 1360s.

³⁷ See Jacoby, "Classe fiscale," 140 n. 6, 149 n. 52; also above, note 35.

³⁸ M.-H. Congourdeau, "Pour une étude de la Peste Noire à Byzance," in *Ευρωχία: Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler*, Byzantina Sorbonensia 16 (Paris, 1998), 149–63, also includes information about the plague in Latin Romania until the 1460s. More specifically, for Crete, see Thiriet, "Condition," 59–60, 62–63; Jacoby, "Classe fiscale," 151; Gaspaes, Η γη, 75, 77, 80; Gallina, *Società*, 37, refers to heavy losses, yet on 89–90 relies on the high numbers of villeins residing in 1356 in three Cretan fiefs to suggest that they were lower than commonly believed. One may wonder, though, whether these pieces of evidence do not reflect a concentration of villeins in specific tenements, also attested in other periods (see below, note 47), rather than the general picture.

³⁹ The two surveys appear in J. Longnon and P. Topping, eds., *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la principauté de Morée au XIV^e siècle* (Paris–The Hague, 1969), 55–115, nos. III and IV. These and other surveys drafted from 1336 to 1379 record peasant households in feudal estates of Frankish Morea or offer indirect evidence on demographic trends. They still await a thorough and balanced examination in this respect. Their analysis by Carile, *Rendita*, 80–183, is unsatisfactory: see my review (cited above, note 15), 358–59.

⁴⁰ See Thiriet, *Romanie*, 314–15, 335, 413, on slaves in agriculture; C. Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale*, vol. 2, *Italie-Colonies italiennes du Levant-Levant latin-Empire byzantin* (Ghent, 1977), 876–78, is less emphatic. Thiriet relies on rather slim evidence and remains unconvincing. Inter alia he refers to the loan of 3,000 hyperpers offered in 1393 by the Venetian authorities to encourage the import of male slaves for settlement in villages: document ed. by Verlinden, *ibid.*, 877 n. 553. However, given their average price in Crete around that time, on which see *ibid.*, 875–76, the sum would have sufficed for only about eighty slaves. For the sake of calculation, I assume that sale prices in Crete were double the original purchase prices elsewhere. S. McKee, "Households in Fourteenth-Century Venetian Crete," *Speculum* 70 (1995): 58–65, has found only two references to slaves settled in the countryside in 785 wills of the 14th century.

⁴¹ For evidence, see above, notes 29, 36, and 39; also D. Jacoby, "Italian Migration and Settlement in Latin Greece: The Impact on the Economy," in H. E. Mayer, ed., *Die Kreuzfahrerstaaten als multikulturelle Gesellschaft:*

raised cattle and horses, a number of them tilled the land. Their settlement in continental Greece in the late fourteenth and the early fifteenth century clearly points to partial depopulation.⁴² On balance, despite the Greek rebellions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Crete appears to have enjoyed a greater stability of rural labor than the Aegean islands or the Peloponnesos.

It is in the nature of written sources bearing on populations to emphasize mobility and disruption, rather than to record or reflect stability and continuity.⁴³ One should remember, though, that unless on a massive scale in a given area peasant mobility did not necessarily result in overall interruption of land exploitation. It is impossible to arrive at quantitative estimates of demographic trends for Latin Romania, except for some villages of the Peloponnesos in a limited period.⁴⁴ We have to rely, therefore, on evaluations partly based on circumstantial evidence, as for instance the recent surface prospection of southwestern Boeotia. The pottery, structures, and settlement pattern discovered in this region point to stable conditions, high population and demographic rise, as well as to prosperity and economic expansion throughout the Frankish period up to the Turkish conquest.⁴⁵ To be sure, this region willfully submitted to the Frankish conquerors in 1204 and to the Catalan Company in 1311. In addition, it was less exposed than the Aegean islands and coastal areas to foreign incursions. Future field research in other regions of the Greek mainland may well yield similar results.

The general impression, then, is one of a fairly high degree of continuity in rural exploitation in many areas of Latin Romania in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These trends are confirmed by the eagerness of Latins, including merchants and bankers, and indigenous Greeks to obtain landed estates, from feudal lords in feudalized areas and either from the Commune or from the holders of tenements in Crete.⁴⁶ The value of Cretan fiefs varied substantially according to their nature, the type and quality of their land, and the number of households they contained, which differed widely.⁴⁷ The circumstances of their transfer and the purchasers' expectations were also relevant in this

Einwanderer und Minderheiten im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert, Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Kolloquien 37 (Munich, 1997), 123–24; J. Chrysostomides, ed., *Monumenta Peloponnesiaca: Documents for the History of the Peloponnesos in the 14th and 15th Centuries* (Camberley, 1995), 373, 406–7, 506, 571–72, 583–85, 589.

⁴² See P. Topping, "Albanian Settlements in Medieval Greece: Some Venetian Testimonies," in *Charanis Studies: Essays in Honor of Peter Charanis*, ed. A. E. Laiou-Thomadakis (New Brunswick, N.J., 1980), 261–71; A. Ducellier, "Les Albanais dans les colonies vénitienes au XVe siècle," *StVen* 10 (1968): 405–20, reprinted in idem, *L'Albanie entre Byzance et Venise, Xe–XVe siècles* (London, 1987), no. ix. The settlement of some 2,000 Armenians in Crete in 1363 and some 4,000 Greeks from Tenedos in Crete and Euboea in the 1380s also points to rural depopulation, yet it is impossible to evaluate the contribution of these immigrants to rural production. See Thiriet, *Romanie*, 264–65, and further studies cited by Gaspares, Η γη, 80.

⁴³ Thiriet, "Condition," 35–69, and Carile, *Rendita*, 80–183, have failed to take this into consideration and paint excessively bleak pictures of the state of the rural workforce and land exploitation in Latin Romania.

⁴⁴ See above, p. 203.

⁴⁵ See Bintliff, "Frankish Countryside," 1–18, esp. 4–7. For other regions, see A. Harvey, "The Middle Byzantine Economy: Growth or Stagnation?" *BMGS* 19 (1995): 254–55.

⁴⁶ On the bankers, see below, p. 211. On the Moreot archontes, see Jacoby, "Encounter," 891–96; on those of Crete, Borsari, *Dominio*, 35–66, *passim*.

⁴⁷ On the number of villein households per *militia* or *fief* in Crete, from six to twenty-five, see Gallina, *Vicende*, 12–40, esp. 21–22, yet higher figures appear in 1356, on which see above, note 38. Lombardo had thirty-three villein households before it was hit by the rebellion of Alexios Kallergis: see above, note 22. On higher figures of households in 1414, including free ones, see Gaspares, Η γη, 282–84 and 288–90, tables 31 and 37.

respect. On the whole, though, prices appear to have been on the rise,⁴⁸ except in areas hit by rebellions.⁴⁹ The acquisition of these tenements, whether by residents or by newcomers to the island, was considered a good investment.⁵⁰ In Crete some fiefs provided in the late thirteenth century yearly revenues of more than 1,000 or even 1,500 hyperpers.⁵¹ In the Morea and other feudalized territories, the knight's fief was supposed to yield a yearly income of 1,000 hyperpers.⁵² The four known figures of the fourteenth century reflecting the actual revenue of entire knightly fiefs differ widely, two being substantially lower.⁵³ Both in feudalized areas and in Venetian Crete, military tenements remained for several generations within the same families. In the island, though, they changed hands more often as a result of greater mobility among military settlers, some of whom in the thirteenth century returned to Venice or other localities in Italy after residing in Crete for a number of years.⁵⁴

The redistribution of resources in the conquered lands, examined above, was coupled with Latin settlement proceeding on a scale and along patterns unknown earlier in Romania. The geographic distribution of the Latin settlers also differed substantially from what it had been before 1204. These features were bound to have a strong impact on the economic development of Latin Romania. To begin with, there was a swift and significant growth in Latin settlement, encouraged by the new lords, including the Venetian government. To be sure, these lords were eager to strengthen the small Latin nuclei in their respective territories in order to increase their military power and enhance their rule, yet economic considerations were also of major importance in this respect. The collapse of centralized imperial control over specific branches of trade and manufacture, among them silk,⁵⁵ brought about a striking departure from traditional Byzan-

⁴⁸ Borsari, *Dominio*, 83–84, and table facing 84; Gallina, *Società*, 106–11. In 1216 Giovanni Longo bought two *militie* for 300 Venetian pounds or around 250 hyperpers: R. Morozzo della Rocca and A. Lombardo, eds., *Documenti del commercio veneziano nei secoli XI–XIII* (Turin, 1940) (hereafter *DCV*), no. 574; see Jacoby, “Colonisation,” 307 n. 46, for the calculation of this exceptionally low price in Cretan currency, and 304–5. Prices failed to rise around the mid-14th century, presumably in connection with the sequels of the Black Death.

⁴⁹ In 1307 the value of a specific sergeantry in the region of Canea was estimated at 300 hyperpers and its annual revenue at 18 hyperpers, in addition to 4 hyperpers paid by each of the ten villein households it contained, thus a total of 58 hyperpers: S. M. Theotokes, ed., *Ἀποφάσεις Μείζονος Συμβουλίου Βενετίας, 1255–1669*, Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν, Μηνεῖα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας, τόμος Α.2 (Athens, 1933), 49, no. 39. Thiriet, *Romanie*, 273, has mistakenly multiplied by ten the first two figures appearing in the document. Since the sergeantry was equivalent to one-sixth of a fief, the latter would have yielded around 350 hyperpers. Both its low value and low revenue may be explained by severe damage inflicted during the rebellion of Alexios Kallergis, as in the case of Lombardo documented for the same year, on which see above, note 22.

⁵⁰ The evidence in this respect contradicts the assumptions of Thiriet, *Romanie*, 137, and Gallina, *Società*, 10, that in the 13th century “normal” economic exploitation in Crete was excluded, and that rather than being concerned with it, the military settlers focused on the establishment and strengthening of military and institutional structures. Incidentally, this was the task of the Venetian authorities.

⁵¹ Theotokes, *Θεσπίσματα*, 1:53, lines 91–106. On revenues, see also Gaspare, *Η γη*, 264–65, table 13.

⁵² See Jacoby, “Archontes,” 449 and n. 156.

⁵³ See Carile, *Rendita*, 118, 126–27, 140–41, 172; revenues of 768 hyperpers in return for full yearly military service, 1,150 for nine months only, 1,165 for three months only, around 743 hyperpers for a whole year. The reduction of military service in the second and third cases was clearly granted as a favor on a personal basis.

⁵⁴ On the fate of some Cretan fiefs, see Gallina, *Vicende*, 28 and 55–57, appendix, tables I–III. On non-Venetians and the return to Italy, see Jacoby, “Colonisation,” 307, 313.

⁵⁵ On which see D. Jacoby, “Silk in Western Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade,” *BZ* 84–85 (1991–92): 452–500; repr. in idem, *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 1997), no. VII.

tine attitudes, policies, and practices. The political and territorial fragmentation of Latin Romania created a climate of competition between Latin lords, which induced the latter to attract settlers, merchants, and ship operators, ensure them of safe conditions in their respective territories and ports, enable direct access to local producers, markets, and fairs, and enhance foreign purchases of local goods. In addition, these lords sought ways to stimulate investments, as well as transit trade and shipping through their ports. Their primary purpose was to increase thereby their own financial gains and fiscal revenue.

However, there were some marked differences between the initial settlement patterns affecting non-Venetian and Venetian territories, respectively. Among the latter this was especially true with respect to Crete, due to the particular background and circumstances of its conquest. It is commonly believed that in the early thirteenth century Venice's interest in Crete was exclusively or primarily stimulated by strategic considerations, namely, the island's location at the crossing of important sea lanes, as well as the havens and logistic support it could offer for their control. However, there were also other weighty factors, largely overlooked until now, that prompted Venice to invest considerable means in the purchase of Crete from Boniface of Montferrat in 1204 and in the island's conquest in the following years. Venice displayed substantial interest in the economic and fiscal exploitation of the island. This interest had been especially stimulated from the second half of the twelfth century by the acquaintance of Venetian merchants with the agricultural and pastoral resources of Crete, its growing production and exports, its trade networks, and its increasing role in trans-Mediterranean navigation between Italy and the Levant.⁵⁶

The interplay between private and governmental factors with respect to Crete is further illustrated around the time of the island's conquest. Venetian trade with Crete appears to have continued unabated, regardless of the political vacuum in the island resulting from the collapse of imperial power, partial Genoese occupation from 1206 to 1211, and Venice's efforts to enlarge its rule beyond Candia, captured in 1207.⁵⁷ Giovanni Corner was about to leave Venice for Crete in March 1205, after receiving 100 Venetian pounds in *collegantia*.⁵⁸ Merchants accompanied the military expedition of 1209 to Crete, as suggested by two *collegantia* contracts concluded in Venice. According to one of them, Maria, wife of Doge Pietro Ziani, entrusted 120 Venetian pounds to Tommaso Viadro, an experienced merchant about to sail for Candia.⁵⁹ At that time Venetian merchants must have traded in the territory already held by Venice and were presumably also involved in the provisioning of the military forces stationed in Crete. In the autumn of the same year, Venetians were engaging in trade between Candia and Alexandria, and

⁵⁶ On Crete in Venetian trade and shipping in that period, see D. Jacoby, "Italian Privileges and Trade in Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade: A Reconsideration," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 24 (1994): 349–56, repr. in idem, *Trade*, no. II; idem, "Byzantine Crete in the Navigation and Trade Networks of Venice and Genoa," in Balletto, *Oriente* (as in note 10), 517–30, 537–40.

⁵⁷ See below, p. 207.

⁵⁸ *DCV*, no. 469.

⁵⁹ A. Lombardo and R. Morozzo della Rocca, eds., *Nuovi documenti del commercio veneto dei sec. XI–XIII* (Venice, 1953) (hereafter *NDCV*), no. 73: *in presenti venturo stolo*; no. 74: *ire debebas in exercitu Veneciarum*.

in the following spring Giovanni Corner, already encountered five years earlier, invested in Constantinople in a business venture with Crete and Venice.⁶⁰ Not surprisingly, therefore, the first wave of military settlers leaving Venice for Crete in the autumn of 1211 included merchants such as Tommaso Viadro, who had previously traded in Crete, and others who had surely obtained information about the economic potential of the island. In addition, merchants arriving on their own in Crete also settled on the island in that period.⁶¹ It is noteworthy that the charter delivered by Doge Pietro Ziani to the military contingent of 1211 contains several detailed provisions regarding the future settlers' trade in the island's products. One of them deals with state control over wheat exports, a sensitive issue connected with Venice's food supply.⁶² Military settlers became involved in internal trade and in the export of local commodities shortly after their arrival in the island. Some of them also invested in maritime ventures and from 1218, or 1222 at the latest, even directly undertook trade journeys overseas.⁶³

A similar conjunction of commercial, fiscal, and strategic factors and interplay between private and state initiatives provided the background for the invasion of Crete by Enrico Pescatore in 1206 and for his efforts to secure his rule over the island, which eventually collapsed in 1211. Although Pescatore's expedition was a private enterprise, Genoa displayed vivid interest in it and provided large-scale naval, military, and financial assistance to ensure its success. In 1208 the Commune responded to Pescatore's request by sending him ships, men-at-arms, and supplies, as well as money for the purchase of horses, obviously in Crete itself. In 1210 he requested further financial assistance and, in return, promised Genoa a quarter with its facilities in each Cretan city, jurisdiction in the whole island, as well as full exemption from taxes to Genoese merchants. The charter he delivered was obviously modeled after those obtained by Genoa in the Crusader Levant. Pescatore further promised the reimbursement in three yearly installments of the financial assistance provided by the Commune, to the amount of 18,000 Genoese pounds, beginning two years after the total subjection of the island to his rule. Finally, he stated that the Commune would inherit Crete should he die without legitimate heirs.⁶⁴

Genoa's interest in the economic and fiscal exploitation of the island was clearly con-

⁶⁰ DCV, nos. 516, 518.

⁶¹ See Jacoby, "Colonisation," 299–300, 303–8.

⁶² G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, eds., *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig* (Vienna, 1856–57) (hereafter TTh), 2:132 (*victualia*, here clearly wheat), 140.

⁶³ See Jacoby, "Colonisation," 305–6, 308; M. Gallina, "Finanza, credito e commercio a Candia fra la fine del XIII secolo e l'inizio del XIV," *Memorie della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, II. Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche*, 5th ser., 7–8 (1986): 13–21, 23–31, 41–68, *passim*. Borsari, *Dominio*, 85–87, suggests that those who settled in Crete opted for security with less income, rather for the high risk involved in maritime trade. This assumption is not convincing, nor is it plausible that the prestige of armed service acted as an additional inducement to settlement in Crete, considering the attitudes, values, and interests of the mercantile milieu. The case of Doge Ranieri Zeno to which Borsari refers cannot be considered typical.

⁶⁴ See G. Gerola, "La dominazione genovese in Creta," *Atti dell'I. R. Accademia di Scienze e Lettere ed Arti degli Agiati in Roverete*, 3d ser., 8.2 (1902): 134–75; Borsari, *Dominio*, 21–25, 27; D. Abulafia, "Henry Count of Malta and His Mediterranean Activities, 1203–1230," in A. T. Luttrell, ed., *Medieval Malta: Studies on Malta before the Knights*, Supplementary Monographs of the British School at Rome (London, 1975), 113–19, repr. in D. Abulafia, *Italy, Sicily and the Mediterranean, 1100–1140* (London, 1987), no. III; Maltezou, "Creta," 763–67.

nected with the expectations of Genoese merchants. They had traded there since around the mid-twelfth century.⁶⁵ Pescatore's occupation of Crete in 1206 and his power over large sections of it in the following five years prompted private Genoese interest and investments in his Cretan venture, as in 1210.⁶⁶ It presumably also stimulated an increase in trade with the island, some merchants personally sailing that same year to Crete on three vessels leaving with reinforcements and provisions for Pescatore, one of them the *Glauca*.⁶⁷ Pescatore's eviction from Crete in 1211 was followed by a sharp reduction in the volume of Genoese trade with the island, which remained minimal until the Genoese began to export Cretan wine in the fifteenth century.⁶⁸

The territorial extent and the large population of Crete, presumably also the fierce struggle of 1206–11 with Genoa for the possession of the island, induced Venice to implement an original and unique, highly structured and institutionalized immigration and settlement policy. Combined with strict control over land and peasantry, it was aimed at promoting the state's political and economic interests in the island. The settlement of Venetians liable to serve in a military capacity in return for land granted by the state, initiated in 1211, was partly based on somewhat earlier precedents in Venice's portion of the Latin Empire of Constantinople.⁶⁹ The novelty in Crete, in which no Venetian settlers had resided prior to 1204,⁷⁰ was that both the immigration and settlement of these individuals were state-sponsored, state-organized, and supported by state subsidies. From 1211 to 1252 Venice established several small military contingents numbering a total of 189 men granted fiefs, who were accompanied by one or two horsemen, and 60 foot soldiers offered sergeantries. In this framework the repopulation and reconstruction of Canea after 1252 was part of Venice's endeavor to consolidate its rule over the western section of the island. Originally the fiefs or sergeantries were to be granted exclusively to Venetian citizens, each of them to a single settler. However, already a few years after the beginning of the military colonization process, we find some Venetians holding several military tenements simultaneously, as well as non-Venetians originating from northern and central Italy among the holders of such tenements.⁷¹ Venice resorted

⁶⁵ See Jacoby, "Byzantine Crete," 530–40.

⁶⁶ A contract to this effect in Gerola, "Dominazione," 158; Abulafia, "Henry Count of Malta," 116–17. There is reason to believe that there were additional ones. M. Balard, "Les Génois en Romanie entre 1204 et 1261: Recherches dans les minutiers notariaux génois," *Mémoires de la Commission de l'histoire de la Mer Noire et la Romanie génoise, XIIIe–XVe siècles* (London, 1989), no. 1, suggests that in 1210 Guglielmo Porco, admiral of the kingdom of Sicily and a close associate of Pescatore, obtained a loan to help him in Crete.

⁶⁷ H. C. Krueger and R. L. Reynolds, eds., *Notai liguri del sec. XII e del sec. XIII*, vol. 6, *Lanfranco (1202–1226)* (Genoa, 1953), 1: no. 638: a young man from Rapallo leaving for the island, whether to fight or trade, leases a piece of land until his return; no. 652: *accommodatio* of 12 Genoese pounds for trade in *Crete in nave Glauca et inde quo iero causa negotiandi*; Balard, "Génois en Romanie," 474.

⁶⁸ On which see D. Jacoby, "Creta e Venezia nel contesto economico del Mediterraneo orientale fin alla metà del Quattrocento," in *Venezia e Creta*, ed. G. Ortalli (Venice, 1998), 86, 93–94.

⁶⁹ See D. Jacoby, "The Venetian Presence in the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261): The Challenge of Feudalism and the Byzantine Inheritance," *JOB* 43 (1993): 144–45, 154–61.

⁷⁰ See Jacoby, "Italian Privileges," 365–66.

⁷¹ See Jacoby, "Colonisation," 306–11, 313. The figures of military settlers are based on name lists. F. Thieriet, "Recherches sur le nombre des 'Latins' immigrés en Romanie gréco-vénitienne aux XIIIe–XIVe siècles," in *Byzance et les Slaves: Etudes de civilisation, Mélanges Ivan Dujčev* (Paris, 1979), 427, suggests higher figures which, however, are based on the numbers of *expected* settlers, far larger than those of the actual ones. In 1294

again to state intervention from 1301 to 1324 by settling in its colonies of Coron and Modon 124 men-at-arms and craftsmen, among them woodworkers, metalworkers, and stonemasons, whose activities would support specific aspects of local defense or the servicing of naval forces. All these settlers received an annual salary that ensured their service in the local militias, yet were allowed to work for a daily wage. With their respective families, their total number reached around four hundred people.⁷² In the fourteenth century Venice sought to encourage foreign Latins to settle in its colonies and outposts of Latin Romania by granting those who undertook to reside there for at least ten years the privileges of Venetian nationality in Romania, the status enjoyed by the subjects of Venice's colonies. In addition to diplomatic protection, this status ensured them the same fiscal privileges as Venetian citizens in Romania, yet not in Venice itself; nor did it confer upon them the commercial advantages enjoyed by citizens. After the Black Death, Venice offered Latins settling in its colonies full Venetian citizenship. These measures had only very limited success.⁷³ It should be stressed that in Venetian territories the ongoing process of spontaneous nonmilitary immigration of Venetians and other Latins, primarily motivated by private economic considerations, contributed far more than state-sponsored immigration to Latin demographic growth and resulted in a more diversified population.⁷⁴ This is clearly attested for Coron and Modon.⁷⁵

Latins settling in Crete displayed an obvious preference for urban residence. Their heaviest concentration occurred in Candia, while others resided in Canea, Rethymno, Sitia, and some inland cities. The overwhelming majority of military settlers lived in a house in Candia or Canea that was included in their tenement. Many of them were involved in trade.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, some settlers, like Baldovino Lombardo, apparently

and 1299 military equipment for a total of some 500 men was sent to Crete: R. Cessi, ed., *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia* (Bologna, 1931–50), 3:354, no. 136, and 447, no. 45. Since it was to be distributed among Cretan fiefholders as well as *burgenses*, it does not provide any indication about the number of the former, contrary to Thiriet, *ibid.*, 430. For the decades following the Black Death, Thiriet, *ibid.*, 430, postulates that each member in the feudatories' council had an average of five family dependents, without taking into account that several members of the same household served on that council. On the territorial aspects of military settlement, see C. Maltezou, "Concessio Crete. Παρατηρήσεις στα έγγραφα διανομής φεούδων στους πρώτους Βενετούς αποίκους της Κρήτης," in Λοιβή εις μνήμην Ἀνδρέα Γ. Καλοκαιρίνου (Irakleion, 1994), 107–31.

⁷² See A. C. Hodgetts, "The Colonies of Coron and Modon under Venetian Administration, 1204–1400" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1974), 151–52, 156, 355.

⁷³ Jacoby, "Etats," 20. On the distinction between Venetian citizenship and nationality in Romania, see D. Jacoby, "Les Vénitiens naturalisés dans l'Empire byzantin: Un aspect de l'expansion de Venise en Romanie du XIIIe au milieu du XVe siècle," *TM* 8 (1981): 217–35, esp. 219–20, repr. in *idem, Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion* (Northampton, 1989), no. IX. On the practical implications, see Thiriet, *Romanie*, 279–82.

⁷⁴ Both the demographic and military importance of state-sponsored settlement in Crete has been grossly overrated: see Jacoby, "Colonisation," 312–13. The estimates of Latin population in Romania suggested by Thiriet, "Nombres," 428, are purely hypothetical. They are based on the cumulative number of merchants attested over a long period, which does obviously not reflect the number of Latins at any given moment. On variety of origin among the settlers, see above, p. 208.

⁷⁵ See below, p. 222.

⁷⁶ Jacoby, "Etats," 19. Note that in 1299 the Commune ordered that 110 crossbows out of a total of 430 should be sent to Canea, which clearly points to a much smaller number of Latin settlers in this city: Cessi, *Deliberazioni*, 3:447, no. 45. According to the rule, two Venetian brothers should have resided in the city of Canea

resided or at least spent a few months a year on their estates. In 1285, during a Greek rebellion, Lombardo requested state funding for the building of a defensive tower to enhance his security, implying that his residence in the countryside would strengthen Venice's military position in the area.⁷⁷ In the autumn of 1363, shortly after the great rebellion of St. Tito had begun, a number of military settlers were staying in villages included in their respective tenements, presumably in order to inspect them or to collect taxes and payments, yet not as permanent residents.⁷⁸ Latins who were not military settlers seem to have been established in larger numbers in the countryside in order to engage in land cultivation and the raising of animals or to practice crafts using local raw materials, such as the dressing of hides and tanning.⁷⁹ However, at times Latin surnames in rural areas do not necessarily point to Latin identity, since it was customary for the illegitimate offspring of Latin fathers and Greek mothers to adopt the former's surname, which did not prevent them from remaining in the latter's community.⁸⁰ In any event, the number of Latins residing in the Cretan countryside may have increased in the fourteenth century, during which security conditions improved on the whole. On the other hand, it is unlikely that Latins would have settled outside Coron or Modon in the small Venetian enclaves of southern Messenia.

Surprisingly, before 1204 Latin temporary or permanent settlement in the territories later ruled by feudal lords was limited to Thebes and Corinth, with the possible addition of Sparta. Venetians apparently resided in Thebes almost continuously from the 1150s at the latest until the Fourth Crusade and had two churches there. They also had one church in Corinth and another in Sparta.⁸¹ Latin settlement after the Fourth Crusade in the same non-Venetian territories became substantially larger, far more varied in nature, and more dispersed. Fairly small Latin nuclei of Western knights and sergeants owing military service established themselves in castles and fortified mansions in the countryside or in the acropolis of the main cities of major lordships, as in Thebes and Acrocorinth. Shortly after the conquest, some of these nuclei counted less than twelve individuals, yet must have subsequently grown with the arrival from the West of the latter's relatives and additional immigrants.⁸² Other knights permanently resided in the major

after having inherited sergeantries in this city's district in 1334. In 1339, however, they were allowed to remain in Candia, where for a long time they had been conducting trade: Theotokes, *Θεσπίσματα*, 1:185, no. 14.

⁷⁷ Excerpt from his request ed. by Borsari, *Dominio*, 83.

⁷⁸ Lorenzo de Monacis, *Chronicon de rebus venetis*, ed. F. Cornelius (Corner) (Venice, 1758), 179: "omnes nobiles qui extra civitatem diffusi erant per sua casalia." They were there on their own since they, yet not their family members, were murdered by the insurgents who intended to kill all Latins.

⁷⁹ A. Lombardo, ed., *Imbreviature di Pietro Scardon (1271)*, Documenti della colonia veneziana di Creta 1 (Turin, 1942), nos. 24, 33, 164, 266, 294, 440; *Marcello*, nos. 256–57, in 1280; E. Santschi, "Contrats de travail et d'apprentissage en Crète vénitienne au XIV^e siècle d'après quelques notaires," *Revue suisse d'histoire* 19 (1969): 65, for the 14th century.

⁸⁰ See Jacoby, "Etats," 29–30; S. McKee, "Greek Women in Latin Households of Fourteenth-Century Crete," *JMedHist* 19 (1993): 229–30.

⁸¹ *DCV*, no. 166: a Venetian having served for two years as commercial agent in Thebes prior to May 1165; see also Jacoby, "Silk in Western Byzantium," 494–96. On the churches, see also S. Borsari, *Venezia e Bisanzio nel XII secolo: I rapporti economici*, Deputazione di storia patria per le Venezie, Miscellanea di studi e memorie 26 (Venice, 1988), 41; R.-J. Lilie, "Die lateinische Kirche in der Romania vor dem vierten Kreuzzug: Versuch einer Bestandaufnahme," *BZ* 82 (1989): 202–6, 209–11.

⁸² The figure twelve is implied by a letter of Pope Innocent III, Epist., XIII.16, PL 216:216. See Jacoby, "Etats," 19.

city located in the vicinity of their fiefs, such as Negroponte, Naxos, or Patras. Some had a secondary residence in Andravida, Chiarenza, Modon, or Coron.⁸³ The Siense and Florentine merchants and bankers operating in Chiarenza who obtained fiefs from the princes of the Morea in the second half of the thirteenth and in the fourteenth century maintained their residence in that city.⁸⁴ In the principality there may have been 170 knight-fiefs around 1225, with a total of some 450 horsemen. In the 1320s or 1330s the Venetian Marino Sanudo estimated their number at between seven hundred and one thousand. In 1338 or somewhat later the number of fiefs held by the vassals and rear-vassals of the prince of the Morea was calculated at more than one thousand.⁸⁵ It is unclear whether these numbers included horsemen endowed with money-fiefs instead of estates, once the land available for distribution had been exhausted. The number of these horsemen at any given time is unknown.⁸⁶

The initial settlement pattern of the knights in non-Venetian territories, concurrent with the territorial fragmentation typical of feudal landholding, as well as military pressure in some regions, led to the repair of existing castles and the construction of new ones. Castles served as secure bases from which neighboring areas could be controlled, defended, or attacked, yet also functioned as administrative and consumption centers. In addition, numerous mansions and towers were erected in the countryside. The distribution, location, and architectural variation of the eighty or so massive towers in Attica and Boeotia and the other fifty in Euboea suggest that most of them were not planned to fulfill a strategic purpose, but rather meant to be status symbols or to serve as administrative bases and provide storage for resources.⁸⁷ By contrast, a new phase of construction began in several areas in the late fourteenth century. It was carried out or sponsored by Venice for military purposes in response to the Turkish threat.⁸⁸ Some of these buildings contributed indirectly to a growth in rural output and improved marketing by providing protection and enabling a more efficient collection and storage of products. On the other hand, their construction and maintenance diverted substantial means in labor and cash from investments in the expansion of the rural infrastructure. Seignorial and state con-

⁸³ Ibid.; also Jacoby, "Encounter," 901 n. 134; idem, "Migration," 105–6.

⁸⁴ See below, p. 224.

⁸⁵ See Jacoby, "Etats," 20–21; A. Ilieva, *Frankish Morea (1205–1262): Socio-Cultural Interaction between the Franks and the Local Population* (Athens, 1991), 165–68; Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Istoria del Regno di Romania*, ed. C. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues* (Berlin, 1873), 102–3, obtained information from Marco II Sanudo, duke of Naxos.

⁸⁶ On money-fiefs, see Jacoby, *Féodalité*, 135; idem, "Encounter," 887.

⁸⁷ *Livre de la conquête de la principauté de l'Amorée, Chronique de Morée (1204–1305)*, ed. J. Longnon (Paris, 1911), para. 218: "li baron dou pays et li autre gentil homme si commencerent a faire fortresses et habitacions, quy chastel, quy maisons sur sa terre." The passage refers to the period after the capture of Monemvasia by Prince William II in 1248, a dating contested by H. A. Kalligas, *Byzantine Monemvasia: The Sources* (Monemvasia, 1990), 86–94. In any event, construction began much earlier: see A. Bon, "Forteresses médiévales de la Grèce centrale," *BCH* 61 (1937): 136–208; Bon, *Morée*, 601–84; P. Lock, "The Frankish Towers of Central Greece," *BSA* 81 (1986): 101–23; idem, "The Medieval Towers of Greece: A Problem in Chronology and Function," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 4 (1989): 129–45, repr. in Arbel, Hamilton, and Jacoby, *Latins* (as in note 15); P. Lock, "The Towers of Euboea: Lombard or Venetian; Agrarian or Strategic," in Lock and Sanders, *Medieval Greece* (as in note 11), 107–26; Lock, *Franks in the Aegean*, 75–80, 82. See also P. Lock, "The Military Orders in Mainland Greece," in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. M. Barber (Aldershot, 1994), 333–39.

⁸⁸ See Lock's studies in previous note, and Hodgetts and Lock, "Fortifications," 77–90.

struction, the latter in Venetian territories, was largely achieved by compulsory peasant labor, although it occasionally also relied on salaried work.⁸⁹

Latin commoners spontaneously immigrated to non-Venetian territories in Latin Romania in numbers exceeding by far those of the knights. They established themselves exclusively in cities, some of which the early settlers had visited or inhabited before 1204. These immigrants displayed a marked preference for ports such as Negroponte and Corinth, which, like Candia, Coron, and Modon, had already previously functioned as collection and distribution centers, as outlets for their respective hinterland and neighboring islands, or as regular stopovers for vessels sailing between Italy and eastern Mediterranean ports. Chiarenza, a new port founded on the western coast of the Peloponnese after the Latin conquest, prospered thanks to favorable geopolitical and economic conditions, attracted settlers, and became the main emporium of Frankish Morea by the second half of the thirteenth century. Latin commoners also settled in cities manufacturing silk textiles, such as Thebes and Negroponte, as well as in old and new political and administrative centers, namely, Andravida, Thebes, Athens, Corinth, and Naxos.⁹⁰ These cities also attracted Greek immigrants from the countryside wishing to take advantage of new opportunities in the exercise of crafts and in the service sector, especially in trade and transportation.⁹¹ The most spectacular population growth occurred in Candia and resulted in the development of a new suburb beginning in the second half of the thirteenth century.⁹² Generally speaking, Latin immigration and related demographic and economic developments in Latin Romania generated important shifts in the relative importance of cities, as well as in the geographic distribution and the hierarchy of consumption, industrial, and trade centers.

Despite various manifestations of continuity in the countryside of Latin Romania, noted above, a partial restructuring at the basic level of management and exploitation was unavoidable after the Latin conquest. This appears to have been especially the case in confiscated crown and other extensive estates of Constantinopolitan landlords. Their fragmentation into smaller units and the division of their workforce among new landlords must have often prevented the upholding of large-scale compulsory labor services. Yet there also was a tendency to replace services and so-called gifts owed by the peasants with cash payments, in particular in Crete where the state-granted military tenements were rather small and at best moderate-sized. At times commutation was applied even when a fairly large labor force was available, as in the late thirteenth century at Lombaro,

⁸⁹ On the economic implications of the latter, see below, p. 229.

⁹⁰ See Jacoby, "Migration," 103–8, 112–13; idem, "Etats," 19–22.

⁹¹ For Crete, see Santschi, "Contrats," 34–74, esp. 59, 65; C. Maltezos, "Métiers et salaires en Crète vénitienne (XVe siècle)," *ByzF* 12 (1987): 322–23, 326, 330.

⁹² Gallina, "Finanza," 8, 10. Candia's expansion is illustrated by the inclusion of rural churches apparently constructed in the Byzantine period within the newly built urban territory. See M. Georgopoulou, "The Topography of Chandax, Capital of Crete in the Second Byzantine Period," *Cretan Studies* 4 (1994): 91–136, esp. 116–23. Incidentally, the author (*ibid.*, 102 and n. 41) cites a 13th-century Venetian text that she wrongly interprets as ascribing the building of Candia's fortifications to Enrico Pescatore, whose activity in Crete extended from 1206 to 1211. See above, pp. 200, 207. However, the text refers to Candia as being *nondum* (instead of *nundum* [*sic*] *muribus circumdata*, "not yet surrounded by walls" at that time. This seems to contradict the archaeological evidence, on which see *ibid.*, 102–3.

the village held by Andrea Corner, which included thirty-three peasant households before it was hit by the rebellion of Alexios Kallergis.⁹³ In other cases commutation was implemented only when the peasants could not carry out their labor service, evaluated in 1281 at 4 hyperpers per year in the village of Apano Trifora.⁹⁴ In Frankish Morea villeins were required to perform their *servicium personale*. The latter's evaluation at 5 hyperpers per peasant unit appears only in official documents computing the income of fiefs and, therefore, does not necessarily imply that it was replaced by cash payments.⁹⁵ Commutation was a convenient device saving the cost of supervision and the need to coerce peasants to fulfill their obligations. Landlords applying it relied more heavily upon the lease of domain land to peasants and upon profit-sharing ventures with them in land cultivation and animal husbandry.⁹⁶

Far more important and wide ranging, at both the local and regional levels, were changes in the channeling and destinations of agricultural and pastoral surpluses produced by the confiscated estates of large absentee landlords. Before 1204 these surpluses were partly, if not entirely, intended for self-supply, mainly in the capital, or else for gifts to ecclesiastical institutions. Thus, for instance, until 1171 the monastery of St. John of Patmos and other institutions benefited from yearly allowances of wheat from crown lands (βασιλικὰ ἐπισκέψεις) in Crete. These surpluses remained outside the commercial circuit and were conveyed to their destinations within noncommercial networks. On the other hand, it may sometimes have been more convenient and profitable for absentee landlords residing in Constantinople to sell them at rural markets and fairs or in urban centers located in the vicinity of their estates, and save thereby the cost and nuisance involved in their transportation to the capital.⁹⁷ They could then use the proceeds of sales for the purchase of supplies and consumption elsewhere. The Latin conquest and the fragmentation of their extensive estates after 1204 severed the link between the latter and Constantinople. A portion of the surpluses had to be redirected toward the new Latin landlords and the retinues established on their land or in nearby cities, while the rest was transferred to markets and fairs in the region. The volume of produce affected by these changes cannot be assessed, yet may have been quite substantial in areas in which there had been a heavy concentration of Constantinopolitan estates.

⁹³ See above, note 22. For a contemporary case, see above, note 49. Although situated outside the region upon which this study focuses, the case of Lampsakos in western Asia Minor may prove instructive. In 1219 cash equivalents were established for labor services and gifts owed by seventy-two peasant households, commutation being possibly adopted afterwards: see Jacoby, "Presence," 175–77.

⁹⁴ Partial edition by Borsari, *Dominio*, 90 n. 105, who reads fourteen days per year, and full edition by Z. N. Tsirpanles, "Κατάστιχο ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ μοναστηριῶν τοῦ Κοινοῦ" (1248–1548). Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη τῶν σχέσεων Πολιτείας καὶ Ἐκκλησίας στὴ βενετοκρατούμενη Κρήτη (Ioannina, 1985), 261, no. 187, who reads forty-five days. Both figures are problematic, since the number should either be one day per week or else one or several days per month and thus twelve or a multiple of twelve: see Jacoby, "Presence," 176–77.

⁹⁵ See Carile, *Rendita*, 95–98; my review of the latter (cited above, note 15), 359; Longnon and Topping, *Documents*, 271–72; Jacoby, "Migration," 123.

⁹⁶ On which see above, note 15.

⁹⁷ D. Tsougarakis, ed., *The Life of Leontios, Patriarch of Jerusalem: Text, Translation, Commentary* (Leiden, 1993), 102, chap. 61, and 190–91, commentary. See also P. Magdalino, "The Grain Supply of Constantinople, Ninth–Twelfth Centuries," in *Constantinople and Its Hinterland*, ed. C. Mango and G. Dagron (Aldershot, 1995), 37–39, 45–46, who, however, does not deal with sales by lay landlords.

On a more general level, the patterns of Latin settlement and economic activity generated some significant changes in the siting and relative importance of markets and fairs. As a result, existing commercial routes were partly deflected to new courses and destinations. Numerous markets were presumably held in the territories included in Latin Romania both before and after the conquest, yet only few are documented, namely, in Corinth, Cosmina, Vasilicata, and Androusa in the Peloponnesos.⁹⁸ The term ἐμπόριον, used for several places in that region, indicated the existence of a market or a settlement serving as marketplace.⁹⁹ As elsewhere in the empire, fairs too must have been quite common before the Fourth Crusade in the territories conquered by the Latins. However, only three of them are documented in the Peloponnesos in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, none of them being attested either earlier or later.¹⁰⁰ The small village fair at Macona in southern Messenia, recorded in 1338, yielded an annual revenue of only 8 hyperpers. It is not clear whether it was an annual event or was held several times a year, in connection with the rural calendar.¹⁰¹ The annual fair at Vervena, attested in 1296, was undoubtedly far more important. It took place in the Frankish part of the Skorta region some 10 to 15 km south of Andritsaina, in the vicinity of the Frankish-Byzantine border newly delineated in the late 1270s, in the wake of the empire's northward expansion in the central Peloponnesos.¹⁰² If this fair perpetuated a Byzantine institution, it certainly gained in importance after the 1270s, in view of its location. Yet it may also have been established around that time in order to attract subjects of both the Frankish

⁹⁸ Longnon and Topping, *Documents*, 139, line 36; 146, line 20; 162, line 8 (*lo comerchio del mercato*); 168, line 2; see also 275–76. Silk cocoons were traded at the market of Androusa in 1328: C. Hodgetts, “Venetian Officials and Greek Peasantry in the Fourteenth Century,” in ΚΑΘΗΓΗΤΡΙΑ: *Essays Presented to Joan Hussey for Her 80th Birthday*, ed. J. Chrysostomides (Camberley, 1988), 493, doc. II, para. 1.

⁹⁹ See *ODB* 1:694, s.v. “Emporium” and references in A. Ilieva, “Images of Towns in Frankish Morea: The Evidence of the ‘Chronicles’ of the Morea and of the Tocco,” *BMGS* 19 (1995): 106–7.

¹⁰⁰ On Byzantine fairs, see S. Vryonis Jr., “The Panegyris of the Byzantine Saint: A Study in the Nature of a Medieval Institution, Its Origins and Fate,” in S. Hackel, ed., *The Byzantine Saint*, *Studies supplementary to Sobornost* 5 (1981), 196–226; A. E. Laiou, “Händler und Kaufleute auf dem Jahrmarkt,” in *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz*, ed. G. Prinzing and D. Simon (Munich, 1990), 53–70, 189–94 (notes), repr. in eadem, *Gender, Society and Economic Life in Byzantium* (Aldershot, 1992), no. XI; M. Živojinović, “The Trade of Mount Athos Monasteries,” *ZRVI* 29–30 (1991): 112–14; K.-P. Matschke, “Die spätbyzantinische Öffentlichkeit,” in *Mentalität und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter: Gedenkschrift für Ernst Werner*, ed. S. Tanz (Frankfurt am Main, 1993), 159–64. On fairs in the 14th-century Greek Despotate of the Morea and the 17th-century Peloponnesos, see Zakythinos, *Despotat grec*, 2:253–54.

¹⁰¹ Longnon and Topping, *Documents*, 64, line 12: “Panegerii de Amachonu reddunt in porcione yperpera quatuor.” Note the plural, also used in the following case which clearly refers to annual fairs. The sum mentioned represented half of the total revenue, the fief and its revenue being divided in equal shares between two lords: *ibid.*, 165, lines 22–23, and 166, lines 8–26. For the location, see *ibid.*, 250. On contemporary village fairs in the empire on the land of monasteries, also yielding small annual revenues, see Laiou, “Händler,” 62–63; Živojinović, “Mount Athos Monasteries,” 112 n. 49.

¹⁰² *Livre de la conquête*, para. 802–3: “les foires que on clame panejours, lesquelles se font au jour de huy au demie juyñ.” The sale of silk is explicitly mentioned: see D. Jacoby, “Silk Production in the Frankish Peloponnese: The Evidence of Fourteenth-Century Surveys and Reports,” in *Travellers and Officials in the Peloponnese: Descriptions-Reports-Statistics, in Honour of Sir Steven Runciman*, ed. H. A. Kalligas (Monemvasia, 1994), 45, 59–60, repr. in *idem*, *Trade*, no. VIII. I correct here the location of Vervena mentioned in that study by relying on Bon, *Morée*, 169–70, 380–89, esp. 387–88, 512–15, who presents convincing geographic and archaeological arguments against a proposed siting of Vervena in Arkadia. On the Byzantine advance, which went beyond Kalavryta, see Bon, *Morée*, 144–46. It excluded the holding of a *Frankish* fair in 1296 in Arkadia, which by then had already been in Byzantine hands for some twenty years.

principality and the Greek despotate and thereby promote exchanges between these territories.¹⁰³ It should be noted that the region of Vervena was fairly close to the borderland further west in which later, in 1322, Frankish and Greek lords shared the revenue of several villages of the principality.¹⁰⁴

The annual fair of St. Demetrius, attested in 1338, was presumably the most important of the three fairs of the Peloponnesos documented in the Latin period. It was held inland at some distance from Chiarenza. Venetian merchants attending it were supposed to return with their goods to that city within eight days after its conclusion.¹⁰⁵ The timing of this fair in late October coincided with the marketing of agricultural and pastoral produce for export and the passing of Venetian state galleys and other ships returning from the eastern Mediterranean to the Adriatic.¹⁰⁶ In view of the Byzantine connotation of its name, one would assume that this fair was inherited from the Byzantine period, yet this is far from certain, in the same way as the use of the Greek term *πανηγύρις* in its Latin, French, or Italian versions does not offer any clues with respect to continuity or the creation of new fairs in the Latin period.¹⁰⁷ The St. Demetrius fair mentioned here may have developed from a local or regional event into a more important gathering after the foundation of Chiarenza, yet it is not excluded that it was established by a Frankish lord in order to take advantage of that port. As in the Byzantine period, changing circumstances induced landholders to transfer existing fairs to new locations or to establish new fairs on their estates.¹⁰⁸

In the Venetian territories, developments regarding markets and fairs appear to have been quite different from those occurring in the Peloponnesos. Fiscal expediency prompted the state to impose the channeling of all commercialized rural products to urban markets by land and by sea, regardless of their ultimate destination, in order to supervise and tax their sale. In Crete the maritime transportation of these products was directed toward the main ports of the island, namely, Candia, Canea, Rethymno, and Sitia.¹⁰⁹ Two late thirteenth-century customs lists record taxes levied at the land gate and in the harbor of Candia.¹¹⁰ Goods brought for sale to the city had to be weighed or measured at the Commune's official station located at the marketplace. This rule applied

¹⁰³ The proximity of the border is further illustrated by the events that followed the fair: *Livre de la conquête*, para. 804–25. Note the chronicler's remark that "*nowadays* [the fairs] are held in mid-June": see text in previous note. It is impossible to determine whether this remark already appeared in the original version of the chronicle, in which case it may reflect a change in timing related to the events of the 1270s, or in the abridged version of 1320–24. On the French versions of the chronicle, see D. Jacoby, "Quelques considérations sur les versions de la 'Chronique de Morée,'" *JSav* (1968): 133–50, 181–89, repr. in idem, *Société*, no. vii.

¹⁰⁴ See Jacoby, "Coseigneurie," 114–15.

¹⁰⁵ Baron Blanc, ed., *Le flotte mercantili dei Veneziani* (Venice, 1896), 59. See also Jacoby, "Silk Production," 60.

¹⁰⁶ On state galleys and timing, see below, pp. 222, 228.

¹⁰⁷ For Latin and French, see above, notes 101 and 102. The 14th-century Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, ed. A. Evans (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), 17, lists several equivalents of Tuscan *mercato* and *fiera*, among them *panichiero in grecheco*.

¹⁰⁸ See Laiou, "Händler," 54–57.

¹⁰⁹ Note the provisions of 1316–17 prohibiting the loading or unloading of goods in the bay of Dermata, to the west of Candia's harbor, only fishing boats being allowed to anchor there: P. Ratti Vidulich, ed., *Duca di Candia: Bandi*, Fonti per la storia di Venezia, Sez. I, Archivi pubblici (Venice, 1965) (hereafter *Bandi*), nos. 144, 174.

¹¹⁰ Ed. E. Gerland, *Das Archiv des Herzogs von Kandia* (Strasbourg, 1899), 108–9, and for their dating to 1298–99, see 107 n. 1 and 135.

regardless of whether they would be sold or delivered there to a specific customer, according to an earlier agreement, or be transported afterwards to a private home, a private warehouse, or to the harbor for export. The weighing or measuring was carried out by state-appointed officials in the presence of state assessors, who also acted as official brokers on behalf of the Commune. We may safely assume that similar practices existed in the other ports and inland cities of Crete. In any event, they appear in Coron and Modon.¹¹¹ In these circumstances, it is rather unlikely that rural fairs should have survived in Crete or that any subsisted outside the cities of Coron and Modon in the exiguous territories of Venetian Messenia.¹¹²

As before 1204,¹¹³ rural surpluses in Latin Romania were partly conveyed to nearby rural or urban markets and fairs by producers, whether peasants, herdsmen, or craftsmen, who sold their own products or else delivered them to a specific customer, in conformity with a contract between them.¹¹⁴ Some producers also acted as middlemen between their peers and markets. According to a Venetian document of 1328, a number of Greek peasants from Venetian Messenia sold in Coron their own silk cocoons, as well as others bought in neighboring Frankish Morea.¹¹⁵ Individuals wishing to avoid the costly and time-consuming transportation and marketing of small amounts of products relied on professional merchants and carriers, such as the traveling Venetian merchants visiting the fair of St. Demetrius in the area of Chiarenza in 1338.¹¹⁶ Professional merchants settled in Latin Romania took advantage of their greater ability to offer transportation services. In Crete a number of them combined trade with the holding of military tenements.¹¹⁷

Large landholders also served occasionally as middlemen between rural producers on the one hand and urban markets and exporters on the other, concentrating large amounts of goods in their hands. Unless delivering their surpluses to a specific customer, many peasants were left with fairly small amounts of them after paying rents and taxes in kind. They may have found it convenient, therefore, to sell them to large landholders rather than to market them on their own. Some Cretan documents refer to such deals.¹¹⁸ A similar pattern may be assumed for the produce of small estates. From 1341 to 1344 the *serventaria* of Castri in the region of Milopotamo produced for its holder 791 *misure* of wheat or an annual average of about 264 *misure*, around 3.380 metric tons, from which a certain amount had to be deducted for personal consumption.¹¹⁹ At times, however,

¹¹¹ See D. Jacoby, "Cretan Cheese: A Neglected Aspect of Venetian Medieval Trade," in *Medieval and Renaissance Venice*, ed. E. E. Kittel and T. F. Madden (Urbana-Chicago, 1999), 54–55; Hodgetts, "Colonies," 448–53.

¹¹² In 1473 the Venetian Senate deplored that for some time Cretan merchants were buying and storing local products in the countryside, thereby depriving the state of revenue and Candia of its economic activity: H. Noiret, ed., *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire de la domination vénitienne en Crète de 1380 à 1485* (Paris, 1892), 526–27.

¹¹³ For the Byzantine period, see Laiou, as above, note 100.

¹¹⁴ On the latter, see below, p. 218 and note 129.

¹¹⁵ Hodgetts, "Officials," 493, para. 1; see also Jacoby, "Silk Production," 44–45, 60–61.

¹¹⁶ See above, p. 215.

¹¹⁷ See above, pp. 207, 209 and note 76.

¹¹⁸ See Jacoby, "Cretan Cheese," 52–53.

¹¹⁹ E. Santschi, ed., *Régestes des arrêts civils et des mémoriaux (1363–1399) des archives du duc de Crète*, Bibliothèque de l'Institut hellénique d'études byzantines et post-byzantines de Venise 9 (Venice, 1976), Memoriali, no. 735; for the location, see *ibid.*, no. 1100. The wheat *misura* of Crete is estimated at 12.8 kg; see E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie* (Munich, 1970), 94–96, 149–50.

large landholders must have applied pressure to acquire from their own as well as from other villeins the products they wished to market. Such a practice may have been fairly common when they had agreed to deliver specific amounts of products to a private customer or a merchant and had to meet a deadline.¹²⁰ A similar pattern was even more imperative in Crete with respect to wheat. From the late thirteenth century, Latin military settlers and the powerful Cretan archontes of the Kallergis clan undertook to deliver each year specific amounts of wheat to the Commune, an obligation they had to fulfill at all cost.¹²¹ In these circumstances, pressure on peasants appears all the more likely on the hereditary estates owned by the Kallergis, in which they had preserved and even reinforced their traditional standing and authority.¹²²

The function of large landowners as middlemen in the marketing of rural produce is also documented for Frankish Greece. Large landowners did not directly engage in silk growing, which was exclusively carried out by peasants. Moreover, they apparently obtained only small amounts of silk as payment in kind for the use of their processing facilities by the peasants, less than 15 light pounds per village as illustrated by some cases in the 1370s which, admittedly, do not necessarily reflect an average.¹²³ In any event, we may safely assume that the Greek archon of Frankish Morea who in 1296 came to the fair of Vervena would not have bothered to attend it, had he not assembled a sizable quantity of silk for sale.¹²⁴ In addition to the small amounts he had collected as payment from silk growers, he must have purchased silk from his and other villeins willing to sell it or compelled them to do so under pressure. It is not excluded, though, that the archon also acted as middleman between other landholders of his area, who would have collected silk in a similar way, and merchants attending the fair. The same functions of middleman may be assumed with respect to John Laskaris Kalopheros, a Byzantine adventurer who had wedded the daughter of Erard III Le Maure, one of the most powerful barons of Frankish Morea, and had himself become a fiefholder in the principality. In 1381 Kalopheros sold in Modon 2,773 light pounds or around 950 kg of raw silk, quite a sizable amount.¹²⁵ A document of 1328 regarding Munista in Venetian Messenia reveals that individual peasant households produced fairly small amounts of cocoons, between 10 and 25 light pounds, which in turn yielded between ca. 2 and ca. 5 light pounds of raw silk.¹²⁶ Judging by these figures, the silk sold by Kalopheros would have represented the production of more than 550 peasant households. Only a few landlords of Frankish

¹²⁰ See Jacoby, "Cretan Cheese," 52–53; *Marcello*, no. 125, a contract of 1279 specifying that the price of cheese and wool would be determined "ad eam videlicet rationem quam villani de Sythea venderint eorum dominis." The use of pressure is hinted by the following: "ita tamen quod ipsi villani vendidere non debeant dictum caseum neque lanam," the reference being to free marketing by the peasants themselves. See also *ibid.*, no. 213, drafted in 1280: a feudatory promises to deliver his own cheese and wool as well as those of his villeins.

¹²¹ On which see below, p. 223.

¹²² See above, p. 199.

¹²³ On such payments in Frankish Morea, in all likelihood perpetuating a Byzantine practice, see Jacoby, "Silk Production," 51–53; on amounts, see *ibid.*, 57.

¹²⁴ See below, note 214.

¹²⁵ Jacoby, "Silk Production," 55, 60. The light pound of Modon weighed 343 g: see *ibid.*, 55 n. 52.

¹²⁶ For these and other production figures from Frankish Morea, see *ibid.*, 57. The ratio between the weight of cocoons and silk, respectively, is around 5:1.

Morea would ever have had so many households on their estates.¹²⁷ It follows that Kalopheros was not only selling silk produced by his own villeins.

Despite the evidence regarding the archon attending the fair of Vervena, adduced above, most Greek archontes of Latin Romania must have been weakened in their capacity to act as middlemen. Their resources or those they inherited had been reduced after the conquest, and they had lost the high social status and official functions they or their ancestors had enjoyed in the Byzantine period. In addition, they had to face competition from Latin landlords and from Latin merchants in particular. There were nevertheless some individual archontes who were in a better position than their peers, such as the Kallergis in Crete and the few archontes who in Frankish Morea had attained prominent positions within the knightly class or were serving as high-ranking officials in the baronial or princely administrations.¹²⁸ As for Kalopheros, a latecomer to the principality, although a Greek he had rapidly integrated into the Frankish feudal elite, which was quite exceptional.

The number of Latin settlers engaging in trade in western Romania appears to have been constantly growing since the early thirteenth century and, in any event, was far larger than before the Fourth Crusade. The continuous presence of these merchants in the region enabled them to monitor trade and shipping and prospect the area around their city of residence. They thereby enhanced trade, banking, credit, and entrepreneurship ventures, whether their own or those of other settlers and traveling merchants. Especially merchants involved in wholesale and export operated with more liquid capital than their peers or than landlords. Their contacts with producers and landlords on the one hand and with customers and other merchants, on the other, was easier and far more extensive than before 1204. The bulk of evidence regarding these practices comes from Crete. Direct transactions regarding agricultural and pastoral products between producers and customers or merchants concentrated in ports enabled both sides to dispense with middlemen. These transactions were often based on sale credit, in the form of anticipated payment for the delivery of an agreed amount of produce at a specific date or within a specific period. There is good reason to believe that sale credit was far more common after the conquest than in the preceding Byzantine period, although the absence of quantitative data prevents any solid assessment. The use of sale credit was greatly furthered by the increasing external demand for the products of Crete, to which I shall soon return, by the infusion of capital it promoted, as well as by the growing monetization of the economy. On the whole this system, with its concealed loan, favored the creditor who was in a position to exert pressure on the producer in need of cash and obtain favorable prices from him.¹²⁹ It also eliminated any possibility of collective bargaining by producers. In this respect, after 1204 Latin landlords fared no better than the Greeks. In short, these developments generated a shift from a sellers' market to a buyers' market.

¹²⁷ See the small numbers of households in villages surveyed in the 14th century, compiled by Carile, *Rendita*, 117–74, *passim*.

¹²⁸ See Jacoby, "Encounter," 894–95.

¹²⁹ See Jacoby, "Cretan Cheese," 51–54; Gallina, "Finanza," 34–40; *idem*, *Società*, 133. However, in some contracts the parties agreed that payment would be made according to the market price at the time of delivery.

In addition to sale credit, there were also loans and leases based on other types of contract, which stimulated market and export-oriented investments of money and labor in land cultivation and the raising of animals.¹³⁰ In Crete the extension of cash crops is illustrated by contracts stipulating the expansion of vineyards, especially the planting of high-quality Malvasia and Athiri vinestocks from the fourteenth century on, in response to a growing external demand for high-grade Cretan wines. Wine became a major item in Cretan exports.¹³¹ Irrigation was already practiced in the Byzantine period. It is attested in 1118 for cotton and vegetable cultivation in Crete and by a letter of Pope Innocent III written in 1209, thus shortly after the conquest, referring to gardens and orchards in the bishoprics of Athens and Negroponte.¹³² Cistern and well water was occasionally used for small pieces of land, the latter case attested by a Cretan contract of 1280,¹³³ yet irrigation was mostly based on the diversion of streams. Irrigation appears to have been substantially extended after the Latin conquest. It was promoted from around the turn of the thirteenth century on the mainland, in Crete and in some Aegean islands, especially by great landholders and investors, who more easily than peasants could muster the large resources needed for the construction and maintenance of expensive watering systems.¹³⁴ Cotton growing expanded in Crete, and by 1307 the island was exporting its fiber to Venice. By the second half of the fourteenth century, cotton was also being grown in the countryside of Coron and Modon, as well as in Negroponte, Santorini, and Corfu, obviously in response to the increasing demand of the Venetian cotton industry. In Frankish Morea, cotton was cultivated in the area south of Corinth and presumably also in other areas, since it was partly exported from Chiarenza by Ragusan and Anconitan ships.¹³⁵ Irrigation may have occasionally been used for luxury crops fetching a high price on the market, such as cherries, marasca or sour cherries, pomegranates, peaches, and pears.¹³⁶ It was indispensable for the growing of citrus, known in

¹³⁰ See above, p. 200.

¹³¹ See Topping, "Viticulture," 509–20; Gallina, *Società*, 41–44, 57, 133. See also above, note 23. On external demand and destinations, see Jacoby, "Creta," 80, 85–86, 88, 90–94, 96, 100–102.

¹³² See Harvey, *Economic Expansion*, 127–33; Gallina, *Società*, 19–20; Innocent III, Epist., XI.256, PL 215:1560: "flumina unde rigantur horti."

¹³³ *Marcello*, no. 251.

¹³⁴ See Jacoby, "Migration," 124–25; Gallina, *Società*, 19–21, 53–54; Gaspaes, Η γη, 105–10. In 1352 the authorities in Crete intervened in a dispute between Venetian landholders over the use of water for irrigation: see Thiriet, *Romanie*, 310–11. The construction of an adequate irrigation system was among the heavy investments envisaged by Marco de Zanono, who in 1428 had obtained a monopoly for the growing of sugar cane in Crete: see D. Jacoby, "La production du sucre en Crète vénitienne: L'échec d'une entreprise économique," in ΠΟΔΩΝΙΑ: Τιμή στὸν Μ. Ι. Μανούσκα, ed. C. Maltezou, T. Detorakes, and C. Charalampakes (Rethymno, 1994), 1:172, 175–77, repr. in Jacoby, *Trade*, no. xi.

¹³⁵ For Venetian territories, see Jacoby, "Creta," 79; above, note 22, on cotton and flax grown under irrigation at Lombardo before 1307; Thiriet, *Romanie*, 321–22; C. N. Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyen Age* (Athens–Paris, 1880–90), 2:119, no. 336; 126, no. 347; 154, no. 385 (respectively in 1404, 1405, 1406). For the Morea, see *bambaso* in Longnon and Topping, *Documents*, 176–78, 188–92, and M. F. Mazzaoui, *The Italian Cotton Industry in the Later Middle Ages, 1100–1600* (Cambridge, 1981), 43.

¹³⁶ See Gallina, *Società*, 43–44; Jacoby, "Migration," 124–25. According to a Cretan contract of 1352, the lessees of a fruit garden undertook to plant at least ten fruit trees each year, citrus included, the species being determined by the lessor: A. Lombardo, ed., *Zaccaria de Fredo, notaio in Candia (1352–1357)*, Fonti per la storia di Venezia, Sez. III, Archivi notarili (Venice, 1968), no. 82.

Constantinople in the second half of the twelfth century and around 1300 in Crete.¹³⁷ Citron, lemon, and bitter orange are mentioned in the Πωρικολόγος, a Byzantine satirical work that has been dated to the late thirteenth or the early fourteenth century.¹³⁸ Citrus growing appears to have been introduced in Latin Romania around that time, yet remained rather limited for a long period.¹³⁹ Significantly, in his commercial manual, completed between 1330 and 1340, Francesco Balducci Pegolotti includes *cestrine* and *cederni*, citron and cedrate fruit, among the *spezierie*, a term broadly applied in the Middle Ages to spices and other expensive luxury products traded in small amounts.¹⁴⁰ A Greek account book from Rhodes dated to the last two decades of the fourteenth century mentions two shipments including a total of 600 lemons, 40 oranges, and 6 thick-skinned citrons.¹⁴¹ Venice was importing lemons from Alexandria in 1396 and 1404, a further proof that yields in Latin Romania were still small.¹⁴² By 1450, however, citrons and oranges were being exported from Coron and Modon in larger amounts.¹⁴³

As elsewhere, there were two basic patterns of maritime trade and transportation in Latin Romania. One of them was centered on bilateral exchanges between specific areas within that region or between them and other regions. The other was inserted within the broader trans-Mediterranean framework. Despite the collapse of the empire, subsequent warfare, and the establishment of new political entities, the maritime trade of western Romania displayed basic continuity with respect to the Byzantine period in its ranges and orientations. Nevertheless, new geopolitical conditions no less than economic factors both required and enabled several major adjustments. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries witnessed changes in the relative importance of destinations, as well as a progressive growth in volume and an acceleration of exchanges, which called for a partial restructuring of commercial and shipping networks. Given the limitations of space, only the most important aspect of this evolution will be examined here.

The losses inflicted upon the infrastructure of Constantinople by widespread fires and warfare in 1203 and 1204 were compounded by a massive exodus of population from all

¹³⁷ Twelfth-century evidence in *Ptochoprodromos*, 4.328, ed. and trans. H. Eideneier (Cologne, 1991), 157: τὸ δισκίτριον, translated “Zitruskonfekt” (208), yet in fact the reference is to citron; the origin of the fruit is not stated. Alice-Mary Talbot has kindly drawn my attention to an epigram by Theodore Balsamon, Εἰς νέραντζαν τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Ἀργυροπόλου: K. Horna, ed., “Die Epigramme des Theodoros Balsamon,” *WSt* 25 (1903): 193–94, ep. 31; the correct name of the Constantinopolitan monastery is Ἀργύρων: see R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l’Empire byzantin: Première partie. Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique*, vol. 3, *Les églises et les monastères*, 2d. ed. (Paris, 1969), 51. For Crete, see below, note 139.

¹³⁸ In W. Wagner, ed., *Carmina graeca medii aevi* (Leipzig, 1874), 199; see M. Bartusis, “The Fruit Book: A Translation of the *Porikologos*. Translated from Byzantine Greek with an Introduction,” *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* 4 (1988): 205–12, esp. 206 for the dating and 208 for the relevant references.

¹³⁹ See Jacoby, “Migration,” 124–25.

¹⁴⁰ Pegolotti, *Mercatura*, 294.

¹⁴¹ P. Schreiner, ed., *Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte in Handschriften der Bibliotheca Vaticana*, ST 344 (Vatican City, 1991), 70 and 73, lines 46–47 (text and trans.), 66–67 (dating), 78 (commentary).

¹⁴² Noiret, *Documents*, 80, 150: freight charge for each casket of lemons. This was not lemon juice, as would seem at first glance. In maritime trade, caskets also served as containers for a variety of solid goods: see H. Zug Tucci, “Un aspetto trascurato del commercio medievale del vino,” in *Studi in memoria di Federico Melis* (Naples, 1978), 3:335–37.

¹⁴³ Giorgio di Lorenzo Chiarini, *El libro di mercantantie et usanze de’ paesi*, ed. F. Borlandi (Turin, 1936), 55.

walks of life, including the Byzantine imperial court, the social elite, and craftsmen. As a result, Constantinople ceased to be the major consumption and industrial center of Romania it had been. The political and territorial fragmentation of Romania further undercut the city's economic centrality. After 1204 it was merely the capital of a reduced territorial entity, the size of which was continuously shrinking from the 1220s. This factor further contributed to a substantial reduction in the flow of cash and goods to Constantinople, whether in the form of fiscal revenue or in the framework of self-supply and trade. The Latin imperial court in Constantinople was chronically impoverished, the Latin nobility suffered from economic stress, and the rather meager Latin settlement in the city did not offset the consequences of large-scale depopulation. The economic contraction resulting from these events was only partly overcome in the last two decades of Latin rule.¹⁴⁴

In these circumstances, surpluses exported from western Romania to Constantinople before 1204 had to be redirected toward other destinations. The need for a reorientation of trade networks occurred precisely in a period witnessing a rise in Western demand for specific commodities produced in Latin Romania, namely, foodstuffs, especially grain, cheese, wine, and salt, as well as industrial raw materials such as silk and colorants. This demand was linked to demographic expansion, a rise in living standards and purchasing power, as well as a growth in industrial production and an increase in the volume of goods available for exchange. These processes, already well under way in the twelfth century, gained momentum in the following period and had a decisive impact on the economy of Latin Romania. Soon after 1204 they contributed to a major shift in the orientation of this region's economy. Instead of being mainly geared toward Constantinople and the internal Byzantine market, as before 1204, it became rapidly inserted within the patterns of the Western supply system. This shift was decisively enhanced by Venetian presence and economic activity in the region, discussed below. By 1261 it had already become irreversible, despite the renewed expansion of Constantinople's economy after the Byzantine reconquest of 1261. This is not to say that Latin Romania failed to take advantage of the subsequent intensification of trade in Constantinople and the Black Sea.¹⁴⁵ The West, however, especially Italy, remained henceforth its main trade partner.

There was yet another powerful factor in Latin Romania itself that contributed to the shift in orientation of its economy, namely, the firm correlation existing between political factors, settlement, and economic activity in this region. This correlation, several instances of which we have already encountered, was particularly strong in Venetian

¹⁴⁴ L. B. Robbert, "Rialto Businessmen and Constantinople, 1204–61," *DOP* 49 (1995): 43–58, claims that Latin Constantinople experienced a continuous decline in economic activity, substantially enhanced since the 1230s. Yet see a different interpretation of the evidence by D. Jacoby, "Venetian Settlers in Latin Constantinople (1204–1261): Rich or Poor?" in Πλουσίοι και πτωχοί στην κοινωνία της ελληνολατινικής Ανατολής (= Ricchi e poveri nella società dell'Oriente grecolatino), ed. C. Maltezou, Biblioteca dell'Istituto ellenico di Studi bizantini e postbizantini di Venezia 19 (Venice, 1998), 181–204, partly based on unpublished documents.

¹⁴⁵ Venetian refugees from the imperial capital, mentioned below, presumably contributed their share in this respect. On some aspects of this trade, see Jacoby, "Creta," 80–87.

territories. Venetian rule over Crete, Coron, Modon, and Venice's quarter in Negroponte reinforced existing links or created new ones with Venice. The Venetian nuclei in Latin Romania were strengthened after the Byzantine reconquest of Constantinople in 1261, which triggered an exodus of some three thousand Latins, most of whom must have been Venetian citizens or subjects.¹⁴⁶ An unknown number among them, induced by earlier trade relations, the presence of relatives, Venetian rule, or the combination of these factors, settled in the city of Negroponte or in Crete.¹⁴⁷

The partial reorientation of Latin Romania's maritime trade toward the West resulting from a spontaneous shift was significantly enhanced by Venice's policies. Protectionist measures as well as state intervention in and supervision over economic processes favored Venetian citizens in trade and shipping, yet also entailed for them some serious limitations. These citizens enjoyed preferential custom rates, and Venetian carriers benefited from a virtual monopoly on maritime transportation, since returning merchants were compelled to ship their goods to Venice exclusively on board their ships. The same rule applied to specific commodities that were to travel exclusively on board state galleys, in service since the early fourteenth century, unless the authorities issued other instructions.¹⁴⁸ In addition, the Commune strictly regulated the rhythm of navigation between Venice and other ports, especially with respect to returning ships, so as to prevent an overflow of merchandise and a slump in prices on the Venetian market.¹⁴⁹ Venice's restrictive and discriminatory policy toward foreigners in the field of seaborne trade did not deter fairly large numbers of them from settling in the Venetian colonies. While in Coron from 1289 to 1293 the notary Pasquale Longo recorded the names of settlers originating in areas of Italy extending from the Veneto and Lombardy in the north to Barletta in the south.¹⁵⁰ Similarly, there were numerous foreigners in Candia from the early stages of Latin settlement.¹⁵¹ In business transactions with Venice, however, foreigners largely depended upon privileged Venetian citizens, with whom they sought joint ventures, at times in an attempt to defraud the Commune's treasury.¹⁵² Not surprisingly, these foreigners were particularly eager to obtain Venetian citizenship, granted only to a small number of them, or at least Venetian nationality.¹⁵³

State intervention also affected other aspects of trade and shipping. As early as 1211,

¹⁴⁶ For this figure, see Geanakoplos, *Michael Palaeologus*, 113–14.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 379–80, no. 2; Tsirpanles, *Κατάστιχο*, 182–84, nos. 99–100. No other territories of Latin Romania are known to have served as havens for these refugees, yet this is surely due to the paucity of evidence regarding them.

¹⁴⁸ On state galleys, see D. Stöckly, *Le système de l'incanto des galées du marché à Venise (fin XIIIe–milieu XVe siècle)* (Leiden, 1995).

¹⁴⁹ See D. Jacoby, "La Venezia d'oltremare nel secondo Duecento," in G. Cracco and G. Ortalli, eds., *Storia di Venezia*, vol. 2, *L'età del Comune* (Rome, 1995), 290.

¹⁵⁰ See Borsari, *Studi*, 113–14.

¹⁵¹ See Jacoby, "Colonisation," 307.

¹⁵² See Jacoby, "Venezia d'oltremare," 291.

¹⁵³ On the distinction between the two, see above, note 73. In his letters the Pisan Pignol Zucchello, a merchant who after residing in Crete settled in Venice, repeatedly requested intervention on his behalf to obtain Venetian citizenship, which he eventually was granted; his correspondents also deal with that subject: see R. Morozzo della Rocca, ed., *Lettere di mercanti a Pignol Zucchello (1336–1350)*, *Fonti per la storia di Venezia*, Sez. IV, *Archivi privati* (Venice, 1957), 23, 47–49, 54, 75, 97, 102, 113–15.

when the first military settlers were about to leave for Crete, Doge Pietro Ziani stipulated that exports of wheat from the island would be subject to state control, as noted earlier.¹⁵⁴ Later in the thirteenth century the Cretan authorities imposed on the Latin military settlers and Greek archontes quotas of wheat, which they undertook to buy at state regulated prices determined each year according to the anticipated yield. Although preventing bargaining by local producers, landlords, and wholesale merchants, this disposition was advantageous in various ways to those who delivered the wheat, since it ensured a convenient marketing, a rapid payment in cash, partly in advance of delivery, and a guaranteed price floor even in case of overflow due to good harvests. Prices appear to have been slightly on the rise in the second half of the thirteenth and again in the second half of the fourteenth century. There was also a free grain trade, though exports were controlled by the Commune and restricted to Venice, Venetian territories overseas, and other destinations when authorized.¹⁵⁵ Candia shared the export of wheat with Canea, a port serving as outlet for the large production of its own hinterland. Shipping from Crete to the ports of Latin Romania was often carried out by the Greeks of the region. Transportation to Venice was handled by both Venetian citizens and subjects, some residing in Crete and others in Venice.¹⁵⁶ In addition to its regulation of the wheat trade, the Venetian government established in 1279 a salt monopoly in Crete, and two years later imposed a new overall salt policy requiring all ships to carry salt on their return voyage to Venice and sell it to the Commune.¹⁵⁷

The documentation regarding Latin Romania, which is largely Venetian, has created the wrong impression that Venice dominated the economy of that region beginning in the early thirteenth century. In fact, the strengthening of Venice's position was slow to come and its supremacy achieved only by the mid-fourteenth century. Several factors explain this rather lengthy process. In non-Venetian territories the absence of a strong, centralized government and of heavy-handed state intervention attracted settlers widely differing in origin and afforded more latitude for their activity, as well as more variety in the orientation of their operations. To be sure, Venetians also traded and resided in Thebes, Chiarenza, and Patras.¹⁵⁸ By early 1389 the Venetian Marco Morosini was settled in Nauplia, before Venice took hold of that city, and such was the case with Albano Contarini and other Venetians in Argos.¹⁵⁹ Yet in addition to Venetians, traveling

¹⁵⁴ See above, p. 207.

¹⁵⁵ See Gallina, "Finanza," 63–64, 127–32; D. Tsougarakes, "Η σιτική πολιτική της Βενετίας στην Κρήτη τὸν 13ο–14ο αἰώνα," *Μεσαιωνικά καὶ νέα ἐλληνικά* 3 (1990): 333–85, a full review of the policy.

¹⁵⁶ See C. Gaspare, "Ἡ ναυτιλιακὴ κίνηση ἀπὸ Κρήτη πρὸς τὴν Πελοπόννησο κατὰ τὸν 14ο αἰώνα," *Τὰ Ἱστορικά* 9 (1988): 287–318, *passim*, esp. 309–10, table 4. Two ships sailing in 1310 from Venice to load wheat in Crete: Theotokes, *Ἀποφάσεις*, 62–63, nos. 19–20. The measures used in Candia and Canea were identical, as revealed by their comparison with the one used in Rhodes: Pegolotti, *Mercatura*, 104 and 113. In the first case the ratio mentioned is 55:100, in the second 870:1560.

¹⁵⁷ See Jacoby, "Creta," 89, and for 1281, J.-C. Hocquet, *Le sel et la fortune de Venise*, vol. 2, *Voiliers et commerce en Méditerranée* (Lille, 1979), 199–208, 249–55.

¹⁵⁸ On 27 February 1275 Domenico Spadaro, a resident of Thebes, promises to maintain the local Venetian church of San Marco: Venice, Archivio di Stato, S. Nicolo di Lido, b. 2 perg. For Chiarenza, see Jacoby, "Venezia d'oltremare," 272–73, and E. Gerland, *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Erzbistums Patras* (Leipzig, 1903), 30–66, 89–107, also relevant for Patras.

¹⁵⁹ Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, 105, lines 163–66.

and resident merchants from Modena, Parma, Cremona, Piacenza, and other cities of central Italy known for their commercial and banking activities are attested in Negroponte and Thebes from the 1220s.¹⁶⁰ Others from Milan and Ancona were active in Negroponte around 1270,¹⁶¹ while Italians, French, and German immigrants, as well as an Englishman resided in Patras in the fourteenth century.¹⁶²

The close political connections between the kingdom of Sicily and Frankish Morea beginning in the late 1260s resulted in a marked increase in exchanges between the two regions for about an entire century, a process surprisingly not reflected by commercial manuals. Grain was the main commodity shipped to the Peloponnesos from south Italian ports, which also served as transit stations for silk and kermes from the principality on their way to textile manufacturing centers.¹⁶³ The intensification of trade between the two regions was greatly enhanced by the operation and settlement in the Peloponnesos and neighboring areas of merchants, bankers, and officials hailing from central and southern Italy or involved in the operation of its economy. Prominent among them were Sieneese and Florentine citizens, some of them operating with fairly large amounts of capital. They were originally attracted by the prospects of trade and credit operations in connection with the transfer of funds to or on behalf of the papal treasury, which they were already practicing in the West and in the Crusader Levant. Some of them acted on their own, like the Sieneese merchants settled in Chiarenza who obtained fiefs between ca. 1260 and ca. 1325, and the Sieneese banker based in Negroponte, who in 1310 supplied the duke of Athens, Walter V of Brienne, with the funds needed for the hiring of the Catalan Company. Others served as resident partners of the companies or as their resident agents in the branches they established beginning in the 1260s in Latin Romania.¹⁶⁴ Among these companies the Bardi, Peruzzi, and especially the Acciaiuoli of Florence were the most important ones until they collapsed in the 1340s.¹⁶⁵

Sieneese and Florentine merchants, whether acting on their own or on behalf of com-

¹⁶⁰ See Jacoby, "Migration," 107; P. Racine in P. Castignoli and M. A. Romanini, eds., *Storia di Piacenza*, vol. 2, *Dal vescovo conte alla signoria (996–1313)* (Piacenza, 1984), 200.

¹⁶¹ TTh, 3:204, 209–10.

¹⁶² Gerland, *Quellen*, 89.

¹⁶³ On Chiarenza and its trade with southern Italy, see Bon, *Morée*, 320–25; Jacoby, "Migration," 105–8, 112, and 120. On several occasions King Charles I ordered royal wheat and barley to be sold in Chiarenza in order to finance his military operations in the principality, for instance in 1273: R. Filangieri et al., eds., *I registri della cancelleria angioina* (Naples, 1950–), 10:42–43, reg. 40, no. 146. The relevant evidence on trade appearing in this series of documents, of which more than thirty volumes have been edited thus far, has yet to be exploited. On trade of Apulia and Naples with Chiarenza and Negroponte in 1274, see R. Cessi, "La tregua fra Venezia e Genova nella seconda metà del sec. XIII," *Archivio veneto-tridentino* 4 (1923): 35–38, and for the dating, 16–18; trade between Apulia and Nauplion in 1272: TTh, 3:274–76, with correct dating in G. Morgan, "The Venetian Claims Commission of 1278," *BZ* 69 (1976): 429, no. 60; Venetians in regular trade between Chiarenza and Apulia: R. Cessi, ed., *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia* (Bologna, 1931–50), 2:135 and 3:25–26 (1282 and 1283); Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, 33, in 1381. On south Italian ceramics found in the Morea, see below, p. 232.

¹⁶⁴ See Jacoby, "Migration," 98–99, 107–18. On the Levant: D. Jacoby, "Migration, Trade and Banking in Crusader Acre," in *Βαλκάνια και Ανατολική Μεσόγειος, 12ος–17ος αιώνες* (= *The Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean, 12th–17th Centuries*), The National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute for Byzantine Research, *Byzantium Today* 2, ed. L. Mavromatis (Athens, 1998), 114–19.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 114–18.

panies, significantly contributed to economic growth in the non-Venetian territories of Latin Romania. Credit operations and transfers of money were partly achieved by investment in maritime trade. Sienese merchants conveyed wax from Romania to the fairs of Champagne, as attested in 1265 by Andrea Tolomei, member of an important company based in Siena, in a letter sent from Troyes.¹⁶⁶ An unidentified Sienese company apparently exported silk from Chiarenza in the 1270s, and kermes from Romania reached Siena, as attested by a Sienese custom list compiled between 1273 and 1313.¹⁶⁷ Continental Greece, especially the Peloponnesos, as well as some islands of the Aegean and the Ionian Sea, were major exporters of this expensive dyestuff used in textile manufacture.¹⁶⁸ The Florentine mercantile banking house of the Alberti shipped kermes from Corinth and Monemvasia, as well as from the islands of Cerigo and Cephalonia.¹⁶⁹ By the late thirteenth century, some Italian mercantile and banking companies had extended their operations to Corinth, a thriving and affluent economic center until the Catalan attack of 1312.¹⁷⁰ Their large-scale financing of warfare and of conspicuous consumption brought large infusions of liquid capital.

These activities, combined with the introduction of advanced business methods into Latin Greece from the second half of the thirteenth century, such as deposit accounts with payment on demand, transfer banking, double-entry bookkeeping and management, contributed to an intensification of trade and an acceleration of the monetary flow.¹⁷¹ The banking practices introduced into the Frankish territories also spread to Venetian Coron and Modon, the economy of which was tightly linked to theirs.¹⁷² I have already noted the integration of Italians within the knightly class of Frankish Morea beginning in the second half of the thirteenth century, among them merchants and bankers. In the following century we find Italian intendants administering large feudal estates, several of which belonged to absentee Italian landlords. Italian lords and intendants were familiar with sophisticated business techniques and had a clear impact on the exploitation of Moreot estates. They introduced structural changes in their management, a more rational organization of space and use of resources, whether land, water, beasts of labor

¹⁶⁶ C. Paoli and E. Piccolomini, eds., *Lettere volgari del secolo XIII scritte da Senesi* (Bologna, 1871), 57.

¹⁶⁷ See Jacoby, "Migration," 112–13; M. A. Ceppari and P. Turrini, eds., "Documenti: Il commercio delle stoffe; l'abbigliamento e le provvisioni di lusso; arredi sacri e profani," in *"Drappi, velluti, taffetà et altre cose."* *Antichi tessuti a Siena e nel suo territorio*, ed. M. Ciatti (Siena, 1994), 245.

¹⁶⁸ See Jacoby, "Silk Production," 45–47, 61.

¹⁶⁹ A. Saporì, *I libri degli Alberti del Giudice* (Milan, 1952), 71, 101, and 229.

¹⁷⁰ See Jacoby, "Migration," 103–4, 114. The assessment of destruction inflicted by the Catalans has recently been somewhat tempered by the suggestion that major destruction may have been caused by an earthquake that occurred ca. 1300: see C. K. Williams II, E. Barnes, and L. M. Snyder, "Frankish Corinth: 1996," *Hesp* 66 (1997): 41–42.

¹⁷¹ See Jacoby, "Migration," 113, 121–27. Accounts are mentioned by Marino Sanudo Torsello in Hopf, *Chroniques*, 101–2: "Nel suo tempo fù nel principato tanta cortesia e amorevolezza, che non solamente li cavalieri mà anche li mercadanti andavano sù e giuso senza denari . . . e con il semplice loro scritto di mano se li dava denari." Since Sanudo refers to the reign of Prince William II, who ruled from 1248 to 1278, the introduction of deposit accounts into Greece should be placed in the latter's reign, thus earlier than in Venice, on which see R. C. Mueller, *The Venetian Money Market: Banks, Panics and the Public Debt, 1200–1500* (Baltimore, 1997), 9–18, esp. 15–16.

¹⁷² See below, pp. 227–28, 231.

or the workforce, diversified crops, and achieved a rise in agricultural and pastoral productivity, a growth in output, and improvements in the marketing of products.¹⁷³

In the thirteenth century, Genoese interests and trade were also important factors in the portion of Latin Romania not subject to Venetian rule, far more so than commonly assumed.¹⁷⁴ While importing silk fabrics from the eastern Mediterranean, Genoa also acted as the main supplier of raw materials to the expanding Lucchese silk industry from the beginning of its operation around the mid-twelfth century.¹⁷⁵ Not surprisingly, therefore, silk textiles, raw silk, and dyestuffs appear to have been the main commodities that Genoese merchants sought in Latin Romania, where their activity is documented as early as 1210. In that year two partners, one of them a Lucchese, bought in Genoa a certain amount of *grana de Romania*, kermes clearly originating in Latin Romania.¹⁷⁶ The silk called *seta de Romania*, documented in Genoa in 1269, also came from that region.¹⁷⁷ Sixteen contracts drafted in Genoa between 1274 and 1345 refer to trade with Chiarenza, some of 1287 explicitly mentioning the export of woollens, the sale of which was to finance purchases there.¹⁷⁸ Between 1330 and 1340 Pegolotti lists samite, by then a medium-grade silk textile, among the commodities in which merchants on business in Chiarenza reinvest proceeds from the sale of the goods they import.¹⁷⁹ Chiarenza was also a major exporter of silk cocoons, silk, and kermes collected from its own hinterland and neighboring areas.¹⁸⁰ Significantly, according to a Pisan trade manual of 1278, the units of Lucca were the standard used for the weighing of raw silk in Frankish Morea, which suggests that the Genoese, in view of their role as suppliers of Lucca, were then also the main exporters of silk from the principality.¹⁸¹ Negroponte too shipped cocoons, silk, and silk fabrics on a fairly large scale to Italy.¹⁸² A Genoese consul is attested in 1236 in the city of Negroponte, which implies Genoese trade and presumably also a resident community there. Genoese merchants are again documented in that city from 1245 to 1251.¹⁸³ By 1240 there was a well-established resident Genoese community headed by

¹⁷³ See Jacoby, "Migration," 121–27.

¹⁷⁴ E.g., by Balard, "Génois en Romanie," 467–89.

¹⁷⁵ See D. Jacoby, "Genoa, Silk Trade and Silk Manufacture in the Mediterranean Region (ca. 1100–1300)," in A. R. Calderoni Masetti et al., eds., *Tessuti, oreficerie, miniature in Liguria, XIII–XV secolo*, Istituto internazionale di Studi liguri, Atti dei Convegni, III (Bordighera, 1999), 16–29, 38.

¹⁷⁶ *Lanfianco*, no. 915. See also above, p. 225.

¹⁷⁷ Mentioned by E. Basso, "Le relazioni fra Genova e gli stati latini di Grecia nei secoli XIII–XIV," in *Studi balcanici: Pubblicati in occasione del VI Congresso internazionale dell'Association internationale d'Etudes Sud-Est Européennes, Sofia, 1989*, ed. F. Guida and L. Valmarin (Rome, 1989), 23, yet this was not silk textile as assumed by the author. Although Asia Minor was included in Romania, silk from that region had other names.

¹⁷⁸ See M. Balard, *La Romanie génoise (XIIe–début du XVIe siècle)*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1978), 163–64 and n. 211. A Pisan document drafted in Chiarenza in 1317 refers to three Genoese merchants who had apparently been on business there: ed. C. Otten-Froux in M. Balard, A. E. Laiou, and C. Otten-Froux, *Les Italiens à Byzance* (Paris, 1987), 175–77, no. 8.

¹⁷⁹ Pegolotti, *Mercatura*, 117. See also below, p. 228.

¹⁸⁰ See Jacoby, "Silk Production," 46–48, 55 n. 52, 60–61.

¹⁸¹ R. Lopez and G. Airdi, eds., "Il più antico manuale italiano di pratica della mercatura," in *Miscellanea di studi storici*, vol. 2 (Genoa, 1983), 127, fol. 360, lines 15–16. See Jacoby, "Migration," 120–21.

¹⁸² Jacoby, "Silk Production," 61, and see also below, p. 228.

¹⁸³ See Balard, "Génois en Romanie," 480; Basso, "Relazioni," 24. A sailing contract of March 1254 mentions Negroponte among the ports at which the merchants may unload their goods: ed. E. H. Byrne, *Genoese Shipping in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1930), 125–28, no. 37.

its consul in Thebes, the major center of silk manufacture in Latin Romania. Some time earlier Genoese entrepreneurs had begun to finance production in a number of this city's silk workshops, ordered textiles from others, and exported local fabrics. It follows that the infusion of cash into the economy of Latin Romania and the function of credit were not restricted to the rural sector or to trade, and also affected industrial production. However, by the late thirteenth century Genoese trade in Latin Romania appears to have been on the decline as a result of several developments. The continuous growth of high-grade silk manufacture in Lucca, as well as large-scale Genoese imports of eastern textiles and of high-grade silk from the countries around the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea offered advantageous alternatives to the products of Latin Romania.¹⁸⁴ In this region the Genoese also faced what appears to have been aggressive Venetian competition, backed by the Commune.

Pisans also traded in Latin Romania. They are attested in Frankish Morea from the 1270s, yet appear to have been active there earlier. In 1273 King Charles I of Sicily asked the Moreot prince William II to dispense justice to a Pisan citizen having a claim against one Scottus, apparently an Italian banker. The attention paid by the Pisan trade manual of 1278 to the silk standard of Lucca used in the Morea implies that Pisans too were involved in the export of this commodity to Lucca and other Italian manufacturers, though presumably on a much smaller scale than the Genoese. Pisans are mentioned in Chiarenza in 1303, 1307, and 1313, some of them being apparently settled in that city. The Pisan trade manual compares the measures for grain used in Negroponte and Pisa, which hints at Pisan trade in the island. No later evidence has surfaced until now, yet the continuation of Pisan trade in Byzantium in the Palaiologan period suggests that some activity must also have taken place in the ports of call of Latin Romania located along the maritime routes linking Pisa with Constantinople.¹⁸⁵

The Venetians were familiar with the territories of Latin Romania ruled by feudal lords, in which they had traded before the Fourth Crusade. As early as 1209 Venice obtained full tax exemptions for its merchants, confirmed subsequently, from the lord of Frankish Morea and those of Euboea.¹⁸⁶ Coron, Modon, and the Venetian quarter of Negroponte depended heavily on the flow of products from their respective hinterlands, ruled by these lords. This explains why Venetian Coron and Frankish Chiarenza used the same light pound for the weighing of silk and kermes.¹⁸⁷ Around 1290 silk and kermes were arriving in Coron from both Venetian and Frankish territory, and this must have been customary for some time already.¹⁸⁸ It is not clear to what extent tax exemptions promoted Venetian penetration inland. Among the products handled, a few deserve particular attention. Since none of the Venetian colonies of Latin Romania pro-

¹⁸⁴ See Jacoby, "Migration," 118–20, and above, note 175. It is likely that Venetian merchants too acted as entrepreneurs in Thebes: see below, note 190.

¹⁸⁵ For Latin Romania: Filangieri et al., *I registri della cancelleria angioina* 10:93, no. 373, and Jacoby, "Migration," 112; above, note 181; R. Predelli, ed., *I libri commemoriali della repubblica di Venezia: Regesti (1293–1787)* (Venice, 1876–1914), 1:26, 80–81, lib. 1, nos. 108, 339, 344; above, note 178; Lopez and Airdi, "Manuale," 127, fol. 360, line 10. For Byzantium: Otten-Froux in Balard, Laiou, and Otten-Froux, *Italiens* (as in note 178), 159 and n. 36, and documents in *ibid.*, 168–91, nos. 3, 9, 11, 12, 16.

¹⁸⁶ TTh, 2:91, 94, 97, 176, 181, and 3:55.

¹⁸⁷ See Jacoby, "Silk Production," 55 n. 52.

¹⁸⁸ For this period and later, see Jacoby, "Silk Production," 41, 43–47, 55–56, 60–61. See also above, p. 216.

duced quality silk textiles, Venetian merchants, like others, purchased them in the Peloponnesos, at Thebes, and at Negroponte.¹⁸⁹ Far more important in the long run was their quest for raw silk and dyestuffs. The development of the Venetian silk industry, apparently initiated after the Fourth Crusade, seems to have contributed significantly to the growth of Venetian activity and presence in Frankish Morea and Negroponte.¹⁹⁰ Yet for much of the thirteenth century the Venetian share in the handling of these commodities must have been fairly limited compared with that of the Genoese.

The intensification of long-distance Venetian shipping between Venice and Constantinople, especially from the 1270s, enhanced Venetian trade in the areas situated along the navigation routes. The convoys of state galleys, in service since the early fourteenth century, stopped at Chiarenza, or else some ships were sent there to pick up Venetian merchants and the goods they had bought in Frankish Morea.¹⁹¹ Such was the case in 1338, in connection with the fair of St. Demetrius. The attendance of Venetians at that fair was by no means exceptional. It illustrates a pattern of penetration inland on quite an impressive scale. The six merchants from prominent families in Venice invested in that trade venture a total of 16,005 hyperpers in woolens and cash.¹⁹² The Venetian silk trade in Patras around 1351 illustrates further expansion.¹⁹³ By the mid-fourteenth century the Venetians had consolidated their hold on trade and navigation in the portion of Latin Romania not ruled by the Commune. Genoese sources documenting trade with Chiarenza apparently cease after 1345. Genoa's failure to gain a foothold in the western Aegean, the Genoese occupation of Chios in 1346, and the Venetian-Genoese war of 1350–55 resulted in a shift of Genoese interest to the eastern Aegean.¹⁹⁴ These factors apparently also put a virtual end to Genoese involvement in the economy of continental Greece and neighboring islands.

The late eleventh century witnessed the establishment of a triangular trans-Mediterranean trade network linking Italy with Egypt and Byzantium, as well as these states one to the other. The integration of western Romania within this network was enhanced after the First Crusade by the establishment of the Crusader states in the Levant and the intensification of maritime trade in the eastern Mediterranean. It was further promoted after the Fourth Crusade by the growing impact of Venice on the economy of Latin Romania. Ships engaging in free navigation as well as regular convoys of state galleys sailed from Venice via Modon, Coron, and Negroponte on their way to Constantinople and the Black Sea, and via Modon and Candia on the way to Cyprus, Lesser Armenia, Beirut, and Alexandria.¹⁹⁵ Thirteenth-century Byzantine, Muslim, and Crusader coins, as well as pharmaceutical containers from Egypt found at Corinth illustrate

¹⁸⁹ D. Jacoby, "The Production of Silk Textiles in Latin Greece," in *Technology in Latin-Occupied Greece*, ed. C. Maltezou and H. Kalligas (Athens, 1999), in press.

¹⁹⁰ See D. Jacoby, "Tra Bisanzio, il Levante e Venezia: Dalla materia prima ai drappi nel medioevo," in *Dal baco al drappo: La seta in Italia tra Medioevo e Seicento*, ed. R. Mueller (Venice, 1999), 265–304.

¹⁹¹ See Stöckly, *Galées*, 101–8, esp. 103, 105.

¹⁹² See above, pp. 215–16.

¹⁹³ Gerland, *Quellen*, 33 n.

¹⁹⁴ On the first two aspects, see M. Balard, "The Genoese in the Aegean (1204–1566)," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 4 (1989): 158–62, repr. in Arbel, Hamilton, and Jacoby, *Latins* (as in note 15).

¹⁹⁵ See Stöckly, *Galées*, 96–152, and Jacoby, "Creta," 94–102.

the pivotal location of Latin Romania within the triangular trade network.¹⁹⁶ The sea-borne trade of Latin Romania became subordinated to the requirements, routes, and seasonal rhythm of long-distance maritime trade, increasingly dominated by Venetian merchants and carriers who took advantage of Venice's naval and diplomatic protection and of the infrastructure offered by its colonies and commercial outposts. Short-distance trade and shipping, carried out with small vessels often practicing cabotage, were partly redirected in order to convey goods collected in Latin Romania and neighboring regions to the main ports inserted within the trans-Mediterranean traffic. These same ships also took charge of the diffusion of imported goods.

While the functions of the major transit ports have drawn some attention, their contribution to the economy of Latin Romania itself has been largely overlooked and underestimated. These ports offered infrastructures and services assisting transiting merchants, ships, and goods.¹⁹⁷ Storage and transshipment, the supply of provisions, ship maintenance and repairs performed by qualified craftsmen, as well as money changing and banking provided substantial infusions of cash. The sailing of ships engaged in surveillance and the protection of convoys, naval warfare, piracy, and the recruitment of sailors, archers and crossbowmen, the latter especially in Crete, had similar effects.¹⁹⁸ To these we may add the building and enlargement of arsenals, as in Coron, Modon, Negroponte, and Candia, as well as repeated improvements in harbors that, although not always successful, ensured a flow of public money collected as taxes back into the local economy, instead of being siphoned off to Venice.¹⁹⁹ There is yet another function of transit ports that should be underlined. In addition to handling passing goods, resident merchants also served as middlemen in complex trade ventures between several regions. The function of intermediaries was particularly important in Crete.²⁰⁰ All these activities generated profits, which were reinvested in Latin Romania's own economy, whether in the rural sector, in trade, or in transportation.

Greeks are clearly underrepresented in the extant, overwhelmingly Western documentation bearing on Latin Romania. The bias is less acute with respect to Venetian Crete beginning in the fourteenth century, in view of the large number of notarial deeds referring to Greeks. It is nevertheless impossible to arrive at a fair evaluation, let alone a quantitative assessment of the Greek share in the region's economy, dominated by the

¹⁹⁶ The coins are recorded in numerous annual reports of the excavations, published in the 1990s in *Hesp.* For the containers, see C. K. Williams II and O. H. Zervos, "Frankish Corinth: 1994," *Hesp* 64 (1995): 16–22.

¹⁹⁷ See F. Thiriet, "Candie, grande place marchande dans la première moitié du XVe siècle," *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 15–16 (1961–62): 343–47, repr. in idem, *Etudes*, no. IX.

¹⁹⁸ On Crete in the Venetian naval defense system, see Thiriet, *Romanie*, 243–51; D. Jacoby, "Les gens de mer dans la marine de guerre vénitienne de la mer Egée aux XIVe et XVe siècles," in *Le genti del Mare Mediterraneo (XVII Colloquio internazionale di storia marittima, Napoli, 1980)*, ed. R. Ragosta (Naples, 1981), 1:172–74, repr. in idem, *Studies*, no. XI; Jacoby, "Creta," 103–5.

¹⁹⁹ On work in harbors, see Hodgetts, "Colonies," 146–51; R. Gertwagen, "The Venetian Port of Candia, Crete (1299–1363): Construction and Maintenance," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 3 (1988): 141–58; eadem, "L'isola di Creta e i suoi porti (dalla fine del XII alla fine del XV secolo)," in Ortalli, *Venezia e Creta* (as above, note 68), 350–74; F. Thiriet, "Réthimo et son district au quinzième siècle," in *Πεπραγμένα του Γ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*, vol. 2 (Athens, 1974), 305–6, repr. in idem, *Etudes*, no. XVI.

²⁰⁰ See Jacoby, "Creta," 80–81, 83–84, 92–103, 105–6.

Latins. Fourteenth-century sources point to the growing integration of Greeks within the latter's patterns and networks. They appear as middlemen and wholesalers in local trade, invest in exports, participate in seaborne trade, sail on business to foreign countries, and enter into partnerships with Latins.²⁰¹

It would seem that a decree issued in Crete in 1313 prohibited the exit of Greeks from the island or their sailing to other regions. Their participation in maritime trade would thus have been severely limited. In fact, the purpose of that decree was to prevent the flight of villeins belonging to the Commune, regardless of whether they were indigenous or of foreign origin.²⁰² It did not deal with villeins attached to landlords.²⁰³ More extensive measures were introduced in 1349 to prevent both slaves and villeins belonging to individuals from leaving Crete and to ensure their arrest, should they reach other Venetian territories, as well as their return to the island.²⁰⁴ It follows that there were no legal restrictions preventing free Greeks from engaging in maritime trade or in shipping, once the proper administrative formalities before departure had been completed.²⁰⁵ Indeed, there is abundant evidence showing that Greek merchants, shipowners, skippers, and sailors from Crete participated in exchanges between their island and other areas. Greeks residing in other Venetian territories must have been equally active in this respect, yet the surviving evidence regarding them is fairly restricted. The bulk of Greek maritime activity took place within the Aegean,²⁰⁶ yet it also extended further. In 1357 a Cretan nobleman, Marco Salamone, shipped more than 15 tons of cheese from Sitia to Cyprus on board the *griparia* of the Greek shipowner Costa Vlisma, who took along more than 5 tons of his own cheese.²⁰⁷ In 1361 the *papas* Dimitrius Siropulo from Candia sailed with his own *griparia* from Famagusta to Rhodes.²⁰⁸ In the first half of the fifteenth century, Greek merchants and ships from Crete fairly regularly reached Alexandria with cargoes of cheese, wine, and other commodities and returned with spices among other goods. In the same period they also exported wine to Constantinople and reached Venice. Moreover, they expanded their activity beyond bilateral exchanges between Crete and the Byzantine capital, sailing from this city to Caffa in the Crimea, Cyprus, and Beirut, and via Crete also to Messina. In addition, Greek merchants and ships from Latin

²⁰¹ See A. E. Laiou, "Quelques observations sur l'économie et la société de Crète vénitienne (ca. 1270–ca. 1305)," in *Bisanzio e l'Italia: Raccolta di studi in memoria di Agostino Pertusi* (Milan, 1982), 177–98, esp. 193 ff, repr. in eadem, *Gender*, no. x; eadem, "Venetians and Byzantines: Investigation of Forms of Contact in the Fourteenth Century," *Θησαυρίσματα* 22 (1992): 33–35.

²⁰² *Bandi*, no. 8: "nullus villanus comunis tam terrigena quam forensis." The villein was allowed to reside in Candia or in the countryside, "sicut sibi placuerit," without fear of being considered the villein of a military settler, "et non timeat capi pro villano militum." Since state villeins enjoyed freedom of movement within Crete, it was more difficult to prevent their escape from the island.

²⁰³ On the distinction between the two categories of villeins and on the legal limitations imposed upon them, see above, note 25.

²⁰⁴ P. Ratti Vidulich, ed., *Duca di Candia: Quaternus consiliorum (1340–1350)*, *Fonti per la storia di Venezia*, Sez. I, Archivi pubblici (Venice, 1976), no. 233, esp. p. 131.

²⁰⁵ Two sailing permits referring to this decree, issued by the Cretan authorities in 1356 and 1368, have been published by Gaspare, *Ναυτιλιακή κίνηση*, 289–90 nn. 9 and 8, respectively.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 287–318, on 14th-century Greek shipping from Candia and Canea; an earlier example of Greeks from Modon in *TTh*, 3:236–37.

²⁰⁷ On this transaction and numerous others of Marco Salamone, see Gallina, *Società*, 99–100, 119.

²⁰⁸ A. Lombardo, ed., *Nicola de Boateriis, notaio in Famagosta e Venezia (1355–1365)*, *Fonti per la storia di Venezia*, Sez. III, Archivi notarili (Venice, 1973), no. 125.

Romania reached Dubrovnik, and traders also traveled to Barcelona on their way to Saragossa in Spain, though it is unclear on which ships. In short, by the fourteenth century the Greeks were firmly inserted within the geographic pattern of Latin Romania's seaborne trade, with certain limitations.²⁰⁹

The activity of these Greeks calls for a few remarks. It was generally based on relatively small amounts of capital and conducted with the help of small and medium-sized ships having a limited carrying capacity, manned by Greek or mixed crews.²¹⁰ Greeks only seldom participated directly in trans-Mediterranean traffic and, in any event, were totally excluded from commercial patterns sponsored by the Venetian government and directly subject to its control. The transportation of precious goods on board state galleys and the leasing of these ships were the exclusive preserve of Venetian citizens. It is therefore obvious that, despite their numbers, in terms of capital turnover and profits the Greeks of Latin Romania had a fairly limited share in medium and especially in long-distance maritime trade. Nevertheless, some of them based in the major transit ports greatly benefited from the general increase in economic and maritime activity and managed to accumulate considerable wealth in related activities, such as banking. Çan Cremolisi, a Greek resident of Coron, provided loans totaling 35,000 gold ducats to the lord of Corinth, Nerio Acciaiuoli, the reimbursement of which he sought for several years after the latter's death in 1394.²¹¹ In the first half of the fifteenth century, high officials of Byzantine Morea were depositing valuables and cash in Coron and Modon in private banks operated by Greeks, who used the same sophisticated commercial techniques as their Latin counterparts.²¹² In the same period a Greek family, the Filomati from Crete, settled in Venice and adopted a business strategy resting on the dispersal of its members, as commonly practiced by Venetian mercantile families, positioning some in Crete and one in Constantinople. Incidentally, some prominent Byzantine families appear to have acted in the same way both with respect to the Byzantine provinces and the cities of Latin Romania, namely, Venetian Coron and Modon.²¹³

So far we have noted two important economic functions fulfilled by Latin Romania

²⁰⁹ On this pattern, see Jacoby, "Venezia d'oltremare," 272–73; idem, "Cretan Cheese," 57–60; idem, "Creta," 83–84; S. Borsari, "Ricchi e poveri nelle comunità ebraiche di Candia e Negroponte," in Maltezos, Πλουσίοι (as above, note 144), 213–14, 216–18, on Cretan Jews providing maritime loans for trade with Cyprus, Alexandria, the Aegean islands, and Venice, partly on board Greek ships; B. Krekić, *Dubrovnik (Raguse) et le Levant au moyen âge* (Paris, 1961), 99–100, 103, 125–50; Gallina, *Società*, 123–27.

²¹⁰ See Gaspare, *Ναυτιλιακή κίνηση*, 293–305 (tables), and for a mixed crew with the sailors' names, *ibid.*, 289–90 n. 9; mixed crew also on a small Venetian ship around 1270: TTh, 3:274–75. Further examples of small vessels appear above.

²¹¹ See J. Chrysostomides, "Merchant versus Nobles: A Sensational Court Case in the Peloponnese (1391–1404)," in *Πρακτικά τοῦ Δ' Διεθνoῦς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακῶν Σπουδῶν* (1992–93), 2:116–31, and for the documents, see now Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, 626, General index, s.v. "Cremolisi, Court case."

²¹² See K.-P. Matschke, "Geldgeschäfte, Handel und Gewerbe in spätbyzantinischen Rechenbüchern und in der spätbyzantinischen Wirklichkeit: Ein Beitrag zu den Produktions- und Austauschverhältnissen im byzantinischen Feudalismus," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte des Feudalismus* 3 (1979): 187–88; idem, "Griechische Kaufleute am Übergang von der byzantinischen Epoche zur Türkenzeit," in Lauer and Schreiner, *Kultur Griechenlands* (as in note 7), 78–79.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 77–78; Matschke, "Geldgeschäfte," 195–96; on the Filomati, see now D. Jacoby, "I Greci ed altre comunità fra Venezia ed oltremare," in *I Greci a Venezia, nel V centenario della fondazione della comunità greca*, ed. M. F. Tiepolo (Venice, 2000), in press; for the Latins, see D. Jacoby, "La dimensione demografica e sociale," in Cracco and Ortalli, *Storia* (as above, note 149), 2:703.

within the Mediterranean trade system: as a source of foodstuffs, raw materials, and semi-finished or finished products, and as a supplier of services to trade and shipping operations. In addition, the region was also a market for Western goods. Though concentrated in specific locations, the Latins remained a small minority in the midst of the Greek population. In particular within their upper ranks, this may have sharpened their awareness of the evolving attitudes, lifestyle, and consumption patterns of their peers in the West. Their approach in this respect stimulated the demand for Western manufactured goods, especially high-grade products serving as status symbols. This demand, also enhanced by a rise in the standard of living and a refinement in taste, was not confined to members of the knightly class in the feudalized territories of Latin Romania.²¹⁴ It also extended to the social elite in Venetian territories. In Crete, members of the Venetian elite granted their daughters dowries “according to the custom of the noblewomen of Venice.”²¹⁵ Furthermore, conspicuous consumption was widespread among Latin commoners, Greeks and Jews alike. The display of luxury among prosperous Cretans prompted the Venetian authorities to publish in 1339 sumptuary laws regarding dress and jewelry, though with little effect.²¹⁶

The rising volume of medium and high-grade consumption is evidenced by various imports, which partly enabled Western merchants to finance their purchases in Latin Romania. Fine ceramics manufactured in southern Italy, the Veneto, and Pisa, as well as Italian glassware found in recent excavations, reached Corinth from the 1260s.²¹⁷ They reflect the range of commercial exchanges of this city with Italy and the activity of south Italian, Venetian, and Florentine merchants, already encountered above. We have already noted in passing the woolens brought by Genoese and Venetian merchants to Chiarenza.²¹⁸ Among the luxury items imported to Crete in the 1370s, we find fine Flemish woolens and Italian silk textiles, most of which were presumably Venetian products.²¹⁹ In 1444 the eighteen-year-old Quirina, daughter of Alexios Kallergis, ordered from Venice a gold-interwoven silk garment costing between 90 and 100 ducats, as well as expensive pieces of velvet.²²⁰

These growing imports were not only related to the impact of Western consumption patterns and fashions on local demand. They were also connected with, and even enhanced by, the state of textile manufacture in Latin Romania itself. To be sure, the

²¹⁴ See D. Jacoby, “Knightly Values and Class Consciousness in the Crusader States of the Eastern Mediterranean,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 1 (1986): 158–86, repr. in idem, *Studies*, no. 1.

²¹⁵ See S. McKee, “Households in Fourteenth-Century Venetian Crete,” *Speculum* 70 (1995): 40–41.

²¹⁶ J. Jegerlehner, “Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte Kandiens im XIV. Jahrhunderts,” *BZ* 13 (1904): 464–65, para. 14–22. On sums above 500 hyperpers appearing in contracts regarding Latin, Greek, mixed Latin-Greek, and Jewish marriages, see McKee, “Households,” 40–41, 46, 50–51; M. Gallina, “Diversi livelli di ricchezza e di penuria negli atti matrimoniali rogati a Candia nel corso del secolo XIV,” in Maltezos, Πλουσίοι (as above, note 144), 268, 272, 280–91.

²¹⁷ See esp. Williams and Zervos, “Frankish Corinth: 1994,” 16–24. See also A. Oikonomou-Laniado, “La céramique protomajolique d’Argos,” in *La ceramica nel mondo bizantino tra XI e XV secolo e suoi rapporti con l’Italia*, ed. S. Gelichi (Siena, 1997), 307–16.

²¹⁸ See above, pp. 226, 228.

²¹⁹ See S. Borsari, “Il mercato dei tessuti a Candia (1373–1375),” *Archivio veneto*, 5th ser., 143 (1994): 5–30.

²²⁰ See C. Maltezos, Βενετική μόδα στην Κρήτη (Τα φορέματα μίας Καλλεργισπούλας), in *Byzantium: Tribute to Andreas N. Stratos* (Athens, 1986), 1:139–47, esp. document on pp. 145–46.

Theban silk industry was stimulated in the first half of the thirteenth century by Genoese and possibly also other Latin merchant-entrepreneurs, as noted above, yet it is not clear how long this support lasted. While silk textiles of Latin Romania continued to be exported to the West in the fifteenth century, they faced mounting competition from the high-grade products of the expanding Venetian and Luccan silk industries, which availed themselves of advanced technologies. The growing import of Italian silks into Romania reversed an age-old trend: instead of being exclusively the supplier of the West, Romania had also become its customer. Both foreign and local merchants increasingly viewed Latin Romania as a source of industrial raw materials for Western industries, rather than of finished products. The absence of new investments and technology transfers prevented the silk industries of Latin Romania from expanding and upgrading their production in a significant way, and Western imports further undermined their ability to compete.²²¹ The painted glassware manufactured in Venice for export to Romania from the late thirteenth century must have had a similar effect on some centers of glass production in Latin Romania.²²²

This survey has dealt with large portions of Latin Romania ruled by the Latins for more than two centuries after the Fourth Crusade. The evidence bearing on this region reveals that all the sectors of its economy underwent important structural changes in the period extending roughly to the mid-fifteenth century. The main factors contributing to this evolution were the constant interplay between micro- and macroeconomic factors, as well as between private initiative and political powers; geopolitical developments both within and outside Latin Romania; and, finally, the broader economic systems within which the provinces of the empire conquered by the Latins were integrated. After the conquest the economy of Latin Romania swiftly geared itself to Western demand, yet also took advantage of conjuncture to develop its bilateral exchanges with other regions.²²³ Credit was a major factor stimulating a growth in export-oriented products, as well as in short- and medium-range trade and transportation.²²⁴ In this respect, the economy of Venetian Crete appears to have been particularly dynamic, its landholders, peasants, and merchants being more responsive to market incentives than in the feudalized areas of Latin Romania. In addition to the factors just mentioned, the intensification of local, regional, and trans-Mediterranean trade and shipping and the supply of services in their framework generated substantial infusions of cash into Latin Romania, which from major ports trickled through the various sectors of its economy. As a result, the whole region experienced an ever stronger economic interaction between the countryside, the cities and maritime trade, as well as an acceleration of monetary circulation.

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²²¹ See Jacoby, "The Production of Silk Textiles."

²²² On this production, see A. E. Laiou, "Venice as a Center of Trade and Artistic Production in the Thirteenth Century," in H. Belting, ed., *Il Medio Oriente e l'Occidente nell'arte del XIII secolo*, Atti del XXIV Congresso internazionale di storia dell'arte, Bologna, 1975 (Bologna, 1982), 2:14–15, 18–19.

²²³ More evidence in this respect in Jacoby, "Creta," 80–106.

²²⁴ On credit in seaborne trade, see Gallina, "Finanza," 13–21; idem, *Società*, 111–27.

